

# ADA

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

# Legislative Newsletter

Legislative Representatives  
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## Analysis - -

# ADA's 1976 VOTING RECORD

The second session of the 94th Congress provided little hope that the Hill was ready to assume responsibility for establishing a legislative government that could think and act, independent of whatever leadership might occupy the White House. In a session marked by incessant power struggles with the President and internal partisan bickering (which sacrificed to party strength and unity some badly needed legislation) some trends emerged. Congress seemed all too willing to approve White House proposals for substantial increases in defense spending. It did, however, draw the line at presidential policy control of new U.S. intervention in the internal disputes of foreign countries. The Senate, with the establishment of a new Intelligence Committee, developed the potential to exercise real oversight on domestic and foreign intelligence matters.

On domestic matters, although the Hill was willing to provide more economic stimulus for both jobs and existing social programs than the President wanted, election year pressures and our domestic economic situation were interpreted by many as an inopportune time for the creation of social programs.

And in keeping with a pattern set during the first session, President Ford continued to veto legislation, and Congress continued to have great trouble in rallying the support necessary to override these vetoes. Ford vetoed 15 bills during this session; Congress overrode four. The tally for both sessions was Ford 32, Congress 8.

Early on, during development of the FY77 budget resolution, several trends appeared that were to both plague and assist Congress in reform efforts:

-- an adherence to the budget process

rather than use of the procedure to consider alternative priorities and policies;

-- a refusal to consider new domestic program initiatives; and

-- a blockage of controversial legislation during the Committee process.

### THE BUDGET PROCESS: SUCCESS AND FAILURES

The first year of the new congressional budget process held the key for both the major domestic victories and failures. Passage of a moderate tax reform bill can be credited, in part, to the budget process. Under this new procedure, Congress not only is required to set a target figure for federal revenues, but also to develop the methods for raising those revenues. Although Congress did extend the 1975 individual and corporate tax cuts through the end of 1976, the loss of these revenues was offset by increasing taxes on the wealthy and closing some of the most blatant loopholes available to wealthy individuals. This, combined with certain restrictions on corporate tax loopholes, was expected to raise an additional \$1.6 billion in federal taxes. Although Senate debate on the bill left many feeling that, rather than increasing federal revenues, the tax bill might possibly decrease the level of taxes, House Ways and Means Chairman Al Ullman (D-Ore.) proved in conference to be a formidable opponent to Senate Finance Chairman Russell Long (D-La.) and the final bill met the target. It is difficult to say whether the absence of the budget process would have resulted in a different end product. The target of \$1.6 billion, coupled with congressional and public sentiment for fis-

cal responsibility, made the budget process a vehicle for achieving this moderate amount of tax reform.

Congress must also be applauded for concentrating what little "new spending" it approved on new and expanded jobs programs. Despite months of often bitter confrontations with the White House, as well as with an uneasy coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats, the Democratic leadership finally succeeded in approving emergency jobs programs and expanding public service jobs and summer jobs for youth. In July, Congress enacted a public works jobs bill over a second presidential veto. Although not so extensive as the vetoed bill, the legislation will finance approximately 300,000 jobs through a \$2 billion authorization for state and local public works projects and \$1.25 billion countercyclical aid to state and local governments.

Heartened by the sweetness of this victory, Congress then proceeded to pass legislation extending and expanding an emergency public service jobs program that had been enacted in 1974. The program, which allows for the creation of temporary jobs in state and local government, will be extended through September 1977.

#### THE ECONOMY PLAYS A HEAVY HAND

While the "Soviet threat" played havoc with the defense budget, the threat of rekindling inflation and a general anti-Washington sentiment against government jobs and social programs resulted in an absence of initiatives in key domestic areas. For most domestic functional categories -- particularly key areas like health, education, welfare, housing -- the budget process produced appropriations levels below current services levels. Not only did this mean that basic domestic programs were forced to cut back on the level of services, it totally ruled out the implementation of new programs or the expansion of existing programs. And this, perhaps, is the 94th's most glaring legislative failure in terms of potential domestic accomplishments.

The 94th convened at a time when the country was receptive to a re-evaluation and re-ordering of our national priorities. But instead of capitalizing on a general national sentiment that was ripe for developing new solutions to existing problems, Congress allowed internal and White House politics to result in a non-ending series of legislative maneuvers to maintain the status quo. We do not have a comprehensive jobs program to combat unemployment; we do not have a program that guarantees to all the availability of high quality, reasonably priced health care; we have no new comprehensive proposals to move the country toward energy self-sufficiency; comprehensive welfare reform has not been attempted. Although the concept of full employment made

a brief -- and somewhat damaging -- appearance on the congressional stage, these other issues were not debated nor seriously considered. Full employment legislation was killed in committee by many old and new members unwilling to bring such a controversial piece of legislation to the floor so close to an election. Suffering a similar fate was a proposal to reform the food stamp program -- having passed the Senate, a food stamp reform bill was bogged down in the House Agriculture Committee as liberals and moderates battled Republicans and southern Democrats.

Other major proposals suffered similar fate. A massive plan to reform the banking industry was killed by a powerful bank lobbying effort; also falling victim to individual lobbying interests were bills strengthening strip mining controls, enacting weak gun control, and requiring oil divestiture, to name a few. Despite passing both Houses, a bill establishing a consumer protection agency was stalled in the face of a threatened presidential veto.

One other domestic trend which bears mentioning is the development of questions which do not clearly divide liberals from conservatives. Some economic issues and some environmental policies have resulted in coalitions of strange bedfellows. The abortion question is another example. Whereas the Senate continued to maintain a strong pro-choice position, the House held stubbornly to its position that no federal funds be used to pay for or promote abortions. Clearly, in the face of election-year pressures and personal convictions, many pro-choice supporters jumped ship and came up on the anti-abortion side throughout four months of arduous debate.

## **FOREIGN & MILITARY**

Attempts to formulate comprehensive foreign policies during the 94th Congress fell victim to deadlocked battles between a liberal counter-establishment on the one hand and the Ford/Kissinger Administration on the other. No coherent policy emerged, however. Ad hoc coalitions, successfully opposing Executive policy on one issue found themselves losing challenges to Kissinger and Ford on others. In this ebb and flow, three major currents can be discerned:

1. Congress -- with 95 new Representatives, and backed by overwhelming public sentiment -- began a new course in U.S. involvement in the internal disputes of foreign governments ending U.S. involvement in Indochina and forcing a speedy termination of substantial U.S. covert military operations in Angola.

2. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House International Relations Committee established new policy permitting Congress to exercise greater oversight and control over conventional arms sales and military aid; Congress failed to utilize adequately its new powers.

3. The Administration persuaded Congress, through an adept public relations campaign, that ever higher levels of military spending were required to counter a new Soviet threat. Its tactics, however, ensured that once again a serious debate, defining U.S. vital interests and the level and kind of military budget required to meet them, was postponed.

#### VIETNAM AND ANGOLA

In two cases, Congress demonstrated that it was no longer willing to tolerate any substantial risk of even marginal military involvement where no obvious strategic U.S. interests were at stake.

In late 1974 President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger launched an eleventh-hour effort to grant an additional \$522 million in emergency military aid to South Vietnam and Cambodia. In a coordinated media blitz the Administration attempted to raise fears of an impending "bloodbath" and the danger of "losing face before the rest of the world." In response, four new Members of Congress joined by Rep. Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) convened a special meeting of the Democratic Caucus. Despite procedural objections by senior liberal members, the caucus, by a vote of 189-49, on March 2, 1975, took a firm position against further aid to Vietnam and Cambodia.

Nine months later, the New York Times revealed that at least \$28 million in Department of Defense funds were slated to be used to continue covert military operations in the Angolan Civil War.

Senator John Tunney (D-Calif.) introduced an amendment to the DOD appropriations bill that would prohibit further covert assistance to the Angolan factions favored by the Administration. That position was sustained in the Senate 72-26 and later adopted by the House 323-99. Congress, thereby, made clear to the Administration that it was dubious about military involvement in far away places and clearly against operations about which it had not been consulted.

#### ARMS SALES AND CONGRESS

Congress established new policies on U.S. arms grants and sales by which it could limit U.S. global military commitments, but -- with some notable exceptions -- it was unwilling to carry out these policies.

The Security Assistance and Arms Control Act of 1976 requires that arms sales be administered in such a way as to reduce "the international trade in implements of war and to

lessen the danger of outbreak of regional conflict and the burden of armaments." In order to encourage Administration compliance with this policy, Congress gave itself the authority to veto, by concurrent resolution (no presidential signature required), arms sales of major defense equipment over \$7 million. Upon notification of an impending contract, Congress has 30 days to review and veto that sale.

Congress' first opportunity to use this procedure came on September 1, 1976, when the Administration sent up to Congress more than \$6 billion in new arms sales. This was a surprise move calculated to prevent an orderly and thorough review by a Congress eager to adjourn for the political campaign. The House failed to make any response and an embarrassed Senate Foreign Relations Committee first blocked a \$30 million sale of Maverick missiles to Saudi Arabia and then reversed itself. Only 3 votes could be mustered in committee to reject the \$4.46 billion arms package to Iran which included 160 F-16 jets for \$3.8 billion. In this case, Congress clearly failed to implement its own self-defined responsibility of reviewing arms contracts in light of their impact on regional arms races and the economies of underdeveloped nations.

Under the same legislation Congress also can, by joint resolution (presidential signature required), reduce or terminate security assistance to governments that "engage in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights." Although a weak legislative vehicle, the amendment does enable Members of Congress to make human rights a consideration in granting security assistance.

A comprehensive review of security assistance was not undertaken in 1976; specific country aid programs, however, were reviewed and in some cases substantially modified. In early March, amendments on the House floor to eliminate grant military assistance to Indonesia and the Philippines were defeated. In May and June, there was a major effort to limit military assistance to Korea to 1975 levels. Initially successful in the House International Relations Committee (13-7), it was defeated easily on the floor on June 2 by strong administration pressure and the Korea lobby. In a related development on the ever widening Korea scandal, one report says that the Justice Department investigation will show that 40-80 members of Congress have received Korean contributions.

Congress, however, did follow its 1974 ban of military aid to Chile with a total prohibition on cash and commercial sales to Chile. In a relatively non-controversial move (although it was opposed by the Adminis-







8.	ROE	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	p	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	70		
9.	HELSTOSKI	+	+	+	+	-	p	p	A	p	A	+	A	p	+	+	+	+	-p	p	A	45
10.	RODINO	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	85	
11.	MINISH	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	65	
12.	Rinaldo	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	A	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	60
13.	MEYNER	+	+	+	+	+	-p	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	85	
14.	DANIELS	+	+	+	-	-	p	p	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	p	+	55
15.	PATTEN	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	60

NEW MEXICO

1.	Lujan	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	A	-	-	15	
2.	RUNNELS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	+	-p	A	p	-	-p	-	5

NEW YORK

1.	PIKE	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	75		
2.	DOWNEY	+	p	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	75	
3.	AMBRO	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	A	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	50	
4.	Lent	-	A	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	A	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	20	
5.	Wydler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	+	5	
6.	WOLFF	+	p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	80	
7.	ADDABBO	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90	
8.	ROSENTHAL	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	
9.	DELANEY	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	55	
10.	BIAGGI	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	A	+	p	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	50	
11.	SCHEUER	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	90	
12.	CHISHOLM	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	p	+	+	+	+	p	p	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	80
13.	SOLARZ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	95	
14.	RICHMOND	+	p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	95	
15.	ZEFERETTI	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	A	p	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	55	
16.	HOLTZMAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	
17.	MURPHY	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	A	-	-	-	-	p	45	
18.	KOCH	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	
19.	RANGEL	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	95	
20.	ABZUG	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	95	
21.	BADILLO	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	p	p	-	+	+	+	+	+	85	
22.	BINGHAM	+	+	+	+	p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90	
23.	Peyser	+	+	A	-	A	-	+	A	A	A	+	A	+	A	-	+	-	A	A	30		
24.	OTTINGER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	95	
25.	Fish	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	35	
26.	Gilman	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	45	
27.	McHUGH	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	80	
28.	STRATTON	+	-	-p	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	25	
29.	PATTISON	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90	
30.	McEwen	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	
31.	Mitchell	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	25	
32.	HANLEY	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-p	A	+	-	+	+	65	
33.	Walsh	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	25	
34.	Horton	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	40	
35.	Conable	-	A	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	
36.	LaFALCE	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	A	-	+	A	-	+	+	+	+	A	50	
37.	NOWAK	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	85	
38.	Kemp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	5	
39.	LUNDINE	*	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	*	+	+	+	88	

NORTH CAROLINA

1.	JONES	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	+	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	10	
2.	FOUNTAIN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-p	-	0	
3.	HENDERSON	-	-	-	A	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	10
4.	ANDREWS	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	35	
5.	NEAL	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	A	A	-	+	+	A	+	A	+	45	
6.	PREYER	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	p	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	40	
7.	ROSE	+	+	+	-	A	-	+	-	-	A	-	-	-	+	-p	-	+	-	-	+	35	
8.	HEFNER	-	A	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	p	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	15	
9.	Martin	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20	
10.	Broyhill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	15	
11.	TAYLOR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	15	

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 LQ

25.	Myers	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	20
<i>RHODE ISLAND</i>																											
1.	ST. GERMAIN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
2.	BEARD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	p	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	A	80
<i>SOUTH CAROLINA</i>																											
1.	DAVIS	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	35
2.	Spence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
3.	DERRICK	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	A	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	40	
4.	MANN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	20	
5.	HOLLAND	-p	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	A	+	+	A	-	A	p	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	35		
6.	JENRETTE	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	45	

SOUTH DAKOTA

1.	Pressler	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	30
2.	Abdnor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

TENNESSEE

1.	Quillen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	10
2.	Duncan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	15
3.	LLOYD	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
4.	EVINS	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	+	p	A	A	A	-	+	-p	-	-	A	20				
5.	ALLEN	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	A	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	A	70		
6.	Beard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	5	
7.	JONES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	A	15		
8.	FORD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	p	A	-p	+	+	+	+	+	+	80	

TEXAS

1.	PATMAN	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	0
HALL	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	0	
2.	WILSON	-	A	-	A	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20		
3.	Collins	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0		
4.	ROBERTS	-	A	-	A	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	+	15		
5.	Steelman	-	+	-	-	A	-	-	-	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	5		
6.	TEAGUE	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	10		
7.	Archer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0		
8.	ECKHARDT	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+	A	+	+	+	+	75		
9.	BROOKS	-p	A	-	-	A	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+												

## Analysis, cont.

tration), military assistance to Uruguay was terminated during the appropriations process. In both cases, the perception that neither Chile nor Uruguay fell within U.S. strategic concerns was crucial.

At the close of this session of Congress, Reps. Donald Fraser (D-Minn.), Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.), Jonathan Bingham (D-N.Y.) and Helen Meyner (D-N.J.) requested reports on the observance of human rights in five countries receiving military assistance — Argentina, Haiti, Indonesia, Peru and the Philippines. As of this writing the State Department has refused to declassify the completed reports. A very early indication of the 1977 Congress' determination to make human rights a major concern will be its efforts to declassify these reports and its use of them in evaluating security assistance to these countries.

### THE TRIUMPH OF THE PENTAGON

In the area of military policy Congress completely surrendered to the White House. In the first four months of 1975 confident talk in the halls of Congress promised major congressional initiatives to cut overall defense spending and to end unneeded or dangerous weapons programs. But in the wake of the Administration's defeat in Indochina, Congress did an abrupt about-face, accepting Administration arguments that cuts in military spending could weaken the international image of U.S. will.

The same phenomenon was repeated during debate over the 1977 military budget following defeat of the U.S. backed faction in the Angolan civil war. Congress apparently had the good sense to avoid the traps of the Administration's military adventures, but not the sense to accept with equanimity the consequences — defeat of local forces backed by the Administration.

This trend dovetailed in 1977 with the Ford Administration's ability to convince Congress that its interpretation of the meaning and consequences of Soviet force increases and improvements was sound. While few defense critics doubt the quantitative increases, they point out that the qualitative superiority of both U.S. strategic and conventional forces offset the Soviet military's quantitative superiority in various weapons. They also point out, as did President Ford in response to Governor Reagan, that the Soviet Union's geographical position, flanked by China on its southeast and NATO countries on its west, logically leads it to field greater manpower and maintain conventional armories. Nonetheless, the Administration's arguments were successful on the Hill.

One major effect was to halt an emerging debate defining U.S. vital interests and the level and kind of military spending required to protect these interests. Defense Secretary

Donald Rumsfeld's report to Congress does state that the United States' vital strategic interests are in Western Europe, the Middle East and Northeastern Asia. But what that means in terms of required weapons and force levels and how it affects U.S. military involvements in the rest of the world, or whether there are broader or narrower definitions which better describe U.S. vital interests, were not seriously debated nor resolved.

The FY 1976 and 1977 military budgets reversed a five-year decline, in constant dollars, of military spending. In the FY 1977 budget, there was a 12 percent increase, a 5 percent increase in real growth. In three areas of military spending, Congress acquiesced to new Administration initiatives, though not without a fight:

● **Weapons Systems:** New weapons systems like the Trident submarine, the nuclear strike cruiser, the nuclear-powered carrier, the Maneuvering Re-entry Vehicle (MaRV), and the strategic cruise missile all were routinely funded despite serious reservations as to their need as well as substantial evidence that the last two would increase nuclear tensions. On production of the B-1 bomber, however, the Senate was able to postpone a decision until 1977, leaving the final choice to the new President.

● **Nuclear Doctrine:** During consideration of both the FY76 and FY77 budgets, the Administration's doctrine of "limited nuclear war" was challenged. The Administration's new theory of "flexible nuclear response" argues that the previous doctrine which concentrated on Soviet cities and population would not be credible if the Soviet Union engaged in some limited nuclear aggression. It calls for the creation of a new generation of nuclear weapons with increased accuracy and warhead size which could pinpoint precisely key Soviet economic and political targets. Opponents rightly observe that these same weapons also could target the Soviet Union's nuclear deterrent and thereby make Soviet leaders even more jittery about U.S. intentions and a possible U.S. first strike.

In 1975 House opponents garnered 124 votes to ban tests of one of these weapons, the MaRV. In 1976, this dropped to 95 votes. A similar amendment passed the Senate in 1975, 43-41, but was not offered in 1976.

● **A New Military Base:** The debate on construction of a new naval base on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia provides a perfect example of how defense critics are losing ground. In a vigorous effort to block this project in 1975, critics pointed out that this base would be the first of its kind in that region and would exacerbate the already dangerous arms race in the Persian Gulf and the burgeoning arms race in East Africa. An amendment to block construction was defeated 43-53 in the Senate.

Continued on Page 13

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In May of 1976, testimony before a Senate Foreign Relations Committee revealed that the State Department had withheld information relevant to the decision on the base. Key to the Pentagon's arguments was the need to counter Soviet influence in Somalia. However, the Saudi Arabian government had offered to finance military and economic aid to Somalia with the aim of diminishing Soviet influence. The State Department decided not to respond to the Saudi offer lest it derail the Pentagon's game in the Congress.

As a result of these disclosures, Senator John Culver (D-Iowa) in May introduced a resolution to block construction for six months or until Congress had investigated the situation, but to date, no hearings on the proposed resolution have been held and construction is proceeding.

SUMMARY

The 94th Congress thus displays a definite ambiguity. Congress has shown that it can be decisive in blocking risky military adventures. But Congress is afraid of the Russians or at least afraid that its constituency is afraid, and it will allow the Executive to use this fear to persuade it to accept higher military spending. It is clear that Congress has not determined U.S. vital interests or the way to protect those interests.

On the other hand, the new policies giving Congress greater oversight over arms sales and security assistance on the basis of human rights do show a clear congressional intent to begin to examine, and in many cases withdraw from, specific involvements -- in particular, to withdraw from them before they reach the dimensions of Angola or Indochina. This is evident in the denial of future arms sales to Chile and the termination of military aid to Uruguay. In both instances, Members of Congress who have supported increased military spending or opposed aid limitations to governments like Korea supported limitations in these cases because they did not perceive strategic U.S. interests in those countries.

Also on the positive side was the Senate's clear determination to give the new Senate Intelligence Committee the authority it needed to exercise control over intelligence activities, in particular, covert operations. How this oversight will be utilized and whether it will lead to drastic curtailment of covert activities is something we do not yet know.

VO & BC

## Orientation

ADA'S VOTING RECORD has been issued each year since ADA's founding in 1947. Issues are selected by a committee of ADA members and cover a gamut of judicial, social, economic, foreign, and military policy. Votes selected display sharp liberal/conservative divisions unblurred by extraneous matters. ADA therefore often chooses procedural votes, since votes on rules for debate, on procedures for amending legislation, or on amendments themselves may reveal basic attitudes obscured in a final vote of passage or defeat.

Each Member is rated plus or minus on each vote. Prior to 1974, a Member earned a plus by voting in harmony with liberal policies, or by pairing in favor of the liberal position, or--if absent--by officially announcing a position in harmony with liberal policies. In 1974 ADA decided that henceforth neither dead pairs nor a simple announcement of position would earn the Member a plus. (Pairing is a traditional congressional courtesy, an agreement between a proponent and an opponent that each will refrain from voting, since their votes would cancel each other. In a dead pair both Members are absent. In a live pair one Member is present and would have voted had he/she not been paired.)

This voting record is offered as a guide in judging the legislative performance of U.S. Senators and Representatives. Readers, however, will recognize its inherent limitations.

It is, of course, no measure of a legislator's work in committee. It does not reflect the failure of Congress to deal with some major issues, or the degree of responsibility of individual legislators. These judgments cannot be expressed in percentages and require careful scrutiny of individual performance.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	LQ	
5. DANIEL, D.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
6. Butler	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	A	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	10
7. Robinson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
8. HARRIS	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	80
9. Wampler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
10. FISHER	+	+	+	-	A	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	70
<b>WASHINGTON</b>																						
1. Pritchard	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	45
2. MEEDS	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	p	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
3. BONKER	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	75
4. McCORMACK	-	p	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35
5. FOLEY	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	A	+	+	A	A	-	+	+	+	55
6. HICKS	+	+	+	-	A	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	A	-	+	+	55
7. ADAMS	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-p	+	-	A	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	70
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>																						
1. MOLLOHAN	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	45
2. STAGGERS	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	65
3. SLACK	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	25
4. HECHLER	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	85
<b>WISCONSIN</b>																						
1. ASPIN	+	+	A	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	75
2. KASTENMEIER	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
3. BALDUS	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	A	-	-	+	+	-	A	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	50
4. ZABLOCKI	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	50
5. REUSS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	90
6. Steiger	-	A	A	-	-	-	-	+	p	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
7. OBEY	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
8. CORNELL	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
9. Kasten	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	15
<b>WYOMING</b>																						
AL RONCALIO	-	+	+	+	-	p	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	75

1. NATURAL GAS DEREGULATION Smith (D-Iowa) substitute amendment to deregulate natural gas sold by small producers with sales of less than 100 billion cubic feet a year, but continue regulation of major gas producers. This amendment was in place of a Krueger (D-Tex.) substitute amendment which would have deregulated all natural gas. Smith amendment adopted 205-201, Feb. 5. A vote for is a +, a vote against is a -.

2. ANTITRUST Wiggins (R-Calif.) motion to recommit the State Antitrust Suits bill with instructions to study the feasibility of increasing civil fines to deter antitrust violations. Motion rejected 150-223, March 18. A vote against is a +, a vote for is a -.

3. D.C. VOTING REPRESENTATION Final passage of joint resolution to amend the Constitution to provide for voting representation for the District of Columbia in Congress. A two-thirds majority of those present and voting (274) needed. Resolution rejected 229-181, March 23. A vote for is a +, a vote against is a -.

4. FEDERAL BUDGET Holtzman (D-NY) amendment to reduce budget authority in the defense category to \$104.5 billion, from \$112 billion and outlays from \$100.6 billion to \$98.1 billion and transfer the \$2.5 billion reduction to other budget categories. Amendment rejected 85-317, April 29. A vote for is a +, a vote against is a -.

5. HOUSING Brown (R-Mich.) amendment to delete provisions earmarking FY77 contract authority for public housing, new construction of subsidized housing and public housing modernization and to authorize \$850 million in untargeted funds. Amendment adopted 260-110, May 26. A vote against is a +, a vote for is a -.

6. REVENUE SHARING Fountain (D-N.C.) amendment deleting provisions of bill that would have channeled more money to big cities and poor rural areas and strengthened anti-discrimination provisions. Amendment adopted 233-172, June 10. A vote against is a +, a vote for is a -.

7. FOOD STAMPS Roussetot (R-Calif.) amendment to FY77 Agriculture Appropriations bill to cut the Food Stamp program from \$4.8 billion to \$4.0 billion for fiscal year '77. Amendment rejected 184-222, June 16. A vote against is a +, a vote for is a -.

8. PUBLIC WORKS JOBS Brooks (D-Tex.) motion to delete \$1.25 billion in countercyclical funds to state and local governments authorized under Title II of the FY77 Public Works Employment Act. Motion rejected 153-259, June 23. A vote against is a +, a vote for is a -.

9. OSHA Findley (R-Ill.) amendment to Labor/HEW appropriations bill prohibiting first instance citations for Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA) violations against businesses employing less than 10 persons. Amendment adopted 231-161, June 24. A vote against is a +, a vote for is a -.

10. ABORTION Hyde (R-Ill.) amendment to the Labor/HEW Appropriations bill barring the use of any funds in the bill to pay for or to promote an abortion. Amendment adopted 207-167, June 24. A vote against is a +, a vote for is a -.

11. URANIUM ENRICHMENT Separate vote demanded by Price (D-Ill.) on Bingham (D-NY) amendment to delete from the bill those sections authorizing ERDA to contract with private industry for development of nuclear fuel enrichment plants. Bingham amendment rejected 192-193, Aug. 4. A vote for is a +, a vote against is a -.

12. ESTATE AND GIFT TAX REFORM Anderson (R-Ill.) amendment to permit floor consideration of any amendments to the Estate and Gift Tax Revision bill as long as they appeared in the Congressional Record before September 1. Amendment adopted 218-157, Aug. 30. A vote against is a +, a vote for is a -.

13. CLEAN AIR ACT Waxman (D-Calif.) amendment to require final auto emission control standards to take effect in 1981 and tighter interim standards in 1978-1980. Amendment rejected 75-313, Sept. 15. A vote for is a +, a vote against is a -.

14. ATTORNEYS' FEES Adoption of the resolution providing for consideration of the bill to authorize judges to award attorneys' fees to prevailing parties in suits brought to enforce certain civil rights acts. Resolution adopted 262-108, Oct. 1. A vote for is a +, a vote against is a -.

15. INTELLIGENCE REPORT Rules Committee amendment to ban release of classified information and consequently the House Select Intelligence Committee Report without Presidential approval. Amendment adopted 246-124, Jan. 29. A vote against is a +, a vote for is a -.

16. CHILE Harrington (D-Mass.) amendment to prohibit military sales, including weapons already purchased, to Chile because of human rights violations. Amendment rejected 139-266, March 3. A vote for is a +, a vote against is a -.

17. VIETNAM TRADE EMBARGO Bauman (R-Md.) amendment to prevent the partial and conditional lifting of U.S. trade embargo against Vietnam. Amendment rejected 185-223, March 3. A vote against is a +, a vote for is a -.

18. KOREAN AID Derwinski (R-Ill.) amendment to delete language added by the International Relations Committee which would have reduced military assistance to South Korea by \$200 million because of increased repression. Amendment adopted 241-159, June 2. A vote against is a +, a vote for is a -.

19. B-1 BOMBER Addabbo (D-NY) amendment to defer until Feb. 1, 1977 spending of funds appropriated for production of three B-1 bombers. Amendment defeated 186-207, June 17. A vote for is a +, a vote against is a -.

20. ARAB BOYCOTT Michel (R-Ill.) motion to recommit the bill to the International Relations Committee with specific instructions to delete all provisions except those extending for one year the Export Administration Acts of 1969. This would have deleted those provisions designed to prevent U.S. companies from complying with the Arab trade boycott against Israel. Motion rejected 91-287, Sept. 22. A vote against is a +, a vote for is a -.

## KEY TO SYMBOLS

LQ (Liberal Quotient) is the rating of a Member determined by the percentage of votes cast, or paired live, in support of liberal policy, measured against the number of votes counted.

+ Indicates a vote which ADA believes to be in harmony with liberal policies.

- Indicates a vote which ADA believes to be contrary to liberal policies.

+p Indicates a live pair in favor of the liberal position.

-p Indicates a live or dead pair contrary to the liberal position.

p Indicates a dead pair in favor of the liberal position.

a Means the Member was absent but officially announced as favoring the liberal position.

-a Means the Member was absent but officially announced as opposing the liberal position.

A Indicates the Member was officially recorded as absent or as present without an announced position.

\* Indicates that the Member died, left Congress, or was not yet elected or sworn in.

\*\* Indicates that the Member answered "present" to avoid a possible conflict of interest.

C Conservative

I Independent

DEMOCRATS as the MAJORITY PARTY are listed in UPPER CASE, Republicans in Upper-and-Lower Case.

The number next to a Representative's name indicates his/her congressional district; AL indicates an at-large district.

# SENATE VOTES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	LQ	
<b>ALABAMA</b>																						
ALLEN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
SPARKMAN	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	A	-	-	25
<b>ALASKA</b>																						
GRAVEL	+	A	+	a	a	A	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	a	+	A	+	-	A	-	A	45
Stevens	-	p	+	+	A	A	-	-	+	+	-	-	p	+	-	-	A	-	-a	-	-	25
<b>ARIZONA</b>																						
Fannin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Goldwater	-	-a	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
<b>ARKANSAS</b>																						
BUMPERS	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	70
McCLELLAN	-	-	-	-p	A	A	A	A	A	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>																						
CRANSTON	+	a	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	A	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	75
TUNNEY	+	a	+	A	A	A	A	-	+	+	A	a	a	A	+	+	A	+	-p	A	-	35
<b>COLORADO</b>																						
HART, G.	+	+	+	+	A	-	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	A	A	+	+	+	+	+	75
HASKELL	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>																						
RIBICOFF	+	-a	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	80
Welcker	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	75
<b>DELAWARE</b>																						
BIDEN	-	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	-	+	+	A	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	75
Roth	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	a	A	-	-	10
<b>FLORIDA</b>																						
CHILES	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	45
STONE	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	50
<b>GEORGIA</b>																						
NUNN	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
TALMADGE	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
<b>HAWAII</b>																						
INOUE	+	A	+	+	A	A	+	-	A	+	-	-	+	A	+	+	A	+	-	-	-	45
Fong	-	-	-	**	-	A	A	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	A	A	A	-	-	A	-	20
<b>IDAHO</b>																						
CHURCH	+	p	A	+	A	A	a	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	A	A	+	a	A	45
McClure	-	A	-	-	-	-a	A	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-a	-	-	-	-	0
<b>ILLINOIS</b>																						
STEVENSON	A	+	+	+	+	-	+	A	+	+	-	-	+	-	A	A	+	+	+	+	+	60
Percy	+	-a	+	+	+	-	A	-	A	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	A	+	+	45
<b>INDIANA</b>																						
BAYH	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+	p	+	A	A	+	+	+	+	+	75
HARTKE	+	+	A	-	A	A	A	a	-	+	A	A	-p	A	+	+	A	A	+	+	+	35
<b>IOWA</b>																						
CLARK	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
CULVER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	85
<b>KANSAS</b>																						
Dole	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	A	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	10
Pearson	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	A	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	A	-	45
<b>KENTUCKY</b>																						
FORD	+	+	-	-	+	A	+	A	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	A	+	+	-	-	-	40
HUDDLESTON	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	A	-	-	+	-	A	+	-	+	+	+	+	55
<b>LOUISIANA</b>																						
JOHNSTON	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	15
LONG	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	25
<b>MAINE</b>																						
HATHAWAY	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	85
MUSKIE	+	A	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	80

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	LQ	
<b>MARYLAND</b>																						
Beall	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	A	A	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	20
Mathias	+	-	+	-	+	A	A	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	A	+	A	+	+	+	+	65
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>																						
KENNEDY	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	95
Brooke	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	-	+	+	+	A	75
<b>MICHIGAN</b>																						
HART, P.	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	A	A	+	A	+	A	+	65
Griffin	-	-p	-	+	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	10
<b>MINNESOTA</b>																						
HUMPHREY	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	90
MONDALE	+	+	+	+	a	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	A	A	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	75
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>																						
EASTLAND	-	A	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
STENNIS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
<b>MISSOURI</b>																						
EAGLETON	+	+	+	-	+	A	A	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	A	+	-	+	-	60
SYMINGTON	+	+	+	-	a	-	-	A	+	+	A	-	+	A	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	45
<b>MONTANA</b>																						
MANSFIELD	+	-p	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	A	75
METCALF	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	-	+	85
<b>NEBRASKA</b>																						
Curtis	-	-	-	-	A	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Hruska	-	-a	-	-	A	-	A	A	+	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
<b>NEVADA</b>																						
CANNON	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	A	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	40
Laxalt	-a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	+	A	A	-	-	-	5
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>																						
DURKIN	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
McINTYRE	+	+	+	+	a	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	A	+	A	+	+	-	-	55
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>																						
WILLIAMS	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	85
Case	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	95
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>																						
MONTOYA	+	A	+	-	a	-	-p	-	+	+	+	-	-	A	-	+	-	+	A	A	-	35
Domenici	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	+	-	-	-	5
<b>NEW YORK</b>																						
Buckley(C)	+	-	A	-	-a	-	-	A	A	A	A	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	5
Javits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	85
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>																						
MORGAN	+	+	+	-	-	-a	a	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-a	+	-	25
Helms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	5
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>																						
BURDICK	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-</			

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	LQ
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>																					
PASTORE	+	p	a	+	a	+	+	-	+	+	-a	+	-p	-	+	a	-	+	p	-a	45
PELL	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	a	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>																					
HOLLINGS	+	+	A	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	40
Thurmond	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>																					
ABOUREZK	+	A	+	+	+	A	A	A	+	-	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+	+	A	60
McGOVERN	+	A	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	A	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	70
<b>TENNESSEE</b>																					
Baker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	p	A	-	5
Brock	+	-	-	+	A	-	+	-	-	-	-	A	p	A	-	-	-	-	A	-	15
<b>TEXAS</b>																					
BENTSEN	+	A	+	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	+	A	-	15
Tower	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
<b>UTAH</b>																					
MOSS	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	A	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	A	-	55
Garn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
<b>VERMONT</b>																					
LEAHY	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	85
Stafford	+	-p	A	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	60
<b>VIRGINIA</b>																					
BYRD, JR (I)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	+	-	-	-	-	5
Scott, W.L.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
<b>WASHINGTON</b>																					
JACKSON	+	+	a	p	a	+	p	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	a	a	-	+	-	-	50
MAGNUSON	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-a	+	p	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	70
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>																					
BYRD, R.C.	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	45
RANDOLPH	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	45
<b>WISCONSIN</b>																					
NELSON	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	A	+	+	+	A	85
PROXMIRE	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	65
<b>WYOMING</b>																					
McGEE	+	+	+	+	+	A	a	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	A	A	A	A	50
Hansen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5

to pay for an abortion. Motion to insist agreed to 53-35, Aug. 25. A vote for is a +, a vote against is a -.

14. REVENUE SHARING Gravel (D-Ak.) amendment to provide that the prevailing party in a civil suit brought to enforce civil rights compliance in use of revenue-sharing funds could be awarded reasonable attorney fees. Amendment adopted 40-35, Sept. 13. A vote for is a +, a vote against is a -.

15. SECRECY Tower (R-Tex.) amendment to delete provision requiring public reports of arms transactions. Amendment rejected 36-44, Feb. 17. A vote against is a +, a vote for is -.

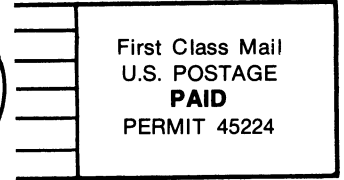
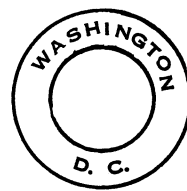
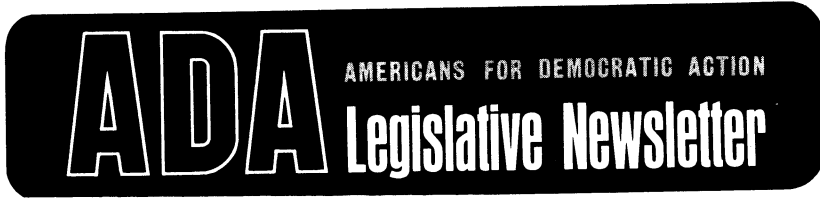
16. CHILE Kennedy (D-Mass.) amendment to prohibit military sales, including weapons already purchased, to Chile. Amendment adopted 48-39, Feb. 18. A vote for is a +, a vote against is -.

17. MILITARY SPENDING Bayh (D-Ind.) amendment to reduce budget authority for defense from \$113 billion to \$110.4 billion, and outlays from \$100.9 billion to \$100.4 billion. Rejected 27-58 April 12. A vote for is +, a vote against is -.

18. INTELLIGENCE Tower (R-Tex.) and Stennis (D-Miss.) amendment to deny new Senate Intelligence Committee jurisdiction over DOD intelligence. Rejected 31-63, May 19. A vote against is +, a vote for is -.

19. B-1 McGovern (D-S.D.) amendment to cut \$948 million for regular production of the B-1 bomber. Rejected 33-48, May 20. A vote for is +, a vote against is -.

20. MINUTEMAN III Kennedy (D-Mass.) amendment to delete funds for 60 Minuteman III ICBMs. Rejected 35-49, May 26. A vote for is +, a vote against is -.



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