

# ADA's 1980 Voting Record

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 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.

Note, too, that ADA often supports legislation which falls short of our full legislative goals with respect to the issue; something is frequently better than nothing.

Each Member is rated plus or minus on each vote. Prior to 1972 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 1972 ADA decided that henceforth neither dead pairs nor a simple announcement of position would earn a 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.

**PREOCCUPATION** with the economy and the federal budget set the tone for the second session of the 96th Congress, but the tone was flat.

Faced with a sick economy, Congress chose to embrace the symbol of a "balanced budget," and using the complex congressional budget process; cut human needs programs sharply.

In reaction to a January 1980 Consumer Price Index which showed an annual inflation rate of 18.2 percent, the President recalled his original budget with its \$15.8 billion deficit. Working with Senate and House Budget Committee members, the Administration produced—and Congress

lation and public policy—are changed, and that the changes bypass the normal committee process involving hearings and public comment.

The Congress had before it four excellent pieces of legislation which would have improved significantly the quality of life in the United States. In each case, however, these bills died in the Senate. Welfare reform legislation passed the House in 1979, only to die quietly in the Senate Finance Committee in 1980. Legislation to help victims of domestic violence—battered wives and battered children—also passed the House in 1979. In 1980, it passed the Senate, but a post-election

## Domestic Policy

By Mitchell H. Edelstein

adopted—a federal budget with a nominal \$200-million surplus, the first balanced budget in 19 years. Even as the Hill produced this anomaly, economic recession triggered higher unemployment compensation payments, federal revenues fell, and the "balance" disappeared. After the election, Congress finally adopted a Second Budget Resolution with a more realistic \$27.4-billion deficit; even that deficit will increase.

Balanced-budget supporters for the first time used the so-called reconciliation procedure. Reconciliation requires authorization and appropriation committees to reduce program spending, increase revenues, and make other adjustments in line with the adopted budget. This means that programs and funding levels—i.e., legis-

filibuster threat on the conference report prevented final approval. Another proposal which died without a vote after overwhelming support in the House was the crucial Youth Employment Bill. Legislation to strengthen enforcement procedures of the 1968 Fair Housing Act survived by one vote

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**AMERICANS** are puzzled about the U.S. role in the post-Vietnam era created by Afghanistan and Iran, and the record of the second session of the 96th Congress reflected their irresolution.

The Congress adopted a military budget higher than the one the President had requested; the MX missile again was accepted in both Houses by large margins, although Members are still jittery about the proposed basing system or—apparently—any basing system. After eight months, Congress agreed to a special \$75-million foreign-aid bill, in an effort to forge a new relationship with the people of Nicaragua. Congress for the first time refused to fund total U.S. commitments to the regional development banks of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The House added a new dimension to the struggle to make human rights a consideration in the design of U.S. foreign policy when its Foreign Affairs Committee used a national security rationale as the primary reason for cutting military aid to the Philippines and Zaire. Congress however gave the president the right to waive existing human-rights legislation barring military aid, and increased the

150 Members of the House voted to deny any funds for the proposed MX basing system, Congress as a whole voted to require the Pentagon to study a plan to put no more than half of the proposed missile force in Utah and Nevada; Congress appears fully committed to the missile, but wary about putting it anywhere. Similarly Congress approves the concept of a Rapid Deployment Force, but dislikes the Pentagon's proposed long-range cargo plane.

### FOREIGN AID

Increasingly in the 1980s aid is presented as an instrument which will help human beings, yes, but—more important—as an instrument to secure the U.S. national interest. This is seen clearly in the case of Nicaragua, a country in which upwards of 2 percent of the population was killed outright in the cruel civil war of 1978-79 and much of the nation's industrial and commercial plant was destroyed. But the \$75-million aid package was not accepted by the House on humanitarian grounds.

In the end, the House agreed to a Nicaragua because of arguments li

## Foreign & Military Policy

By Bruce Cameron

amount of defense equipment and services the President can give foreign governments to meet emergencies.

### ARMS CONTROL AND DEFENSE

President Carter withdrew the SALT II Treaty on January 3, 1980, in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. If SALT II has any chance now, its ratification will not be due to the arms-control constituency in this country; with the triumph of the hawks in November, that campaign is now in disarray. But the arms-control constituency in Europe—especially West Germany, Denmark, Belgium, and the Netherlands—is very strong, and Reagan's commitment to the strengthening of NATO may cause him to rethink his campaign promise to abandon SALT II.

The Congress adopted a defense appropriations bill \$6.3 million above the President's revised request. While

these from Majority Leader J. Wright (Texas):

"... I talked with our U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua today. He tells me it is not at all a foregone conclusion.

(Continued on

The overall 1980 average rating of the Congress actually is higher than the 1979 average rating. But the fact is deceptive. As ADA pointed out a year ago, when we issued the 1979 Voting Record, many liberals and moderates in both parties—recognizing a conservative trend—offered only modest proposals. Conservatives began to take the initiative, moderates were forced to side with liberals to prevent the most harmful legislation from passing. ADA's choice of votes to tally thus was narrowed. In addition, while ADA positions on the issues selected reflect a liberal point of view, other political perspectives sometimes lead to agreements with one or another of ADA's stands.

For these reasons, individual scores—Liberals Quotients—are stated in the 1980 record, as in the 1979 record, and readers should discount the LQ of each Member by 5 to 10 percent.

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# Senate

## Key

- LQ Liberal Quotient: 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. ADA does not count votes taken when the office is vacant (V), or when the Member answers "Present" (P) to avoid a possible conflict of interest.
- + A vote which ADA believes to be in harmony with liberal policies.
- A vote which ADA believes to be contrary to liberal policies.
- +F A live pair in favor of the liberal position.
- A A live or dead pair against the liberal position.
- F A dead pair in favor of the liberal position.
- f The Member was absent but officially announced as favoring the liberal position.
- a The Member was absent but officially announced as against the liberal position.
- The Member did not vote or otherwise indicate a position.
- The Member was not in office when the vote was taken.
- P The Member answered "Present" to avoid a possible conflict of interest.
- \* The Member was in office for fewer than 10 votes; no LQ is given.
- DEMOCRATS ARE LISTED IN UPPER CASE; Republicans in Upper and Lower Case.

## Domestic Policy

1. SPENDING LIMITATIONS. Roth (R-Del.) motion to table (kill) the Muskie (D-Mc.) substitute for the Roth motion which would have required the Senate Budget Committee to report out an FY 1981 First Budget Resolution limiting total federal expenditures to 21 percent of gross national product.

Rejected 45-52, March 25.  
A vote against is a +.

2. WINDFALL PROFITS TAX. Dole (R-Kan.) motion to refer the windfall profits tax conference report to the Finance Committee for 15 days in order to weaken its provisions.

Rejected 35-61, March 27.  
A vote against is a +.

3. LUBBERS NOMINATION. Confirmation of Pres. Carter's nomination of William A. Lubbers as General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board.

Confirmed 57-39, April 23.  
A vote for is a +.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	LQ	
ALABAMA																				
HEFLIN	+	+	-	+	-	+		-	+	-	-		?	-	-	+	-	-		39
STEWART	+	+	+	+	-	-		+	-	+	?	+		+	-	+	+	?	-	61
ALASKA																				
GRAVEL	?	?	+	+	?	?		+	+	-	?	+		?	?	?	?	+	?	39
Stevens	-	-	+	+	-	+		+	+	-	-	+		-	-	+	+	-	?	39
ARIZONA																				
DECONCINI	+	+	+	+	-	?		+	+	-	-	+		+	+	+	+	-		67
Goldwater	-	-	-	-	-	?		?	?	-	-	?		-	-	?	?	?	-	0
ARKANSAS																				
BUMPERS	+	-	+	+	-	?		+	-	+	-	+		-	-	+	+	+	-	56
PRIOR	+	-	-	+	-	?		+	-	+	-	+		-	-	+	+	+	-	44
CALIFORNIA																				
CRANSTON	+	+	+	?	+	-		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	-		83
Hayakawa	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	-		22
COLORADO																				
HART	+	-	+	+	+	+		+	-	+	-	+		-	-	-	+	+	?	61
Armstrong	-	-	+	+	+	+		+	-	-	-	+		-	-	-	+	+	?	17
CONNECTICUT																				
RIBICOFF	+	+	+	?	-	-		-	?	+	+	+		+	-	+	+	-	?	56
Weicker	-	+	+	?	-	+		+	+	+	?	+		+	+	+	+	+	?	72
DELAWARE																				
BIDEN	+	+	+	+	?	+		-	+	+	-	-	+		-	+	+	+	?	67
Roth	-	+	-	-	+	+		-	-	-	-	-		-	-	+	+	+	?	22
FLORIDA																				
CHILES	+	+	+	+	-	-		+	-	+	+	+		-	-	?	+	-	-	50
STONE	-	+	-	+	-	+		-	-	+	-	?	+		-	-	+	-	-	33
GEORGIA																				
MUNN	+	+	+	+	-	?		+	-	+	-	+		-	-	+	+	-	-	56
TALMADGE	-	+	+	+	-	?		+	-	+	?	+		?	-	?	-	-	?	33
HAWAII																				
INOUE	+	+	+	?	-	+		+	-	+	+	+		-	-	+	+	-	-	67
MATSUNAGA	+	+	+	+	+	+		?	-	+	?	+		+	+	+	+	-	-	78
IDAHO																				
CHURCH	+	+	+	-	F	?		-	-	+	?	?	+		?	+	+	+	?	50
McClure	-	-	-	-	+	+		+	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	?	17
ILLINOIS																				
STEVENSON	+	?	+	+	A	?		+	-	+	?	?		-	+	+	+	+		61
Percy	-	-	+	-	-	f		+	-	+	-	+		-	+	+	+	+		39
INDIANA																				
BAYH	+	-	+	+	-	?		+	+	+	?	+		?	+	?	+	-	-	61
Lugar	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	17
IOWA																				
CULVER	+	+	+	+	?			-	+	+	?	+		+	+	+	+	-		78
Jepsen	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	22
KANSAS																				
Dole	-	-	-	+	+			-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	22
Kassebaum	-	-	-	-	+	+		+	-	?	+	-		-	-	?	+	+		44
KENTUCKY																				
FORD	+	+	+	+	-	?		?	+	+	-	-		+	-	+	+	+	-	78
HUDDLESTON	+	+	+	+	-	?		?	+	+	-	-		+	-	?	?	+	-	44
LOUISIANA																				
JOHNSTON	+	+	-	-	-	+		+	-	-	?	-		?	-	+	+	-	-	33
LONG	+	+	+	?	?			?	A	-	?	?		-	-	-	+	-	-	28
MAINE																				
MUSKIE	+	+	+	V	V	V		V	V	V	V	V		V	?	+	V	V	V	67
MITCHELL	V	V	V	V	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+	V	V	+	+	-	33
Cohen	-	-	-	-	?			+	+	+	+	-		-	-	+	-	-	?	
MARYLAND																				
SARBANES	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	-		83
Mathias	-	-	+	+	+	+		-	+	+	+	+		?	?	+	+	+	?	72
MASSACHUSETTS																				
KENNEDY	?	?	?	?	?	?		+	?	?	?	+		?	?	?	?	+	+	33
TSONGAS	+	+	+	+	-			+	-	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		89
MICHIGAN																				
LEVIN	+	+	+	+	+	-		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		94
RIEGLE	+	+	+	+	+	-		+	F	+	+	+		+	+	?	+	+	+	83
MINNESOTA																				
Boschwitz	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-	-	-	+		-	-	+	+	-	-	28
Durenberger	-	-	-	-	+			-	-	-	-	+		?	-	+	+	+	-	44
MISSISSIPPI																				
STENNIS	+	+	-	-	-	-		+	?	-	-	?		-	-	-	?	-	-	17
Cochran	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	22
MISSOURI																				
EAGLETON	+	+	+	+	?			+	+	f	+	?		+	-	+	+	+		78
Danforth	-	+	+	+	?			+	-	+	-	-		-	-	+	+	+	+	50

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	LQ
MONTANA																			72
BAUCUS	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	50
MELCHER	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
NEBRASKA																			39
EXON	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
ZORINSKY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
NEVADA																			33
CANNON	+	+	+	?	A	-	+	-	-	-	+	A	-	-	?	+	-	-	11
Laxalt	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
NEW HAMPSHIRE																			50
DURKIN	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	?	-	+	?	-	-	6
Humphrey	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
NEW JERSEY																			72
BRADLEY	+	+	+	?	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	-	-	72
WILLIAMS	+	+	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
NEW MEXICO																			17
Domenici	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
Schmitt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
NEW YORK																			72
MOYNIHAN	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	-	-	61
Javits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
NORTH CAROLINA																			22
MORGAN	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Helms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
NORTH DAKOTA																			78
BURDICK	+	+	+	+	-	?	+	+	-	?	+	+	+	?	-	?	+	-	11
Young	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
OHIO																			67
GLENN	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	83
METZENBAUM	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
OKLAHOMA																			28
BOREN	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28
Bellmon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
OREGON																			50
Hatfield	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	56
Packwood	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
PENNSYLVANIA																			50
Heinz	?	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17
Schweiker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
RHODE ISLAND																			78
PELL	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
Chafee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
SOUTH CAROLINA																			39
HOLLINGS	+	+	-	-	-	?	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
Thurmond	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
SOUTH DAKOTA																			56
MCGOVERN	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	?	?	-	?	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
Pressler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TENNESSEE																			67
SASSER	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
Baker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TEXAS																			39
BENTSEN	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Tower	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
UTAH																			17
Garn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
Hatch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
VERMONT																			83
LEAHY	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	61
Stafford	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
VIRGINIA																			22
BYRD H.	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
Warner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
WASHINGTON																			72
JACKSON	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
MAGNUSON	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
WEST VIRGINIA																			56
BYRD R.	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
RANDOLPH	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
WISCONSIN																			89
NELSON	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	56
PROXMIER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
WYOMING																			17
Simpson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
Wallop	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

4. FOOD STAMPS. McClure (R-Idaho) amendment to cut food stamp benefits to families with children eligible for federally subsidized free or reduced-price lunches in school.  
Rejected 30-58, May 14.  
A vote against is a +.

5. DRAFT REGISTRATION. Final vote on the bill to make available funds to the Selective Service System to register 19- and 20-year old males for possible military conscription.  
Passed 58-34, June 12.  
A vote against is a +.

6. LOW-INCOME HOUSING. Garn (R-Utah) substitute amendment to provide 255,000 units of low-income housing and to delete provision for federally subsidized middle-income housing.  
Adopted 47-23, June 20.  
A vote for is a +.

7. AID TO PRIVATE SCHOOL STUDENTS. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) amendment to make students in private elementary and secondary schools eligible for federal financial-aid grants of up to \$750 a year.  
Rejected 24-71, June 24.  
A vote against is a +.

8. UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS. Javits (R-N.Y.) amendment to delete a provision which requires applicants for extended unemployment benefits to take an "reasonable" job offered them (instead of any "suitable job") — thereby diluting workers' protections.  
Rejected 27-60, June 30.  
A vote for is a +.

9. ALASKA LANDS. Jackson (D-Wash.) motion to table (kill) the Hart (D-Colo.) amendment to set aside an additional 14.5 million acres as national wildlife refuges.  
Rejected 33-64, July 22.  
A vote against is a +.

10. OSHA. Williams (D-N.J.) motion to table (kill) the Boren (D-Okla.) amendment exempting certain small businesses from routine safety inspections under the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970.  
Rejected 36-53, July 29.  
A vote for is a +.

11. ABORTION. Helms (R-N.C.) motion to table (kill) the Weicker (R-Conn.) amendment permitting use of federal funds to pay for abortions when needed to save the life of the mother or in cases of rape or incest when promptly reported to authorities.  
Rejected 34-45, September 29.  
A vote against is a +.

12. FAIR HOUSING. Byrd (D-W.Va.) motion to invoke cloture (limiting debate) on the bill to strengthen federal laws to combat housing discrimination. A three-fifths vote of the full Senate (60) is required to invoke cloture.  
Rejected 54-43, December 9.  
A vote for is a +.

13. PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) amendment to add \$605 million for the countercyclical public service employment program authorized under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA).  
Rejected 28-54, December 11.  
A vote for is a +.

14. TRANSFER AMENDMENT. Hollings (D-S.C.) motion to table (kill) the Nelson (D-Wis.) amendment to \$2 billion from defense expenditures and \$400 million from interest payments and to transfer the funds to domestic programs.  
Adopted 64-30, May 7.  
A vote against is a +.

## Foreign Policy

15. NICARAGUA. Final vote on the bill to provide million in economic reconstruction aid to help the government recover from the devastating civil war.  
Passed 55-34, January 29.  
A vote for is a +.

16. ARMS CONTROL/HUMAN RIGHTS. Jackson (Wash.) motion to table (kill) the Helms (R-N.C.) amendment which would exempt military equipment of all kinds as well as all propeller-driven aircraft from tight port controls and existing human rights legislation.  
Adopted 55-33, June 17.  
A vote for is a +.

17. BINARY NERVE GAS. Hart (D-Colo.) amendment to require a Presidential policy review and thus defeat Jackson proposal to add \$3.1 million to begin construction of a binary chemical munitions factory at Pine Bluff, Ark.  
Rejected 46-47, September 16.  
A vote for is a +.

18. MX MISSILE. Eagleton (D-Mo.) amendment to \$120 million from the appropriation for the development of the MX Missile.  
Rejected 12-65, November 21.  
A vote for is a +.

ALABAMA										
1	Edwards J.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
2	Dickinson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
3	NICHOLS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
4	BEVILL	A	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	22
5	FLIPPO	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	28
6	Buchanan	+	-	-	-	+	?	+	-	33
7	SHELBY	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
ALASKA										
1	Young D.	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	22
ARIZONA										
1	Rhodes	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	UDALL	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	61
3	STUMP	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4	Rudd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
ARKANSAS										
1	ALEXANDER	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	44
2	Bethune	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
3	Hammerschmidt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
4	ANTHONY	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
CALIFORNIA										
1	JOHNSON H.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	67
2	Clausen	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
3	MATSUI	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
4	FAZIO	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	89
5	BURTON J.	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
6	BURTON P.	?	+	+	?	+	+	+	?	83
7	MILLER G.	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
8	BELLUMS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
9	STARK	+	+	+	+	+	F	+	+	94
10	EDWARDS D.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
11	Royer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
12	McCloskey	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	78
13	MINETA	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
14	Shumway	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
15	COELHO	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
16	PANETTA	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	67
17	Fashayan	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
18	Thomas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
19	Lagomarsino	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
20	Goldwater	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
21	CONMAN	+	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	78
22	Moerhead C.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
23	BEILENSON	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
24	WADMAN	+	?	+	+	+	+	?	+	83
25	ROYBAL	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	89
26	Rousselot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
27	Dorman	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	11
28	DIXON	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	94
29	HAWKINS	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
30	DANIELSON	+	+	+	-	-	?	+	+	67
31	WILSON C.H.	+	+	?	?	F	?	?	?	22
32	ANDERSON G.	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	72
33	Grishan	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
34	Lungren	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
35	LLOYD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	56
36	BROWN G.	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	94
37	Levis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
38	PATTERSON	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
39	Dannemeyer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
40	Radhan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
41	Wilson B.	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
42	VAN DEERLIN	+	+	+	F	+	+	+	?	72
43	Burgener	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
COLORADO										
1	SCHROEDER	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
2	WIRTH	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	78
3	KOOVSEK	+	+	+	+	?	-	+	+	56
4	Johnson J.	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	28
5	Kramer	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	0
CONNECTICUT										
1	COTTER	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	44
2	BOBB	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	72
3	GLADNO	?	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	28
4	McKinney	+	+	+	+	-	?	?	?	78
5	RATCHFORD	+	?	+	+	+	+	?	?	83
6	HOFFETT	+	+	+	+	F	+	+	+	94
DELAWARE										
1	Evans T.	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	56
FLORIDA										
1	HUTTO	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	22
2	FUQUA	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	33
3	BIDWELL	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	22
4	CHAPPELL	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	6

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<b>5 Kelly</b>																			
<b>6 Young C.W.</b>																			
<b>7 GIBBONS</b>																			
<b>8 IRELAND</b>																			
<b>9 NELSON</b>																			
<b>10 Bafalis</b>																			
<b>11 MICA</b>																			
<b>12 STACK</b>																			
<b>13 LEHMAN</b>																			
<b>14 PEPPER</b>																			
<b>15 PASCELL</b>																			
<b>GEORGIA</b>																			
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<b>2 MATHIS</b>																			
<b>3 BRINKLEY</b>																			
<b>4 LEVITAS</b>																			
<b>5 FOWLER</b>																			
<b>6 Gingrich</b>																			
<b>7 McDONALD</b>																			
<b>8 EVANS B.</b>																			
<b>9 JENKINS</b>																			
<b>10 BARNARD</b>																			
<b>HAWAII</b>																			
<b>1 HEFTEL</b>																			
<b>2 AKAKA</b>																			
<b>IDAHO</b>																			
<b>1 Symms</b>																			
<b>2 Hansen</b>																			
<b>ILLINOIS</b>																			
<b>1 STEWART</b>																			
<b>2 MURPHY M.</b>																			
<b>3 RUSSO</b>																			
<b>4 Dervinski</b>																			
<b>5 FARY</b>																			
<b>6 Hyde</b>																			
<b>7 COLLINS C.</b>																			
<b>8 ROSTENKOWSKI</b>																			
<b>9 YATES</b>																			
<b>10 Porter</b>																			
<b>11 ANNUNZIO</b>																			
<b>12 Crane P.</b>																			
<b>13 McClory</b>																			
<b>14 Erlenborn</b>																			
<b>15 Corcoran</b>																			
<b>16 Anderson J.</b>																			
<b>17 O'Brien</b>																			
<b>18 Michel</b>																			
<b>19 Railsback</b>																			
<b>20 Findley</b>																			
<b>21 Madigan</b>																			
<b>22 Crane D.</b>																			
<b>23 PRICE</b>																			
<b>24 SIMON</b>																			
<b>INDIANA</b>																			
<b>1 BENJAMIN</b>																			
<b>2 FITHIAN</b>																			
<b>3 BRADEMAS</b>																			
<b>4 Quayle</b>																			
<b>5 Hillis</b>																			
<b>6 EVANS D.</b>																			
<b>7 Myers J.</b>																			
<b>8 Deckard</b>																			
<b>9 HAMILTON</b>																			
<b>10 SHARP</b>																			
<b>11 JACOBS</b>																			
<b>IOWA</b>																			
<b>1 Leach J.</b>																			
<b>2 Tauke</b>																			
<b>3 Grassley</b>																			
<b>4 SMITH N.</b>																			
<b>5 HARKIN</b>																			
<b>6 BEDELL</b>																			
<b>ANSAS</b>																			
<b>1 Sebelius</b>																			
<b>2 Jeffries</b>																			
<b>3 Winn</b>																			
<b>4 GLICKMAN</b>																			
<b>5 Whittaker</b>																			
<b>KENTUCKY</b>																			
<b>1 HUBBARD</b>																			
<b>2 MATCHER</b>																			
<b>3 MAZZOLI</b>																			
<b>4 Snyder</b>																			
<b>5 Carter</b>																			
<b>6 Hopkins</b>																			
<b>7 PERKINS</b>																			

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<b>LOUISIANA</b>																			
1 Livingston	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
2 BOGGS	F	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	50
3 Treen	?	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	?	V	V	V	*
3 TAUZIN	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	-	-	-	-	-	V	V	V	V	V	V	*
4 LEACH C.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
5 HUCKABY	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
6 Moore	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
7 BREAUX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
8 LONG G.	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	50
<b>MAINE</b>																			
1 Emery	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	39
2 Snowe	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	28
<b>MARYLAND</b>																			
1 Bauman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
2 LONG C.	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
3 MIKULSKI	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
4 Holt	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	6
5 SPELLMAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
6 BYRON B.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	22
7 MITCHELL P.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	F	+	+	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
8 BARNES	f	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>																			
1 Conte	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	?	+	83
2 BOLAND	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	78
3 EARLY	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	67
4 DRINAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
5 SHANNON	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	94
6 MAVROULES	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	?	?	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
7 MARKEY	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	83
8 O'NEILLS																			
9 MOAKLEY	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	?	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
10 Heckler	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	F	-	-	-	+	F	-	-	+	+	67
11 DONNELLY	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	72
12 STUDDS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
<b>MICHIGAN</b>																			
1 CONYERS	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	?	+	F	+	?	+	+	+	78
2 Pursell	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
3 WOLPE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	94
4 Stockman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
5 Sawyer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
6 CARR	+	-	A	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
7 KILDEE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
8 TRAXLER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	56
9 Vander Jagt	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	22
10 ALBOSTA	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28
11 Davis	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	39
12 BONIOR	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
13 DIGGS	?	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	73
13 CROCKETT	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	*
14 NEDZI	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	+	-	?	?	+	+	+	+	?	61
17 FORD W.	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	78
16 DINGELL	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	67
17 BRODHEAD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
18 BLANCHARD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
19 Broomfield	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
<b>MINNESOTA</b>																			
1 Erdahl	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	56
2 Hagedorn	A	-	-	A	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
3 Frenzel	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	22
4 VENTO	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
5 SABO	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
6 NOLAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
7 Stangeland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
8 OBERSTAR	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>																			
1 WHITTEN	+	-	+	-	-	-	?	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	28
2 BOWEN	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	+	+	+	-	-	28
3 MONTGOMERY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4 Hinson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	6
5 Lott	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
<b>MISSOURI</b>																			
1 CLAY	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	?	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
2 YOUNG R.	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
3 GEPHARDT	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	56
4 SKELTON	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
5 BOLLING	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	72
6 Coleman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
7 Taylor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
8 ICHORD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	?	-	-	-	0
9 VOLKMER	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	39
10 BURLISON	+	+	+	-	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	44
<b>MONTANA</b>																			
1 WILLIAMS P.	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
2 Marlenee	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	22

### Key

- LQ Liberal Quotient: 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. ADA does not count votes taken when the office is vacant (V), or when the Member answers "Present" (P) to avoid a possible conflict of interest.
- + A vote which ADA believes to be in harmony with liberal policies.
  - A vote which ADA believes to be contrary to liberal policies.
  - +F A live pair in favor of the liberal position.
  - A A live or dead pair against the liberal position.
  - F A dead pair in favor of the liberal position.
  - f The Member was absent but officially announced as favoring the liberal position.
  - a The Member was absent but officially announced as against the liberal position.
  - ? The Member did not vote or otherwise indicate a position.
  - V The Member was not in office when the vote was taken.
  - P The Member answered "Present" to avoid a possible conflict of interest.
  - \* The Member was in office for fewer than 10 votes; no LQ is given.
- DEMOCRATS ARE LISTED IN UPPER CASE; Republicans in Upper and Lower Case.

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

- A vote which ADA believes to be contrary to liberal policies.

+P A live pair in favor of the liberal position.

A A live or dead pair against the liberal position.

F A dead pair in favor of the liberal position.

f The Member was absent but officially announced as favoring the liberal position.

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? The Member did not vote or otherwise indicate a position.

V The Member was not in office when the vote was taken.

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DEMOCRATS ARE LISTED IN UPPER CASE; Republicans in Upper and Lower Case.

**Domestic Policy**

1. ANTI-RECESSION FISCAL ASSISTANCE. Final vote on the bill authorizing \$1 billion in anti-recession fiscal assistance to state and local governments and a one-time \$200-million payment to local governments. Passed 214-179, January 31. A vote for is a +.

2. WINDFALL PROFITS TAX. Archer (R-Tex.) motion to recommend the conference report with instruction to the conferees to exempt from the tax the first 1,000 barrels a day produced by independent oil companies. Rejected 185-227, March 13. A vote against is a +.

3. FTC FUNDING. Joint resolution providing temporary emergency funding for the Federal Trade Commission, preventing its shutdown. Passed 216-201, March 26. A vote for is a +.

4. CENTRAL IDAHO WILDERNESS. Symms (R-Idaho) substitute amendment to reduce the size and designation of the River of No Return Wilderness, and to prevent future wilderness designations in Idaho. Rejected 179-214, April 16. A vote against is a +.

NEBRASKA																		
1 Bereuter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33
2 CAVANAUGH	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	83
3 Smith V.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
NEVADA																		
1 SANTINI	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
NEW HAMPSHIRE																		
1 D'AMOURS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	56
2 Cleveland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
NEW JERSEY																		
1 FLORIO	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
2 HUGHES	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	61
3 HOWARD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
4 THOMPSON	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
5 Fenwick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67
6 Forsythe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
7 MACUIRE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
8 ROE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	67
9 Hollenbeck	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
10 RODINO	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	67
11 MINISH	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
12 Rinaldo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	61
13 Courter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
14 GUARINI	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	67
15 PATTEN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	67
NEW MEXICO																		
1 Lujan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28
2 RUNNELS	A	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
NEW YORK																		
1 Carney	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11
2 DOWNEY	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
3 AMBRO	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	50
4 Lent	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17
5 Wydler	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	28
6 WOLFF	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	61
7 ADDABO	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
8 ROSETHAL	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
9 FERRARO	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	78
10 BIAGGI	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	50
11 SCHEUER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
12 CHISHOLM	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	78
13 SOLARZ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	78
14 RICHMOND	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
15 ZEPERETTI	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	44
16 HOLTZMAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	61
17 MURPHY J.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	39
18 Green	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
19 RANGEL	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	78
20 VEISS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
21 GARCIA	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
22 BINGHAM	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
23 PEYSER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
24 OTTINGER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
25 Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	61
26 Gilman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	61
27 MCHUGH	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
28 STRATTON	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17
29 Solomon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11
30 McEwen	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6
31 Mitchell D.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	28
32 HANLEY	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	56
33 Lee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11
34 Horton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	78
35 Conable	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	28
36 LaFALCE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	56
37 NOWAK	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	78
38 Kemp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6
39 LUNDINE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
NORTH CAROLINA																		
1 JONES W.	?	F	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
2 FOUNTAIN	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17
3 WHITLEY	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	28
4 ANDREWS I.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	28
5 NEAL	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	44
6 PREYER	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	44
7 ROSE	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	44
8 HEPNER	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	22
9 Martin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11
10 Broyhill	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11
11 CUDGER	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	33
NORTH DAKOTA																		
1 Andrews M.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
OHIO																		
1 Gradison	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
2 LIKEN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	39
3 HALL T.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
4 Guyer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
5 Latta	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
6 Harsha	-	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	LQ
7 Brown C.	?	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
8 Kindness	?	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
9 ASHLEY	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	78
10 Miller C.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11
11 Stanton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	44
12 Devine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
13 PEASE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	83
14 SEIBERLING	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
15 Wylie	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	28
16 Regula	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
17 Ashbrook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
18 APPLGATE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	33
19 Williams L.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	67
20 OKAR	+	+	+	+	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	78
21 STOKES	?	+	+	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	67
22 VANIK	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	33
23 NOTTL	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	33
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>																			
1 JONES J.	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	39
2 SYNAR	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	61
3 WATKINS	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	33
4 STEED	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	56
5 Edwards M.	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17
6 ENGLISH	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6
<b>OREGON</b>																			
1 AuCOIN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
2 UELMAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	67
3 DUNCAN R.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
4 WEAVER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>																			
1 MYERS M.	+	+	?	?	F	?	+	+	-	-	?	?	?	+	+	A	-	?	33
2 GRAY	+	+	+	+	F	F	+	+	+	-	?	+	+	+	+	F	+	+	72
3 LEDERER	+	+	+	+	F	?	+	+	-	-	?	-	F	+	+	A	-	?	44
4 Dougherty	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	-	-	?	-	+	+	+	?	-	?	39
5 Schulse	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6 YATRON	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	39
7 EDGAR	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
8 KOSTMAYER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
9 Shuster	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
10 McDade	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	44
11 FLOOD	?	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	4
12 MUSTO	V	V	V	V	?	?	+	+	-	-	?	-	+	V	-	-	-	-	43
13 MURTHA	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	44
14 Moorhead W.	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	+	+	?	+	+	44
15 Ritter	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	56
16 Walker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
17 ETEL	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17
18 WALGREN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	67
19 Goodling	+	+	+	+	A	?	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	?	-	-	-	78
20 GAYDOS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	28
21 BAILEY	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	33
22 MURPHY A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
23 Clinger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44
24 Marks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
25 ATKINSON	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	44
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>																			
1 ST. GERMAIN	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	?	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	78
2 BEARD E.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	?	+	+	+	+	+	61
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>																			
1 DAVIS	+	?	?	?	+	+	+	?	+	-	?	+	-	?	-	-	-	-	39
2 Spence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
3 DERRICK	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	56
4 Campbell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
5 HOLLAND	+	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
6 JENNETTE	+	?	?	F	-	A	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	F	-	A	-	?	17
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>																			
1 DASCHLE	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
2 Abdnor	?	-	-	-	?	-	+	+	?	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	11
<b>TENNESSEE</b>																			
1 Quillen	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	17
2 Duncan J.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
3 BOUQUARD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	22
4 GORE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	50
5 BONER	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	39
6 Beard R.	-	-	-	-	-	F	-	?	+	-	-	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	11
7 JONES E.	+	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	22
8 FORD H.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
<b>TEXAS</b>																			
1 HALL S.	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
2 WILSON C.	-	-	-	?	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	17
3 Collins J.	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
4 ROBERTS	-	-	-	?	-	?	+	+	+	-	?	?	-	A	?	-	-	-	6
5 MATTOX	A	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	50
6 GRAHM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
7 Archer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
8 ECKHARDT	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
9 BROOKS	+	+	+	?	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	28
10 PICKLE	-	-	-	+	?	-	+	+	+	-	-	?	?	-	-	+	+	+	22

5. DRAFT REGISTRATION. Amendment to make available funds to enable the Selective Service System to register 19- and 20-year old males for possible military conscription.  
Adopted 218-188, April 22.  
A vote against is a +.

6. HUMAN NEEDS FUNDING. Obey (D-Wis.) substitute to the First Concurrent Budget Resolution to increase foreign oil tax revenues by \$800 million and domestic program expenditures by \$700 million.  
Rejected 201-213, April 30.  
A vote for is a +.

7. FOOD STAMPS. Coleman (R-Mo.) amendment to cut food stamp benefits to families whose children are eligible for free lunches at school.  
Rejected 134-269, May 8.  
A vote against is a +.

8. FAIR HOUSING. Synar (D-Okl.) substitute amendment to the Sensenbrenner (R-Wis./Volkmr (D-Mo.) amendment to add key enforcement provisions to the bill to strengthen federal fair housing laws.  
Adopted 205-204, June 11.  
A vote for is a +.

9. ENERGY MOBILIZATION BOARD. Devine (R-Ohio) motion to recommit (kill) the conference report on the bill to create an Energy Mobilization Board with power to waive state and local environmental protection laws.  
Adopted 232-131, June 27.  
A vote for is a +.

10. CIVIL LIBERTIES. McDonald (D-Ga.) amendment to prohibit the Legal Services Corporation from assisting homosexuals whose rights are denied because of their sexual orientation.  
Adopted 290-113, July 22.  
A vote against is a +.

11. SEGREGATED SCHOOLS. Dornan (R-Calif.) amendment to prevent the Internal Revenue Service from adopting proposed procedures for removing the tax-exempt status of private schools which discriminate on the basis of race.  
Adopted 308-85, August 19.  
A vote against is a +.

12. ABORTION. Ashbrook (R-Ohio) amendment to prohibit coverage for abortions, without exception, under the Federal Employees Health Benefit Program.  
Adopted 228-170, August 20.  
A vote against is a +.

13. OSHA. Byron (



	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	LQ
11 LEATH	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
12 WRIGHT	?	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	?	?	?	+	+	+	-	-	39
13 NIGHTOWER	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
14 WTATT	?	-	-	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
15 DE LA GARZA	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
16 WHITE	+	-	+	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
17 STENHOLM	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
18 LELAND	+	+	+	+	F	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
19 HANCE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
20 GONZALEZ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
21 Loeffler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
22 Paul	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
23 KAZEN	+	-	-	?	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
24 FROST	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
<b>UTAH</b>																			
1 McKay	-	-	+	A	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	?	+	-	-	17
2 Marriott	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
<b>VERMONT</b>																			
1 Jeffords	?	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	F	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	67
<b>VIRGINIA</b>																			
1 Tribble	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
2 Whitehurst	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3 SATTERFIELD	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
4 Daniel R.W.	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
5 DANIEL D.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
6 Butler	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
7 Robinson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
8 HARRIS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
9 Wampler	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28
10 FISHER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
<b>WASHINGTON</b>																			
1 Pritchard	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72
2 SWIFT	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
3 BONKER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83
4 McCORMACK	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44
5 FOLEY	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	61
6 DICKS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67
7 LOWRY	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>																			
1 MOLLOHAN	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	A	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	56
2 STAGGERS	+	+	+	F	-	+	+	+	-	-	?	?	+	+	+	F	-	-	50
3 SLACK	+	-	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	*
4 HUTCHINSON	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	-	-	-	+	+	V	V	V	V	V	*
4 RAHALL	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67
<b>WISCONSIN</b>																			
1 ASPIN	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	+	+	-	?	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	67
2 KASTENMEIER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 BALDUS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	78
4 ZABLOCKI	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	61
5 REUSS	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
6 Petri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39
7 OBEY	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
8 Roth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
9 Sensenbrenner	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	22
<b>WYOMING</b>																			
1 Cheney	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	F	-	?	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	6

## Foreign Policy

(Continued from vr1)

that we have lost the game in Nicaragua.

"We have lost it if we give up. We have lost that country's future if we forfeit the game. If we kick it over to the Communists, if we call them all Communists, whether they are Communists or not. We can force that country into the lap of Castro...."

"We have the opportunity to help them have a chance to live in freedom and to see that democracy can work and better solve the problems of their economic situation than can a socialist society."

Arguments like that eventually did persuade the House — by a margin of five votes in February and a margin of two votes in July — and the President finally dispersed the aid in October.

But in comparison to the 11-month ordeal which Congress gave Nicaragua's aid package, Members in the lame-duck session quickly voted a similar \$40-million aid package to Jamaica — to reward that country's electorate for turning out of power the leftist Michael Manley.

U.S. contributions to multilateral institutions did not fare well in 1980. The bill authorizing funds for the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the African Development Fund was \$412 million less than the sum President Carter had requested in March 1979. The bill to fund the International Development Association — at \$3.24 billion — finally died in the lame-duck session. Of great concern to many Members, they say, is the fact that IDA makes low-interest loans to the world's poorest nations, including some left-leaning and some Communist nations. Similarly, the foreign aid appropriations bill never came to a vote — largely because it contains funding for the multilaterals.

## HUMAN RIGHTS

The House Foreign Affairs Committee gave new impetus to the human rights movement when it cut military aid to the Philippines and Zaire on the grounds that long-term U.S. interests would suffer from too close an identification with Marcos and Mobutu and their denial of basic human rights. But this judgment was rejected by both liberals and conservatives in the Senate, and only one-half of the Zaire reduction was sustained by the conference committee.

The conference committee also agreed to give the President "special authority" to give up to \$50 million in military aid to any country — even if such assistance were prohibited by law. Senate conferees did insist that the President first would have to determine that such a move was "vital" to U.S. national security interests, and would have to consult with Congress as well.

## Domestic Policy

(Continued from vr1)

in the House, only to succumb to a filibuster in the Senate.

Again in 1980, as in 1979, conservative Members of Congress continued to legislate by riders to appropriations bills. Amendments to weaken OSHA enforcement, to restrict Legal Services Corporation assistance, and to prohibit the Justice Department from going to court to require school districts to bus children in order to desegregate schools, were presented. Anti-abortion forces widened their attack by attaching to the continuing appropriations resolution an amendment which gives states the authority to impose restrictions even more stringent than federal limits on Medicaid payments for abortion.

Energy and environment issues provided the pluses in an otherwise negative session. As a counterpoint to Presi-

dent Carter's oil-price decontrol, Congress passed the Windfall Profits Tax. Fearful of an all-powerful federal agency that would trample state and local environmental protection laws, the House killed the President's proposed Energy Mobilization Board. Once again the House defeated a Senate effort to weaken the 1977 strip-mining control law. And finally, during the lame-duck session, Congress approved legislation to provide \$1.6 billion to be used to clean up toxic spills and wastes. (These funds will be contributed largely by the petro-chemical industry.)

Congress designated 2.2 million acres in central Idaho as the River of No Return Wilderness. This is now the largest wilderness area in the lower 48 states, yet it dwindles in comparison with the 104.3 million acres in-

cluded in the monumental Alaska lands bill, approved during the lame-duck session after an extraordinary four-year effort.

The 97th Congress is upon us: a Republican President, Republican Senate, and a far more conservative House. Despite these vast changes, the issues which confront the new Congress are similar to those confronted by the 96th. We shall see votes to transfer money from human needs to the military, votes on the economy and inflation, on environmental protection, on abortion, on the rights of workers, on the role of government itself.

If the tone of the 96th Congress was flat, it nevertheless is entirely possible—even likely—that the performance of the 96th was only the overture for the 97th.