

ADA's 1981 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.

Foreign & Military Policy

By Bill Adler

FRUSTRATION, confusion, and a sense of insecurity provoked by world events clearly affected the whirlwind of foreign-policy legislation introduced during the first session of the 97th Congress.

Although no overt shift toward the Right was evidenced in the legislation adopted, the impact of the Reagan Administration and the Republican-controlled Senate plainly was felt in certain areas, especially in strategic weapons production, military assistance, and arms sales. But in human rights, nuclear proliferation, and U.S.-Africa relations, Congress resisted the conservative tide, sending a clear signal to the Administration that Capitol Hill would not necessarily fulfill all of the

Administration withdrew the Carter proposal to base the MX in a mobile mode among shelters in Utah and Nevada. Attention then shifted to the dangers of the MX itself.

THE B-1 controversy grew hotter and louder as liberals and some fiscal conservatives argued that the nation could not afford to construct and deploy a fleet of 100 B-1 bombers while simultaneously providing the research and development required for the new Stealth bomber. Money, however, was appropriated for both.

Congress reacted to public concern over the spread of atomic explosives in the aftermath of the Israeli bombing of

Domestic Policy

By Mitchell H. Edelstein

IN 1981 the Reagan Administration and the 97th Congress, working together, wrought the most reactionary changes in the role and scope of government which the nation has sustained in 200 years. Citing the disastrous state of the nation's economy, President Reagan used the new conservative majority in both House and Senate to shape a government of, by, and for big business, industry, the military, and the rich, at the expense of workers, middle-income people, and especially the poor.

The 1980 election changed the Congress dramatically, creating the first Republican majority in the Senate since 1955 and a nominally Democratic but effectively conservative majority in the House of Representatives. The year 1981 saw the President personally involved in pushing his program, ranging from appearances on Capitol Hill to arm-twisting sessions at the White House, where the objects of those sessions traded their votes for presidential cuff-links.

In this first session of the 97th Congress we saw the second use of what is probably the most misnamed legislative procedure in the history of parliamentary bodies—reconciliation. Without this device, used in a manner made possible by an obscure section of the Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, the political costs of voting to cut \$40 billion in human-needs programs in one year could not have

been borne. By permitting a single up-or-down vote in the House, instead of a series of separate votes on individual programs, Members were able to defend their votes as votes for a so-called "Program for Economic Recovery" instead of votes against school lunches, health care, or Social Security. Even worse was the use of reconciliation to legislate, to make changes in discretionary programs as well as changes in authorization levels and entitlement programs, and to do so without hearings, debate, or opportunity for public reaction.

WHILE the Democratic majority in the House was unable to alter the Reagan budget cuts, its efforts to pass its own tax-cut bill triggered a war in which each side tried to outbid the other. The oil industry and the rich and powerful of the corporate world, who gained new tax loopholes, won that war, and the rest of us lost it.

Because of congressional preoccupation with budget issues, many of the key votes this year occurred during consideration of budget or appropriations bills. Thus, during this session, Congress adopted the most restrictive language on Medicaid abortion funding since *Roe v. Wade*, the landmark Supreme Court decision. The new language prohibits federal funding of abortion even in cases of rape or incest, excepting only situations in which

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Administration's desires. Much of this new legislation was embodied in the foreign aid bill, the first in three years.

The gap between military spending and spending for social programs widened markedly. Senate Democrats unsuccessfully proposed numerous amendments to increase funds for certain conventional weapons programs, in order to force Republicans to choose between opposition to these defense spending measures, on the one hand, or approval of decreases in strategic spending.

Battles over the B-1 bomber and the MX missile raged into the fall, and several different proposals to reduce spending for the MX were introduced. Representatives Paul Simon (D-Ill.) and Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) each introduced amendments to the Defense Authorization bill to terminate or reduce funding for the missile's race-track basing mode, or the missile system. Although neither passed, the Ad-

the Osirak reactor. Virtually no opposition to the U.S.-Egyptian nuclear cooperation agreement, which allows this nation to export reactors to that Middle Eastern country, was voiced; no question was raised as to whether Egypt actually needs nuclear power. But the Reagan Administration's request for a \$3.2-billion six-year military and economic assistance program for Pakistan, spurred by the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, raised serious questions about this country's efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation.

Congress modified both the Symington and Glenn Amendments to allow the President to waive restrictions on aid to countries seeking a nuclear-weapons capability, thereby allowing aid to go to Pakistan; Congress, however, reserved the authority to veto this waiver, by majority vote in both houses, with respect to any country other than Pakistan. Additionally, if

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AVERAGES: - HOUSE - 41%
SENATE - 46%

House

Table with columns for state/county and numbered districts 1-20, and a final column labeled 'IQ'. Rows include states like ALABAMA, ALASKA, ARIZONA, etc., with individual member names and party affiliations.

Continuation of the House member table from the previous block, listing members from states like GEORGIA, ILLINOIS, INDIANA, IOWA, KANSAS, KENTUCKY, and LOUISIANA.

1. LIBERAL ALTERNATIVE BUDGET—Obey (D-Wis.) substitute to the First Concurrent Budget Resolution, to increase budget authority by \$6 billion, outlays by \$2 billion, and revenues by \$28.1 billion, resulting in a \$300 million surplus for fiscal 1982.

Rejected 119-303: May 6.
A vote yes is a +.

2. REAGAN BUDGET—GRAMM/LATTA I—Latta (R-Ohio) substitute to the First Concurrent Budget Resolution to decrease budget authority by \$23.1 billion, outlays by \$25.7 billion, and revenues by \$31.1 billion, resulting in a projected \$31 billion deficit for fiscal 1982. This substitute encompassed President Reagan's program.

Adopted 253-176: May 7.
A vote no is a +.

3. BUSING—Collins (R-Tex.) amendment to prohibit the Justice Department from bringing any legal action that could lead directly or indirectly to busing, other than to bus a student to the nearest school.

Adopted 265-122: June 9.
A vote no is a +.

4. LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION—Wilson (D-Tex.) amendment to bar LSC lawyers from bringing class action lawsuits against any federal, state, or local government for any reason.

Adopted 241-167: June 17.
A vote no is a +.

5. REAGAN BUDGET—GRAMM/LATTA II—Latta (R-Ohio) amendment to the Omnibus Reconciliation Act, substituting detailed Reagan-endorsed program cuts.

Adopted 217-211: June 26.
A vote no is a +.

6. TENNESSEE TOMBIGBEE WATERWAY—Pritchard (R-Wash.) amendment to delete \$189 million for the waterway.

Rejected 196-206: July 23.
A vote yes is a +.

7. CLINCH RIVER BREEDER REACTOR—Coughlin (R-Pa.) amendment to delete \$228 million for the Clinch River Nuclear Breeder Reactor.

Rejected 186-306: July 24.
A vote yes is a +.

8. TAX EQUITY—LIBERAL TAX CUT—Udall (D-Ariz.) substitute amendment to provide a one-year reduction in income tax rates, skewed to benefit especially those earning less than \$50,000 per year, and to provide narrowly targeted business and investment tax incentives.

Rejected 144-288: July 29.
A vote yes is a +.

9. ABORTION—FEDERAL WORKERS' BENEFITS—Ashbrook (R-Ohio) amendment to prohibit, under the Federal Employees Health Benefit Program, the use of funds for abortions, except when the life of the mother is endangered.

Adopted 253-167: July 30.
A vote no is a +.

10. FAIR HOUSING—Mottl (D-Ohio) amendment to prevent the Justice Department from enforcing the 1968 fair housing law, forbidding the Department to require communities to accept subsidized housing.

Rejected 188-202: September 9.
A vote no is a +.

11. CIVIL LIBERTIES—HOME RULE—Adoption of a resolution of disapproval, effectively vetoing the action of the District of Columbia Council in revising criminal penalties with respect to certain kinds of sexual conduct.

Adopted 281-119: October 1.
A vote no is a +.

12. VOTING RIGHTS ACT EXTENSION—Butler (R-Va.) amendment to remove the District Court of the District of Columbia as the Court of Jurisdiction for voting-rights cases.

Rejected 153-277: October 5.
A vote no is a +.

13. HUMAN NEEDS FUNDING I—Regula (R-Ohio) motion to recommit the Labor-HHS-Education Appropriations bill for further cuts.

Rejected 168-249: October 6.
A vote no is a +.

14. PUBLIC WORKERS' RIGHT TO STRIKE—Coughlin (R-Pa.) motion that the House recede from its disagreement to a Senate amendment providing additional pay and benefits as a reward for air traffic controllers who refrained from striking. (The effect of this motion was to adopt the Senate amendment.)

Adopted 213-183: November 22.
A vote no is a +.

15. HUMAN NEEDS FUNDING II—Conte (R-Mass.) motion to recommit the continuing appropriations joint resolution, making a 4-percent spending cut in seven domestic spending programs with exceptions for entitlements, law enforcement, and certain other programs.

Adopted 222-194: December 10.
A vote no is a +.

NEW JERSEY
01 FLORIO D
02 HUGHES D
03 HOWARD D
04 SMITH R
05 FENWICK R
06 FORSYTHE R
07 ROIKENA H
08 ROE D
09 HOLLENHECK H
10 RODINO D
11 NINISH D
12 RINALDO R
13 COURTES D
14 GUARINI D
15 DWYER O

Table with columns 1-20 and LQ. Rows correspond to New Jersey representatives. Values range from 0 to 100.

NEW MEXICO
01 LUJAN R
02 SKEEN P

Table with columns 1-20 and LQ. Rows correspond to New Mexico representatives. Values range from 0 to 10.

NEW YORK
01 CARNEY R
02 DOWNEY D
03 CARNAN R
04 LENT R
05 MCGRATH R
06 LEROULLIER R
07 ADDABNO D
08 ROSENTHAL D
09 FERRARO D
10 BIAGGI D
11 SCHUER D
12 CHISHOLM D
13 SOLARZ D
14 RICHMOND D
15 ZEPERETTI D
16 SCHUMER R
17 MOLINARI R
18 GREEN R
19 RANGEL D
20 VEISS D
21 GARCIA D
22 BINGHAM D
23 PEYSER D
24 OTTINGER D
25 FISH R
26 GILMAN R
27 MCHUGH D
28 STRATTON D
29 BOGIRONO R

Table with columns 1-20 and LQ. Rows correspond to New York representatives. Values range from 0 to 100.

30 MARTIN R
31 MITCHELL D
32 WORTLEY R
33 LEE R
34 NORTON R
35 CONABLE R
36 LAFALCE D
37 ROWAK D
38 KEMP R
39 LUNDINE D

Table with columns 1-20 and LQ. Rows correspond to New York representatives. Values range from 0 to 100.

NORTH CAROLINA
01 JONES W. D
02 FOUNTAIN D
03 WHITLEY D
04 ANDREWS I. D
05 NEAL D
06 JOHNSTON R
07 ROSE D
08 HEPNER D
09 MARTIN R
10 BROTHILL R
11 MENDON R

Table with columns 1-20 and LQ. Rows correspond to North Carolina representatives. Values range from 0 to 25.

NORTH DAKOTA
AL DORGAN D

Table with columns 1-20 and LQ. Row corresponds to North Dakota representative. Value is 65.

OHIO
01 GRADYSON R
02 LUKEN D
03 HALL T. D
04 OXLEY P
05 LATTA P
06 MCEWEN R
07 BROWN C. P
08 KINDNESS R
09 WENER R
10 MILLER C. R
11 STANTON R
12 SHAMANSKY D
13 PEASE D
14 SETTERLING D
15 WYLIE R
16 REGULA R
17 ASHROOK R
18 APPEGATE D
19 WILLIAMS L. R
20 OAKAR D

Table with columns 1-20 and LQ. Rows correspond to Ohio representatives. Values range from 0 to 65.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	LQ
VERMONT																						
AL JEFFORDS	R	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	?	?	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	60
VIRGINIA																						
01 TRIBLE	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
02 WHITEHURST	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
03 WILEY	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
04 DANIEL R. H.	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
05 DANIEL D.	D	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
06 RUTLER	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
07 ROBINSON	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
08 PARRIS	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
09 WANPLER	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
10 WOLF	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
WASHINGTON																						
01 PRITCHARD	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
02 SWIFT	D	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	85
03 BOKER	D	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	75
04 MORRISON	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
05 FOLEY	D	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	55
06 DICKS	D	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	50
07 LOWRY	D	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
WEST VIRGINIA																						
01 MOLLOHAN	D	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
02 BENEDICT	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
03 STATON	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
04 RANALL	D	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75
WISCONSIN																						
01 ASPIN	D	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	75
02 KASTENMEIER	D	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	95
03 GUNDERSON	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
04 ZABLOCKI	D	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	50
05 REUSS	D	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	70
06 PETRI	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
07 OBEY	D	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	85
08 ROTH	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
09 SENSENBRENNER	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
WYOMING																						
AL CHENEY	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5

Domestic Policy

(Continued from page 1)

the life of the mother is threatened. And the Senate adopted an amendment to the Justice Department Authorization Bill restricting federal court authority to order school busing to achieve racial integration.

But in contrast to its budget cutting in human-needs and other domestic programs, Congress approved a \$200-billion military budget, a plan for spending which—taken with the tax cut—effectively kills the President's hopes for a balanced budget anytime soon, but puts heavy pressure on Congress to enact additional cuts in domestic programs. It is ironic that the Reagan Administration has given us the largest budget deficit in the nation's history.

Even in the darkest clouds a silver lining can usually be found (though this year's lining seems to be plate). There were some liberal victories in Congress in 1981. Extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act received strong bi-partisan support after a major grass-roots lobbying campaign. Block grants—which can be said to represent the Republican "trickle-down" theory of social programs—were substantially improved by Congress, and many of these programs emerged with their principles and purposes—their targeting and accountability requirements—intact, if not their budgets.

In 1982, liberals will face new attempts to increase military spending at the expense of programs which invest in the quality and value of life. In his efforts to bolster a failed economic policy, the President will propose regressive excise taxes, while dismantling the apparatus of government which protects citizens from the powerful corporations which daily grow larger and more arrogant. And we will face fresh onslaughts from Members of Congress who, in the name of the Family and in pursuit of the Grail of Getting Government Off Our Backs, will push legislation that would foul our air, permit spouse and child abuse, outlaw abortion and certain birth-control methods, restore the death penalty, and make maintenance of racially-segregated schools a tax-deductible expense.

Foreign Policy

(Continued from page 1)

any country explodes a nuclear device, aid must be cut off automatically, unless Congress then overrides this provision. Although some Members of Congress argue that this new law is a stronger anti-proliferation move, it does nothing to curtail Pakistan's nuclear weapons program. Congress, before providing aid, made little effort to seek substantive guarantees that Pakistan would not pursue atomic weapons.

Administration proposals to reprocess spent reactor fuel into weapons-grade plutonium and to use civilian nuclear waste for nuclear warhead production disturbed several Members. Other Representatives and Senators, who have not closely followed this often technical but nevertheless critical matter, began to question the adequacy of international safeguards of nuclear facilities and nuclear materials.

PUBLIC AND Senate reaction to the Lefever nomination heightened congressional sensitivity to human rights, and helped prevent passage of legislation which would weaken restrictions on aid to nations which routinely and grossly violate human rights. Congress approved \$26 billion in military aid to El Salvador, but for the first time attached specific conditions on aid to that country. Prohibitions on

military aid to Chile and Argentina, however, were repealed.

In one of the biggest upsets for the Administration, Congress voted to retain the Clark Amendment, which prohibits military and para-military assistance to rebel forces in Angola. The White House had lobbied vigorously for repeal.

AWACS presented a major issue to Congress. Novel political alignments were created both on Capitol Hill and among advocacy organizations and others concerned about such legislation. The House overwhelmingly voted to reject the sale of AWACS and F-15

enhancements to Saudi Arabia, while the Senate narrowly supported the Administration.

Marginal victories for the Administration on a host of significant foreign policy issues, including some MX missile votes and AWACS, and solid defeats for the Reagan White House—such as retention of the Clark Amendment and restrictions on aid to El Salvador—indicate that Congress is willing and able to take independent initiatives in foreign policy. By a great deal of work will be required to achieve a rational defense and a sensible foreign policy. □

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