

# 1989 Voting Patterns Show Few Shifts

National interest groups had to scratch for 1989 floor votes to use in sizing up members for their annual scorecards as Congress, faced with a popular new president and distracted by ethics scandals, sidestepped many controversial issues.

Groups representing conservatives and liberals, businessmen and labor leaders found Congress better poised for conciliation than confrontation, with both chambers putting off decisions until 1990 on bills affecting hot topics such as the environment, the deficit and campaign-finance reform.

The votes they did examine showed that the 101st Congress was little changed from its predecessor, at least in its first year.

Ratings compiled by the traditionally liberal group Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and its opposite number, the American Conservative Union (ACU), indicated little shift in the ideological voting behavior in either the Senate or the House.

Scorecards kept by the AFL-CIO and the Chamber of Commerce showed business improving its success rate and labor losing ground, although labor and business had direct confrontations with each other on only a handful of votes.

Congressional Quarterly annually publishes the ratings of members compiled by the ADA, the ACU, the AFL-CIO and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Although their merit is debated, the ratings have historically held high visibility as a simple way to characterize members on the ideological spectrum. (*Ratings of members*, p. 70-B)

As for the dearth of major votes, "we're the hostages of what they vote on, not on what we think are the issues that shape our time," said Amy Isaacs, ADA national director. "We may wish they had bitten the bullet and taken votes on other issues, but they didn't."

Instead, analysts were left with votes on lesser issues such as the restoration of former White House aide Oliver L. North's Marine Corps pension and the funding of an isotope separation plant in Idaho.

The real drama of 1989, officials of these groups said, had more to do with the resignations of House Speaker Jim Wright, D-Texas, and Majority Whip Tony Coelho, D-Calif., than with legislative issues. (*Wright*, p. 36; *Coelho*, p. 41)

## How They Chose Votes

Each group selected the votes it deemed most significant on issues of importance to its constituents and scored members on how often they voted in accordance with the group's position.

Each group used a selection committee of officials such as the legislative director to keep track of votes of interest throughout the year. The group said selection depends not on the closeness of a vote, but on how well it defined members' positions on issues the group cared about.

While groups often followed the same issue, they did not always select the same vote as their key test. On abortion in 1989, the ADA chose the House's attempt to override President Bush's veto of the Labor, Health and Human Services appropriations bill; the ACU used a House vote on an amendment to the District of Columbia appropriations bill and also used a House vote on funding of a U.N. family-planning program.

## Using the Ratings

In an election year, the ratings gain significance. Incumbents use "good" scores to raise money from ideological compatriots, and challengers use "bad" scores to show that a member was out of step with his constituents.

In the 1988 Florida Senate race, winner Connie Mack capitalized on Democratic Rep. Buddy MacKay's low ACU rating and framed the contest as a choice between a conservative and a liberal.

The ratings could be most helpful in fund raising, according to ACU Executive Director Daniel L. Casey. If a candidate could show that an incumbent's rating was significantly divorced from his constituency, he could make a case that the member was vulnerable.

However, ratings rarely were the only determining factor in financing or endorsing a particular candidate because absences and uncharacteristic votes could affect a member's score.

The ADA stressed that its ratings were not always the organization's bottom line on a candidate. Failure to vote could lower a member's ADA score, sometimes significantly. Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., for example, received an ADA score of 45 in 1976, as he ran for president; still, he was endorsed by the group.

In 1989, Rep. Cardiss Collins, D-Ill., did not vote against a single ADA position, but because she missed several votes because she was ill, her "liberal quotient" was 40, compared with 90 in 1988.

Single votes could skew a member's scores. Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., who had a cumulative Chamber rating of 20 over his 21-year career, received a 1989 score of 50 by agreeing with the Chamber's position on eliminating price controls on natural gas, an issue on which the Chamber counted two separate votes. And freshman Rep. Gene Taylor, D-Miss., who was eligible for only one AFL-CIO vote in 1989, received perfect scores from both labor and the ACU in the same year.

Votes on nonpartisan matters such as the congressional pay raise muddled the waters. The ACU, which opposed the raise, found many of its traditional supporters on the wrong side of the fence. Senate Republicans voted 23-22 in favor of a boost on the vote the group chose as a test, and House Republicans supported it 84-89. That hurt members such as Tom DeLay, R-Texas, who voted for the raise and thus broke a careerlong string of perfect ACU scores since he entered Congress in 1985.

The ADA's Senate leaders were Paul Simon, D-Ill., who notched his first perfect ADA score, and Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., who also scored 100 percent in 1988. Twenty-five House Democrats had perfect ADA scores.

The pay-raise vote and bipartisan rejection of an amendment to freeze the federal budget left only nine House Republicans with perfect ACU scores, compared with 38 who scored 100 percent in 1988. Malcolm Wallop, Wyo., Jesse Helms, N.C., and William L. Armstrong, Colo., led Senate Republicans with 100 percent scores.

Twenty-six Senate Democrats and 77 House Democrats received perfect scores from the AFL-CIO. Six Democrats and 92 Republicans in the House tallied 100 percent on the Chamber's scorecard; Wallop, Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, Christopher S. Bond of Missouri, and Democrat David L. Boren of Oklahoma led the Senate with 100 percent each.

### No Ideological Shift

The scores also were used to chart ideological shifts in Congress as a whole. In 1987, for example, scorekeeping by the ACU and the ADA pointed to the most liberal voting on Capitol Hill in two decades. The ADA's liberal quotient in the House increased to 51 percent from 46 percent in 1986, and rose 8.5 points to 53 percent in the Senate. The ACU noted a similar trend. (1988 *Almanac* p. 56-B)

In 1989, House members' votes agreed with the ADA 50 percent of the time, compared with 52 percent in 1988. The ACU average rating also dropped in the House to 43 percent in 1989 from 44 percent in 1988. (1988 *Group Ratings*, p. 53-B)

In the Senate, members notched an overall ADA rating of 45 percent, down from 48 percent in 1988. The ACU Senate rating jumped 3 percentage points to 46 percent in 1989. The ADA's win-loss record on selected votes was 8-12 in the Senate and 11-9 in the House, compared with a Senate record of 6-14 and a House record of 13-7 in 1988. The ACU was 7-17 in the Senate and 8-17 in the House, compared with 12-10 in the Senate and 8-14 in the House in 1988.

The ACU said its numbers did reflect one trend.

"One of the things we have tracked in the '80s is the increased polarization of Congress," Casey said. "Republicans are getting more conservative; Democrats are getting more liberal. We think we detected a shift [away from] that in 1989, although not a seismic change. Whatever the average Republican rating is, you're finding Republicans to the right and left of that moving closer toward it. Your standard deviations are getting smaller."

### Business vs. Labor

One shift in 1989 was on votes pitting labor against business: There were fewer direct confrontations. The AFL-CIO chose 10 Senate and 12 House votes, compared with 14 in each chamber last year, and was forced to use multiple votes on the same issues, such as two votes in the Senate on the FS-X fighter plane and two votes in the House on the minimum wage.

The Chamber of Commerce chose only eight Senate and 10 House votes, compared with 14 in each chamber in 1988. Six House votes came in the fall as part of the budget-reconciliation bill on topics such as child-care funding, pension boards and aviation user fees.

"Reconciliation saved our bacon," said Dan Costello, the Chamber's director of House liaison.

Both the AFL-CIO and the Chamber claimed winning records on the votes it chose to feature. The Chamber won four of eight in the Senate and seven of 10 in the House; the AFL-CIO notched eight of 10 in the Senate and nine of 12 in the House. Two of the AFL-CIO victories were on the labor dispute at Eastern Airlines, an issue the Chamber ignored.

Although the top five Democratic leaders in the House each received perfect report cards from the AFL-CIO, organized labor slipped in that chamber from its 13-1 record in 1988. Its Senate record was an improvement from 1988's eight wins and six losses.

Labor's loss was business's gain. The Chamber in 1987 had its worst year of the decade, chalking up a 49 percent support score from House members and 53 percent from senators. But two years later it tallied support scores of 64 percent in the House and 60 percent in the Senate.

Overall, senators supported labor 59 percent of the time, compared with 62 percent in 1988. The House's labor

rating fell to 56 percent from 68 percent.

Costello credited the improvement in overall scores to shifts in positions of Democrats such as Maryland Rep. Beverly B. Byron, whose Chamber score jumped from 69 in 1988 to 100 in 1989.

"I think we may be seeing a re-emergence of a body of House Democrats who are going to vote the way they think they should vote irrespective of the directions they receive from the leadership," Costello said.

### AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

Since 1947, ADA ratings have been a standard, if sometimes disputed, measure of liberalism. Early ratings focused on lawmakers' support of New Deal-like policies and gradually grew to include support for a non-interventionist foreign policy. The ADA based its ratings on 20 Senate votes and 20 House votes.

### SENATE VOTES

#### The ADA supported:

Reallocating \$3 billion in budget authority and \$2 billion in outlays from national defense to education, training and social services (*vote 60*).

Reducing funding for the strategic defense initiative (SDI) program to \$3.95 billion (*vote 148*).

Prohibiting federal funds for site preparation of a Special Isotope Separation Plant in Idaho (*vote 150*).

Reducing the authorization to develop a mobile-rail version of the MX missile to \$600 million (*vote 152*).

Eliminating limits on liability for oil spills from tankers, barges and onshore and offshore facilities (*vote 164*).

Limiting military aid to El Salvador to \$85 million (*vote 189*).

Eliminating all funds to procure more B-2 bombers (*vote 203*).

Invoking cloture (thus limiting debate) on a proposal to establish a commission to resolve the Eastern Airlines labor dispute (*vote 273*).

Making life in prison without parole, instead of the death penalty, the maximum penalty for terrorists found guilty of murdering U.S. citizens abroad (*vote 274*).

Eliminating all funds to procure B-2 bombers (*vote 310*).

#### The ADA opposed:

Adopting President Bush's proposal to raise the minimum wage to \$4.25 with a six-month training wage (*vote 38*).

Allowing the transfer of design data on the F-16 fighter plane to Japan, in effect allowing joint U.S.-Japanese development of a version of the plane (*vote 66*).

Allowing the president to seek authorization for military aid for the non-communist Cambodian resistance (*vote 136*).

Paying for dependent child care through tax credits and block grants rather than subsidies (*vote 93*).

Allowing contractors working on federally subsidized housing to hire tenants and homeless people and to pay them less than required by prevailing wage laws and regulations (*vote 181*).

Prohibiting U.S. contributions to the U.N. Population Fund unless the president certified that the fund was not participating in programs in China involving forced sterilization and abortion (*vote 188*).

Increasing the authorization for the Defense Department's share of SDI to \$4.3 billion (*vote 213*).

## Specific Votes Used in Ratings

Following are the votes used by the four interest groups covered in this study to rate members of the House and Senate in 1989. The numbers listed below are those assigned by Congressional Quarterly in its 1989

### Americans for Democratic Action

**Senate (20 votes)** — 38N, 60N, 66Y, 93N, 136N, 148N, 150N, 152N, 164N, 181Y, 188Y, 189N, 203Y, 213N, 242Y, 251N, 273Y, 274Y, 298N, 310Y.

**House (20 votes)** — 8Y, 28Y, 47N, 79Y, 86Y, 91Y, 93N, 122Y, 152Y, 153Y, 167Y, 169Y, 170Y, 181Y, 202Y, 253Y, 273N, 305Y, 307Y, 317N.

### AFL-CIO

**Senate (10 votes)** — 36Y, 38N, 66Y, 93N, 175Y, 181Y, 193Y, 273Y, 276Y, 295N.

**House (12 votes)** — 8Y, 13N, 21N, 28Y, 79Y, 86Y, 181Y, 249N, 253Y, 273N, 294N, 321Y.

roll-call vote charts. A "Y" indicates that the group favored a yeas vote; an "N" indicates the group favored a nay vote. (*CQ Senate and House charts may be found starting on pages 3-S and 3-H*)

### Chamber of Commerce of the United States

**Senate (8 votes)** — 36N, 39N, 84Y, 91Y, 113Y, 280Y, 294Y, 298Y.

**House (10 votes)** — 34N, 42N, 86N, 181N, 248Y, 249Y, 250Y, 251Y, 253N, 273Y.

### American Conservative Union

**Senate (24 votes)** — 14N, 20Y, 36N, 42N, 68N, 94N, 136Y, 152Y, 158N, 173N, 181N, 194N, 198N, 213Y, 216N, 228N, 275Y, 280N, 282Y, 294Y, 298Y, 300N, 306N, 311Y.

**House (25 votes)** — 26Y, 28N, 41Y, 47Y, 65N, 86N, 104Y, 147Y, 151Y, 153N, 168N, 171N, 178N, 181N, 205Y, 224N, 229N, 240Y, 253N, 265Y, 272Y, 316Y, 331Y, 358N, 373N.

Prohibiting the National Endowment for the Arts or the National Endowment for the Humanities from judging whether a work is obscene or considering whether it has "serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value" (*vote 242*).

Proposing a constitutional amendment to grant Congress and the states the power to prohibit the physical desecration of the U.S. flag (*vote 251*).

Invoking cloture (thus limiting debate) on a measure to exclude from taxable income up to 35 percent of income from capital gains and to make individual retirement accounts (IRAs) available to all taxpayers with varying tax benefits (*vote 298*).

### HOUSE VOTES

#### The ADA supported:

Requiring the president to establish an emergency board to recommend a settlement to the Eastern Airlines labor dispute (*vote 8*).

Allowing federal and postal workers to campaign, raise funds and run for office during off-duty hours (*vote 28*).

Banning the transfer of certain technology to Japanese companies to build the FS-X fighter plane (*vote 79*).

Passing, over Bush's veto, the bill to raise the minimum wage to \$4.55 an hour over three years and provide for a 60-day training wage (*vote 86*).

Requiring federal bank and thrift regulators to disclose their ratings and evaluations of financial institutions under the 1977 Community Reinvestment Act and requiring mortgage lenders to disclose race, sex and income of loan applicants and recipients (*vote 91*).

Requiring regional Federal Home Loan Banks to earmark part of their annual earnings to subsidize savings and loan association low-income mortgages (*vote 93*).

Prohibiting military aid to El Salvador unless Congress adopts a joint resolution of approval (*vote 122*).

Decreasing the SDI authorization to \$1.3 billion and eliminating the SDI organization in the Defense Department (*vote 152*).

Reducing the SDI authorization to \$3.1 billion for the Defense and Energy departments (*vote 153*).

Allowing the Air Force to complete only 13 B-2s and then put production lines on hold (*vote 167*).

Prohibiting use of Air Force research and development funds for the MX mobile-rail program (*vote 169*).

Terminating the Midgetman missile program (*vote 170*).

Reducing the number of projects covered by the Davis-Bacon Act, which sets wage standards for federal contracts, by boosting from \$2,000 to \$50,000 — rather than a proposed \$250,000 — the threshold below which projects would be exempt (*vote 181*).

Striking a capital gains tax cut from the budget-reconciliation bill and substituting restored deductibility for IRAs, a deficit-reduction trust fund and an increase from 28 percent to 33 percent in the top marginal tax rate (*vote 253*).

Passing, over President Bush's veto, the Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education and Related Agencies appropriations bill, which included a provision allowing federal funding of abortions in cases of rape or incest (*vote 305*).

Staying deportation of Chinese, Nicaraguan and Salvadoran refugees living illegally in the United States (*vote 307*).

Strictly restricting the Legal Services Corporation board, including barring it from implementing new regulations until a new board is named (*vote 317*).

#### The ADA opposed:

Prohibiting money authorized under the Vocational Education Reauthorization from going to any state or school district that effectively prevents voluntary participation in prayer in public schools (*vote 47*).

Prohibiting the use of federal funds to teach about homosexuality or bisexuality (*vote 202*).

Replacing child-care provisions in the reconciliation bill with an expanded earned-income tax credit and increased authorization for Head Start (*vote 273*).

## ADA SCORES

A complete list of individual member scores begins on p. 70-B

### Senate Votes

**High Scorers.** Two Northern Democrats scored 100 percent: Simon, Ill., and Leahy, Vt. Six Northern Democrats scored 95 percent.

Highest among Southern Democrats was Bumpers, Ark., with 90 percent. Sasser, Tenn., followed with 85 percent.

Hatfield, Ore., led Republicans with 80 percent. Cohen, Maine, followed with 45 percent.

**Low Scorers.** Nine Republicans scored zero. Eleven scored 5 percent.

Among Southern Democrats, Shelby, Ala., and Heflin, Ala., scored lowest, with 25 percent. Johnston, La., and Boren, Okla., followed with 30 percent.

Exon, Neb., scored lowest among Northern Democrats, with 35 percent. Dixon, Ill., and Bryan, Nev., each scored 55 percent.

### House Votes

**High Scorers.** Twenty-four Northern Democrats scored 100 percent. Forty-one scored 95 percent.

Lewis, Ga., led Southern Democrats, with 100 percent. Lehman, Fla., followed with 95 percent.

The highest-scoring Republican was Shays, Conn., with 85 percent. Morella, Md., scored 80 percent.

**Low Scorers.** Thirty-eight Republicans scored zero. Thirty-one scored 5 percent.

Among Southern Democrats, Hall, Texas, scored lowest, with 5 percent. Hutto, Fla.; Barnard, Ga.; and Montgomery, Miss., each scored 10 percent.

Byron, Md., scored lowest among Northern Democrats, with 15 percent, followed by Skelton, Mo., with 35 percent.

## AFL-CIO

The umbrella group for organized labor, which has rated members of Congress since 1955, says its ratings represent "votes for or against the interests of workers." The AFL-CIO based its ratings on 10 Senate and 12 House votes.

## SENATE VOTES

### The AFL-CIO supported:

Passing, over President Bush's veto, a resolution barring transfer to Japanese companies of design data on the F-16 fighter plane and prohibiting the sale or transfer by Japan to any other country of the FS-X or any technologies developed in the joint Japan-U.S. FS-X project (*vote 175*).

Invoking cloture (thus limiting debate) on a proposal to establish a commission to resolve the Eastern Airlines labor dispute (*vote 273*).

Establishing a commission to resolve the Eastern Airlines labor dispute (*vote 276*).

### The AFL-CIO opposed:

Applying the Davis-Bacon Act, which sets wage standards for federal contracts, only to contractors and subcontractors whose annual gross income is more than \$500,000 (*vote 36*).

Adopting Bush's proposal to raise the minimum hourly wage to \$4.25 with a six-month training wage (*vote 38*).

Allowing the transfer of design data on the F-16 fighter plane to Japan, in effect allowing joint U.S.-Japanese development of a version of the plane (*vote 66*).

Paying for dependent child care through tax credits and block grants rather than subsidies (*vote 93*).

Allowing contractors working on federally subsidized housing to hire tenants and homeless people, and to pay them less than required by prevailing wage laws and regulations (*vote 181*).

Exempting food-aid shipments to Poland from U.S. cargo preference requirements (*vote 193*).

Invoking cloture (thus limiting debate) on a measure to exclude from taxable income up to 35 percent of income from capital gains and to make individual retirement accounts (IRAs) available to all taxpayers with varying tax benefits (*vote 295*).

## HOUSE VOTES

### The AFL-CIO supported:

Requiring the president to establish an emergency board to recommend a settlement to the Eastern Airlines labor dispute (*vote 8*).

Allowing federal and postal workers to campaign, raise funds and run for elective office during off-duty hours (*vote 28*).

Banning the transfer of certain technology to Japanese companies to build the FS-X fighter plane (*vote 79*).

Passing, over Bush's veto, a bill to raise the minimum hourly wage to \$4.55 over three years with a 60-day training wage (*vote 86*).

Reducing the number of projects covered by the Davis-Bacon Act, which sets wage standards for federal contracts, by boosting from \$2,000 to \$50,000 — rather than a proposed \$250,000 — the threshold below which projects would be exempt (*vote 181*).

Requiring trustee boards that administer single-employer pension plans to have equal representation of employees and employers, in effect giving labor unions equal voice in pension plan decisions (*vote 249*).

Striking a capital gains tax from the budget-reconciliation bill and substituting restored deductibility for IRAs, a deficit-reduction trust fund and an increase from 28 percent to 33 percent in the top tax rate (*vote 253*).

Barring a prospective owner of an airline from acquiring another airline if he has already taken more than one airline into bankruptcy (*vote 321*).

### The AFL-CIO opposed:

Adopting Bush's proposal to raise the minimum hourly wage to \$4.25 over three years with a six-month training wage (*vote 13*).

Reducing the fiscal 1990 and fiscal 1991 authorization for the National Endowment for Democracy to \$15.8 million (*vote 21*).

Replacing child-care provisions in the reconciliation bill with a bigger earned-income tax credit and more authorization for Head Start (*vote 273*).

Reducing from 75 percent to 50 percent the amount of U.S. food-aid shipments to Poland in fiscal 1990 that must be carried on U.S.-flag merchant ships (*vote 294*).

## AFL-CIO SCORES

A complete list of individual member scores begins on p. 70-B.

### Senate Votes

**High Scorers.** Twenty-one Northern Democrats scored 100 percent. Thirteen scored 90 percent.

Five Southern Democrats scored 100 percent. Four scored 90 percent.

Heinz, Pa., scored highest among Republicans, with 80 percent. D'Amato, N.Y., followed with 70 percent.

**Low Scorers.** Sixteen Republicans received 0 percent scores. Eight scored 10 percent.

Among Southern Democrats, Boren, Okla., scored lowest, with 50 percent, followed by Johnston, La., with 70 percent.

Lowest scorers among Northern Democrats were DeConcini, Ariz.; Bradley, N.J.; and Pell, R.I., with 80 percent.

### House Votes

**High Scorers.** Seventy-seven Democrats scored 100 percent. The breakdown was six Southern Democrats and 71 Northern Democrats.

Three Republicans scored 92 percent: Horton, N.Y.; Gilman, N.Y.; and Conte, Mass. Rinaldo, N.J., scored 83 percent.

**Low Scorers.** Thirty-one Republicans received 0 percent scores. Thirty-four scored 8 percent.

Among Southern Democrats, Hall, Texas, scored lowest, with 8 percent, followed by Ray, Ga., with 9 percent.

Lowest scorers among Northern Democrats were Byron, Md., with 25 percent, and Stallings, Idaho, with 45 percent.

## CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Chamber selected votes it said provided "a fair representation of floor votes on issues important to business — including large and small firms." Eight Senate and 10 House votes were chosen for this study.

### SENATE VOTES

#### The Chamber supported:

Applying the Davis-Bacon Act, which sets wage standards for federal contracts, only to contractors and subcontractors whose annual gross income is more than \$500,000 (*vote 36*).

Eliminating wellhead price and non-price controls on the first sale of natural gas (*vote 91*).

Increasing job-related visas by 30,000 for people who are professionals or have exceptional ability in the sciences or the arts and for people in skilled occupations that cannot be filled by U.S. residents (*vote 113*).

Waiving the Congressional Budget Act to allow consideration of an amendment to in effect give the president a line-item veto (*vote 294*).

Invoking cloture (thus limiting debate) on a measure to exclude from taxable income up to 35 percent of income from capital gains and to make individual retirement accounts (IRAs) available to all taxpayers with varying tax benefits (*vote 298*).

#### The Chamber opposed:

Raising the minimum hourly wage to \$4.55 over three years with a 60-day training wage (*vote 39*).

Reinstituting gas-price controls in the event of a dramatic increase in the market price of natural gas (*vote 84*).

Imposing sanctions against China for its suppression of pro-democracy forces (*vote 280*).

### HOUSE VOTES

#### The Chamber supported:

Reducing the fiscal 1990 deficit by \$16.6 billion (*vote 248*).

Repealing Section 89 of the 1986 tax-code overhaul,

which requires employers to prove that their health-benefit plans are non-discriminatory, and deleting a provision in the budget-reconciliation bill that would deny favorable tax treatment to certain health-benefit plans that discriminate in favor of owners and executives (*vote 250*).

Replacing child-care provisions in the reconciliation bill with a bigger earned-income tax credit and more authorizations for Head Start (*vote 273*).

#### The Chamber opposed:

Providing \$4,738,722,500 in new spending authority in fiscal 1989 for various agencies (*vote 34*).

Raising \$9 billion in additional revenue through a \$5-per-barrel oil-import fee and allocating \$5.8 billion for high-priority domestic programs and \$3.2 billion for more deficit reduction (*vote 42*).

Passing, over President Bush's veto, a bill to raise the minimum wage from \$3.35 an hour to \$4.55 over three years and to provide for a 60-day training wage (*vote 86*).

Reducing the number of projects covered by the Davis-Bacon Act, which sets wage standards for federal contracts, by boosting from \$2,000 to \$50,000 — rather than a proposed \$250,000 — the threshold below which projects would be exempt (*vote 181*).

Requiring trustee boards that administer single-employer pension plans to have equal representation of employees and employers, in effect giving labor unions equal voice in pension plan decisions (*vote 249*).

Placing \$992 million in aviation user taxes in the general fund of the Treasury instead of in the Airport and Airway Trust Fund (*vote 251*).

Striking a capital gains tax cut from the reconciliation bill and substituting restored deductibility for IRAs, a deficit-reduction trust fund and an increase from 28 percent to 33 percent in the top marginal tax rate (*vote 253*).

## CHAMBER SCORES

A complete list of individual member scores begins on p. 70-B.

### Senate Votes

**High Scorers.** Three Republicans scored 100 percent: Wallop, Wyo.; Lugar, Ind.; and Bond, Mo. Twenty-one scored 88 percent.

Boren, Okla., scored highest among Southern Democrats, with 100 percent. Six Southern Democrats scored 63 percent.

Matsunaga, Hawaii, led Northern Democrats, with 60 percent. Wirth, Colo., scored 57 percent.

**Low Scorers.** Eight Northern Democrats scored 25 percent. Three scored 29 percent.

Three Southern Democrats scored 25 percent: Bumpers, Ark.; Pryor, Ark.; and Ford, Ky. Graham, Fla., scored 38 percent.

Durenberger, Minn., scored lowest among Republicans, with 50 percent. Packwood, Ore., scored 57 percent.

### House Votes

**High Scorers.** Ninety-two Republicans scored 100 percent. Forty-three scored 90 percent.

Five Southern Democrats scored 100 percent: English, Okla.; Parker, Miss.; Hutto, Fla.; Ray, Ga.; and Huckaby, La. Six Southern Democrats scored 90 percent.

Byron, Md., led Northern Democrats, with 100 percent. Penny, Minn., scored 80 percent.

**Low Scorers.** Participating in only two of the selected Chamber votes, Florio, N.J., scored lowest among Northern

Democrats, with 0 percent. Five Northern Democrats scored 10 percent. Rangel, N.Y., scored 11 percent.

Ford, Tenn., scored lowest among Southern Democrats, with 10 percent. Three Southern Democrats scored 20 percent: Smith, Fla.; Lehman, Fla.; and Fascell, Fla.

Conte, Mass., was the lowest-scoring Republican, with 40 percent, followed by Horton, N.Y., with 56 percent.

### AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION

The ACU, founded in 1964, seeks "to mobilize resources of responsible conservative thought across the country and further the general cause of conservatism." It has published ratings since 1971. The ACU based its ratings on 24 Senate and 25 House votes.

### SENATE VOTES

#### The ACU supported:

Keeping a spending cap on Senate franking privileges (*vote 14*).

Confirming President Bush's nomination of John Tower to be secretary of defense. Vote double-weighted (*vote 20*).

Applying the Davis-Bacon Act, which sets wage standards for federal contracts, only to contractors and subcontractors whose annual gross income is more than \$500,000 (*vote 36*).

Allowing the provision of fuel and aircraft spare parts under the category of "humanitarian" aid to the Nicaraguan contras and stating Congress' intention to consider providing up to \$50 million in military aid to the contras after Feb. 28, 1990 (*vote 42*).

Allowing the president to seek authorization for military aid for the non-communist resistance forces in Cambodia (*vote 136*).

Earmarking \$100 million to develop an accidental-launch protection system. Vote double-weighted (*vote 158*).

Allowing contractors building or repairing federally subsidized homes or shelters to hire tenants and homeless people and pay them less than required by prevailing wage laws and regulations (*vote 181*).

Prohibiting assistance to enterprises in Poland controlled by the Communist Party (*vote 194*).

Barring funding to produce or distribute materials for schoolchildren that "promote or encourage homosexuality, or use words stating that homosexuality is 'normal,' 'natural,' or 'healthy'" (*vote 198*).

Increasing the authorization for the Defense Department's share of the strategic defense initiative (SDI) to \$4.3 billion (*vote 213*).

Barring the use of federal funds for artworks deemed "obscene or indecent" (*vote 216*).

Authorizing the president to use the armed forces to remove Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega from Panama (*vote 228*).

Authorizing the death penalty for people found guilty of terrorist murders of U.S. citizens abroad (*vote 275*).

Imposing sanctions against China for its suppression of pro-democracy forces (*vote 280*).

Overtaking a legal ruling that would deprive Lt. Col. Oliver L. North of his Marine Corps retirement pay (*vote 282*).

Waiving the Congressional Budget Act to allow consideration of an amendment to in effect give the president a line-item veto (*vote 294*).

Invoking cloture (thus limiting debate) on a measure to exclude from taxable income up to 35 percent of income

from capital gains and to make individual retirement accounts (IRAs) available to all taxpayers, with varying tax benefits. Vote double-weighted (*vote 298*).

Prohibiting any U.S. contribution to the U.N. Population Fund unless the president certifies to Congress that the fund does not support or participate in a program of coercive abortions or involuntary sterilizations in China (*vote 300*).

#### The ACU opposed:

Raising the minimum wage from \$3.35 to \$4.55 an hour over three years. Vote double-weighted (*vote 68*).

Authorizing \$1.75 billion in child-care subsidies to parents and day-care providers and requiring states to set standards for child care (*vote 94*).

Reducing the authorization to develop a rail-mobile MX missile to \$600 million (*vote 152*).

Barring discrimination on the basis of disability in employment, public services, public accommodations, transportation and telephone communications (*vote 173*).

Raising salaries for members of Congress (*vote 306*).

Withholding 30 percent of fiscal 1990 military aid to El Salvador until the president reports to Congress that that government has brought to justice those responsible for the Nov. 16 murders of six priests and two others at a Roman Catholic university in San Salvador (*vote 311*).

### HOUSE VOTES

#### The ACU supported:

Continuing non-military aid to the contras through Feb. 28, 1990, and providing procedures for faster consideration in Congress of military aid if free and fair elections are not held in Nicaragua (*vote 26*).

Reducing the deficit by \$8.6 billion by freezing all discretionary spending at fiscal 1989 program levels, reducing Medicare an additional \$2.7 billion and providing \$300 million in other savings (*vote 41*).

Prohibiting money authorized under the Vocational Education Reauthorization from going to any state or school district that in effect prevents voluntary participation in prayer in public schools (*vote 47*).

Requiring the Agency for International Development to consider the extent of "economic freedom" in foreign countries when deciding how much U.S. development aid to provide (*vote 104*).

Transferring \$176 million from the Department of Housing and Urban Development's public housing construction program to its Section 8 rent-subsidy certificate program and two other proposed self-help assistance programs (*vote 147*).

Increasing budget authority for SDI to \$4.1 billion. Vote double-weighted (*vote 151*).

Prohibiting the use of any funds, federal or city, to perform abortions in the District of Columbia (*vote 205*).

Prohibiting Interior Department funds from supporting "obscene or indecent" art (*vote 229*).

Preventing use of the franking privilege to pay for mass mailings by members of Congress (*vote 240*).

Amending the D.C. Code to exempt religious educational institutions from laws prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation (*vote 265*).

Replacing child-care provisions with a bigger earned-income tax credit plus a new supplemental tax credit for working-poor families with children under age 5 (*vote 272*).

Imposing certain prohibitions on the activities of lawyers funded by the Legal Services Corporation (*vote 316*).

Denouncing President Daniel Ortega's announced sus-

pension of the Nicaraguan cease-fire and affirming U.S. intentions to continue supplying non-military aid to the contras until Feb. 28, 1990 (*vote 331*).

**The ACU opposed:**

Allowing federal and postal workers to campaign, raise funds and run for elective office during off-duty hours (*vote 28*).

Providing \$3.7 billion in new budget authority in fiscal 1989 for various agencies, including \$822 million for anti-drug activities (*vote 65*).

Overriding president's veto of bill to raise minimum wage from \$3.35 an hour to \$4.55 over three years and to provide for a 60-day training wage. Vote double-weighted (*vote 86*).

Reducing budget authority for SDI to \$3.1 billion for the Defense and Energy departments (*vote 153*).

Reducing funding for the B-2 "stealth" bomber by \$470 million (*vote 168*).

Eliminating \$502 million from the MX rail-garrison program, thereby cutting funding for the program nearly in half (*vote 171*).

Eliminating \$47 million from Army funds to produce binary chemical munitions projectiles and prohibiting the production of such munitions (*vote 178*).

Reducing the number of projects covered by the Davis-Bacon Act, which sets wage standards for federal contracts, by boosting from \$2,000 to \$50,000 — rather than a proposed \$250,000 — the threshold below which projects would be exempt (*vote 181*).

Extending most-favored-nation status to the products of the People's Republic of Hungary for three years (*vote 224*).

Striking a capital gains tax cut from the budget-reconciliation bill and substituting restored deductibility for IRAs, a deficit-reduction trust fund and an increase from 28 percent to 33 percent in the top marginal tax rate. Vote double-weighted (*vote 253*).

Raising salaries of House members and top officials of the executive and judicial branches (*vote 358*).

Allowing a vote on withholding 30 percent of U.S. military

aid to El Salvador after April 1, 1990 (*vote 373*).

**ACU SCORES**

A complete list of individual member scores begins on p. 70-B.

**Senate Votes**

**High Scorers.** Three Republicans scored 100 percent: Wallop, Wyo.; Armstrong, Colo.; and Helms, N.C. Eight scored 96 percent.

Heflin, Ala., led Southern Democrats, with 75 percent. Boren, Okla., scored 63 percent.

Among Northern Democrats, Exon, Neb., scored highest, with 36 percent. Three Northern Democrats scored 32 percent: Dixon, Ill.; DeConcini, Ariz.; and Lieberman, Conn.

**Low Scorers.** Two Northern Democrats scored 0 percent: Leahy, Vt., and Matsunaga, Hawaii. Four scored 4 percent.

Among Southern Democrats, Sasser, Tenn., scored lowest, with 8 percent, followed by Fowler, Ga., with 15 percent.

The lowest-scoring Republican was Hatfield, Ore., with 21 percent. Chafee, R.I., scored 30 percent.

**House Votes**

**High Scorers.** Nine Republicans scored 100 percent. Twenty-nine scored 96 percent.

Taylor, Miss., who was eligible for four ACU votes, led Southern Democrats, with 100 percent. Hall, Texas, scored 89 percent. Hutto, Fla., scored 85 percent.

Among Northern Democrats, Byron, Md., scored highest, with 64 percent. Skelton, Mo., scored 56 percent.

**Low Scorers.** Fifty-four Democrats scored 0 percent. The breakdown was four Southern Democrats and 50 Northern Democrats.

Morella, Md., scored lowest among Republicans, with 21 percent. Shays, Conn., and Horton, N.Y., each scored 29 percent. ■

**ADA (Americans for Democratic Action)** — The percentage of time each representative voted in accordance with the ADA position on 20 selected votes in 1989. The percentages were compiled by the ADA. Failure to vote lowers scores.

**AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations)** — The percentage of time each representative voted for or was paired in favor of the AFL-CIO position on 12 selected votes in 1989. The percentages were computed by Congressional Quarterly based on the selected votes. Failure to vote does not lower scores.

**CCUS (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)** — The percentage of time each representative voted with the Chamber's position on 10 selected votes in 1989. The percentages were compiled by the Chamber. Failure to vote does not lower scores.

**ACU (American Conservative Union)** — The percentage of time each representative voted with the ACU position on 25 selected votes in 1989. The percentages were compiled by the ACU. Failure to vote does not lower scores.

<sup>1</sup> Rep. Tommy F. Robinson, R-Ark., switched from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party on July 28, 1989. The ADA rated Robinson's votes as a Democrat only. Had the ADA rated Robinson's votes for the entire year, his score would have been 30 percent.

<sup>2</sup> Rep. Gary Condit, D-Calif., was sworn in Sept. 20, 1989, to succeed Tony Coelho, D, who resigned June 15, 1989. Coelho received a 14 percent score from the ACU. He was not rated by the other interest groups. Condit was not rated by the ADA.

<sup>3</sup> Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, R-Fla., was sworn in Sept. 6, 1989, to succeed Claude Pepper, D, who died May 30, 1989. Pepper was not rated by any of the interest groups. Ros-Lehtinen was not rated by the ADA.

<sup>4</sup> Rep. Gene Taylor, D-Miss., was sworn in Oct. 24, 1989, to succeed Larkin Smith, R, who died Aug. 13, 1989. Smith was not rated by the AFL-CIO or the CCUS. His ADA score was 0 percent; his ACU score was 94 percent. Taylor was not rated by the CCUS or the ADA. He was eligible for only one vote chosen by the AFL-CIO.

<sup>5</sup> Rep. James J. Florio, D-N.J., resigned Jan. 16, 1990, to become governor of New Jersey. He was absent for many of the interest group votes for which he was eligible and was not rated by the ADA.

<sup>6</sup> Rep. Jim Courter, R-N.J., was absent for more than half of the votes selected by the ADA in 1989 and did not receive a rating.

<sup>7</sup> Rep. Guy V. Molinari, R-N.Y., resigned Jan. 1, 1990, to become Staten Island borough president.

<sup>8</sup> Rep. Robert Garcia, D-N.Y., resigned Jan. 7, 1990.

<sup>9</sup> Rep. Pete Geren, D-Texas, was sworn in Sept. 20, 1989, to succeed Jim Wright, D, who resigned June 30, 1989. As Speaker, Wright voted at his discretion. He was not rated by the CCUS, the AFL-CIO or the ADA. His ACU score was 0. Geren was not rated by the ADA.

<sup>10</sup> Rep. Craig Washington, D-Texas, was sworn in Jan. 23, 1990, to succeed Mickey Leland, D, who died Aug. 7, 1989. Leland was not rated by the AFL-CIO or the CCUS. His ADA score was 67; his ACU score was 0.

<sup>11</sup> Rep. Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., as Speaker, voted at his discretion. He was not rated by the ADA or the CCUS.

<sup>12</sup> Rep. Craig Thomas, R-Wyo., was sworn in May 2, 1989, to succeed Dick Cheney, R, who became defense secretary March 21, 1989. Cheney was not rated by any of the interest groups.

## KEY

ADA — Americans for Democratic Action

AFL-CIO — American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations

CCUS — Chamber of Commerce of the United States

ACU — American Conservative Union

Democrats Republicans

	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
<b>Alabama</b>				
1 Callahan	0	9	100	93
2 Dickinson	5	17	100	85
3 Browder	44	63	70	58
4 Bevil	40	70	44	39
5 Flippo	40	58	60	56
6 Erdreich	55	67	50	46
7 Harris	55	58	60	50
<b>Alaska</b>				
AL Young	15	50	60	77
<b>Arizona</b>				
1 Rhodes	10	8	100	82
2 Udall	95	92	40	16
3 Stump	0	0	100	96
4 Kyl	0	8	100	96
5 Kolbe	15	0	100	85
<b>Arkansas</b>				
1 Alexander	60	91	30	22
2 Robinson <sup>1</sup>	43	67	80	79
3 Hammerschmidt	5	8	90	85
4 Anthony	60	70	44	23
<b>California</b>				
1 Bosco	70	90	50	15
2 Herger	10	25	100	100
3 Matsui	95	92	10	4
4 Fazio	80	100	20	4
5 Pelosi	95	100	20	0
6 Boxer	100	91	30	0
7 Miller	100	91	20	0
8 Dellums	100	100	20	0
9 Stark	95	100	20	0
10 Edwards	100	100	20	0
11 Lantos	80	100	40	0
12 Campbell	40	17	100	50
13 Mineta	95	91	50	11
14 Shumway	5	18	90	96
15 Condit <sup>2</sup>		100	50	33
16 Panetta	95	91	30	7
17 Pashayan	35	58	80	89
18 Lehman	90	100	40	0
19 Lagomarsino	0	8	100	93
20 Thomas	15	8	90	78
21 Gallegly	5	18	100	89
22 Moorhead	0	0	100	93
23 Beilenson	85	67	30	4
24 Waxman	100	100	30	4
25 Roybal	95	100	33	0
26 Berman	95	100	30	4
27 Levine	90	100	40	0
28 Dixon	85	100	40	0
29 Hawkins	95	100	25	4
30 Martinez	75	91	50	11
31 Dymally	90	83	20	0
32 Anderson	65	82	50	27
33 Dreier	0	0	100	96
34 Torres	95	100	40	0
35 Lewis	10	25	78	79
36 Brown	75	100	40	0
37 McCandless	0	0	100	88
38 Dornan	0	10	100	96
39 Dannemeyer	5	0	89	100
40 Cox	5	8	90	96
41 Lowery	5	25	90	85

	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
<b>42 Rohrabacher</b>	10	9	90	96
<b>43 Packard</b>	0	9	100	93
<b>44 Bates</b>	95	92	40	7
<b>45 Hunter</b>	10	18	100	96
<b>Colorado</b>				
1 Schroeder	100	92	40	11
2 Skaggs	85	83	30	7
3 Campbell	50	64	60	36
4 Brown	20	17	100	86
5 Hefley	5	17	100	93
6 Schaefer	5	25	90	89
<b>Connecticut</b>				
1 Kennelly	95	92	30	7
2 Gejdenson	100	100	30	0
3 Morrison	100	100	30	4
4 Shays	85	67	70	29
5 Rowland	40	58	90	68
6 Johnson	30	33	80	50
<b>Delaware</b>				
AL Carper	80	83	50	21
<b>Florida</b>				
1 Hutto	10	45	100	85
2 Grant	15	8	100	81
3 Bennett	70	75	60	46
4 James	0	8	100	89
5 McCollum	0	9	100	96
6 Stearns	0	0	100	93
7 Gibbons	80	70	40	19
8 Young	10	9	89	86
9 Bilirakis	10	25	100	86
10 Ireland	10	8	100	88
11 Nelson	60	91	50	31
12 Lewis	5	17	100	93
13 Goss	5	25	100	89
14 Johnston	70	83	50	7
15 Shaw	5	17	90	89
16 Smith	90	100	20	0
17 Lehman	95	100	20	0
18 Ros-Lehtinen <sup>3</sup>	40	100	100	
19 Foscell	60	92	20	4
<b>Georgia</b>				
1 Thomas	25	33	80	54
2 Hatcher	35	55	80	31
3 Ray	15	9	100	65
4 Jones	70	67	60	14
5 Lewis	100	100	40	4
6 Gingrich	0	8	100	88
7 Darden	35	50	90	43
8 Rowland	30	42	90	54
9 Jenkins	35	58	60	50
10 Barnard	10	18	90	79
<b>Hawaii</b>				
1 Saiki	45	33	90	50
2 Akaka	85	100	30	7
<b>Idaho</b>				
1 Craig	0	0	100	96
2 Stallings	45	45	70	41
<b>Illinois</b>				
1 Hayes	100	100	30	0
2 Savage	100	91	22	0
3 Russo	80	83	30	11
4 Sangmeister	90	92	50	14
5 Lipinski	40	91	44	26
6 Hyde	5	10	89	95
7 Collins	40	100	57	0
8 Rostenkowski	70	100	10	19
9 Yates	100	83	20	4
10 Porter	30	8	100	63
11 Annunzio	75	100	44	7
12 Crane	5	0	90	100
13 Fawell	10	0	100	93
14 Hastert	10	17	100	85
15 Madigan	15	8	100	78
16 Martin	35	25	80	69
17 Evans	100	92	40	7
18 Michel	10	18	89	84
19 Bruce	75	83	30	14
20 Durbin	95	83	30	4
21 Costello	70	92	40	18
22 Poshard	80	92	40	21
<b>Indiana</b>				
1 Visclosky	100	83	40	7
2 Sharp	80	83	33	20
3 Hiler	0	0	100	100



	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
4 Long	68	80	50	25
5 Jontz	100	83	20	4
6 <b>Burton</b>	5	17	90	96
7 <b>Myers</b>	20	25	100	74
8 McCloskey	85	92	30	7
9 Hamilton	60	67	60	21
10 Jacobs	85	83	50	33
<b>Iowa</b>				
1 <b>Leach</b>	65	25	67	46
2 <b>Tauke</b>	25	0	100	79
3 Nagle	80	92	40	7
4 Smith	70	75	40	11
5 <b>Lightfoot</b>	5	0	90	79
6 <b>Grandy</b>	25	8	100	64
<b>Kansas</b>				
1 <b>Roberts</b>	5	0	100	79
2 Slattery	55	75	60	21
3 <b>Myers</b>	15	17	100	64
4 Glickman	80	67	50	18
5 <b>Whittaker</b>	15	17	100	86
<b>Kentucky</b>				
1 Hubbard	50	64	89	58
2 Natcher	65	83	50	25
3 Mazzoli	40	25	80	32
4 <b>Bunning</b>	5	17	100	96
5 <b>Rogers</b>	10	25	80	71
6 <b>Hopkins</b>	20	17	100	82
7 Perkins	85	83	40	21
<b>Louisiana</b>				
1 <b>Livingston</b>	5	17	90	93
2 Boggs	75	83	30	21
3 Touzin	20	25	80	74
4 <b>McCrery</b>	0	8	90	86
5 Huckaby	15	27	100	62
6 <b>Baker</b>	5	17	90	79
7 Hayes	30	67	60	56
8 <b>Holloway</b>	15	33	90	93
<b>Maine</b>				
1 Brennan	95	92	40	11
2 <b>Snowe</b>	35	25	90	54
<b>Maryland</b>				
1 Dyson	50	82	50	50
2 <b>Bentley</b>	20	50	90	86
3 Cardin	90	100	30	7
4 McMillen	60	92	40	29
5 Hoyer	80	100	20	0
6 Byron	15	25	100	64
7 Mfume	90	100	30	8
8 <b>Morella</b>	80	67	80	21
<b>Massachusetts</b>				
1 <b>Cante</b>	75	92	40	32
2 Neal	85	100	30	11
3 Early	80	73	40	20
4 Frank	95	92	30	7
5 Atkins	100	92	30	0
6 Mavroules	85	100	40	11
7 Markey	100	100	40	0
8 Kennedy	95	100	40	4
9 Moakley	95	100	44	4
10 Studds	100	100	40	0
11 Donnelly	75	92	30	12
<b>Michigan</b>				
1 Conyers	90	88	30	5
2 <b>Pursell</b>	30	8	100	57
3 Wolpe	100	100	40	4
4 <b>Upton</b>	20	8	100	75
5 <b>Henry</b>	30	8	90	68
6 Carr	85	67	50	25
7 Kildee	95	100	20	11
8 Traxler	80	90	33	12
9 <b>Vander Jagt</b>	0	18	90	91
10 <b>Schutte</b>	15	9	100	83
11 <b>Davis</b>	40	82	60	54
12 Bonior	95	100	30	4
13 Crockett	90	92	20	4
14 Hertel	90	100	30	12
15 Ford	95	91	40	0
16 Dingell	75	82	20	8
17 Levin	95	100	20	0
18 <b>Broomfield</b>	20	9	100	88
<b>Minnesota</b>				
1 Penny	55	50	80	46
2 <b>Weber</b>	5	8	100	89
3 <b>Frenzel</b>	20	0	80	61
4 Vento	100	83	30	4

	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
5 Sabo	95	92	20	0
6 Sikorski	100	92	40	4
7 <b>Stangeland</b>	0	10	100	96
8 Oberstar	95	83	30	4
<b>Mississippi</b>				
1 Whitten	50	67	70	42
2 Espy	80	92	40	16
3 Montgomery	10	25	90	59
4 Parker	20	27	100	68
5 Taylor*		100		100
<b>Missouri</b>				
1 Clay	95	92	33	0
2 <b>Buechner</b>	10	18	89	73
3 Gephardt	90	100	30	4
4 Skelton	35	58	70	56
5 Wheat	95	100	40	0
6 <b>Coleman</b>	5	25	100	78
7 <b>Hancock</b>	0	8	90	96
8 <b>Emerson</b>	10	17	100	93
9 Volkmer	60	83	40	25
<b>Montana</b>				
1 Williams	80	91	40	7
2 <b>Marlenee</b>	0	0	100	96
<b>Nebraska</b>				
1 <b>Bereuter</b>	15	33	80	61
2 Hoagland	70	92	40	25
3 Smith	5	0	89	79
<b>Nevada</b>				
1 Bilbray	55	75	50	25
2 <b>Vucanovich</b>	5	8	100	89
<b>New Hampshire</b>				
1 <b>Smith</b>	10	8	100	96
2 <b>Douglas</b>	15	17	100	96
<b>New Jersey</b>				
1 Florio*		80	0	0
2 Hughes	70	75	50	14
3 Pallone	75	92	40	25
4 <b>Smith</b>	45	75	70	43
5 <b>Roukema</b>	30	33	90	57
6 Dwyer	80	92	40	0
7 <b>Rinaldo</b>	45	83	60	56
8 Roe	65	83	44	25
9 Torricelli	75	100	30	0
10 Payne	90	100	30	4
11 <b>Gallo</b>	25	25	100	61
12 <b>Courter*</b>		33	100	75
13 <b>Saxton</b>	20	42	100	64
14 Guarini	85	92	40	11
<b>New Mexico</b>				
1 <b>Schiff</b>	15	25	90	86
2 <b>Skeen</b>	0	0	90	96
3 Richardson	70	92	44	21
<b>New York</b>				
1 Hochbrueckner	85	100	30	7
2 Downey	95	100	10	0
3 Mrazek	80	82	40	8
4 <b>Lent</b>	10	33	90	70
5 <b>McGrath</b>	30	50	70	59
6 Flake	95	100	30	4
7 Ackerman	90	100	40	0
8 Scheuer	85	100	44	0
9 Manton	70	100	40	4
10 Schumer	95	100	30	0
11 Towns	90	100	33	0
12 Owens	100	100	20	4
13 Solarz	85	92	40	0
14 <b>Molinar*</b>	10	30	100	78
15 <b>Green</b>	50	20	90	39
16 Rangel	85	100	11	0
17 Weiss	95	91	30	0
18 Garcia*	70	100	25	0
19 Engel	95	100	33	4
20 Lowey	95	100	40	7
21 <b>Fish</b>	45	42	70	41
22 <b>Gilman</b>	55	92	60	43
23 McNulty	75	100	40	25
24 <b>Solomon</b>	15	33	80	79
25 <b>Boehlert</b>	65	75	70	43
26 <b>Martin</b>	5	17	89	81
27 <b>Walsh</b>	35	33	80	64
28 McHugh	85	92	30	0
29 <b>Horton</b>	70	92	56	29
30 Slaughter	95	100	40	4
31 <b>Paxon</b>	0	8	100	93

	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
32 LaFalce	90	83	50	12
33 Nowak	80	83	40	15
34 <b>Houghton</b>	20	10	90	65
<b>North Carolina</b>				
1 Jones	70	75	60	26
2 Valentine	30	33	70	39
3 Lancaster	40	42	80	30
4 Price	75	83	60	14
5 Neal	65	67	60	19
6 <b>Cable</b>	10	8	100	82
7 Rose	80	83	50	15
8 Hefner	65	75	50	26
9 <b>McMillan</b>	0	8	100	74
10 <b>Ballenger</b>	10	9	100	96
11 Clarke	65	92	50	36
<b>North Dakota</b>				
AL Dorgan	85	75	30	21
<b>Ohio</b>				
1 Luken	70	75	50	22
2 <b>Gradison</b>	15	8	80	68
3 Hall	80	83	56	7
4 <b>Oxley</b>	5	8	100	93
5 <b>Gillmor</b>	0	0	100	93
6 <b>McEwen</b>	5	17	100	93
7 <b>DeWine</b>	10	17	90	96
8 <b>Lukens</b>	0	8	100	96
9 Kaptur	75	82	44	11
10 <b>Miller</b>	0	17	100	100
11 Eckart	90	83	40	18
12 <b>Kasich</b>	20	9	90	100
13 Pease	90	91	10	0
14 Sawyer	95	100	40	0
15 <b>Wylie</b>	0	0	90	93
16 <b>Regula</b>	20	25	100	54
17 Traficant	90	100	40	25
18 Applegate	70	83	50	33
19 Feighan	90	100	40	4
20 Oaker	90	92	40	0
21 Stokes	95	91	33	0
<b>Oklahoma</b>				
1 <b>Inhofe</b>	5	17	100	96
2 Synar	85	67	40	4
3 Watkins	30	55	80	50
4 McCurdy	35	50	89	40
5 <b>Edwards</b>	0	18	100	85
6 English	25	33	100	68
<b>Oregon</b>				
1 AuCoin	85	100	30	8
2 <b>Smith, B.</b>	10	17	100	79
3 Wyden	80	82	50	18
4 DeFazio	95	92	40	7
5 <b>Smith, D.</b>	5	0	90	87
<b>Pennsylvania</b>				
1 Foglietta	95	100	40	0
2 Gray	95	100	30	4
3 Borski	75	92	50	7
4 Koller	65	100	40	28
5 <b>Schulze</b>	20	25	90	71
6 Yatron	45	100	25	24
7 <b>Weldon</b>	35	60	89	62
8 Kostmayer	90	92	50	7
9 <b>Shuster</b>	10	17	100	89
10 <b>McDade</b>	35	67	80	46
11 Kanjorski	80	92	40	14
12 Murtha	45	100	30	27
13 <b>Coughlin</b>	30	17	90	57
14 Coyne	100	100	10	4
15 <b>Ritter</b>	10	17	100	100
16 <b>Walker</b>	10	0	100	93
17 <b>Gekas</b>	15	0	100	96
18 Walgren	75	82	30	7
19 <b>Goodling</b>	25	17	90	68
20 Goydos	55	100	40	26
21 <b>Ridge</b>	45	67	80	57
22 Murphy	75	92	50	30
23 <b>Clinger</b>	20	17	100	64
<b>Rhode Island</b>				
1 <b>Machtley</b>	55	50	70	46
2 <b>Schneider</b>	75	64	80	36
<b>South Carolina</b>				
1 <b>Ravenel</b>	25	25	100	70
2 <b>Spence</b>	10	25	100	93
3 Derrick	35	50	80	43
4 Patterson	40	42	90	68
5 Spratt	65	67	80	29
6 Tallon	50	58	80	46

	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
South Dakota				
AL Johnson	85	83	40	21
Tennessee				
1 <i>Quillen</i>	15	25	100	85
2 <i>Duncan</i>	20	33	90	75
3 Lloyd	35	73	78	52
4 Cooper	60	58	60	21
5 Clement	60	64	50	19
6 Gordon	75	92	50	11
7 <i>Sundquist</i>	5	17	90	78
8 Tanner	40	67	70	44
9 Ford	80	100	10	0
Texas				
1 Chapman	50	50	60	39
2 Wilson	45	82	40	50
3 <i>Bartlett</i>	10	8	100	93
4 Hall	5	8	80	89
5 Bryant	75	91	30	12
6 <i>Barton</i>	10	8	90	89
7 <i>Archer</i>	0	0	90	88
8 <i>Fields</i>	0	8	100	96
9 Brooks	65	73	40	17
10 Pickle	50	67	30	33
11 Leath	15	25	80	56
12 Geren <sup>9</sup>		60	83	78
13 Sarpalius	40	42	80	64
14 Laughlin	20	44	67	56
15 de la Garza	50	73	56	21
16 Coleman	75	91	22	18
17 Stenholm	25	17	80	61
18 Vacancy <sup>10</sup>				
19 <i>Combest</i>	0	0	90	96
20 Gonzalez	80	92	30	0
21 <i>Smith</i>	0	0	100	93
22 <i>Delay</i>	0	0	80	96
23 Bustamante	80	100	30	4
24 Frost	75	82	40	4
25 Andrews	35	45	50	48
26 <i>Armey</i>	0	0	90	96
27 Ortiz	60	73	50	29
Utah				
1 <i>Hansen</i>	0	8	100	100
2 Owens	70	73	30	11
3 <i>Nielson</i>	10	8	100	89
Vermont				
AL <i>Smith</i>	65	50	80	37
Virginia				
1 <i>Bateman</i>	0	17	100	81
2 Pickett	45	42	80	37
3 <i>Bliley</i>	0	8	100	96
4 Sisisky	55	67	60	21
5 Payne	35	36	90	50
6 Clin	65	67	50	14
7 <i>Slaughter</i>	0	0	100	96
8 <i>Parris</i>	10	30	89	75
9 Boucher	80	73	30	8
10 <i>Wolf</i>	10	17	90	89
Washington				
1 <i>Miller</i>	35	25	100	68
2 Swift	85	92	40	0
3 Unsold	100	100	40	4
4 <i>Morrison</i>	20	17	100	68
5 Foley <sup>11</sup>		100	0	0
6 Dicks	75	91	40	7
7 McDermott	95	100	20	4
8 <i>Chandler</i>	15	9	100	70
West Virginia				
1 Mollohan	55	92	40	36
2 Staggers	80	83	40	18
3 Wise	75	100	30	14
4 Rahall	85	91	40	19
Wisconsin				
1 Aspin	65	82	40	8
2 Kastenmeier	100	82	30	0
3 <i>Gunderson</i>	20	17	100	81
4 Kleczka	95	83	40	0
5 Moody	95	75	40	11
6 <i>Petri</i>	20	17	90	75
7 Obey	95	83	20	0
8 <i>Roth</i>	10	9	100	86
9 <i>Sensenbrenner</i>	20	0	89	71
Wyoming				
AL <i>Thorne</i> <sup>12</sup>	5	0	90	98

	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
<b>Alabama</b>				
Heflin	25	90	63	75
Shelby	25	90	63	57
<b>Alaska</b>				
Murkowski	5	10	75	81
Stevens	20	40	75	64
<b>Arizona</b>				
DeConcini	60	80	50	32
McCain	5	0	88	93
<b>Arkansas</b>				
Bumpers	90	90	25	21
Pryor	80	89	25	27
<b>California</b>				
Cranston	85	90	50	4
Wilson	10	20	88	93
<b>Colorado</b>				
Wirth	95	90	57	7
Armstrong	0	0	88	100
<b>Connecticut</b>				
Dodd	65	100	50	22
Lieberman	75	90	38	32
<b>Delaware</b>				
Biden	90	100	29	14
Roth	0	0	88	81
<b>Florida</b>				
Graham	50	100	38	36
Mack	5	10	88	96
<b>Georgia</b>				
Fowler	60	89	50	15
Nunn	35	80	63	37
<b>Hawaii</b>				
Inouye	70	90	50	11
Matsunaga	75	89	60	0
<b>Idaho</b>				
McClure	0	0	88	93
Symms	0	0	88	96
<b>Illinois</b>				
Dixon	55	90	50	32
Simon	100	90	25	14
<b>Indiana</b>				
Coats	10	20	88	86
Lugar	10	0	100	75

	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
<b>Iowa</b>				
Harkin	95	100	38	14
Grassley	25	10	75	86
<b>Kansas</b>				
Dole	5	0	88	86
Kassebaum	20	0	63	57
<b>Kentucky</b>				
Ford	45	100	25	25
McConnell	10	20	75	89
<b>Louisiana</b>				
Breaux	40	100	50	30
Johnston	30	70	63	32
<b>Maine</b>				
Mitchell	80	100	50	11
Cohen	45	30	75	50
<b>Maryland</b>				
Mikulski	90	100	38	8
Sarbanes	85	100	25	7
<b>Massachusetts</b>				
Kennedy	85	90	29	7
Kerry	95	100	50	11
<b>Michigan</b>				
Levin	80	100	25	14
Riegle	85	100	38	12
<b>Minnesota</b>				
Boschwitz	15	0	86	81
Durenberger	40	30	50	41
<b>Mississippi</b>				
Cochran	0	10	75	78
Lott	5	20	88	96
<b>Missouri</b>				
Bond	5	10	100	85
Danforth	15	20	63	71
<b>Montana</b>				
Baucus	80	100	43	19
Burns	0	0	88	85
<b>Nebraska</b>				
Exon	35	100	25	36
Kerrey	80	100	50	11
<b>Nevada</b>				
Bryan	55	100	25	30
Reid	65	100	38	21

	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
<b>New Hampshire</b>				
Humphrey	10	20	75	96
Rudman	25	10	75	70
<b>New Jersey</b>				
Bradley	85	80	25	15
Lautenberg	80	90	29	7
<b>New Mexico</b>				
Bingaman	65	90	38	15
Domenici	10	11	88	88
<b>New York</b>				
Maynihan	75	100	38	4
D'Amato	35	70	63	48
<b>North Carolina</b>				
Sanford	65	100	50	19
Helms	5	20	75	100
<b>North Dakota</b>				
Burdick	85	100	38	11
Conrad	70	90	50	29
<b>Ohio</b>				
Glenn	65	100	38	26
Metzenbaum	95	100	25	7
<b>Oklahoma</b>				
Boren	30	50	100	63
Nickles	0	0	88	96
<b>Oregon</b>				
Hatfield	80	50	63	21
Packwood	30	60	57	61
<b>Pennsylvania</b>				
Heinz	35	80	75	54
Specter	40	50	75	57
<b>Rhode Island</b>				
Pell	85	80	43	4
Chafee	35	30	75	39
<b>South Carolina</b>				
Hollings	45	80	63	50
Thurmond	5	0	88	96
<b>South Dakota</b>				
Daschle	80	90	50	7
Pressler	35	40	63	75
<b>Tennessee</b>				
Gore	55	88	60	19
Sasser	85	100	57	8

## KEY

ADA—Americans for Democratic Action  
AFL-CIO—American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations  
CCUS—Chamber of Commerce of the United States  
ACU—American Conservative Union

Democrats      Republicans

	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
<b>Texas</b>				
Bentsen	45	90	57	36
Gramm	0	0	88	96
<b>Utah</b>				
Garn	5	0	88	96
Hatch	5	10	88	93
<b>Vermont</b>				
Leahy	100	100	38	0
Jeffords <sup>1</sup>	40	40	71	44
<b>Virginia</b>				
Robb	45	80	63	36
Warner	5	10	88	89
<b>Washington</b>				
Adams	95	100	38	4
Gorton	15	20	88	75
<b>West Virginia</b>				
Byrd	60	100	38	14
Rockefeller	80	90	38	14
<b>Wisconsin</b>				
Kohl	95	90	25	11
Kasten	10	20	88	89
<b>Wyoming</b>				
Simpson	10	0	88	70
Wallace	0	0	100	100

**ADA (Americans for Democratic Action)** — The percentage of time each senator voted in accordance with the ADA position on 20 selected votes in 1989. The percentages were compiled by the ADA. Failure to vote lowers scores.

**AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations)** — The percentage of time each senator voted for or was paired in favor of the AFL-CIO position on 10 selected votes in 1989. The percentages were computed by Congressional Quarterly based on the selected votes. Failure to vote does not lower scores.

**CCUS (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)** — The percentage of time each senator voted with the Chamber's position on eight selected votes in 1989. The percentages were compiled by the Chamber. Failure to vote does not lower scores.

**ACU (American Conservative Union)** — The percentage of time each senator voted with the ACU position on 24 selected votes in 1989. The percentages were compiled by the ACU. Failure to vote does not lower scores.

<sup>1</sup> Sen. James M. Jeffords, R-Vt., was granted unanimous consent by the Senate to change his vote from yea to nay on a motion to table an amendment that would have reduced authorization for a rail-mobile version of the MX missile to \$600 million. The ADA and the ACU computed Jeffords' rating based on his initial vote; otherwise, he would have received a 45 percent rating from the ADA and a 40 from the ACU.