

# Ratings Find Ideological Edges Softened

With Congress tackling bedrock economic issues such as taxes, job protections and worker benefits in 1990, national business and labor organizations found plenty of litmus-test votes on which to judge members. But, despite election-year politicking, ideological interest groups had trouble finding floor tests of their pet issues.

Selecting congressional votes to use in rating members of Congress is an annual exercise for groups representing conservatives, liberals, business, labor and other interests.

The AFL-CIO and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce were, as usual, often at loggerheads in the 1990 session, but both organizations agreed that Congress addressed their interests on a long list of meaningful votes. Floor confrontations took place on child care, employee safety, worker discrimination and the role of federal workers in the political process. Congress also dealt with important commerce concerns when it took roll call votes on imposing new air pollution controls, setting trade quotas, altering the treatment of vertical price fixing, and revising the Davis-Bacon Act.

On the other hand, two ideologically oriented groups, the American Conservative Union (ACU) and the liberal Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), found fewer direct tests on their biggest issues.

Members "spent the better part of the last year bickering, and they avoided some of the more important issues which affect the lives of all Americans," said Wendy Isaacs, the national director of ADA.

The two groups found fewer votes to use in rating members than in 1989, partly because election years tend to blunt ideological tendencies and partly because attention at the end of the year was focused on the Persian Gulf and foreign policy. The ADA and ACU often relied on votes that re-fought old battles on the death penalty, the strategic defense initiative, abortion and constitutional amendments to protect the flag and to require a balanced budget. (1989 group ratings, 1989 Almanac, p. 63-B)

Perhaps reflecting election-year pressures to compromise, all the groups found clear-cut victories hard to come by. The Chamber of Commerce and the ACU posted their worst success rates of the past three years. The ACU was battered in the House, where it won only three of 22 contests, and the Chamber saw its success rate plummet. However, several of those groups' defeats, such as the initial passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act, were salvaged by President Bush's successful use of the veto. (How interest groups fared, p. 24-B)

While the groups' positions did not often prevail, there was not a large decline in members' support scores. This apparent anomaly is largely explained by the prevalence of votes in the studies that required a "supermajority" (two-thirds or, in some cases, 60 Senate votes). Thus, a group could see its position defeated even when it won a majority.

## Party Scores

Average scores for members of each party in each chamber, as computed by four interest groups:

	House	Senate
<b>AFL-CIO</b>		
Democrats	82%	71%
Republicans	17	31
<b>U.S. Chamber of Commerce</b>		
Democrats	34	26
Republicans	75	74
<b>Americans for Democratic Action</b>		
Democrats	71	72
Republicans	19	20
<b>American Conservative Union</b>		
Democrats	20	20
Republicans	73	75

The AFL-CIO, for instance, fell short of its goals in the Senate while winning a majority of votes on three veto overrides and one motion to shut off debate.

Representatives of all interest groups agreed that the ideological balance in Congress did not shift significantly during 1990.

Robert D. Billings, legislative director of the ACU, said, "The House and the Senate moved a little more towards the middle," continuing "a lessening of the polarization that we saw during the Reagan years."

If the second session of the 101st Congress showed any trend, it was slightly to the left. The ADA's overall "liberal quotient," the average number of times members of Congress voted in support of the ADA's stated position on selected votes, improved slightly in the Senate, where its 49 percent score was the second highest in the previous 15 years. (It was

four points higher in 1987.) At 41 percent, the ACU lost two points from its 1989 House support score and three points from 1988, while the Chamber's average support scores fell by more than 10 percentage points in both chambers.

## 'Use Them Gingerly'

Interest groups compile ratings of members of Congress to help inform their memberships of who is watching out for their interests on Capitol Hill and, in some cases, to decide who gets campaign help from the groups. The compilations by the ACU, ADA, AFL-CIO and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce are four of the most often cited ratings.

While the ratings are widely read, their value as an analytical tool is debated. The studies use a small number of votes selected by groups with a vested interest in what Congress does, making them a limited and potentially misleading barometer of what is happening on Capitol Hill.

"Use them gingerly to understand the Congress," Roger Davidson, a political science professor at the University of Maryland, commented. "They are of some utility, but the positions may be more subtle than might be reflected in these simple indices."

For instance, on what was probably the biggest vote of 1990 — the Oct. 5 House vote that rejected the budget-summit agreement — members who voted against it helped their cause with both the ADA and its ideological opponent, the ACU. Both groups opposed the agreement, although for different reasons: conservatives because it depended on new taxes, liberals because the tax burden did not fall heavily enough on the rich and because cuts were proposed in social services.

The scores can change drastically with one or two votes. If a senator opposed the AFL-CIO on only one vote in 1990, his score was lowered by 11 percentage points. The AFL-CIO and the Chamber both said their studies were significantly altered by one or two unusual votes in 1990.

When the House voted 312-86 to loosen controls on exports of high technology to Eastern Europe — in agreement with the Chamber's position — the core of opposition came from conservatives who distrusted the Soviet Union, with 82 Republicans voting no. They apparently saw it more as a test of ideology than of business.

Largely because of such votes, only six House members got perfect scores from the Chamber in 1990, compared with 98 members who tallied 100 percent in 1989. In the Senate, Republicans Connie Mack, Fla., Trent Lott, Miss., and Don Nickles, Okla., all received perfect scores from the Chamber; four senators notched perfect scores in 1989.

For the AFL-CIO, votes on such issues as fuel-efficiency standards and workers' safety proved a nemesis; they prevented any senator from receiving a perfect score in support. Twenty-six senators had perfect labor support scores in 1989. In the House, 77 representatives — the same number as in 1989 — supported the AFL-CIO's position on every vote it selected.

### Year of the Veto

The large number of votes that required a supermajority underscored the importance of Bush's active use of the veto — 11 bills in 1990 — in analyzing legislative action in the 101st Congress. All four groups used at least one veto override attempt in their ratings.

Nowhere was the influence of the presidential veto, threatened or real, more evident than on labor issues. The AFL-CIO included three veto-override attempts — one-third of the total votes it used — in its study of the Senate, and it also used a cloture vote on motor vehicle fuel-efficiency standards, which required 60 votes to pass.

The AFL-CIO used override attempts instead of final-passage votes because its leaders felt the overrides mattered more. "Some members think they can vote one way to please their constituency and then turn around and vote another way to please the president," said Peggy Taylor, assistant director of the AFL-CIO's legislative department.

If the veto-override attempts were removed from the study, the AFL-CIO would have won about 75 percent of its House votes and 50 percent of its Senate votes in 1990, said Taylor.

Despite its lower overall scores, the labor leaders were optimistic about the 1990 legislative session, mainly be-

cause average support scores did not fall significantly.

"It's a pretty heavy duty to override the president," said Taylor. "We don't fault the Congress."

The Chamber took the opposite tack, basing its optimism — in the face of a losing record and declining average support scores — on the veto. Christine Russell, House legislative liaison for the Chamber, said the Chamber prevailed in the end on the issues that mattered most, such as blocking the civil rights and parental leave bills.

"We won on more of the major issues than we lost; therefore, we are not pessimistic about 1990 at all," Russell said.

### Looking for the Votes

Both the ACU and ADA reported difficulty finding solid votes on which to base their ratings.

ADA leaders perceived a lot of political posturing on Capitol Hill in 1990, Isaacs said. Usually, the ADA selected 20 votes from each chamber, but for 1990 the group found only 18 votes per chamber that met its standards.

Twenty-nine House members voted with the ADA on every vote in their study, up from 25 in 1989, and an increase of 13 members from 1988. Sens. Daniel K. Akaka, D-Hawaii, Alan Cranston, D-Calif., Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., and Frank R. Lautenberg, D-N.J., led their chamber with perfect ADA scores. Two senators had perfect ADA scores in 1989.

The ACU saw its average member support score in the House drop from 43 percent in 1989 to 41 percent in 1990. In the Senate, the average ACU rating fell from 46 percent in 1989 to 45 percent in 1990.

Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and Steve Symms, R-Idaho, were the ACU's big supporters in the Senate, both scoring 100 percent. Helms had scored 100 percent since his second year in office in 1974. In the House, five members drew perfect scores from the ACU, down from nine in 1989.

The ACU's Billings said the election played a role in lowering its average scores, as a lot of members did not want to risk opposing legislation that they believed to be popular among their voters, such as the civil rights bill.

Billings said there was a "general feeling among some Republicans that it's all right to compromise a little bit in the spirit of bipartisanship. After eight years of conservatism, it is time to sit back and digest a little bit." ■

## Votes Used in Interest Groups' Ratings

Following are the positions advocated by four major interest groups on congressional votes they used to rate members in 1990. A "Y" or "N" indicates whether the group favored a yea or nay vote; "won" or "lost" indicates whether the group's position prevailed. (*Individual scores, House, p. 28-B; Senate, p. 30-B*)

### AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

Since 1947, ADA ratings have been a standard, if sometimes disputed, measure of liberalism. The ADA based its ratings on 18 Senate votes and 18 House votes.

#### House Votes

##### The ADA supported:

Automatically registering eligible citizens to vote when they applied for, renewed or changed a driver's license, and making voter-registration forms available at certain public offices. (*Vote 11; Y — won*)

Passing, over Bush's veto, the bill to establish a commission to investigate and report on the management dispute between Eastern Airlines and its unions. (*Vote 22; Y — lost*)

Barring the use of federal funds for religious worship or instruction at child-care centers and prohibiting religious discrimination in the hiring of child-care workers by sectarian institutions receiving federal funds (*Vote 56; Y — lost*)

Requiring eight-year/80,000 mile warranties for catalytic converters and electronic control units. (*Vote 133; Y — won*)

Passing, over Bush's veto, the bill to allow greater political activity by federal employees and to protect them from political pressure. (*Vote 184; Y — won*)

Passing, over Bush's veto, the bill requiring employers to give unpaid leave to workers caring for a new child or sick relative. (*Vote 262; Y — lost*)

Terminating the strategic defense initiative (SDI) program by limiting basic research on it in fiscal 1991 to \$1.5 billion. (*Vote 337; Y — lost*)

Rejecting the death penalty as a maximum sentence in favor of

mandatory life imprisonment without the possibility of parole. (Vote 143; Y — lost)

Barring the execution of prisoners who demonstrated that their death sentence was imposed because of racial discrimination. (Vote 423; N to strike — won)

Amending the budget agreement to provide smaller increases in the Medicare premium and deductible; delete revenue provisions; eliminate the tax “bubble” and lift the top marginal tax rate to 33 percent; create a 10 percent surtax on income above \$1 million; increase the minimum tax rate; delay indexing for one year; and provide a limited tax break for capital gains. (Vote 474; Y — won)

**The ADA opposed:**

Allowing an employer to transfer a worker with a communicable disease out of a food-handling position, provided the employer offered the worker a similar position. (Vote 118; N — lost)

Proposing a constitutional amendment to prohibit the physical desecration of the flag. (Vote 192; N — won)

Proposing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget (Vote 238; N — won)

Defining “business necessity” in the civil rights bill as a practice that had a clear relationship to the employment in question or that served a legitimate employment goal; striking the bill’s damages provisions; and reducing or deleting a number of the bill’s other provisions. (Vote 309; N — won)

Lowering the limit on political action committees’ donations; requiring that at least half of a House candidate’s campaign funds come from his constituents; banning leadership PACs; prohibiting the transfer between PACs and candidate committees; banning the use of “soft money” by state and federal parties; and prohibiting the use of union or corporate funds for voter registration or participation campaigns directed at members or employees. (Vote 316; N — won)

Allowing semiautomatic weapons that have been banned from importation to be assembled from domestic parts. (Vote 416; N — lost)

Adopting the Sept. 30 budget agreement between congressional leaders and the Bush administration setting binding budget levels for fiscal 1991 by incorporating cost-saving measures in entitlement programs and increasing various user fees and taxes. (Vote 421; N — won)

Prohibiting the National Endowment for the Arts from funding obscene material, material deemed indecent by the Federal Communications Commission, or works denigrating a religion or an individual on the basis of race, sex, handicap or national origin. (Vote 447; N — won)

**Senate Votes**

**The ADA supported:**

Requiring a second round of tailpipe emissions reductions by 2003; the use of reformulated gasoline in ozone non-attainment areas; and the use of clean fuel in vehicles in the nation’s smoggiest cities. (Vote 35; N to table — lost)

Prohibiting the death penalty if a defendant could prove that race played a role in his sentencing. (Vote 108; N to strike provisions — lost)

Passing, over President Bush’s veto, the bill to allow greater political activity by federal employees and to protect them from political pressure. (Vote 121; Y — lost)

Banning for three years the production, sale and possession of nine types of semiautomatic assault-style weapons. (Vote 133; Y — won)

Rejecting the death penalty as a maximum sentence in favor of mandatory life imprisonment without the possibility of parole. (Vote 143; Y — lost)

Reversing or modifying six recent Supreme Court decisions that narrowed the reach and remedies of job discrimination laws. (Vote 161; Y — won)

Halting the construction of the B-2 bomber at six test aircraft. (Vote 208; Y — lost)

Reducing by \$594 million the amount authorized for the strategic defense initiative (SDI) in 1991. (Vote 225; N to table — lost)

Requiring federally funded facilities assisting pregnant women to advise them, on request, of all their legal and medical options, including abortion. (Vote 252; Y — won)

**How Interest Groups Fared**

(On 1990 votes they selected)

	Won-Lost		Average Scores	
	1990	1989	1990	1989
<b>AFL-CIO</b>				
House	7-5	9-3	55.8%	56.0%
Senate	3-6	8-2	53.4	59.0
<b>U.S. Chamber of Commerce</b>				
House	4-10	7-3	50.7	64.0
Senate	4-8	4-4	47.2	60.0
<b>Americans for Democratic Action</b>				
House	11-7	11-9	49.0	50.0
Senate	7-11	8-12	49.0	45.0
<b>American Conservative Union</b>				
House	3-19	8-17	41.0	43.0
Senate	7-14	7-17	45.0	46.0

Invoking cloture (thus limiting debate) on a proposal to allow eligible citizens to register to vote when they applied for or renewed driver’s licenses. (Vote 257; Y — lost)

Eliminating the income tax rate bubble; increasing the alternative minimum tax; providing a surtax of 10 percent on taxable income above \$1 million; deleting all new burdens placed on Medicare recipients; reducing the increase in the gas tax; and removing all provisions that would disallow 5 percent of itemized deductions on the portion of income above \$100,000. (Vote 280; Y — lost)

Reducing military aid to El Salvador by 50 percent and linking future military aid to improvements in human rights and progress toward a negotiated peace settlement. (Vote 293; Y — won)

**The ADA opposed:**

Allowing an employer to transfer a worker with a communicable disease out of a food-handling position, provided the employer offered the worker a similar position. (Vote 110; Y to table — lost)

Proposing a constitutional amendment to prohibit the physical desecration of the flag. (Vote 128; N — won)

Allowing all workers covered by union contracts, including union members, to opt out of paying dues or other fees that went for any activity other than bargaining contracts. (Vote 189; N — won)

Confirming David H. Souter to be an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. (Vote 259; N — lost)

Requiring federally funded health facilities to notify at least one parent of a minor seeking an abortion. (Vote 266; Y to table — lost)

Prohibiting the National Endowment for the Arts from using federal funds to promote, distribute, disseminate or produce materials that depicted or described, in a patently offensive way, sexual or excretory activities or organs. (Vote 307; N — won)

**ADA Scores**

**House Highs and Lows**

**High scorers.** Twenty-seven Northern and two Southern Democrats scored 100 percent. Twenty-seven Northern Democrats scored 94 percent.

Among Southern Democrats, Gonzalez, Texas, and Lewis, Ga., each scored 100 percent. Smith, Fla.; Synar, Okla.; and Washington, Texas, scored 94 percent.

Conte, Mass., and Schneider, R.I., scored highest among Republicans with 78 percent. Shays, Conn., followed with 72 percent.

**Low scorers.** Thirteen Republicans scored 0 percent. Forty-six scored 6 percent.

Hall of Texas scored lowest among Southern Democrats with

6 percent, followed by Leath of Texas with 11 percent.

Lowest scoring among Northern Democrats were Byron, Md., and Skelton, Mo., with 33 percent. Stallings, Idaho, and Volkmer, Mo., followed with 39 percent.

#### Senate Highs and Lows

**High scorers.** Four Northern Democrats scored 100 percent: Akaka, Hawaii; Cranston, Calif.; Kennedy, Mass.; and Lautenberg, N.J. Ten Northern Democrats scored 94 percent.

Highest among Southern Democrats was Gore, Tenn., with 78 percent. Bumpers, Ark.; Fowler, Ga.; and Sasser, Tenn., followed with 72 percent.

The highest scoring Republican was Hatfield, Ore., with 78 percent. Jeffords, Vt., and Packwood, Ore., each scored 72 percent.

**Low scorers.** Eight Republicans scored 0 percent: Coats, Ind.; Cochran, Miss.; Dole, Kan.; Gramm, Texas; Lott, Miss.; Mack, Fla.; McConnell, Ky.; Nickles, Okla. Ten scored 6 percent.

Among Southern Democrats, Heflin, Ala., scored lowest with 28 percent. Breaux, La., and Shelby, Ala., each scored 33 percent.

Exon of Nebraska scored lowest among Northern Democrats with 33 percent. Dixon, Ill., had the next-lowest score with 44 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 interest of workers." The AFL-CIO based its ratings on nine Senate votes and 12 House votes.*

#### House Votes

##### The AFL-CIO supported:

Automatically registering eligible citizens to vote when they applied for, renewed or changed an address on a driver's license, and making voter-registration forms available at certain public offices. (Vote 10; *N to recommit — won*)

Passing, over Bush's veto, the bill to establish a commission to investigate and report on the management dispute between Eastern Airlines and its unions. (Vote 22; *Y — lost*)

Authorizing \$250 million over five years for retraining and additional unemployment benefits for workers who lost their jobs or had their pay cut as a result of the Clean Air Act. (Vote 132; *Y — won*)

Passing, over Bush's veto, a bill requiring employers to give unpaid leave to workers caring for a new child or sick relative. (Vote 262; *Y — lost*)

Continuing the regulation of modular homes by state and local construction and safety codes. (Vote 291; *Y — lost*)

Requiring employers who hired foreign workers to certify that they had agreed to provide education and training for U.S. workers or students. (Vote 400; *Y — lost*)

Passing, over Bush's veto, the bill imposing stiff quotas on imported textiles, apparel and shoes. (Vote 440; *Y — lost*)

Amending the budget agreement to provide smaller increases in the Medicare premium and deductible; delete revenue provisions; eliminate the tax "bubble" and lift the top marginal tax rate to 33 percent; create a 10 percent surtax on income above \$1 million; increase the minimum tax rate; delay indexing for one year; and provide a limited tax break for capital gains. (Vote 474; *Y — won*)

Establishing a national shellfish inspection program to be administered by the FDA, requiring the president to submit to Congress a proposal for a comprehensive mandatory fish inspection program, and providing whistleblower protections. (Vote 514; *Y — won*)

##### The AFL-CIO opposed:

Adopting a substitute to the child-care bill that would generally provide smaller funding increases than were included in the Democratic leadership bill and would not require states to impose child-care standards in certain areas or authorize a new school-based program for before- and after-school care. (Vote 57; *N — won*)

Proposing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget. (Vote 238; *N — won*)

Defining "business necessity" in the civil rights bill as a practice that had a clear relationship to the employment in question or that served a legitimate employment goal; striking the bill's damages provisions; and reducing or deleting a number of the bill's other provisions. (Vote 309; *N — won*)

#### Senate Votes

##### The AFL-CIO supported:

Providing severance pay and retraining benefits to coal miners who lost their jobs as a result of the Clean Air Act. (Vote 47; *Y — lost*)

Passing, over President Bush's veto, the bill to reauthorize Amtrak for fiscal 1989-92. (Vote 115; *Y — lost*)

Passing, over Bush's veto, the bill to allow greater political activity by federal employees and to protect them from political pressure. (Vote 121; *Y — lost*)

Limiting growth in imports of textiles, textile products and non-rubber footwear to 1 percent annually. (Vote 157; *Y — won*)

Directing the secretaries of Health and Human Services and Commerce, instead of the Department of Agriculture, to establish a safety and quality program for fish and fish products with protections for whistleblowers. (Vote 232; *Y — lost*)

Setting minimum civil penalties for violations of worker safety and health standards set by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. (Vote 282; *Y — lost*)

Passing, over Bush's veto, the bill reversing or modifying six recent Supreme Court decisions that narrowed the reach and remedies of job discrimination laws. (Vote 304; *Y — lost*)

##### The AFL-CIO opposed:

Exempting federal low-income housing construction and rehabilitation projects of less than \$1 million from the Davis-Bacon Act. (Vote 122; *Y to table — won*)

Invoking cloture (thus limiting debate) on a proposal requiring automakers to increase 1988 corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) levels 20 percent by 1995 and 40 percent by 2001. (Vote 248; *N — won*)

### AFL-CIO Scores

#### House Highs and Lows

**High scorers.** Seventy-seven Democrats received perfect scores of 100 percent. The breakdown was 10 Southern Democrats and 67 Northern Democrats.

Conte, Mass., led Republicans with 92 percent. Davis, Mich., and Horton, N.Y., followed with 83 percent.

**Low scorers.** Thirty-six Republicans received 0 percent. Forty-nine scored 8 percent.

Hall, Texas, scored lowest among Democrats with 20 percent. Six Southern Democrats scored 25 percent.

Among Northern Democrats, Stallings, Idaho, scored lowest with 27 percent. Byron, Md.; Penny, Minn.; and Skelton, Mo., each scored 50 percent.

#### Senate Highs and Lows

**High scorers.** Five Northern Democrats scored 89 percent: Byrd, W.Va.; Inouye, Hawaii; Kennedy, Mass.; Kerry, Mass.; and Metzenbaum, Ohio.

Gore, Tenn., and Ford, Ky., led Southern Democrats with 89 percent. Johnston, La., followed with 86 percent.

Specter, Pa., scored highest among Republicans with 89 percent. Heinz, Pa., received 78 percent.

**Low scorers.** Three Republicans — Gorton, Wash.; Pressler, S.D. and Wilson, Calif. — received 0 percent. Ten Republicans scored 11 percent.

Fowler, Ga., and Gramm, Fla., scored lowest among Southern Democrats with 44 percent each. Four Southern Democrats scored 56 percent.

Lowest scorer among Northern Democrats was Baucus, Mont., with 44 percent. Seven Northern Democrats scored 56 percent.

### U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

*The Chamber selected votes that it said provided "a fair representation of floor votes on issues important to business — including large and small firms." Twelve Senate votes and 14*

House votes were chosen for the study.

## House Votes

### The Chamber supported:

Adopting a substitute to the child-care bill that would generally provide smaller funding increases than were included in the Democratic leadership bill and would not require states to impose child-care standards in certain areas or authorize a new school-based program for before- and after-school care. (Vote 57; Y — lost)

Limiting the remedies in the Americans with Disabilities Act to those available under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act: injunctive relief, back pay and attorneys' fees. (Vote 121; Y — lost)

Easing restrictions on certain U.S. exports to U.S. allies and Eastern European countries and, to a lesser extent, the Soviet Union. (Vote 160; Y — won)

Limiting federal tax-revenue growth to the growth rate of national income, unless a specific tax increase is enacted by a three-fifths vote of each chamber. (Vote 236; Y — lost)

Proposing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget. (Vote 238; Y — lost)

Defining "business necessity" in the civil rights bill as a practice that had a clear relationship to the employment in question or that served a legitimate employment goal; striking the bill's damages provisions; and reducing or deleting a number of the bill's other provisions. (Vote 309; Y — lost)

Raising the number of visas granted annually, drawing immigrants from Europe and other areas shut out under current law and allowing entry of more skilled workers. (Vote 530; Y — won)

### The Chamber opposed:

Clarifying the evidence necessary to establish resale (vertical) price fixing. (Vote 74; N — lost)

Requiring employers to give unpaid leave to workers caring for a new child or sick relative. (Vote 107; N — lost)

Requiring eight-year/80,000 mile warranties for catalytic converters and electronic control units. (Vote 133; N — lost)

Passing, over Bush's veto, the bill requiring employers to give unpaid leave to workers caring for a new child or sick relative. (Vote 262; N — won)

Adopting the Sept. 30 budget agreement between congressional leaders and the Bush administration setting binding budget levels for fiscal 1991 by incorporating cost-saving measures in entitlement programs and increasing various user fees and taxes. (Vote 421; N — won)

Denying most-favored-nation trade status to China. (Vote 483; N — lost)

Passing the fiscal 1991 Budget Reconciliation Act containing provisions to reduce spending and raise revenues. (Vote 326; N — lost)

## Senate Votes

### The Chamber supported:

Allowing states to issue operating permits without full review by the Environmental Protection Agency to facilitate enforcement of the Clean Air Act. (Vote 53; Y — lost)

Granting the president the legislative line-item veto. (Vote 111; Y — lost)

Exempting federal low-income housing construction and rehabilitation projects of less than \$1 million from the Davis-Bacon Act. (Vote 122; N to table — lost)

Eliminating taxpayer funding of Senate campaigns. (Vote 188; Y — lost)

Reducing the Social Security payroll tax gradually over six years and returning Social Security to a pay-as-you-go basis. (Vote 262; Y — lost)

Lessening the burden of proof in civil rights lawsuits for employers defending practices that were fair in form but had the effect of discriminating against women and minorities. (Vote 275; Y — lost)

### The Chamber opposed:

Establishing blending limits for alternative fuels and requiring that reformulated gasoline replace conventional gasoline in the

nation's nine smoggiest cities. (Vote 48; Y to table — lost)

Passing, over President Bush's veto, the bill to reauthorize Amtrak for fiscal years 1989-92. (Vote 115; N — won)

Setting minimum civil penalties for violations of worker safety and health standards set by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. (Vote 282; N — won)

Reinstating the windfall profit tax on domestic crude oil. (Vote 288; N — won)

Passing, over Bush's veto, the bill reversing or modifying six recent Supreme Court decisions that narrowed the reach and remedies of job discrimination laws. (Vote 304; N — won)

Passing the fiscal 1991 Budget Reconciliation Act containing provisions to reduce spending and raise revenues. (Vote 326; N — lost)

## Chamber Scores

### House Highs and Lows

**High scorers.** Six Republicans scored 100 percent. Sarpalius, Texas, led Southern Democrats with 92 percent. Stallings, Idaho, led Northern Democrats with 79 percent.

**Low scorers.** Nelson, Fla., who missed 10 of 14 Chamber votes in 1990, scored 0 percent. Five Northern Democrats scored 8 percent.

Next to Nelson, the lowest-scoring Southern Democrats were Fасcell, Fla., and Frost, Texas, each with 14 percent.

Lowest among Republicans were Conte, Mass., and Gilman, N.Y., with 14 percent each.

### Senate Highs and Lows

**High scorers.** Three Republicans scored 100 percent: Lott, Miss.; Mack, Fla.; and Nickles, Okla.

Heflin, Ala., led Southern Democrats with 64 percent.

Exon, Neb., scored highest among Northern Democrats with 55 percent.

**Low scorers.** Kennedy, Mass., scored lowest among Northern Democrats with 0 percent. Six other Northern Democrats received scores of 8 percent.

The lowest-scoring Southern Democrats were Tennessee's Gore and Sasser, each with 17 percent.

Hatfield, Ore., scored lowest among Republicans with 22 percent.

## AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION

*The ACU seeks "to mobilize resources of responsible conservative thought across the country and further the general cause of conservatism." It based its ratings on 21 Senate and 22 House votes.*

## House Votes

### The ACU supported:

Adopting a substitute to the child-care bill that would generally provide smaller funding increases than were included in the Democratic leadership bill and would not require states to impose child-care standards in certain areas or authorize a new school-based program for before- and after-school care. (Vote 57; Y — lost)

Allowing an employer to transfer a worker with a communicable disease out of a food-handling position, provided the employer offered the worker a similar position. (Vote 118; Y — won)

Prohibiting the export of machine tools to the Soviet Union. (Vote 158; Y — lost)

Proposing a constitutional amendment to prohibit the physical desecration of the flag. (Vote 192; Y — lost)

Proposing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget. The ACU double-weighted this vote in calculating its scores. (Vote 238; Y — lost)

Censuring Rep. Barney Frank, D-Mass., rather than imposing the lighter reprimand he received. (Vote 270; Y — lost)

Increasing funding by \$1.3 billion to \$4.2 billion for the SDI. (Vote 336; Y — lost)

Prohibiting the National Endowment for the Arts from funding obscene material, material deemed indecent by the Federal Communications Commission, or works denigrating a religion or an individual on the basis of race, sex, handicap or national origin. (Vote 447; Y — lost)

**The ACU opposed:**

Automatically registering eligible citizens to vote when they applied for, renewed or changed a driver's license, and making voter-registration forms available at certain public offices. (Vote 11; N — lost)

Elevating the Environmental Protection Agency to Cabinet status. (Vote 50; N — lost)

Reducing the budget deficit to \$63.8 billion through greater defense cuts and larger revenue increases than called for in the House budget plan. (Vote 88; N — won)

Requiring employers to give unpaid leave to workers caring for a newborn child or sick relative. (Vote 107; N — lost)

Suspending 50 percent of El Salvador's military aid for fiscal years 1990 and 1991, depending on the actions by the Salvadoran government or by the leftist guerrillas. (Vote 127; N — lost)

Amending the Clean Air Act to attain and maintain national air quality standards and otherwise improving the quality of the nation's air. (Vote 137; N — lost)

Providing \$6 million for a fish and wildlife refuge in central Iowa. (Vote 139; N — lost)

Allowing greater political activity by federal employees and protecting them from political pressure. (Vote 163; N — lost)

Reversing or modifying six recent Supreme Court decisions that narrowed the reach and remedies of job discrimination laws. The ACU double-weighted this vote in calculating its scores. (Vote 310; N — lost)

Reducing spending for SDI by \$600 million to a new level of \$2.3 billion. (Vote 339; N — lost)

Adopting the Sept. 30 budget agreement between congressional leaders and the White House setting binding budget levels for fiscal 1991 by incorporating cost-saving measures in entitlement programs and increasing various user fees and taxes. (Vote 421; N — won)

Barring the execution of prisoners who demonstrated that their death sentence was imposed because of racial discrimination. (Vote 423; Y to strike — lost)

Passing the fiscal 1991 Budget Reconciliation Act containing provisions to reduce spending and raise revenues. (Vote 326; N — lost)

Suspending military aid to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) — a rebel group fighting the Angolan government — if the government of Angola agreed to certain conditions. (Vote 482; N — lost)

**Senate Votes****The ACU supported:**

Using any savings from the "peace dividend" to balance the budget and to return any funds beyond that to the taxpayers. (Vote 22; Y — lost)

Allowing an employer to transfer a worker with a communicable disease out of a food-handling position, provided the employer offered the worker a similar position. (Vote 110; N to table — won)

Exempting federal low-income housing construction and rehabilitation projects of less than \$1 million from the Davis-Bacon Act. (Vote 122; N to table — lost)

Proposing a constitutional amendment to prohibit the physical desecration of the flag. (Vote 128; Y — lost)

Prohibiting U.S. financial institutions from extending credit to the Soviet Union at interest rates below those offered to American farmers. (Vote 178; Y — won)

Eliminating taxpayer funding of Senate campaigns. (Vote 188; Y — lost)

Excluding private nonprofit organizations such as Planned Parenthood from receiving direct federal funding under Title X of the Public Health Service Act of 1970. (Vote 253; Y — lost)

Confirming David H. Souter to be an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. (Vote 259; Y — won)

Prohibiting the National Endowment for the Arts from using federal funds to promote, distribute, disseminate or produce materials that depicted or described, in a patently offensive way, sexual or excretory activities or organs. (Vote 307; Y — lost)

**The ACU opposed:**

Limiting the right of organizations in the District of Columbia

to exclude homosexuals and bisexuals from coaching, teaching or serving as mentors to minors. (Vote 23; Y to table — lost)

Allowing greater political activity by federal employees. (Vote 90; N — lost)

Banning for three years the production, sale and possession of nine types of semiautomatic assault-style weapons. (Vote 103; Y to strike provisions — lost)

Prohibiting the death penalty if a defendant could prove that race played a role in his sentencing. (Vote 108; Y to strike provisions — won)

Halting the construction of the B-2 bomber at six test aircraft. (Vote 208; N — won)

Barring the closure of any domestic military base in fiscal 1991 and requiring any future closures to be part of a long-term plan for the future shape of the military. (Vote 221; N — won)

Changing priorities within the strategic defense initiative (SDI); providing more money for research on ground-based anti-missile systems; and reducing funding for the so-called brilliant pebbles program of space-based interceptor missiles. The ACU double-weighted this vote in calculating its scores. (Vote 223; N — lost)

Appropriating \$183.3 billion — nearly \$11.6 billion more than the president requested — for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education and related agencies in fiscal 1991. (Vote 269; N — lost)

Passing the bill to reduce spending and raise revenues as required by the reconciliation instructions in the budget resolution. (Vote 292; N — lost)

Reducing military aid to El Salvador by 50 percent and linking future military aid to improvements in human rights and progress toward a negotiated peace settlement. (Vote 293; N — lost)

Passing, over President Bush's veto, the bill reversing or modifying six recent Supreme Court decisions that narrowed the reach and remedies of job discrimination laws. The ACU double-weighted this vote in calculating its scores. (Vote 304; N — won)

Amending the Clean Air Act to attain and maintain national air quality standards, and otherwise improving the quality of the nation's air. (Vote 324; N — lost)

**ACU Scores****House Highs and Lows**

**High scorers.** Five Republicans received perfect scores of 100 percent. Nine Republicans scored 96 percent.

Barnard, Ga., led Southern Democrats with 81 percent. Hutto, Fla., received the next highest score among Southern Democrats with 78 percent.

Among Northern Democrats, Lipinski, Ill., scored highest with 54 percent, followed by Skelton, Mo., with 50 percent.

**Low scorers.** Twenty Northern Democrats scored 0 percent. Fifty-three Northern Democrats scored 4 percent.

Lehman, Fla., was the only Southern Democrat to receive a 0 percent score. Boggs, La., Gonzalez, Texas, and Lewis, Ga., all scored 4 percent.

Conte, Mass., was the lowest-scoring Republican with 8 percent. Green, N.Y., scored next lowest among Republicans with 13 percent.

**Senate Highs and Lows**

**High scorers.** Two Republicans received perfect 100 percent scores: Helms, N.C., and Symms, Idaho. Coats, Ind.; Mack, Fla.; and Nickles, Okla., each scored 96 percent.

Exon, Neb., led all Democrats with 61 percent. The next highest Northern Democratic scorer was Baucus, Mont., with 41 percent.

Heflin, Ala., scored highest among Southern Democrats with 55 percent. Hollings, S.C., and Shelby, Ala., followed, each with 48 percent.

**Low scorers.** Cranston, Calif., and Kennedy, Mass., scored lowest among Northern Democrats with 0 percent. Four Northern Democrats scored 4 percent.

The lowest-scoring Southern Democrats were Tennessee's Gore and Sasser, each with 9 percent. Sanford, N.C., scored 17 percent.

Among Republicans, Jeffords, Vt., scored lowest with 26 percent. Oregon's Hatfield and Packwood each received 35 percent.

### KEY

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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 (Americans for Democratic Action)** — The percentage of time each representative voted in accordance with the ADA position on 18 selected votes in 1990. 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 1990. 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 14 selected votes in 1990. 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 22 selected votes in 1990. The percentages were compiled by the ACU. Failure to vote does not lower scores.

<sup>1</sup> Rep. Patsy T. Mink was sworn in Sept. 27, 1990, to succeed Daniel K. Akaka, D, who was appointed to replace the late Democratic Sen. Spark M. Matsunaga. Mink was not rated by the ADA.

<sup>2</sup> Rep. Thomas S. Foley as Speaker of the House, voted at his discretion. He was rated only by the ACU on the basis of three votes.

	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
<b>Alabama</b>				
1 Callahan	6	17	92	87
2 Dickinson	0	17	79	88
3 Browder	33	50	71	58
4 Bevill	22	50	57	58
5 Flippo	33	78	29	56
6 Erdreich	39	75	36	54
7 Harris	33	50	57	58
<b>Alaska</b>				
AL Young	33	33	64	67
<b>Arizona</b>				
1 Rhodes	17	17	71	63
2 Udall	89	92	8	4
3 Stump	6	9	80	100
4 Kyl	6	0	86	92
5 Kolbe	22	8	86	61
<b>Arkansas</b>				
1 Alexander	50	73	50	17
2 Robinson	22	27	78	76
3 Hammerschmidt	6	8	77	82
4 Anthony	67	58	50	17
<b>California</b>				
1 Bosco	50	75	43	21
2 Heger	6	8	79	96
3 Matsui	94	92	21	0
4 Fazio	89	100	21	4
5 Pelosi	100	92	15	4
6 Boxer	94	83	8	4
7 Miller	100	83	21	4
8 Dellums	100	100	29	4
9 Stark	100	83	23	4
10 Edwards	100	100	21	4
11 Lantos	78	92	21	17
12 Campbell	44	27	71	46
13 Mineta	94	92	15	0
14 Shumway	0	0	86	92
15 Condit	56	67	36	29
16 Panetta	83	83	21	8
17 Pashayan	11	18	79	64
18 Lehman	94	83	15	4
19 Lagomarsino	11	0	79	92
20 Thomas	17	9	91	74
21 Gallegly	11	0	86	92
22 Moorhead	6	8	86	96
23 Bellenson	83	75	8	8
24 Waxman	100	92	21	4
25 Roybal	100	100	36	4
26 Berman	100	92	23	4
27 Levine	100	92	21	4
28 Dixon	100	100	23	4
29 Hawkins	89	100	10	11
30 Martinez	78	92	38	9
31 Dymally	100	100	36	4
32 Anderson	94	92	21	4
33 Dreier	17	8	79	83
34 Torres	89	100	21	0
35 Lewis	6	0	58	76
36 Brown	89	83	31	4
37 McCandless	6	8	79	92
38 Dornan	6	18	79	91
39 Dannemeyer	6	8	71	100
40 Cox	11	0	85	88
41 Lowery	11	8	77	70

	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
42 Rohrabacher	6	8	86	96
43 Packard	11	8	93	88
44 Bates	94	92	31	18
45 Hunter	6	17	86	96
<b>Colorado</b>				
1 Schroeder	100	92	21	13
2 Skaggs	89	83	21	8
3 Campbell	56	67	77	33
4 Brown	11	0	79	83
5 Hefley	6	0	79	92
6 Schaefer	11	25	79	79
<b>Connecticut</b>				
1 Kennelly	83	92	14	8
2 Gejdenson	94	100	14	4
3 Morrison	94	100	23	9
4 Shays	72	50	36	25
5 Rowland	44	40	58	52
6 Johnson	44	33	57	50
<b>Delaware</b>				
AL Carper	78	92	21	17
<b>Florida</b>				
1 Hutto	28	50	77	78
2 Grant	22	8	77	67
3 Bennett	39	83	21	42
4 James	17	8	79	71
5 McCollum	17	8	71	88
6 Stearns	17	8	71	83
7 Gibbons	61	55	31	27
8 Young	17	8	57	79
9 Bilirakis	17	9	85	80
10 Ireland	11	8	64	82
11 Nelson	50	89	0	27
12 Lewis	6	0	79	90
13 Goss	33	8	86	79
14 Johnston	83	83	38	25
15 Shaw	6	8	57	83
16 Smith	94	100	21	9
17 Lehman	89	92	21	0
18 Ros-Lehtinen	33	8	54	65
19 Fascell	83	92	14	8
<b>Georgia</b>				
1 Thomas	28	42	69	50
2 Hatcher	28	42	57	50
3 Ray	22	25	71	50
4 Jones	61	67	57	33
5 Lewis	100	100	21	4
6 Gingrich	17	25	92	86
7 Darden	28	50	57	58
8 Rowland	33	42	57	42
9 Jenkins	39	42	67	54
10 Barnard	22	50	86	81
<b>Hawaii</b>				
1 Saiiki	44	36	67	54
2 Mink <sup>1</sup>		100	50	20
<b>Idaho</b>				
1 Craig	11	0	82	86
2 Stallings	39	27	79	46
<b>Illinois</b>				
1 Hayes	100	100	29	4
2 Savage	89	92	14	9
3 Russo	78	83	23	17
4 Sangmeister	56	75	38	33
5 Lipinski	44	75	54	54
6 Hyde	11	17	64	88
7 Collins	94	100	31	5
8 Rostenkowski	67	83	17	14
9 Yates	100	92	17	5
10 Porter	22	17	79	67
11 Annunzio	56	75	43	38
12 Crane	11	0	79	100
13 Fawell	11	8	93	88
14 Hastert	6	0	86	79
15 Madigan	0	0	79	86
16 Martin	11	27	83	61
17 Evans	100	100	21	4
18 Michel	11	0	71	76
19 Bruce	83	100	36	8
20 Durbin	83	92	31	4
21 Costello	67	92	36	29
22 Poshard	78	92	29	29
<b>Indiana</b>				
1 Visclosky	72	92	14	13
2 Sharp	67	83	46	22
3 Hiler	11	0	86	88





	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
<b>Alabama</b>				
Heflin	28	78	64	55
Shelby	33	78	50	48
<b>Alaska</b>				
<i>Murkowski</i>	11	44	83	76
<i>Stevens</i>	33	67	64	65
<b>Arizona</b>				
DeConcini	61	56	50	20
<i>McCain</i>	11	22	83	87
<b>Arkansas</b>				
Bumpers	72	56	33	23
Pryor	67	56	25	18
<b>California</b>				
Cranston	100	67	8	0
<i>Wilson</i>	17	0	80	69
<b>Colorado</b>				
Wirth	83	56	17	10
<i>Armstrong</i>	6	22	91	95
<b>Connecticut</b>				
Dodd	61	78	9	9
Lieberman	83	78	17	22
<b>Delaware</b>				
Biden	83	67	36	17
<i>Roth</i>	22	33	67	87
<b>Florida</b>				
Graham	67	44	36	30
<i>Mack</i>	0	11	100	96
<b>Georgia</b>				
Fowler	72	44	33	35
Nunn	50	56	42	32
<b>Hawaii</b>				
Akako	100	88	10	11
Inouye	72	89	17	13
<b>Idaho</b>				
<i>McClure</i>	6	33	83	91
<i>Symms</i>	6	11	83	100
<b>Illinois</b>				
Dixon	44	78	50	39
Simon	94	78	25	13
<b>Indiana</b>				
<i>Coats</i>	0	22	83	96
<i>Lugar</i>	6	11	75	83

	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
<b>Iowa</b>				
Harkin	94	78	17	22
<i>Grassley</i>	17	33	83	87
<b>Kansas</b>				
<i>Dole</i>	0	33	75	83
<i>Kassebaum</i>	44	22	67	64
<b>Kentucky</b>				
Ford	39	89	33	35
<i>McConnell</i>	0	33	92	87
<b>Louisiana</b>				
Breaux	33	78	33	39
Johnston	39	86	33	38
<b>Maine</b>				
Mitchell	83	56	17	9
<i>Cohen</i>	61	33	42	48
<b>Maryland</b>				
Mikulski	94	75	10	5
Sarbanes	83	67	8	4
<b>Massachusetts</b>				
Kennedy	100	89	0	0
Kerry	94	89	18	5
<b>Michigan</b>				
Levin	78	78	33	22
Riegle	83	78	25	9
<b>Minnesota</b>				
<i>Boschwitz</i>	22	11	67	68
<i>Durenberger</i>	44	56	25	45
<b>Mississippi</b>				
<i>Cochran</i>	0	33	83	87
<i>Lott</i>	0	22	100	91
<b>Missouri</b>				
<i>Bond</i>	11	44	67	77
<i>Danforth</i>	39	44	67	43
<b>Montana</b>				
Baucus	56	44	45	41
<i>Burns</i>	6	11	83	91
<b>Nebraska</b>				
Exon	33	67	55	61
Kerrey	83	67	25	13
<b>Nevada</b>				
Bryan	56	78	25	30
Reid	61	67	17	30

	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
<b>New Hampshire</b>				
<i>Humphrey</i>	11	22	92	87
<i>Rudman</i>	17	11	75	77
<b>New Jersey</b>				
Brodley	94	67	8	13
Lautenberg	100	78	17	4
<b>New Mexico</b>				
Bingaman	67	56	17	19
<i>Domenech</i>	22	56	67	50
<b>New York</b>				
Moynihn	94	78	17	4
<i>D'Amato</i>	28	44	67	70
<b>North Carolina</b>				
Sanford	67	67	25	17
<i>Helms</i>	6	22	92	100
<b>North Dakota</b>				
Burdick	89	78	17	9
Conrad	67	56	42	30
<b>Ohio</b>				
Glenn	89	67	25	9
Metzenbaum	78	89	8	10
<b>Oklahoma</b>				
Boren	56	63	55	23
<i>Nickles</i>	0	11	100	96
<b>Oregon</b>				
<i>Hatfield</i>	78	67	22	35
<i>Packwood</i>	72	44	42	35
<b>Pennsylvania</b>				
<i>Heinz</i>	33	78	42	48
<i>Specter</i>	39	89	50	48
<b>Rhode Island</b>				
Pell	94	78	18	19
<i>Chafee</i>	50	11	55	43
<b>South Carolina</b>				
Hollings	50	67	42	48
<i>Thurmond</i>	6	33	75	83
<b>South Dakota</b>				
Daschle	83	56	33	9
<i>Pressler</i>	22	0	83	83
<b>Tennessee</b>				
Gore	78	89	17	9
Sasser	72	78	17	9

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	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
<b>Texas</b>				
Bentsen	44	78	25	32
<i>Gramm</i>	0	22	92	91
<b>Utah</b>				
<i>Garn</i>	6	33	92	95
<i>Hatch</i>	11	33	92	87
<b>Vermont</b>				
Leahy	94	56	17	4
<i>Jeffords</i>	72	44	25	26
<b>Virginia</b>				
Robb	61	56	33	22
<i>Warner</i>	28	56	75	70
<b>Washington</b>				
Adams	94	78	8	9
<i>Gorton</i>	17	0	92	78
<b>West Virginia</b>				
Byrd	56	89	25	26
Rockefeller	83	78	25	13
<b>Wisconsin</b>				
Kohl	94	67	8	9
<i>Kasten</i>	6	44	83	91
<b>Wyoming</b>				
<i>Simpson</i>	11	11	75	73
<i>Wallop</i>	6	11	92	95

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**CCUS (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)** — The percentage of time each senator voted with the Chamber's position on 12 selected votes in 1990. 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 21 selected votes in 1990. The percentages were compiled by the ACU. Failure to vote does not lower scores.