

# CONSERVATIVE INDEX

This is the third index of the 104th Congress. The previous editions appeared in the July 24, 1995 and the January 22, 1996 issues.

A congressman's score is derived by dividing his correct votes (pluses) by the total number of votes he cast (pluses and minuses) and multiplying by 100. A high score indicates that a congressman usually voted for constitutional principles of limited government; a low score indicates the reverse.

If a congressman cast fewer than ten votes in this index, a score is not assigned. A "?" means that a congressman did not vote, a "P" indicates that he voted "present," and a blank space (except for the Speaker of the House) that he was not then in Congress. Republicans are in *italics*, Democrats are in regular type, and the lone independent is in regular type followed by an "(I)." The congressman's score for the votes included in this index (votes 41-

60) is shown in the first column of numbers, and his cumulative score for the 104th Congress to date (votes two through 60) is shown in the second column.\*

The average House score for this index is 44 percent, and the average Senate score is 42 percent. Representative Joe Scarborough (R-FL) earned the top House score of 90 percent and Senator Robert Smith (R-NH) earned the top Senate score of 85 percent.

We encourage you to evaluate each issue, to commend your legislators for their conservative votes, and to urge improvement where needed.

*The Conservative Index is compiled by Birch Research, P.O. Box 8040, Appleton, WI 54913.*

\* Vote #1 in both houses (the GATT vote) has not been factored into our cumulative scores since it occurred during the lame-duck session of the previous Congress.

## HOUSE: Basic Issues

### (41) Debt Limit Payments From Trust Funds, H.R. 2621.

After President Clinton unconstitutionally ordered the Secretary of the Treasury to use \$61 billion in trust fund surpluses to avoid a federal debt limit default, Congress considered this legislation to ban the use of trust fund surpluses (Federal Employee Retirement, Social Security, Railroad Retirement funds, etc.) to finance a short-term increase in the statutory national debt limit. Representative David Dreier (R-CA), who spoke in favor of the legislation, noted that accessing trust fund surpluses effectively opens up "\$1.1 trillion of new borrowing without congressional authority, clearly violating Article I, Section 8 [of the U.S. Constitution]." That section grants Congress alone the power to "borrow money on the credit of the United States." The House voted to stop this presidential usurpation of Congress' exclusive constitutional power, passing the bill on December 14, 1995 by a vote of 235 to 103 (*Congressional Record*, page H14899, roll call 862; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").



### (42) Defense Authorization, Veto Override of H.R. 1530.

This bill would require the Department of Defense to defend American citizens from nuclear attack at a cost of \$2 billion to \$4 billion per year, and it would require the President to notify Congress before he

places U.S. troops under the command of the United Nations. In justifying his veto of this \$265.3 billion legislation, Mr. Clinton explained: "First, the bill requires deployment by 2003 of a costly missile defense system able to defend all 50 states from a long-range missile threat.... Second, the bill imposes restrictions on the President's ability to conduct contingency operations essential to national security." On January 3, 1996, the House failed by a vote of 240 to 156 to garner the two-thirds majority vote required to override a presidential veto (*Congressional Record*, page H22, roll call 3; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays"). Failing an override attempt, the legislation died, and the House subsequently adopted a defense bill without the provisions to which the President objected.

### (43) Phaseout of the Cotton Subsidy Program, Amendment to H.R. 2854.

Representative Steve Chabot (R-OH) introduced this amendment to the farm bill to end the subsidized loan program for cotton producers which costs taxpayers hundreds of millions of dol-

lars per year. The House rejected the amendment on February 28, 1996 by a vote of 167 to 253 (*Congressional Record*, pages H1459-60, roll call 33; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(44) Phaseout of the Peanut Subsidy Program, Amendment to H.R. 2854.** This amendment by Representative Christopher Shays (R-CT) would, over six years, eliminate the \$120 million per year federal price support program for peanut farmers, a program estimated by the U.S. General Accounting Office to cost consumers an additional \$500 million per year in the form of higher prices. The House rejected the amendment on February 28, 1996 by a vote of 209 to 212 (*Congressional Record*, pages H1466-67, roll call 34; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(45) Phaseout of the Sugar Subsidy Program, Amendment to H.R. 2854.** This amendment by Representative Dan Miller (R-FL) would phase out over five years the federal subsidy for America's sugar producers. The U.S. General Accounting Office estimates that this program costs American consumers \$1.4 billion per year. Consumers are in reality two-time losers under this program: Not only do they pay the taxes to support the program, but they also pay more for sugar products in the market as a result of the program. The House rejected the amendment on February 28, 1996 by a vote of 208 to 217 (*Congressional Record*, page H1479, roll call 35; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(46) New Federal Wetlands Spending Program, Amendment to H.R. 2854.** Representative Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY) offered this amendment to establish a new \$1.4 billion "voluntary" agricultural conservation subsidy program. Not surprisingly, the amendment was eagerly endorsed by radical environmentalist organizations such as the Environmental Defense Fund and the Natural Resources Defense Council, not to mention the farm subsidy lobby. Representative Robert Livingston (R-LA) explained that this "voluntary" program would become "a whole new entitlement" amounting to "\$1.4 billion of mandatory spending." The House adopted the amendment on February 29, 1996 by a vote of 372 to 37 (*Congressional Record*, pages H1515-16, roll

call 37; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(47) Environmental Pork, Amendment to H.R. 2854.** This amendment by Representative Mark Foley (R-FL) would set aside \$210 million to acquire private land inside and adjacent to the Florida Everglades National Park for environmental restoration. This amendment would set the funds outside of the normal appropriations process, and expand the already huge federal park at the expense of the taxpayers. The House adopted the amendment on February 29, 1996 by a vote of 299 to 124 (*Congressional Record*, page H1538, roll call 39; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(48) Cuban Sanctions, Conference Report on H.R. 927.** This legislation would tighten the sanctions against the Castro regime in Cuba by allowing Americans to sue foreign persons and companies which traffic in confiscated American property; proportionately reduce foreign aid to nations which support Cuba; and codify sanctions in force against Cuba. Representative Dan Burton (R-IN) noted that "90 miles from our border they are shooting down planes with innocent Americans in them, in international airspace, and we are supposed to say we are going to solve this problem by doing business with him. Baloney. The way you deal with Fidel Castro ... is do not let him have the hard dollars that he needs to stay in power, and that is what this bill does." The House adopted the conference report (the final version of this bill) on March 6, 1996 by a vote of 336 to 86 (*Congressional Record*, page H1749, roll call 47; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(49) Temporary Increase in the National Debt Limit/Stealing From Trust Funds, H.R. 3021.** This legislation would allow the President to access the surpluses from federal trust funds such as Social Security for two weeks in order to circumvent the \$4.9 trillion statutory debt limit which the federal government would exceed within days of this vote. Failure to pass this legislation would require the federal government to spend within its means by preventing further borrowing. While conservatives would applaud the idea of the federal government actually running on a balanced budget (even if only for a few weeks), liberals issued scare stories about a fed-

eral default on its interest obligations. The House passed the legislation on March 7, 1996 by a vote of 362 to 51 (*Congressional Record*, page H1792, roll call 48; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(50) Government-Financed Abortions, Amendment to H.R. 3019.** Representative Nita Lowey (D-NY) offered this amendment to the fiscal 1996 omnibus appropriations bill to strike provisions in the bill which would have given states the option of not using federal Medicaid funds for abortions in the cases of rape and incest. Representative Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV) explained: "The Hyde amendment of 1993 allowed federal reimbursement for Medicaid abortions in cases of rape and incest. The Clinton Administration, however, has twisted the original intent of this amendment by forcing states to use Medicaid funds to pay for such procedures. In many cases, states are forced to violate their own constitutions or lose federal Medicaid funding." The House rejected the amendment on March 7, 1996 by a vote of 198 to 222 (*Congressional Record*, pages H1946-47, roll call 51; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(51) Disclosure of Subsidized Lobbyists, Amendment to H.R. 3019.** During consideration of the fiscal 1996 omnibus appropriations bill, Representative Ernest Jim Istook (R-OK) offered this amendment to require recipients of federal grants to disclose the amount of funds they spend on lobbying activities. Representative Gil Gutknecht (R-MN) noted that such recipients receive "as much as 96 percent of their money from the federal government in various grants. And what do they do with most of that money? They turn right around, come back here, and lobby for more. This is pernicious.... It needs to stop." The House adopted the Istook amendment on March 7, 1996 by a vote of 211 to 209 (*Congressional Record*, page H1951, roll call 52; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(52) Fiscal 1996 Omnibus Appropriations, H.R. 3019.** This \$383 billion appropriations bill would serve as the financial life line for the federal welfare state for the rest of the fiscal year. The bill would fund the Departments of Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Education, and Labor, and it would squander for-

ign aid on Bosnia. The bill would also spend a few billion on constitutional agencies of the federal government, programs which could easily be funded in separate legislation after the rejection of this bill. The House passed the bill on March 7, 1996 by a vote of 209 to 206 (*Congressional Record*, page H1958, roll call 55; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(53) Barr Amendment to Terrorism Bill, Amendment to H.R. 2703.**

This amendment by freshman Representative Bob Barr (R-GA) would strip many of the most objectionable provisions out of the terrorism bill. It would, for example, remove provisions from the bill to lower the standard of proof for criminal convictions of firearms dealers whose customers end up using the weapon in a crime. The amendment would also remove elements which empower the President to brand an organization as "terrorist," and it would eliminate the provision codifying the "good faith" exception to the exclusionary rule in criminal cases (which bans the use of illegally obtained evidence in court). Lastly, the Barr amendment would delete provisions allowing the use of secret evidence in deportation hearings. The House adopted the Barr amendment on March 13, 1996 by a vote of 246 to 171 (*Congressional Record*, pages H2175-76, roll call 61; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(54) Terrorism Bill, H.R. 2703.** While this legislation is nominally geared toward fighting international terrorism, it has no provisions which would assist in the apprehension of genuine terrorists. The bill would infringe upon the rights of states to control their own criminal code with a provision federalizing most crimes of property and violence at the whim of the U.S. Attorney General. The legislation contains numerous "aid" provisions to states and municipalities for police and fire agencies, further enhancing federal control over the states. The legislation also contains a provision authored by Representative Rosa DeLauro (D-CT) calling on the U.S. Sentencing Commission to introduce longer sentences for convicted criminals who possess laser sights for their firearms. Under this pro-

vision, gun owners would be demonized for the mere possession of a laser sight, even if they do not brandish it or use it in the commission of a crime. The one positive effect of the bill, dealing with curbing death row abuse of the *habeas corpus* law, had already been passed by the House as a separate measure last year. The House passed the bill on March 14, 1996 by a vote of 229 to 191 (*Congressional Record*, page H2267,



**Joe Scarborough: High House score with 90%.**

roll call 66; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(55) Welfare Checks for Illegal Aliens, Amendment to H.R. 2202.**

During consideration of immigration reform legislation, Representative Nydia Velazquez (D-NY) offered this amendment to strike a provision in the bill to ban welfare payments to illegal immigrants for their U.S. born children. Representative Brian Bilbray (R-CA) explained that giving welfare checks to illegal aliens perpetuates a crime: "[If] you are going to give illegal aliens public assistance funds for their children, you are de facto either giving them money to support themselves in violation of the welfare law, or you are condoning the fact that they are working in violation of the law. They are not declaring income, which is a violation of their welfare status for their child." The House rejected the Velazquez amendment on March 20, 1996 by a vote of 151 to 269 (*Con-*

*gressional Record*, page H2506, roll call 74; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(56) English Proficiency Requirement for Immigrants, Amendment to H.R. 2202.**

During consideration of the immigration reform bill, Representative Charles Canady (R-FL) offered this amendment to require most immigrants to have a basic knowledge of the English language before they could be admitted to the United States. The requirement would simply insure that immigrants are adequately equipped to become functioning members of American society before they can receive the privilege of entry into the United States. The House adopted this amendment on March 20, 1996 by a vote of 210 to 207 (*Congressional Record*, pages H2533-34, roll call 78; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(57) Assault Weapons Ban Repeal, H.R. 125.**

This legislation would repeal the 1994 ban on so-called "assault weapons," a ban which blatantly violated the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The House passed the legislation on March 22, 1996 by a vote of 239 to 173 (*Congressional Record*, pages H2700-01, roll call 92; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(58) Increase in the National Debt Limit, H.R. 3136.**

This legislation would increase the statutory debt limit from \$4.9 trillion to \$5.5 trillion and allow Social Security recipients to earn more outside income and still qualify for Social Security benefits. The House passed the bill on March 28, 1996 by a vote of 328 to 91 (*Congressional Record*, page H3028, roll call 102; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(59) Terrorism Bill, Conference Report on S. 735.**

This conference report would grant the President and the Attorney General the power to co-opt the criminal code of the states for most crimes against property and violent crimes; it would restrict *habeas corpus* appeals from state and federal prisoners (including death row inmates); and it would authorize about \$1 billion for various federal law enforcement agencies, state "assistance" programs, and

even a new foreign aid program. The House adopted the conference report on April 18, 1996 by a vote of 293 to 133 (*Congressional Record*, page H3617, roll call 126; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(60) Fiscal 1996 Omnibus Appropriations Legislation, Conference Report on H.R. 3019.** This conference report would keep the federal welfare state humming with billions of dollars for the federal Departments of Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Labor, and Education; it would also provide \$860 million for the Bosnia military occupation. Only President Clinton's remarks upon sign-

ing the bill can adequately summarize the complete cave-in of the Republican leadership in backing this bill: "[W]e have a bill we can all be proud of.... The Congress ... sought to kill AmeriCorps, the National Service program. This bill retains it, as I had insisted, funding the Corporation for National and Community Service at \$402 million.... The House sought to terminate Goals 2000.... This bill restores funding for Goals 2000.... [T]he Congress sought to end the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) program ... that program is continued.... [T]he Congress proposed to end the Department of Commerce's Advanced Technology Program (ATP)....

Adequate funding is provided for that program.... Other programs or agencies that one or both houses sought to end, but which this bill restores, include the Community Development Financial Institutions program, the Summer Youth jobs program, and the Council on Environmental Quality." There is a lot more Mr. Clinton had to say about welfare state programs rescued from oblivion, but one can get the general idea from the excerpt. The House adopted the conference report on April 25, 1996 by a vote of 399 to 25 (*Congressional Record*, page H4101, roll call 135; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas"). ■

## HOUSE VOTE KEY

	41	43	45	47	49	51	53	55	57	59	This Index	Cumulative		41	43	45	47	49	51	53	55	57	59	This Index	Cumulative		
	42	44	46	48	50	52	54	56	58	60				42	44	46	48	50	52	54	56	58	60				
<b>ALABAMA</b>																											
1	Sonny Callahan	+	?	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	59	48	20	Calvin Dooley	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	10	28		
2	Terry Everett	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	45	54	21	William Thomas	?	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	37	41		
3	Glen Browder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	47	22	Andrea Seastrand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	65	66		
4	Tom Bevill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	46	23	Elton Gallegly	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	53	54		
5	Bud Cramer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	46	24	Anthony Beilenson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	29		
6	Spencer Bachus	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	45	53	25	Howard McKeon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	42	50		
7	Earl F. Hilliard	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	40	26	Howard Berman	-	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	37	31		
<b>ALASKA</b>																											
	Don Young	+	+	-	-	?	+	+	+	+	+	61	50	27	Carlos Moorhead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	56	59		
<b>ARIZONA</b>																											
1	Matt Salmon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	70	71	28	David Dreier	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	58	60		
2	Ed Pastor	P	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	26	29	Henry Waxman	P	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	39	33		
3	Bob Stump	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	70	71	30	Xavier Becerra	P	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	33	31		
4	John Shadegg	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	80	71	31	Matthew Martinez	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	33		
5	Jim Kolbe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	50	41	32	Julian Dixon	P	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	21		
6	J.D. Hayworth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	80	68	33	Lucille Roybal-Allard	P	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	37	29		
<b>ARKANSAS</b>																											
1	B. Lambert-Lincoln	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	41	34	Esteban Torres	P	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	26	25		
2	Ray Thornton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	30	35	Maxine Waters	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	60	38		
3	Tim Hutchinson	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	63	65	36	Jane Harman	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	42	40		
4	Jay Dickey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	65	58	37	J. Millender-McDonald	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	30	41		
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>																											
1	Frank Riggs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	55	48	38	Steve Horn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	30	41		
2	Wally Herger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	70	66	39	Ed Royce	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	75	78		
3	Vic Fazio	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	27	40	Jerry Lewis	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	56	46		
4	John Doolittle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	65	66	41	Jay C. Kim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	60	54		
5	Robert Matsui	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	21	42	George Brown Jr.	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	22		
6	Lynn Woolsey	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	24	43	Ken Calvert	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	47	46		
7	George Miller	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	33	44	Sonny Bono	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	45	48		
8	Nancy Pelosi	P	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	26	45	Dana Rohrabacher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	70	76		
9	Ronald Dellums	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	34	46	Robert Dornan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	60	60		
10	Bill Baker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	75	71	47	Christopher C. Cox	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	68	67		
11	Richard W. Pombo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	70	66	48	Ron Packard	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	65	53		
12	Tom Lantos	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	30	49	Brian Bilbray	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	50	54		
13	Pete Stark	P	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	47	41	50	Bob Filner	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	28		
14	Anna Eshoo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	24	51	Randy Cunningham	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	53	58		
15	Tom Campbell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	47	47	52	Duncan Hunter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	55	60		
16	Zoe Lofgren	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	28	<b>COLORADO</b>													
17	Sam Farr	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	23	1	Pat Schroeder	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	39		
18	Gary Condit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	45	58	2	David Skaggs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	31		
19	George Radanovich	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	65	55	3	Scott McInnis	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	58	61		
														4	Wayne Allard	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	65	69		
														5	Joel Hefley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	55	64		
														6	Dan Schaefer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	60	63		
														<b>CONNECTICUT</b>													
														1	Barbara Kennelly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	28		

2 Sam Gejdenson	----	----	----	----	25	28
3 Rosa DeLauro	----	----	----	----	25	25
4 Chris Shays	++++	++++	++++	++++	50	41
5 Gary Franks	++++	++++	++++	++++	60	51
6 Nancy Johnson	++++	----	----	----	20	34
<b>DELAWARE</b>						
Michael N. Castle	++++	----	----	----	35	37
<b>FLORIDA</b>						
1 Joe Scarborough	++++	++++	++++	++++	90	80
2 Pete Peterson	----	----	----	----	15	23
3 Corrine Brown	P? -	----	----	----	17	23
4 Tillie Fowler	++++	++++	++++	++++	47	48
5 Karen L. Thurman	----	----	----	----	25	36
6 Cliff Stearns	++++	++++	++++	++++	50	69
7 John L. Mica	++++	++++	++++	++++	60	59
8 Bill McCollum	+?	----	----	----	37	45
9 Michael Bilirakis	++++	++++	++++	++++	50	53
10 C.W. Bill Young	++++	++++	++++	++++	50	51
11 Sam Gibbons	-? -	----	----	----	19	25
12 Charles T. Canady	++++	----	----	----	30	48
13 Dan Miller	++++	++++	++++	++++	60	54
14 Porter Goss	++++	++++	++++	++++	60	56
15 Dave Weldon	++++	++++	++++	++++	50	54
16 Mark Foley	++++	++++	++++	++++	40	46
17 Carrie Meek	P? -	----	----	----	24	24
18 Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	? +	----	----	----	41	47
19 Harry Johnston	----	----	----	----	24	24
20 Peter Deusch	----	----	----	----	25	28
21 Lincoln Diaz-Balart	++++	++++	++++	++++	32	40
22 E. Clay Shaw Jr.	++++	++++	++++	++++	47	53
23 Alcee L. Hastings	P -	----	----	----	26	26
<b>GEORGIA</b>						
1 Jack Kingston	++++	++++	++++	++++	55	58
2 Sanford Bishop Jr.	P +	----	----	----	26	31
3 Mac Collins	++++	++++	++++	++++	60	58
4 John Linder	++++	++++	++++	++++	50	53
5 John Lewis	P -	----	----	----	21	33
6 Newt Gingrich	+	+	+	+	Speaker 40	
7 Bob Barr	++++	++++	++++	++++	75	63
8 Saxby Chambliss	++++	++++	++++	++++	50	49
9 Nathan Deal	++++	++++	++++	++++	50	51
10 Charlie Norwood	+?	----	----	----	53	59
11 Cynthia McKinney	? -	----	----	----	29	30
<b>HAWAII</b>						
1 Neil Abercrombie	P? -	----	----	----	28	30
2 Patsy Mink	P -	----	----	----	16	24
<b>IDAHO</b>						
1 Helen Chenoweth	++++	++++	++++	++++	68	70
2 Michael D. Crapo	++++	++++	++++	++++	70	64
<b>ILLINOIS</b>						
1 Bobby L. Rush	P -	----	----	----	29	30
2 Jesse Jackson Jr.	- +	----	----	----	32	32
3 William Lipinski	? +	----	----	----	37	50
4 Luis V. Gutierrez	P -	----	----	----	37	31
5 Michael P. Flanagan	++++	++++	++++	++++	50	56
6 Henry Hyde	++++	++++	++++	++++	50	50
7 Cardiss Collins	P -	----	----	----	29	29
8 Philip Crane	++++	++++	++++	++++	80	73
9 Sidney Yates	P -	----	----	----	42	31
10 John Porter	++++	++++	++++	++++	42	38
11 Gerald Weller	++++	++++	++++	++++	45	51
12 Jerry Costello	- +	----	----	----	45	47
13 Harris Fawell	++++	++++	++++	++++	50	51
14 Dennis Hastert	++++	++++	++++	++++	47	53
15 Thomas Ewing	++++	++++	++++	++++	44	49
16 Donald Manzullo	++++	++++	++++	++++	70	69
17 Lane Evans	P -	----	----	----	26	32

18 Ray LaHood	++ -	----	----	----	50	47
19 Glenn Poshard	- +	----	----	----	45	44
20 Richard Durbin	- ?	----	----	----	6	24
<b>INDIANA</b>						
1 Peter Visclosky	- ?	----	----	----	53	38
2 David McIntosh	++++	++++	++++	++++	75	69
3 Tim Roemer	+ -	----	----	----	40	51
4 Mark Souder	+ ?	----	----	----	84	76
5 Steve Buyer	++++	++++	++++	++++	50	49
6 Dan Burton	++ ?	----	----	----	50	61
7 John Myers	++ ?	----	----	----	71	62
8 John Hostettler	++++	++++	++++	++++	72	70
9 Lee Hamilton	- +	----	----	----	45	41
10 Andrew Jacobs Jr.	P -	----	----	----	56	48
<b>IOWA</b>						
1 Jim Leach	++ -	----	----	----	25	32
2 Jim Nussle	++ -	----	----	----	45	49
3 Jim Lightfoot	+ ?	----	----	----	42	43
4 Greg Ganske	+ -	----	----	----	25	39
5 Tom Latham	++ -	----	----	----	45	46
<b>KANSAS</b>						
1 Pat Roberts	++ -	----	----	----	45	54
2 Sam Brownback	++++	++++	++++	++++	55	59
3 Jan Meyers	++++	++++	++++	++++	45	42
4 Todd Tiahrt	++++	++++	++++	++++	65	68
<b>KENTUCKY</b>						
1 Edward Whitfield	++ -	----	----	----	45	49
2 Ron Lewis	++ -	----	----	----	55	58
3 Mike Ward	P +	----	----	----	16	26
4 Jim Bunning	++ -	----	----	----	45	58
5 Harold Rogers	++ -	----	----	----	55	52
6 Scotty Baesler	- +	----	----	----	21	28
<b>LOUISIANA</b>						
1 Bob Livingston	++ ?	----	----	----	58	49
2 William Jefferson	P -	----	----	----	32	26
3 W.J. Tauzin	++ -	----	----	----	55	54
4 Cleo Fields	P -	----	----	----	22	34
5 Jim McCrery	++ -	----	----	----	53	49
6 Richard Baker	++ -	----	----	----	58	54
7 James Hayes	++ -	----	----	----	56	56
<b>MAINE</b>						
1 James Longley Jr.	++++	++++	++++	++++	50	47
2 John Baldacci	----	----	----	----	25	28
<b>MARYLAND</b>						
1 Wayne Gilchrest	++++	++++	++++	++++	35	32
2 Robert Ehrlich Jr.	++++	++++	++++	++++	55	51
3 Benjamin Cardin	- +	----	----	----	35	31
4 Albert R. Wynn	P -	----	----	----	17	21
5 Steny Hoyer	----	----	----	----	26	24
6 Roscoe G. Bartlett	++++	++++	++++	++++	70	61
7 Elijah Cummings	+	+	+	+	30	27
8 Constance Morella	+	+	+	+	30	27
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>						
1 John Olver	- +	----	----	----	35	31
2 Richard Neal	- ?	----	----	----	28	30
3 Peter I. Blute	++++	++++	++++	++++	30	39
4 Barney Frank	P -	----	----	----	42	33
5 Martin T. Meehan	- +	----	----	----	30	33
6 Peter G. Torkildsen	++++	++++	++++	++++	30	36
7 Edward Markey	- ?	----	----	----	32	30
8 Joseph Kennedy II	- +	----	----	----	30	33
9 Joseph Moakley	P -	----	----	----	31	31
10 Gerry Studds	- ?	----	----	----	39	30
<b>MICHIGAN</b>						
1 Bart Stupak	- +	----	----	----	30	36
2 Peter Hoekstra	++++	++++	++++	++++	75	71
3 Vern J. Ehlers	++ -	----	----	----	35	33

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42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60

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5	James A. Barcia	+ - - - -	42	53
6	Frederick Upton	+ - - - -	50	54
7	Nick Smith	+ + - - -	55	60
8	Dick Chrysler	+ + - - -	53	61
9	Dale Kildee	- - - - -	25	27
10	David Bonior	- - - - -	20	27
11	Joe Knollenberg	+ + - - -	55	49
12	Sander Levin	- - - - -	20	20
13	Lynn Rivers	- - - - -	30	34
14	John Conyers Jr.	P - + + -	32	34
15	Barbara-Rose Collins	P - + - -	29	36
16	John Dingell	- - - - -	37	32
<b>MINNESOTA</b>				
1	Gil Gutknecht	+ - - - -	40	56
2	David Minge	- - - - -	45	47
3	Jim Ramstad	+ - - - -	35	47
4	Bruce Vento	- - - - -	25	29
5	Martin Sabo	- - - - -	25	24
6	William Luther	- - - - -	40	34
7	Collin Peterson	+ - - - -	53	50
8	James Oberstar	? - - - -	42	35
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>				
1	Roger Wicker	+ + - - -	45	49
2	Bennie Thompson	P - - - -	22	26
3	G. Montgomery	+ + - - -	55	51
4	Mike Parker	+ + - - -	50	54
5	Gene Taylor	+ + - - -	65	68
<b>MISSOURI</b>				
1	William Clay	P ? + + +	46	34
2	James M. Talent	+ + + + -	60	61
3	Richard Gephardt	- - - - -	15	21
4	Ike Skelton	- - - - -	45	42
5	Karen McCarthy	- - - - -	32	25
6	Pat Danner	- - - - -	55	53
7	Melton Hancock	+ + + + -	85	81
8	Bill Emerson	? + - - -	47	52
9	Harold Volkmer	- - - - -	35	47
<b>MONTANA</b>				
	Pat Williams	P - - - -	26	31
<b>NEBRASKA</b>				
1	Doug Bereuter	+ + + + -	50	47
2	Jon Christensen	+ + + + -	58	64
3	Bill Barrett	+ + - - -	45	52
<b>NEVADA</b>				
1	John Ensign	+ + + + -	65	64
2	Barbara Vucanovich	+ + - - -	55	46
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>				
1	Bill Zeff	+ + + + -	74	62
2	Charles Bass	+ + + + -	65	56
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>				
1	Robert Andrews	- - - - -	25	38
2	Frank LoBiondo	+ - - - -	45	55
3	H. James Saxton	+ + + + -	45	47
4	Christopher Smith	+ + + + -	55	53
5	Marge Roukema	- ? + + +	37	40
6	Frank Pallone Jr.	- - - - -	25	29
7	Bob Franks	+ - - - -	35	37
8	Bill Martini	+ + + + -	40	41
9	Robert Torricelli	- - - - -	16	30
10	Donald Payne	P - + + -	37	34
11	Rodney Frelinghuysen	+ + + + -	40	34
12	Dick Zimmer	+ + + + -	40	54
13	Robert Menendez	P - ? + -	18	25
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>				
1	Steven Schiff	+ + - - -	25	31
2	Joe Skeen	+ + - - -	60	49

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<b>NEW YORK</b>				
1	Michael Forbes	+ + + + -	70	59
2	Rick A. Lazio	+ + + + -	37	38
3	Peter King	+ + + + -	50	47
4	Daniel Frisa	+ + + + -	55	58
5	Gary Ackerman	- - - - -	20	26
6	Floyd Flake	P - - - -	21	27
7	Thomas Manton	- - - - -	15	22
8	Jerrold Nadler	- - - - -	26	31
9	Charles Schumer	- - - - -	35	33
10	Ed Towns	P - - - -	26	36
11	Major Owens	P - + + -	33	38
12	Nydia M. Velazquez	P - + + -	42	42
13	Susan Molinari	+ + + + -	45	46
14	Carolyn B. Maloney	- - - - -	32	28
15	Charles Rangel	P - - - -	28	30
16	Jose Serrano	P - + - -	32	30
17	Eliot Engel	P - + - -	26	28
18	Nita Lowey	- - - - -	25	24
19	Sue W. Kelly	+ + + + -	55	44
20	Benjamin Gilman	+ + - - -	25	32
21	Michael McNulty	- - - - -	32	39
22	Gerald Solomon	+ + - ? +	53	64
23	Sherwood Boehlert	+ + + + -	30	25
24	John M. McHugh	+ + + + -	60	53
25	James Walsh	+ + - - -	45	42
26	Maurice D. Hinchey	P - + + -	42	34
27	Bill Paxon	+ + + + -	55	57
28	Louise Slaughter	- - - - -	32	31
29	John LaFalce	- - - - -	40	34
30	Jack Quinn	+ + + + -	40	45
31	Amo Houghton	+ + - - -	16	23
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>				
1	Eva Clayton	P - - - -	17	21
2	David Funderburk	+ + - - -	65	68
3	Walter Jones Jr.	+ + - - -	68	62
4	Frederick Heineman	+ + - - -	40	51
5	Richard Burr	+ + - - -	60	53
6	Howard Coble	+ + - - -	50	59
7	Charles Rose	- - - - -	24	36
8	W.G. Hefner	- - - - -	25	41
9	Sue Myrick	+ + - - -	45	54
10	Cass Ballenger	+ + - - -	40	49
11	Charles Taylor	+ + - - -	58	57
12	Melvin Watt	P - - - -	37	37
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>				
	Earl Pomeroy	- - - - -	15	31
<b>OHIO</b>				
1	Steve Chabot	+ - - - -	68	71
2	Rob Portman	+ + + + -	58	50
3	Tony Hall	- - - - -	37	33
4	Michael Oxley	+ + - - -	45	49
5	Paul Gillmor	+ + - - -	55	51
6	Frank Cremeans	+ + + + -	65	60
7	David Hobson	+ + + + -	60	56
8	John Boehner	+ + - - -	45	51
9	Marcy Kaptur	- - - - -	30	42
10	Martin R. Hoke	+ ? + + -	53	51
11	Louis Stokes	P - ? ? ?	29	29
12	John Kasich	+ + + + -	58	62
13	Sherrod Brown	- ? + + -	37	38
14	Thomas Sawyer	- ? - + -	26	26
15	Deborah Pryce	+ + + + -	45	46
16	Ralph Regula	+ + - - -	53	52
17	James Traficant Jr.	+ + - - -	50	56
18	Bob Ney	+ + + + -	70	59



# SENATE: Basic Issues

## (41) Fiscal 1996 Defense Budget, Conference Report on H.R. 1530.

This legislation is identical to that described in House vote #42. The Senate adopted the conference report on December 19, 1995 by vote of 51 to 43 (*Congressional Record*, pages S18904-05, roll call 608; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(42) Increase in the National Debt Limit, Motion on H.R. 2880.** During consideration of a temporary continuing appropriations bill, Senator Daniel Moynihan (D-NY) offered an amendment to increase the statutory debt limit from \$4.9 trillion to \$5.4 trillion. During consideration of the huge borrowing amendment, Senator Robert Dole (R-KS) offered a motion to table (kill) the Moynihan amendment. The Senate agreed to the motion to table the amendment on January 26, 1996 by a vote of 46 to 45 (*Congressional Record*, page S424, roll call 2; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(43) Start II Treaty Ratification.** This vote would ratify the second Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START II) with Russia, which would, by the year 2003, require the reduction in the total number of nuclear warheads to 3,500 for each country, ban MIRVed land-based missiles, and reduce the number of submarine-launched missiles. Noting that President Clinton had vetoed a bill to deploy a ballistic missile defense system because it might interfere with

START II, Senator James Inhofe (R-OK) criticized the Clinton Administration policy, stating: "Yes, we are getting the Russians down to 3,500 missiles, if they comply.... My simple proposition is this: Missile defense should be our highest national security priority. If the President believes that our highest priority must be sacrificed to gain Russia's approval of START II, I say it is too high a price to pay." The Senate ratified the START II Treaty on January 26, 1996 by a vote of 87 to 4 (*Congressional Record*, page S484, roll call 6; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(44) Eliminating the Peanut Subsidy, Motion on S. 1541.** During consideration of the farm bill, Senator Rick Santorum (R-PA) offered an amendment to eliminate the subsidy for federal peanut quota holders after the year 2000. The program costs taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars per year and doubles the domestic cost of peanuts for consumers. The Senate agreed to table (kill) the Santorum amendment on February 7, 1996 by a vote of 59 to 36 (*Congressional Record*, page S1038, roll call 13; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(45) Corporate Welfare Cut, Amendment to S. 1541.** Senator Richard Bryan (D-NV) offered this amendment to cut \$30 million from the \$100 million slated in the farm bill for the Agriculture Department's Market Promotion Program (MPP). The MPP subsidizes the advertisements of U.S. products abroad.

Bryan noted that "in the last year in which there is data available, some \$12 million of taxpayer money [through the MPP] went to foreign corporations

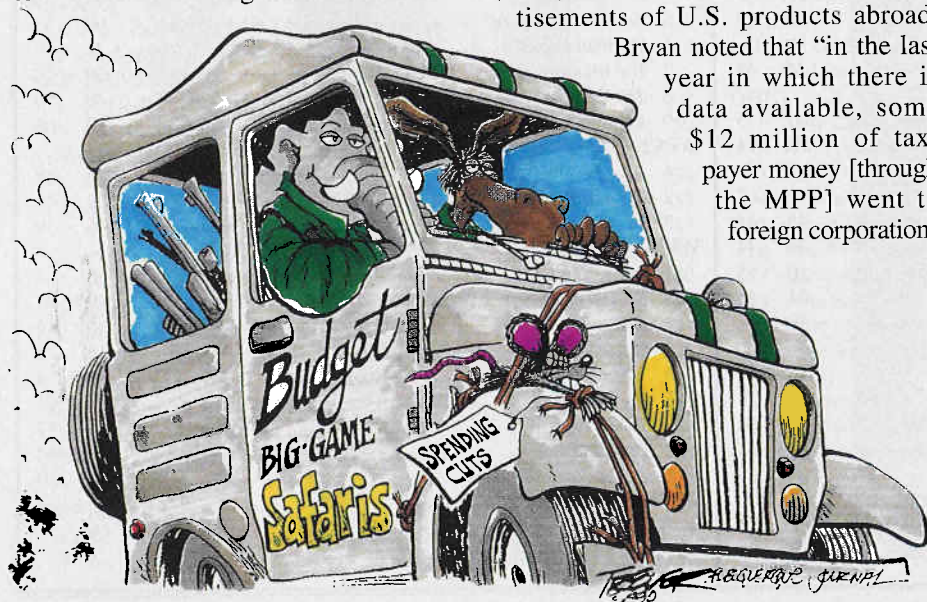
to help them supplement their advertising budgets." The Senate adopted the Bryan amendment on February 7, 1996 by a vote of 59 to 37 (*Congressional Record*, pages S1038-39, roll call 14; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(46) Eliminating the Sugar Subsidy, Amendment to S. 1541.** This amendment would eliminate the sugar subsidy program after two years. Senator Judd Gregg (R-NH), who offered this amendment, explained that the federal program forces consumers "to pay somewhere between \$1.5 and \$2 billion of additional costs for sugar used in this country in order to benefit a few growers." The Senate rejected the Gregg amendment on February 7, 1996 by a vote of 35 to 61 (*Congressional Record*, page S1040, roll call 16; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(47) Cuba Sanctions, Conference Report on H.R. 927.** This legislation is identical to the conference report described in House vote #48. The Senate adopted the conference report on March 5, 1996 by a vote of 74 to 22 (*Congressional Record*, page S1511, roll call 22; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(48) Increase in the National Debt Limit, H.R. 3021.** This amendment would replace the two-week statutory national debt limit increase by allowing another \$500 billion in federal borrowing. Increasing the statutory federal debt limit from \$4.9 trillion to \$5.4 trillion would keep government-by-deficit running smoothly for another year or so. The Senate rejected the amendment on March 7, 1996 by a vote of 43 to 47 (*Congressional Record*, page S1630, roll call 24; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(49) Increase in Federal Educational Spending, Amendment to H.R. 3019.** During consideration of the fiscal 1996 omnibus appropriations legislation, Senator Thomas Daschle (D-SD) offered an amendment to increase federal education spending by \$3.1 billion. While the Daschle amendment was under consideration by the Senate, Senator Arlen Specter (R-PA) offered a non-controversial second-degree amend-



ment to reduce the \$3.1 billion amount to \$2.7 billion and "offset" the new appropriation with the sale of oil from the strategic petroleum reserve and other rescissions. The revised Specter/Daschle amendment would appropriate \$2.7 billion for federal educational programs, including school-to-work, summer job programs for youth, and Goals 2000. The Senate agreed to adopt the technical Specter/Daschle revisions to the Daschle amendment on March 12, 1996 by a vote of 84 to 16 (*Congressional Record*, page S1817, roll call 27; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas"). With the roll call on the Specter technical amendment being reflective of Senate member support for the spending increase (the underlying amendment), the revised amendment was subsequently agreed to by voice vote.

**(50) Allowing DC Funds to Pay for Abortions, Amendment to H.R. 3019.** During consideration of the fiscal 1996 omnibus appropriations bill, Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA) offered this amendment to allow the District of Columbia to use property tax revenue and other local funds to pay for abortions. Noting that Congress may properly control the expenditure of local as well as federal tax revenue in the District of Columbia, Senator Dan Coats (R-IN) said: "It is clear, as the Constitution so states, that Article I, Section 8, gives this Congress exclusive legislation over all cases whatsoever in the District of Columbia.... [Congress appropriates] all funds for our nation's capital. The Congress, then, bears the ultimate constitutional and full responsibility for the District's abortion policies." The Senate rejected the Boxer amendment on March 19, 1996 by a vote of 45 to 55 (*Congressional Record*, page S2279, roll call 38; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(51) Removal of Requirement for Abortion Services at Publicly Funded Hospitals, Amendment to H.R. 3019.** Senator Dan Coats (R-IN) offered this amendment to prohibit federal funds from being used to discriminate against medical facilities and doctors which choose not to perform induced abortions or undergo abortion training. Coats argued that the federal government should not "discriminate against hospitals or

ob/gyn residents simply because they choose, on a voluntary basis, not to perform abortions or receive abortion training, for whatever reason." The Senate adopted the Coats amendment on March 19, 1996 by a vote of 63 to 37 (*Congressional Record*, page S2280, roll call 39; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(52) Fiscal 1996 Omnibus Appropriations, H.R. 3019.** This legislation is



**Bob Smith's 85% was high for the Senate.**

similar to the legislation described in House vote #52, except that the Senate larded an additional \$3 billion into the bill for environmental, jobs, and education programs. The Senate passed the bill on March 19, 1996 by a vote of 79 to 21 (*Congressional Record*, page S2309, roll call 42; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(53) Repeal of the Babbitt Grazing Regulations, S. 1459.** This legislation, sponsored by Senator Pete Domenici (R-NM), would repeal the environmental restrictions that Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt has placed on grazing on federal rangelands. The regulations have put an economic stranglehold on ranchers who use public lands. Because the federal government owns more than half of all the land in the western-most 13 states, regulations like the Babbitt rules can crush the local economy. While the real solution to the crisis would be the sale of most of the federal land, the legislation repealing Secretary

Babbitt's regulations is a necessary step toward preserving the western way of life. The Senate passed the legislation on March 21, 1996 by a vote of 51 to 46 (*Congressional Record*, page S2622, roll call 50; we have assigned pluses to the "yeas" and minuses to the "nays").

**(54) Line-Item Veto Legislation, Conference Report on S. 4.** This conference report would unconstitutionally grant the President line-item veto power in spending and tax bills by allowing him to cut or eliminate spending or a tax break within legislation after signing it into law. Congress would then have the option to pass a bill overturning the line-item deletion, but that bill would itself be subject to a veto by the President. This dangerous legislation would savage the separation of powers and further tip the scales of power from the legislature toward the executive branch. Although the legislation was marketed as a means of eliminating legislative pork, all it would do is make one player in the pork barrel politics game dominant: the President. As an example of how the line-item veto would be used to facilitate even more costly presidential pork, Senator Dale Bumpers (D-AR) recalled that when "I was governor ... I had a line-item veto. And I used it occasionally. Do you know what I used it for? To get legislators in line. 'Senator, you know that vo-tech school for your high school in this bill? That sucker is going to be gone unless you get back down there and change your vote.' That is the way I used it. That is the way a President of the United States would use it." The Senate adopted the conference report on March 27, 1996 by a vote of 69 to 31 (*Congressional Record*, page S2995, roll call 56; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(55) Terrorism Bill, Conference Report on S. 735.** This legislation is identical to that described in House vote #59. The Senate adopted the conference report on April 17, 1996 by a vote of 91 to 8 (*Congressional Record*, page S3477, roll call 71; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(56) Medical Savings Accounts, Amendment to S. 1028.** During consideration of the health insurance revisions legislation, Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS) offered an amendment to elimi-

nate provisions in an amendment by Senator Robert Dole (R-KS) to allow Medical Savings Accounts (MSA). MSAs would be tax-exempt funds that an individual accumulates for health care expenditures. The funds and health care decisions would be controlled by the citizens who hold the MSAs, instead of by third-party providers such as HMOs, which have proliferated during the last few decades. Some senators oppose the MSA proposal because they feel that individuals would not make wise health-care decisions. As liberal Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) argued: "We hoped that by having the payment for health care at the beginning of the year and the incentives on the various kinds of HMOs to develop preventive programs that they would keep people healthier so they save money through prevention. But with MSAs, this won't happen." The Senate agreed to the Kassebaum amendment to strike the MSA provisions on April 18, 1996 by a vote of 52 to 46 (*Congressional Record*, page S3568, roll call 72; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(57) Constitutional Amendment for Congressional Term Limits, Senate Joint Resolution 21.** This resolution would call for a constitutional amendment to limit the number of consecutive terms a congressman could serve to two terms for senators (12 years) and six terms for representatives (12 years), regardless of the wishes of the voters. By preventing many congressmen from seeking re-election, the amendment

would give Congress an increasing flavor of a perpetual lame-duck session and insulate congressmen from the wishes of their constituents. Lame-duck legislatures are the friends of special interests and the advocates of big, wasteful, and elitist government. The supporters of term limits attempted to invoke cloture and end debate on the measure (thereby clearing the way for a final vote to pass the resolution), but failed to do so on April 23, 1996 by a vote of 58 to 42 (*Congressional Record*, page S3879, roll call 79; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas"). A three-fifths vote of the entire Senate (60 votes) is necessary to invoke cloture. Failing the cloture motion, the Senate dropped the measure.

**(58) Fiscal 1996 Omnibus Appropriations, Conference Report on H.R. 3019.** This legislation is identical to that described in House vote #60. The Senate adopted the conference report on April 25, 1996 by a vote of 88 to 11 (*Congressional Record*, pages S4159-60, roll call 89; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(59) National Standards for Drivers' Licenses and Birth Certificates, Motion on S. 1664.** During consideration of the immigration bill, Senator Spencer Abraham (R-MI) introduced this amendment to strike provisions which would create a national employment identification system. This system would enable the federal government to regulate the birth certificates and drivers' licenses issued by states, thereby making the state documents incipient

national identification cards. Senator Mike DeWine (R-OH) noted that without adoption of the Abraham amendment, "For the first time in our history, Washington, this Congress, would tell states how they produce documents to identify their own citizens." The Senate agreed to a motion to table (kill) the Abraham amendment on May 1, 1996 by a vote of 54 to 46 (*Congressional Record*, page S4493, roll call 101; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas").

**(60) Allowing Immigrants Medicaid Benefits Within Two Years, Amendment to S. 1664.** Senator Bob Graham (D-FL) offered this amendment to make legal immigrants eligible for Medicaid benefits after only two years' residency in the United States, as opposed to the five-year requirement in the bill. Senator Alan Simpson (R-WY) argued that the taxpayers should not have to pick up the enormous costs of medical care when the immigrants' U.S. sponsors have already pledged to cover the expenses. Challenged Simpson: "Does any senator in this chamber believe that the taxpayers of this country would agree to admit to our country an immigrant if they believed that the immigrant would impose major medical costs on the taxpayers, and that the immigrant sponsor would not be providing the support that they promised to pay?" The Senate rejected the Graham amendment on May 1, 1996 by a vote of 22 to 77 (*Congressional Record*, pages S4508-09, roll call 104; we have assigned pluses to the "nays" and minuses to the "yeas"). ■

## SENATE VOTE KEY

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<b>ALABAMA</b>																									
Howell Heflin	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	40	34												65	71
Richard C. Shelby	+	?	?	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	44	63												31	43
<b>ALASKA</b>																									
Frank H. Murkowski	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	55	62													
Ted Stevens	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	45	54													
<b>ARIZONA</b>																									
Jon Kyl	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	78	81													
John McCain	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72	74													
<b>ARKANSAS</b>																									
Dale Bumpers	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	25	28													
David Pryor	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	20	21													
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>																									
Barbara Boxer	?	-	-	+	-	?	-	+	+	+	22	16													
Dianne Feinstein	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	15	15													
<b>COLORADO</b>																									
Hank Brown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+															
Ben Campbell	+	?	?	-	-	+	+	+	+	+															
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>																									
Christopher J. Dodd	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	15	15													
Joseph I. Lieberman	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	25	20													
<b>DELAWARE</b>																									
Joseph R. Biden Jr.	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	40	25													
William V. Roth Jr.	?	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	44	61													
<b>FLORIDA</b>																									
Bob Graham	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	20	20													
Connie Mack	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	?	?	+	53	68													
<b>GEORGIA</b>																									
Paul Coverdell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	55	64													
Sam Nunn	-	-	-	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	32	33													

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	42	44	46	48	50	52	54	56	58	60				42	44	46	48	50	52	54	56	58	60			
<b>HAWAII</b>													<b>NEW MEXICO</b>													
Daniel Akaka	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	12	Jeff Bingaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	22	
Daniel K. Inouye	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	16	Pete V. Domenici	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	63	60	
<b>IDAHO</b>													<b>NEW YORK</b>													
Larry Craig	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55	68	Alfonse M. D'Amato	+	+	-	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	60
Dirk Kempthorne	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55	68	D. Patrick Moynihan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	31
<b>ILLINOIS</b>													<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>													
Carol Moseley-Braun	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	19	Lauch Faircloth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	61	71	
Paul Simon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	12	Jesse Helms	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	70	74	
<b>INDIANA</b>													<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>													
Dan Coats	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	72	70	Kent Conrad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	29	
Richard G. Lugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	63	61	Byron Dorgan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	28	
<b>IOWA</b>													<b>OHIO</b>													
Charles E. Grassley	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55	61	Mike DeWine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	60	61	
Tom Harkin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	19	John Glenn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	28	
<b>KANSAS</b>													<b>OKLAHOMA</b>													
Robert Dole	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	62	James Inhofe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	75	76	
Nancy Kassebaum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	58	47	Don Nickles	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	65	73	
<b>KENTUCKY</b>													<b>OREGON</b>													
Wendell H. Ford	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	27	Mark O. Hatfield	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	48	
Mitch McConnell	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	61	Ron Wyden	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	26	
<b>LOUISIANA</b>													<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>													
John B. Breaux	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	31	Rick Santorum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	65	68	
J. Bennett Johnston	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	33	Arlen Specter	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	46	
<b>MAINE</b>													<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>													
William S. Cohen	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	55	47	John H. Chafee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	35	37	
Olympia Snowe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	50	47	Claiborne Pell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	21	
<b>MARYLAND</b>													<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>													
Barbara A. Mikulski	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	18	Ernest F. Hollings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	33	40	
Paul S. Sarbanes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	20	Strom Thurmond	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	50	63	
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>													<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>													
Edward M. Kennedy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	21	Thomas A. Daschle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	12	
John F. Kerry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	24	Larry Pressler	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	50	61	
<b>MICHIGAN</b>													<b>TENNESSEE</b>													
Spencer Abraham	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	60	71	Bill Frist	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	65	64	
Carl Levin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	19	Fred Thompson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	70	73	
<b>MINNESOTA</b>													<b>TEXAS</b>													
Rod Grams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	70	71	Phil Gramm	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	79	74	
Paul Wellstone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	22	Kay Bailey Hutchison	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	65	64	
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>													<b>UTAH</b>													
Thad Cochran	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45	58	Robert F. Bennett	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	57	
Trent Lott	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	63	Orrin G. Hatch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	55	63	
<b>MISSOURI</b>													<b>VERMONT</b>													
John Ashcroft	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	79	72	James M. Jeffords	P	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	28	
Christopher "Kit" Bond	?	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	43	Patrick J. Leahy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	22	
<b>MONTANA</b>													<b>VIRGINIA</b>													
Max Baucus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	32	Charles S. Robb	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	22	
Conrad Burns	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55	61	John W. Warner	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	60	66	
<b>NEBRASKA</b>													<b>WASHINGTON</b>													
J. James Exon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	24	Slade Gorton	+	+	+	+	P	+	+	+	+	+	47	45	
Robert Kerrey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	21	Patty Murray	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	16	
<b>NEVADA</b>													<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>													
Richard H. Bryan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	31	Robert C. Byrd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	37	
Harry Reid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	32	J.D. Rockefeller IV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	19	
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>													<b>WISCONSIN</b>													
Judd Gregg	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	63	67	Russell Feingold	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	29	
Robert Smith	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	85	83	Herbert Kohl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	15	
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>													<b>WYOMING</b>													
Bill Bradley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	17	Alan K. Simpson	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45	49	
Frank R. Lautenberg	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	24	Craig Thomas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	65	63	

Now that you know how your congressmen have voted on these key issues, it is important to tell them what you think of their voting records. Letters should be addressed as follows:



Member of the House: Representative \_\_\_\_\_  
House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

Member of the Senate: Senator \_\_\_\_\_  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510