# HOW CONGRESS VOTED ON ENERGY and the ENVIRONMENT

1979 Voting Chart

LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS

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# EXPLANATION OF SCORES

Votes we consider correct are in capital letters, votes we consider wrong are in small letters. Each Member of Congress is given a score based on the votes shown. To compute the score, compute the percentage of correct votes among the votes actually cast, ignoring absences. (Votes #1 and #12 should be counted as if they were two votes.) Then we subtract one point for every avoidable absence (shown as small "a"). Many important votes have been lost because Members sympathetic to our side did not show up. Unavoidable absences appear as a capital "A" and are not penalized. The names of Democrats are written in small letters and Republicans are written in capital letters.

#### EXPLANATION OF VOTES

The votes listed below are those considered most important by environmental activists in 1979. All are recorded votes taken on the House floor. We try to cover as broad range of issues as possible, but our choices are limited to whatever issues were debated on the House floor that year. In 1979 there were many energy and transportation votes, but to our regret very few votes on the more traditional conservation issues such as parks, rivers or land use. Please remember that these public votes do not reflect your representative's total record. They are the tip of an iceberg and the tip my be deceiving. Behavior in an important committee may have more impact than public votes on the House floor.

## THE LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS

The League is a national nonpartisan political committee that analyses, evaluates and publicizes the environmental records of public officials. We give active and financial support to a few outstanding candidates running in close elections, and endorse others who deserve recognition. The League is run by a Steering Committee consisting of leaders from national environmental organizations, including the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, the Environmental Policy Center, the Audubon Society, the Natural Resources Defense Council, the Environmental Defense Fund, Critical Mass, the Clean Water Action Project and the Izaak Walton League. These people serve as individuals and do not officially represent their organizations. They decide which votes to use on the League's charts, and which candidates to support in elections.

Charts like this one cost \$3.00 if sent through the mail or \$2.00 if picked up at our offices. Individuals who contribute \$15.00 or more will receive House and Senate charts on a regular basis, in depth evaluations of Presidential candidates, and reports on elections of special concern to environmentalists.

### STEERING COMMITTEE

Brent Blackwelder Robert Alvarez Richard Ayres David Brower Janet Brown Charles Clusen Tom Dustin Marion Edey Michael McCloskey Maryanne Mott Ralph Pomerance Richard Pollock Doug Scott Gary Soucie Vim Wright David Zwick

# Description of Votes

- 1) ALASKA LANDS HR. 39. The vote is on the Udall-Anderson amendment to create 129 million acres of national parks, wildlife refuges, national forests and wilderness areas in Alaska. Some of the most important areas included were: the Gates of the Arctic National Park, the Noatak river basin, wilderness on Admiralty Island, the Yukon Flats National Wildlife Refuge and the Arctic National Wildlife Range. The Yukon flats marsh is one of the most important waterfowl nesting areas on the continent and the Arctic National Wildlife Range is the calving area for the nation's largest surviving caribou herd. Opponents argued that Udall's bill would "lock up" precious resources, but in fact 95% of the onshore areas with greatest oil and gas potential could be available for exploration and development. Environmentalists waged a massive lobbying effort on behalf of the bill, as did the Administration. President Carter called it "the conservation bill of the century." This vote is given double weight in scoring. Adopted 268-157. May 16, 1979. YES is the correct vote.
- 2) WATER PROJECTS HR 4338. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, FY 1980. The vote is on the Cavanaugh amendment to delete \$6 billion from the funding for the O'Neill Unit in Nebraska. This project involves a dam on the Niobrara river and a 28 mile diversion canal for irrigation. Environmentalists fought the project because it would destroy or damage as many farms as it would benefit, waste federal money, and ruin an excellent canoe stream while claiming phony recreational benefits. They also questioned the safety of the dam. The Carter Administration lobbied against Cavanaugh's amendment to cut funding. Rejected 106-210. June 15, 1979. YES is the correct vote.
- TELLICO DAM HR 4388. Same bill as above. The vote is on the Breaux motion that the House accept the Senate version of the bill and drop its own provisions regarding the Tellico Dam. The House version mandated construction of the dam notwithstanding the provisions of the Endangered Species Act or any other Federal law. The Supreme Court earlier ruled the dam in violation of the Act. House language had been slipped into the bill and passed by voice vote without debate or even the knowledge of most House Members. The Senate version had no such exemptions and therefore stopped the dam. A study by the GAO concluded that Tellico was an economic boondoggle whose costs outweighed its benefits. It would destroy the only remaining habitat of the snail darter, drown sacred Indian lands and drive hundreds of small farmers off their lands. The House language set a dangerous precedent for future exemptions that would weaken the Endangered Species Act. The Carter Administration favored the Breaux motion but did not lobby. Rejected 156-258. August 1, 1979. YES is the correct vote.
- 4) PESTICIDES HR 3546 Federal Insecticide, Fungecide, and Rodenticide amendments. The vote is on the Committee amendment to relax for one year the ban on aerial spraying of the pesticide mirex, to control fire ants in nine southern states. Studies by the National Cancer Institute show that mirex may cause cancer and that it breaks down into an even more toxic chemical, kepone, which causes both cancer and birth defects. Therefore the EPA and the state of Mississippi had already agreed to cancel all uses of mirex as of June 1978, when other substitutes were available. Mirex has not been effective in controlling the fire ant, which spread from 30 million to 230 million acres while mirex was in use, because the pesticide hurt the fire ant's natural competitors more than the fire ant itself. Thus Rep. Harkin suggested that the Committee amendment should be called "the Fire Ant Protection and Development Act." The Carter Administration lobbied against the amendment. Rejected 167-224. November 28, 1979. NO is the correct vote.

- 5) PESTICIDES HR 3546 Same Act as above. The vote is on the Committee amendment to allow either the House or the Senate to veto any new regulation made by the Environmental Protection Agency within 60 days. The other House of Congress then has 30 days to object to this veto; if no objection is made, the veto stands and the EPA regulation is overturned. Both the Carter Administration and environmentalists opposed this amendment because it would politicize decisions that should be made by scientists on grounds of human health. Most Members of Congress have neither the time nor the expertise to make highly technical evaluations about the health hazards of individual pesticides. The amendment would also have added further to the existing four month delay before proposed EPA pesticide regulations become final. Adopted 278-121. November 28, 1979. NO is the correct vote.
- Appropriations, fiscal 1980. The vote is on the Ambro amendment to give the Environmental Protection Agency \$4 million for research on groundwater contamination, and \$6 million for research on the causes and effects of acid rain. This research would help the EPA write effective regulations with data that would hold up in court. There are thousands of hazardous waste dumps all over the country, and many could and are seeping into groundwater and threatening the drinking supply of millions of people. (About 50% of the American people drink groundwater.) Acid rain is caused mainly by sulfur dioxide emissions from coal fired power plants. It can kill fish in lakes hundreds of miles away and hurt crop productivity. This amendment was not heavily lobbied, but it does give an idea which Members of Congress are most concerned about these problems. The Administration opposed the amendment. Rejected 129-237. June 22, 1979. YES is the correct vote.
- 7) ASBESTOS IN SCHOOLS HR 3282 The vote is on passage of the bill to authorize \$300 million in grants and long term, interest-free loans to school districts to detect and control asbestos in school buildings. The money would be given out over a three year period, most of it for containment or removal efforts, and federal funds were to cover no more than 50% of these costs. Breathing asbestos fibers can cause lung cancer and medical evidence shows that any exposure is dangerous. Asbestos was widely used in school construction until 1973 when the EPA banned its use, and about 15% of the schools will need help to protect the health of their children. The Administration opposed the bill. Passed 336-63. December 13, 1979. YES is the correct vote.
- 8) SAFE DRINKING WATER AMENDMENTS HR 3509 The vote is on the Waxman motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to extend the Safe Drinking Water Act for another three years and to authorize \$236.6 million to implement the Act. This vote was important and controversial for two reasons. First, the Environmental Protection Agency was planning to require more stringent treatment technologies to control cancer causing chemicals in drinking water, such as carbon filtration systems or equivalent technologies. Second, the EPA was planning to enforce sections in the law designed to prevent the oil companies from contaminating groundwater by using improper underground injection techniques to extract their oil. Thus both the oil companies and big water utilities wanted to weaken the Act, but it passed in good shape, 319-76. The Carter Administration supported the Act. July 30, 1979. YES is the correct vote.
- 9) THE WORKPLACE ENVIRONMENT HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations bill for FY 1980. The vote is on the Symms amendment to reduce the appropriations for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration by \$10.3 million. This cut would have greatly curtailed on site consultation and educational grants to help employers comply with the law. This is part of the agency's effort to make its regulations less burdensome for small business and to focus on serious health problems. An estimated 50 million workers are still exposed to toxic substances in the workplace. Both environmentalists and the Carter Administration lobbied against this amendment. Rejected 177-240. June 27, 1979. NO is correct vote.

- Child Health and Medicaid authorizations. The vote is on 10) POPULATION HR 4962 the Dannemeyer motion to send the bill back to the House Commerce Committee with instructions to add an amendment requiring teenagers to get consent from their parents before they could use the services of government funded family planning clinics. Thus the amendment would have prevented many teenagers from getting counciling or access to contraceptives. Population activists considered this an important vote because of the epidemic of teenage pregancies. 68% of all teenage pregancies are accidental and they number over 700,000 a year. A study by the Alan Guttmacher Institute suggests that if denied contraception, most teenagers prefer to risk pregnancy than to give up having sex. (The law already prevents federally funded clinics from doing or talking about abortions, so the amendment did not address the abortion issue; but by increasing the number of unwanted pregnancies it would probably have increased the number of abortions.) Environmentalists support family planning programs because rapid population growth hastens the depletion and pollution of natural resources. The Carter Administration did not lobby the amendment which came up suddenly. Rejected 163-225. December 11, 1979. NO is correct.
- 11) POPULATION House Resolution 38 The vote is on adoption of the resolution to establish a House Select Committee on Population for the 96th Congress. In the past this Select Committee has played an important role in educating Members of Congress about the urgency of the world population problem. The Committee's Chairman Jim Scheuer held extensive hearings and issued reports showing that many nations with high birth rates still needed and benefited from foreign aid for family planning. As more people use ever more desperate ways of wringing a living from the earth, we are confronted with worldwide soil erosion, declining fisheries, encroaching deserts, and widespread famine even in countries not at war. The House periodically tries to reduce the number of its Select Committees, and so this vote reflects a lack of a sense of urgency rather than hostility toward family planning. Rejected 187-214. March 21, 1979. YES is the correct vote.
- 12) ENERGY MOBILIZATION BOARD (EMB) HR 4985. The bill reported by the House Commerce Committee was considered a disaster by environmentalists. It allowed the Energy Mobilization Board to waive substantive environmental laws in order to expedite an unlimited number of energy projects. Later this was modified to allow the President and Congress to get involved in decisions regarding a waiver. But the EMB, acting alone, was also given the power to take over the decisions normally made by other agencies determining how the law applied to various energy projects. The vote is on the Udall substitute, which allowed waivers only for procedural laws, and required the EMB to take an agency to court to enforce its deadlines before it could pre-empt the decisions made by that agency. It also set a limit of 75 energy projects that could use these "fast track" Environmentalists would have preferred no bill at all, but they considered the Udall bill much the better alternative and made it a top priority lobbying effort. The Commerce Committee bill would allow a handful of Presidential appointees to override protective mechanisms that conservationists have fought for decades to put in place. The Carter Administration opposed the Udall substitute. This vote is given double weight in scoring. Rejected 192-215. November 1, 1979. YES is the correct vote.
- 13) ENERGY MOBILIZATION BOARD HR 4985. The vote is on the Eckhardt amendment, which was offered as a fallback position after the Udall substitute was defeated. The amendment eliminated the provisions allowing the waiver of substantive environmental laws. However it did not affect the other provisions of the Commerce Committee bill allowing the EMB to take over the decision-making powers of other agencies if they failed to meet its deadlines. The Carter Administration supported the Eckhardt amendment, but because Carter had opposed the Udall bill, Congressman Dingell was able to mislead many of his colleagues into believing that Carter opposed the Eckhardt amendment also. YES is the correct vote. Rejected 153-250. November 1, 1979. YES is correct.

- HR 3930. Defense Production Act. The Act used 14) SYNTHETIC FUELS FROM COAL military security as an excuse for giving the U.S. Government the authority to enter into contracts with private companies for the production and commercialization of synthetic fuels from coal. The goal was to produce a million barrels a day, for general fuel needs, on the grounds that a severe fuel shortage constitutes a military threat. In fact the military establishment has its own petroleum reserves which are adequate to supply its needs. The vote is on the Dingell amendment to limit the definition of energy production in the Act to the energy needed for military defense purposes. This would have prevented the federal government from promoting massive synthetic fuel development for commercial use. Dingell maintained that the fuel shortage did not meet his idea of a national emergency and he was reluctant to give the President such wide-ranging powers. Environmentalists have opposed the massive production of synthetic fuels, because they are less efficient, more expensive, and probably more damaging to the environment than burning coal directly and using scrubbers. They require tremendous amounts of water and would put too much carbon dioxide into the global atmosphere. The Administration opposed the Dingell amendment. Rejected 69-351. June 26, 1979. YES is the correct vote.
- 15) SYNTHETIC FUEL MONOPOLIES HR 3930. Befense Production Act. The vote is on the Udall amendment to prohibit the eight largest oil companies from contracting with the government to provide synthetic fuels from coal. Environmentalists generally oppose giving a few large corporations increased monopoly power over different energy sources, because it gives these corporations too much power over national energy policies. The major oil companies already control from 35 to 40% of domestic coal reserves and also dominate the uranium market. They have a vested interest in promoting the most highly centralized and often the most environmentally destructive energy technologies. The Carter Administration did not lobby on this amendment. Rejected 127-263. June 26, 1979. YES is the correct vote.
- Development Appropriations. The vote is on the Weaver amendment to prohibit the use of NRC funds for issuing operating licenses for nuclear power plants in states which had not submitted an emergency evacuation plan approved by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. This was the first major nuclear vote in the House after the Three Mile Island accident. 25 states that contain nuclear power plants do not have any emergency evacuation plans approved by the NRC, including Massachussetts, Ohio, Michigan and Pennsylvania. Most of the evacuation plans that do exist are clearly inadequate. The amendment would probably have delayed operating licenses for some nuclear plants, and highlighted the dangers involved for large population centers. It might also have allowed some states to block the licensing of new nuclear plants within their borders by refusing to subsmit any evacuation plan. If there had been time, the Carter Administration would probably have lobbied against the amendment. Rejected 147-235. June 18, 1979. YES is the correct vote.

17) NUCLEAR BREEDER REACTOR HR 3000 Energy Department Civilian Programs. The vote is on the Fuqua amendment to terminate the Clinch River fast breeder reactor and to authorize \$107 million to carry out a Department of Energy study and design for an alternative breeder. This represents a compromise by the Carter Administration, which for three years previously had attempted to halt construction at Clinch River without making any serious commitment to build other breeder technologies. This year the amendment provided money for continuing work on various breeder components and directed DOE to report back to Congress by March 1981 with a conceptual breeder design and a recommendation on whether to build it.

Liquid metal fast breeder reactors are believed to produce more nuclear fuel than they consume. But they are more expensive and more dangerous than the light water reactors now in use. Breeders require the production and shipping of large amounts of plutonium, one of the most carcinogenic and poisonous substances known. Terrorists or other nations would need only a small amount of plutonium to make nuclear bombs. The core of the breeder also generates tremendous heat and thus requires a coolant which can withstand extremely high temperatures. The usual coolant, liquid sodium, is potentially very dangerous; it can explode and burn on contact with either air or water. Amendment rejected 182-237. July 26, 1980. YES is the correct vote.

- NUCLEAR REACTOR SAFETY HR 2608. Nuclear Regulatory Commission authorizations. The vote is on the Bingham amendment to require the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) to report to Congress on which operating reactors were in compliance with which specific safety regulations. The NRC was also required to supply a list of generic safety issues and problems which afflict many reactors. Since the NRC has added enormously to its list of safety requirements in recent years, many plants built earlier are not in compliance, and widespread "grandfathering" procedures have allowed plants less than 5 years old to fall 10 to 15 years behind current safety standards. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission testified that it supported the intent of the amendment but thought that the 120 day deadline imposed by the Congress was unrealistic. It did not have the information required and it would take 33 people working the entire 120 days to get it together. The passage of this amendment represents a major victory for environmentalists, and provided them with much needed information to embarrass the nuclear industry and to press for safety reforms. Adopted 217-161. November 29, 1979. YES is correct.
- NUCLEAR CONSTRUCTION MORATORIUM HR 2608 Nuclear Regulatory Commission authorizations. The vote is on the Markey amendment to put a six month moratorium on any new nuclear plant construction permits. This was considered a key test vote on nuclear power and the first time Members voted after the Kemeny Commission had published its report criticizing the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for its handling of the accident at Three Mile Island. Markey argued that no new construction permits should be issued until the government had carried out all the reforms and changes recommended by the Kemeny Commission. The effect of the amendment was partly symbolic, since the NRC had a self-imposed moratorium on construction permits until the Three Mile Island accident was fully studied. The amendment did not apply to nuclear plants already under construction, and would at the very most have affected from six to eight plants that were close to requesting permits. But environmentalists lobbied hard and considered this the most important nuclear vote of the year. The Carter Administration opposed the amendment. Rejected 135-254. November 29, 1979. YES is the correct vote.

- 20) WIND ENERGY HR 5892 Wind Energy Research and Development Act. The vote is on the Fuqua motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize \$100 million in fiscal 1981 for research, development, and demonstrations of wind energy systems. Most of the money would be spent researching wind patterns and giving grants to companies producing windmills and other wind energy machines. By conservative estimates, wind could supply at least the equivalent of 1 million barrels of oil a day by the year 2000. It is probably the safest way there is to generate electricity without any negative impacts on the environment. The electricity can be used locally or fed into the utilities' electric power grid, so that surplus energy from one location on a windy day can be used to provide back-up power at another location where the wind is not blowing that day. The grants from the bill would help small-scale wind industries survive until their institutional problems with the utilities can be worked out. The Carter Administration supported the bill. Motion agreed to 383-23. December 4, 1979. YES is the correct vote.
- 21) WINDFALL PROFITS TAX HR 3919. The vote is on the substitute amendment by Reps. Jones and Moore to reduce the windfall profits tax from 70% to 60%, and to end the tax completely by December 1990. The windfall profits tax was intended to prevent the oil companies from keeping all the extra money paid to them by consumers once price controls were removed. The oil companies strongly supported this amendment to weaken the tax, claiming that they needed higher profits to give them an incentive to find more oil and other energy sources. Environmentalists favored a very stiff windfall profits tax, 70% or higher, so that the revenues created by the higher prices could be used to promote mass transit and energy conservation as well as energy development, and to rebate some of the money to poor consumers. Nor did environmentalists think the oil companies would reinvest their windfall money in a desirable manner. (see next vote also). Therefore they opposed the amendment, as did the Carter Administration. Adopted 236-183. June 28, 1979. No is the correct vote.
- 22) WINDFALL PROFITS TAX HR 3919. The vote is on the Conable motion to send the bill back to committee with instructions to add a "plowback provision" giving the oil companies a tax credit of 75¢ on every dollar invested in new kinds of energy production. This would mean that most of the revenue from the windfall profits tax would be given right back to the oil companies, making the tax a farce. Environmentalists were also concerned that this would encourage the oil companies to invest in some extremely expensive and destructive energy production schemes like synthetic fuels that would not make sense economically were it not for a big government subsidy or tax credit. Under the amendment, government subsidies for energy production would be concentrated in the hands of the major oil companies, and would thus tend to increase their monopoly control over energy sources. The big energy companies prefer highly centralized energy systems like nuclear power or synthetic fuels, but decentralized sources like the sun and wind are often cheaper, more efficient and safer. The Carter Administration opposed the Conable motion. Rejected 186-229. June 28, 1979. NO is the correct vote.
- SOLAR SATELLITE HR 2335. The vote is on passage of the bill to authorize \$25 million for more research on the solar satellite without waiting for the results of an earlier study to be completed in June 1980. Environmentalists oppose the solar satellite because it is outrageously expensive and could cause health threats from microwave radiation. They would prefer that the money be used for decentralized, proven solar technologies here on earth. Proponents of the bill envision 100 giant satellites, each with 50 miles of surface area, 22,000 miles from earth. Their photovoltaic cells would collect solar energy, turn it into microwaves, and beam these down to receiving antennae on earth. The raw materials and workers needed to build the satellite would be launched into orbit and assemble the satellite in space. Each satellite would require from 50 to 500 rocket launches. The plan seems more like a pork barrel program for the areospace industry than a practical effort to solve energy problems. The Administration opposed the bill. Passed 201-146. November 16, 1979. No is the correct vote.

- 24) GASOLINE RATIONING S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation Act. The vote is on the Ottinger amendment to permit the President to impose gasoline rationing when there was a 15% shortage for 30 days, rather than waiting until there was a 20% shortage. Ottinger argued that without his amendment the President would not have rationing authority "until a truly catastrophic situation prevailed." Although environmental leaders today have mixed feelings about rationing, most supported the Ottinger amendment. This was one of the few opportunities that Members of Congress had in 1979 to indicate that they were seriously concerned about excessive gasoline consumption and willing to do something about it. If a rationing plan were in place in an emergency, it would hopefully reduce the sense of panic and the willingness to uncritically accept drastic, phony "solutions" to the energy crisis. Rejected 93-329. July 25, 1979. YES is the correct vote.
- RAILROADS House Concurrent Resolution 107, Budget Targets for fiscal 1980. The vote is on the Glickman amendment to restore half the funds which the Carter Administration wanted to cut for the AMTRAK passenger railroad system. The amendment increased the 1980 budget authority by \$83 million and the outlays by \$73 million. These funds would allow AMTRAK to keep more of its routes open, and make investments in improved equipment and service needed to increase ridership. Environmentalists want to encourage travel by train, because it is more energy efficient and less polluting than travel by plane or by car. Reducing our dependency on the automobile is one of the quickest ways to relieve the oil shortage. The Administration opposed the amendment. Rejected 196-227. May 8, 1979. YES is the correct vote.
- RAILROADS HR 3996 AMTRAK Reorganization Act of 1979. The vote is on the Hagadorn amendment to set fares that would produce revenues equal to 40% of total AMTRAK expenses in fiscal 1980, 45% in 1981 and 50% in 1982. Everyone agreed that AMTRAK should eventually get at least 50% of its revenues from fares. The dispute here was over timing. Rail transportation advocates feared that too sudden and steep a fare increase would cause a drastic decline in ridership. But if AMTRAK can hold on a few more years, the trains will become more economically competitive with private automobiles because gasoline prices will continue to soar. Therefore environmentalists wanted to postpone fare hikes and avoid the premature closing of any more AMTRAK routes. The Carter Administration did not lobby on this amendment. Rejected 168-250. July 25, 1979. NO is correct.
- 27) URBAN MASS TRANSIT HR 4289. Supplemental Appropriations for fiscal 1979. The vote is on the Fish amendment to provide an additional \$125 million for discretionary capital grants for urban transportation. This money would be used to invest in new capital equipment such as buses and subway lines, and is essential both for the expansion and continued operation of urban mass transit systems. Attractive mass transit systems provide a desperately needed alternative to our clogged and polluting highways for getting commuters to and from work. The amendment came up suddenly and there was no time for the Carter Administration to take a position. Rejected 127-270. June 6, 1979. YES is the correct vote.

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