

# RICHARD GEPHARDT



## BIOGRAPHY

Richard Gephardt was born January 31, 1941 in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1962, he received his bachelor's degree from Northwestern University; three years later, he earned a law degree from the University of Michigan. He went to work for the law firm of Thompson & Mitchell, where he rose to partner. His political career began in 1971, when he ran successfully for the St. Louis Board of Aldermen. Five years later, he won a bid to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he has served ever since. Gephardt rose steadily through the House leadership ranks, serving first as caucus chair and later majority leader under then-Speaker Tom Foley. In 1988, he ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic presidential nomination. When the Republicans assumed control of the House following the 1994 elections, Gephardt became minority leader, a position he held until 2002, when he voluntarily stepped down to focus on his presidential candidacy. Gephardt and his wife, Jayne Ann, have three children.

## OVERVIEW

Over the course of a long and often distinguished House career, Representative Gephardt has steadily improved his record on environmental issues. On the plus side, he has consistently supported measures to protect air and water, reduce toxics, and preserve wilderness, and he has been an eloquent advocate for including environmental safeguards in international trade agreements. On the debit side, Gephardt has steadfastly opposed higher fuel efficiency standards for cars and trucks—a key component in reducing the carbon emissions that cause global warming. However, as a part of the Apollo 21 energy plan introduced during his campaign, he has pledged to convene a “summit” among automakers, labor interests, and environmentalists to attempt to work out a solution to this issue. Gephardt’s voting record was not always consistently pro-environment, but it dramatically improved after 1994, when the Republicans proposed their anti-environment Contract With America and took control of the House.

Richard Gephardt													
Lifetime Environmental Voting Record (1977–2002)													
Year	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985–1986	1987-1988	1989	1990	
LCV Score	65	60	40	60	64	54	71	70	68	19*	90	75	

  

Year	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	Lifetime
LCV Score	53	44	55	76	76	76	75	92	94	93	93	88	<b>66</b>

\* Representative Gephardt’s uncharacteristically low score of 19 percent in 1987–1988 is due to a large number of missed votes during his 1988 campaign for president.

LCV’s Scorecard rates members of Congress on their environmental voting records for each year by assigning them a percentage score. LCV’s scores are based on the number of correct votes or actions taken by the legislator versus the total number of votes or actions monitored by the League. There are no excused absences. The lifetime percentage is not an average of the yearly percentages.

## THE CANDIDATE IN HIS OWN WORDS

In January 2005, the most anti-environmental administration of modern times will leave office. And the first duty of the new President will be to clear out the wreckage and do some emergency damage control.

Immediately upon taking office in 2005, I would act to inventory all the anti-environmental rollbacks during the Bush administration. For each identified act of malfeasance, I would assess how quickly we could move things back to the Clinton-Gore standard. Any regulatory rollback in the pipeline would be frozen and reversed.

A Gephardt administration would then identify proactive environmental priorities in the clean air, clean water, public lands, energy, and international arenas. The following will be some of my priorities:

- A National Summit on Fuel Efficiency will be held in the first year and a plan to move forward on increase fuel efficiency supported by the major stakeholders will be adopted. The goal is to find a new approach that breaks the gridlock on CAFÉ.
- I will have allies in the Congress introduce and begin debate on the Apollo 21 Act. The goal would be to educate the American people and the Congress energy independence through progressive energy policy in 2005, then pass the bill in 2006.
- I will put a moratorium on all ongoing trade negotiations to develop a plan to put forward progressive sustainable development, worker rights and investment provisions for each negotiation. I would renegotiate the Chile, Singapore and other new bilateral trade agreements to the Jordan standard on these issues.
- The United States will re-enter global warming talks within the first six months of a Gephardt Administration. We would work to pass POPS, the Biodiversity convention and other pending international agreements. The era of unilateral environmental policy will be over.

— Richard Gephardt, responding to the  
*League of Conservation Voters presidential questionnaire*

### ISSUE AREAS

Richard Gephardt's campaign returned LCV's presidential questionnaire; excerpts from his questionnaire are included throughout this profile. Due to his long record of service in the House of Representatives, we have included primarily Gephardt's most recent and significant votes and legislative actions on the environment rather than attempting to catalog all of his environmental actions.

#### ► CLEAN AIR

Representative Gephardt's voting record on clean air issues is solid. He supported the most recent round of amendments to the Clean Air Act in 1990.<sup>1</sup> In 2000, he voted against an attempt to block the Environmental Protection Agency from implementing new rules for smog that would protect people with asthma and other respiratory problems in communities across the country.<sup>2</sup> In 1997, he opposed rollbacks to the Clean Air Act that would have prevented the EPA from go-

ing forward with tighter restrictions on smog-causing pollutants.<sup>3</sup> However, in 1987, while running for president, he missed a key vote on legislation that would have postponed economic sanctions against cities that fail to meet emissions standards for smog-causing ozone and carbon monoxide.<sup>4</sup>

In 1997 and 1998, he helped to develop a plan to improve the St. Louis clean air implementation plan, as required by the Clean Air Act.<sup>5</sup> He also rejected an effort by Senator Kit Bond (R-MO) to pass legislation preventing the Environmental Protection Agency from cutting the city's federal highway funds because of its failure to comply with clean air standards.<sup>6</sup> Despite a lawsuit by environmentalists, in 2001 the EPA gave the city more time to meet clean air requirements. Environmentalists expressed disappointment with the delay, but Gephardt said, "The good news is that the EPA will work with us on the best way to implement this decision."<sup>7</sup>

In response to LCV's presidential questionnaire, Gephardt indicated his support for including carbon dioxide, a global warming pollutant, among the pollutants regulated by the Clean Air Act. He declared his strong opposition to the Bush administration's "Clear Skies" proposal, which environmentalists maintain would increase emissions of harmful pollutants.<sup>8</sup> He also opposed the administration's rollbacks of new source review rules for older industrial plants under the Clean Air Act, which would allow plants to expand operations without reducing their emissions.<sup>9</sup> The environmental and public health communities strongly oppose both of these Bush administration actions. In addition, Gephardt endorsed comprehensive efforts to reduce ozone, mercury, particulate and carbon pollution, as well as acid rain and regional haze, so long as they "do not undermine the health of American industry and the jobs of our workers."<sup>10</sup> He is not, however, a co-sponsor of the House bill to require that older coal-fired power plants lower their emissions of these pollutants.

## ► CLEAN WATER

Gephardt cites his leadership in recent years against Bush administration attempts to roll back key environmental protections, calling it his "best recent accomplishment...whether the issue was arsenic in drinking water, global warming, energy policy, drilling in ANWR, or other air, water, or public lands rollbacks." And indeed, under his leadership, House Democrats took on many of these rollbacks both in the media and on the floor of the House.

For example, the Democrats were able to prevent the administration from weakening a Clinton administration rule to reduce arsenic levels in drinking water by winning a key vote on the House floor. Gephardt voted for that amendment and was also a co-sponsor of a bill that would have required the administration to adopt the more protective arsenic standard for drinking water.<sup>11</sup>

In 1996, Gephardt voted to reauthorize and strengthen the Safe Drinking Water Act, which gives states \$7.6 billion in grants and loans to help local communities meet water quality standards.<sup>12</sup> However, he missed a key vote on the 1995 "dirty water" bill, which would have weakened pollution control regulations under the Clean Water Act and redefined protections for wetlands, making it easier for developers to destroy them.<sup>13</sup>

In response to LCV's presidential questionnaire, Gephardt said he favors reinstating Clean Water Act protection for the small rivers, intermittent streams, and so-called "isolated" wetlands that would be denied protection under a Bush administration proposal. He also supports the national goal, adopted by the first Bush administration and abandoned by the current Bush administration, of ensuring "no net loss of wetlands."<sup>14</sup>

## ► TOXICS

Representative Gephardt has a strong record of supporting legislation to expand the public's right to know about toxic chemicals in their communities, and he is harshly critical of the Bush administration's attempts to rollback reporting of toxic releases. In his LCV questionnaire, he states that "the health of our children depends on complete transparency, not this Administration's policy of keeping secrets to protect its corporate contributors and hiding critical information about the hazards we face."<sup>15</sup> In 1986, Gephardt voted for the creation of the Toxics Release Inventory, which requires that companies publicly report their releases of toxic chemicals.<sup>16</sup>

In 2000, he helped broker a bipartisan agreement to restore abandoned brownfields.<sup>17</sup> If elected President, he has vowed to speed U.S. ratification of the international treaty phasing out 12 persistent organic pollutants (POPs), which was signed by President Bush but has since stalled in the Senate.<sup>18</sup>

## Superfund

Cleanup of toxic waste sites has been an issue for Representative Gephardt since his earliest days in of-

face. Times Beach, one of the worst toxic waste sites in the nation, was located in his district, and he played a leading role in getting the site listed under Superfund and in getting funding for its cleanup.<sup>19</sup> Currently, he is supporting Superfund listing for another site in his district, the Herculaneum Lead Smelter although environmentalists in Missouri have criticized his handling of this site.<sup>20</sup>

His voting record on Superfund issues has been strong. He voted for the creation of the Superfund in 1980.<sup>21</sup> More recently, he voted against a bill exempting any “small” businesses—defined as having as many as 100 employees and revenues of as much as \$3 million annually—from Superfund cleanup liability.<sup>22</sup> To address toxic cleanup backlogs, he would make reinstating Superfund taxes on polluting industries a “top environmental priority” and keep appropriations “at current levels.”<sup>23</sup>

## ► PUBLIC LANDS

Representative Gephardt has a strong voting record on national public lands issues. As president, he says he would protect Bureau of Land Management lands that have been denied wilderness protection by a recent Bush administration decision.<sup>24</sup> He supports designating the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge as wilderness to protect it from oil and gas drilling.<sup>25</sup> He voted for a bill to provide permanent funding for the Land and Water Conservation fund, and he supports full funding for the Conservation Trust Fund.<sup>26</sup>

### National Forests

In 1996, Gephardt voted twice for a measure to eliminate \$42 million for building new logging roads on federal land.<sup>27</sup> In addition, he strongly supports the Clinton administration’s moratorium on new road construction and logging in roadless and undeveloped portions of national forests.<sup>28</sup>

In 1998, Gephardt voted against a bill to expand commercial logging in the national forests under the guise of fire management and for an amendment to the bill to exempt roadless areas from the impacts of the bill.<sup>29</sup> In his LCV questionnaire, he criticized the Bush administration’s “Healthy Forests” initiative for doing more to promote logging than protect communities. “The key to protecting people from wildfires,” he says, “is to construct perimeters via controlled burns and other measures around settled area.”<sup>30</sup> However, he missed votes in 2003 on legislation to carry out the president’s plan.<sup>31</sup>

### Mining

Gephardt supported a bill that required hard-rock mining companies to pay an 8 percent royalty on ores extracted from federal lands and that increased environmental regulation of such mining operations.<sup>32</sup> He has voted to require that mining companies operating on federal lands clean up toxic waste and to limit the amount of waste that mining companies may dump on public lands.<sup>33</sup> He supports requiring metals mining operations to pay royalties for minerals extracted from public lands and to meet “basic reclamation standards” for cleaning up toxic waste.<sup>34</sup>

### National Parks

Gephardt has a long record of support for national parks. In 1983, he voted to require that the Secretary of Interior evaluate the environmental impacts of any proposed sale, lease or use permit for federal lands that are adjacent to a national park.<sup>35</sup> He voted in favor of creating several new national parks in the California desert in the early 1990s.<sup>36</sup> In 1995, he voted against a move to close some national parks.<sup>37</sup> He favors restricting the use of snowmobiles, jet skis and off-road vehicles in Yellowstone and Grand Teton national parks. He suggests, however, that there may be some parks where those vehicles can be used appropriately, and he missed a vote on snowmobile use in Yellowstone in 2003.<sup>38</sup> He has criticized the Bush administration for failing to meet park maintenance and backlog commitments and for its proposal to outsource “vital public services.”<sup>39</sup>

## ► ENVIRONMENTAL ENFORCEMENT AND REGULATORY REFORM

As representative, Gephardt has consistently supported enforcement of environmental laws and the budget for the Environmental Protection Agency.<sup>40</sup> He has co-sponsored the Defense of the Environment Act, which would require a vote on all anti-environment riders and under his leadership, House Democrats have generally opposed such riders.<sup>41</sup> In addition, under his leadership the Democrats fought regulatory reform and paperwork reduction proposals in the 1995 “Contract With America” that environmentalists argued would have severely undermined environmental protection laws.<sup>42</sup>

He favors increased funding to federal agencies to expedite National Environmental Policy Act environmental assessments, and he rejects proposals to weaken the law in the name of “streamlining.”<sup>43</sup>

Gephardt has voted to elevate the Environmental Protection Agency to cabinet status.<sup>44</sup>

## ► ENERGY

In response to LCV's environmental questionnaire, Gephardt said:

As President, I would convene a bipartisan energy summit to help the country move forward. I would invite all the major players: the auto industry and its workers, the energy industry and its workers, environmentalists, consumer groups, energy efficiency experts, and government officials. We all need to get in a room to begin to sort this out.... I wouldn't want to prejudge the summit outcome, but the goal should be a significant increase in fuel efficiency. And its not just fuel efficiency of traditional gasoline powered vehicles that should be on the table. Mandates for progress on hybrids and hydrogen fuel cell vehicles must also be enacted.<sup>45</sup>

He has developed an energy plan, Apollo 21, and has made this issue one of the cornerstones of his presidential campaign.<sup>46</sup> Details of his plan are included below.

### Nuclear Issues

As Democratic leader in the House, Gephardt has fought efforts to build a nuclear waste storage site at Yucca Mountain, Nevada—a site opposed by environmentalists due to its potential impact on the surrounding community and the danger posed by nuclear waste shipments to this single site.<sup>47</sup> “In the long term,” he says, “high-level radioactive waste should be stored in an environmentally safe and secure location, which does not jeopardize our natural resources or public safety. In the short term, I support temporary dry storage of the waste at its current site, but remain opposed to incremental storage of spent fuel before it is sent to a permanent repository.”<sup>48</sup>

### Fuel Economy/Energy Efficiency

Gephardt has voted against raising fuel efficiency standards for cars and light trucks.<sup>49</sup> He did vote to continue funding an Energy Department program aimed at creating a prototype mid-size sedan capable of 80 miles per gallon.<sup>50</sup> However, some environmentalists oppose this program in part because automakers have used it as a means to block higher fuel economy standards.<sup>51</sup> While Gephardt acknowledges that “all motor vehicles must become more fuel-efficient,” he believes the country has “reached an impasse” in attempting to raise automobiles' fuel efficiency standards. He has pledged, if elected president, to convene a “summit” among automakers, labor interests, and environmentalists to attempt to work out a solution to this issue.<sup>52</sup>

Gephardt has voted to increase funding for energy efficiency programs.<sup>53</sup> His Apollo 21 proposal would offer numerous tax deductions and incentives for energy efficient new buildings and renovations—both residential and commercial—and for increases in appliance efficiency and industrial energy efficiency.<sup>54</sup>

### Oil Drilling

A co-sponsor of legislation to preserve the Arctic coastal plain as wilderness,<sup>55</sup> Gephardt is a reliable opponent of drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.<sup>56</sup> Although he has strong ties to labor, he has continued to oppose drilling in the Arctic even though several prominent unions, including the Teamsters union, support it. As minority leader, he urged his colleagues to vote against opening the refuge to drilling.<sup>57</sup>

An opponent of offshore drilling, he pledges that, as president, he would buy out the remaining oil and gas leases off the coast of California.<sup>58</sup> He has voted against drilling in the Gulf of Mexico, in the Great Lakes, and off the coast of California.<sup>59</sup>

### Renewable Energy

Gephardt argues for expanded use of wind, solar, and biomass energy sources: his Apollo 21 plan calls for doubling federal investment in renewable energy sources and would provide a 30 percent tax credit for business investment in renewable energy generation.<sup>60</sup> In addition, he supports a renewable energy standard that would require that 20 percent of electricity production come from renewable sources by 2020.<sup>61</sup>

## ► GLOBAL WARMING

A critic of the Bush administration's inaction on global warming, Gephardt supported an amendment that would have allowed the implementation of portions of the Kyoto climate change treaty that are already allowed under law, even before the U.S. had ratified the treaty.<sup>62</sup> In response to LCV's presidential questionnaire, Gephardt stopped short of explicitly endorsing the Kyoto treaty, arguing instead for a flexible international approach that “does not place unfair disadvantage on U.S. industry and our workers” and that “brings developing nations like India and China on board more rapidly than the current timetable.” Gephardt also favors creating a White House Office on Climate Change to advance the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.<sup>63</sup>

## ► WILDLIFE

Decrying the right-wing assault on the Endangered Species Act, Gephardt says, “We should fully fund ESA and then determine where the shortfalls might lie. I am all for streamlining processes and bureaucracies. I am just not for short-circuiting them.” He favors the idea of granting private landowners tax breaks to protect imperiled wildlife, and he opposes granting ESA exemptions to the Defense Department: “The Pentagon can successfully co-exist with laws to protect our nation’s environment.”<sup>64</sup>

Among Gephardt’s key votes in this area are a vote against waiving the Endangered Species Act for flood control projects and a vote to protect the old growth critical habitat of the marbled murrelet.<sup>65</sup> He also supported strengthening the Magnusen Act to improve federal fisheries management and minimize the incidental harvesting of other fish.<sup>66</sup>

## ► INTERNATIONAL

In his LCV presidential questionnaire, Gephardt pledged to end “the era of unilateral environmental policy” if elected president, to re-enter global warming talks within his first six months in office and work to promote passage of the treaty to ban persistent organic pollutants, the Biodiversity Convention, and other international agreements that have not yet been ratified by the Senate. He also pledges that one of his first priorities as president will be reform of international trade agreements.<sup>67</sup>

### Population

As House minority leader, Gephardt opposed the Bush administration’s efforts to withdraw U.S. contributions to the U.N. Population Fund and other international family planning programs.<sup>68</sup> He has consistently voted in support of international family planning efforts.<sup>69</sup>

### Trade

Representative Gephardt was one of the first in Congress to call for labor and environmental protections in trade agreements and has been one of the most outspoken voices on this issue for many years. He has repeatedly cited the importance of insuring that trade agreements “raise rather than lower environmental and labor standards.” He credits the Jordan Free Trade Agreement of 2000 with offering “a blueprint on how to move forward with trade agreements that

open markets and promote sustainable development.” However, he voted against recent trade deals with Singapore and Chile because they failed to include “strong labor and environmental provisions.” He adds: “Reforming trade negotiations will be a priority in a Gephardt administration. Trade is about much more than opening markets; it is about encouraging rising labor and environmental standards, not eroding them. And it is about encouraging sustainable development of the world’s poorest nations.”<sup>70</sup>

## ► RECORD ON STATE ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Representative Gephardt has played a leading role in some national environmental policy debates, and his leadership staff engaged in an ongoing dialog with national environmental organizations. However, environmentalists in his home state are critical of a number of positions he has taken on key environmental issues in his district and believe that he has not been responsive to their concerns. For example, they believe that his staff has hindered efforts to clean up a lead plant site in his district that has endangered the health of children in the surrounding community of Herculaneum. They also believe that he has not supported a full environmental assessment of a proposed cement plant in his district, which would destroy Missouri River wetlands and jeopardize the air quality of St. Louis and its suburbs, choosing instead to focus on the jobs that the plant could bring to the district.<sup>71</sup>

However, in response to LCV’s environmental questionnaire, Gephardt said, “I am proud of my historic role in getting the EPA to designate Times Beach, Missouri as a Superfund site so that the very dangerous high-level concentrations of dioxin in that community could be cleared up in the early 1980s” and that he is hoping to secure the same designation for the lead plant site in Herculaneum.<sup>72</sup> In a 2002 letter to a constituent, he stated that he supports a full environmental assessment of the proposed Holcim cement plant. He also noted that he helped to secure millions of dollars in funding to upgrade sewer systems and improve water quality in his district. In addition, he noted that he secured funding for wetlands restoration on the Mississippi and Meramec Rivers and for local park projects, helped to establish the state’s Mark Twain National Forest, and led the congressional fight to prevent lead mining in the forest.<sup>73</sup>

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> 101st Congress, S. 1630, House vote 525, 26 October 1990
- <sup>2</sup> 106th Congress, H.R. 4635, House vote 305, 21 June 2000
- <sup>3</sup> 105th Congress, H.R. 1984, 9 October 1997
- <sup>4</sup> 100th Congress, H. J. Res. 395, House vote 454, 3 December 1987
- <sup>5</sup> Gephardt letter to constituent, 13 September 2002
- <sup>6</sup> David Goldstein, “St. Louis Air Causing Fight Over Funds,” *Kansas City Star*, 2 April 1999
- <sup>7</sup> William Allen, Brian Carlson and Deirdre Shesgreen, “St. Louis Area Will Get Another Chance on Air Standards,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 13 March 2001
- <sup>8</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>9</sup> Gephardt Statement on New Source Review, 13 June 2002
- <sup>10</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>11</sup> 107th Congress, H.R. 2620, House vote 288, 27 July 2001; 107th Congress, H.R. 1413, 4 April 2001
- <sup>12</sup> 104th Congress, S. 1316, House vote 399, 2 August 1996
- <sup>13</sup> 104th Congress, H.R. 961, House vote 337, 16 May 1995.
- <sup>14</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid
- <sup>16</sup> 99th Congress, HR 2817, House vote 396, 5 December 1985
- <sup>17</sup> Gephardt Statement on Passage of Brownfields Legislation, 20 December 2001
- <sup>18</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid
- <sup>20</sup> Gephardt letter to constituent, 13 September 2002
- <sup>21</sup> 96th Congress, H.R. 7020, House vote 579, 23 September 1980
- <sup>22</sup> 106th Congress, H.R. 5175, House vote 494, 26 September 2000
- <sup>23</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid
- <sup>25</sup> 106th Congress, H.R. 1239, 23 March 1999; 107th Congress, H.R. 770, 28 February 2001; 108th Congress, H.R. 770, 13 February 2001
- <sup>26</sup> 106th Congress, H.R. 701, House vote 179, 11 May 2000; League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>27</sup> 104th Congress, H.R. 3662, House vote 258 and 266, 19 June and 20 June 1996
- <sup>28</sup> Gephardt et al., Letter to President Bush re: roadless rule, 1 May 2001; League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>29</sup> 105th Congress, H.R. 2515, House votes 79 & 80, 27 March 1998
- <sup>30</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>31</sup> 107th Congress, H.R. 1904, House votes 198 & 200, 20 May 2003
- <sup>32</sup> 103rd Congress, HR 322, House vote 577, 18 November 1993
- <sup>33</sup> 106th Congress, H.R. 2466, House vote 288, 14 July 1999; 107th Congress, H.R. 2217, House vote 182, 21 June 2001
- <sup>34</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>35</sup> 98th Congress, H.R. 2379, House vote 377, 4 October 1983
- <sup>36</sup> 104th Congress, H.R. 1977, House vote 509, 13 July 1995; 102nd Congress, H.R. 2929, House vote 435, 26 November 1991
- <sup>37</sup> 104th Congress, H.R. 260, House vote 667, 19 September 1995
- <sup>38</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003; 108th Congress, H.R. 2691, House vote 372, 16 July 2003
- <sup>39</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>40</sup> 104th Congress, H.R. 2099, House vote 605, 31 July 1995; 104th Congress, H.R. 3019, House vote 55, 7 March 1996; 107th Congress, H.R. 2620, House vote 289, 27 July 2001
- <sup>41</sup> 106th Congress, H.R. 525, 3 February 1999
- <sup>42</sup> 104th Congress, H.R. 1022, House vote 183, 28 February 1995
- <sup>43</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>44</sup> 103rd Congress, H. Res. 312, House vote 4, 2 February 1994
- <sup>45</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid
- <sup>47</sup> 105th Congress, H.R. 1270, House vote 557, 30 October 1997; 107th Congress, H.J.Res. 87, House vote 133, 8 May 2002
- <sup>48</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>49</sup> 107th Congress, H.R. 4, House vote 311, 2 August 2001
- <sup>50</sup> 106th Congress, H.R. 4578, House vote 274, 14 June 2000
- <sup>51</sup> Green Scissors Report 2001 ([www.greencissors.com](http://www.greencissors.com))
- <sup>52</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>53</sup> 105th Congress, H.R. 4193, House vote 313, 21 July 1998; H.R. 2217, House vote 178, 21 June 2001
- <sup>54</sup> *Apollo 21: A Plan for American Energy Independence*
- <sup>55</sup> 106th Congress, H.R. 1239, 23 March 1999; 107th Congress, H.R. 770, 28 February 2001; 108th Congress, H.R. 770, 13 February 2001
- <sup>56</sup> 107th Congress, H.R. 4, House votes 316 & 317, 1 August 2001
- <sup>57</sup> Lizette Alvarez, “House Committee Approves Bush’s Plan for Drilling in Alaskan Refuge, 18 July 2001” *New York Times*; Gephardt letter to Democratic colleagues, 1 August 2001
- <sup>58</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>59</sup> 107th Congress, H.R. 2217, House vote 181, 21 June 2001; 107th Congress, H.R. 2311, House vote 203, 28 June 2001; 107th Congress, H.R. 5093, House vote 315, 17 July 2002

- <sup>60</sup> *Apollo 21: A Plan for American Energy Independence*
- <sup>61</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>62</sup> 106th Congress, H.R. 4690, House vote 323, 26 June 2000
- <sup>63</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>64</sup> Ibid
- <sup>65</sup> 105th Congress, H.R. 478, House vote 108, 7 May 1997; 104th Congress, H.R. 3662, House vote 253, 19 June 1996
- <sup>66</sup> 104th Congress, H.R. 39, House vote 717, 18 October 1995
- <sup>67</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid
- <sup>69</sup> 104th Congress, H.R. 1868, House vote 433, 28 June 1995; 105th Congress, H. J. Res. 26, House vote 22, 13 February 1997; 105th Congress, H.R. 2159, House vote 362, 4 September 1997; 107th Congress, H.R. 1646, House vote 115, 16 May 2001
- <sup>70</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>71</sup> Interview with Bea Covington, Missouri Coalition for the Environment, 6 August 2003; Interview with Carla Klein, Ken Midkiff, Diane Albright, Chris Hayday, Sierra Club, Missouri, 13 August 2003
- <sup>72</sup> League of Conservation Voters Presidential Questionnaire, 4 August 2003
- <sup>73</sup> Gephardt letter to constituent, 13 September 2002