

Master

**1977-1978**  
**ENVIRONMENTAL VOTES**  
**COMPILED BY THE**

**LEAGUE**  
**OF**  
**CONSERVATION VOTERS**

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**HOW  
SENATORS VOTED ON  
CRITICAL  
ENVIRONMENTAL  
ISSUES**

## EXPLANATION OF SCORES


Listed below are roll call votes during 1977 and 1978 covering a wide range of environmental issues. Votes we consider correct are in capitals; votes we consider wrong are in small letters. Each Senator is given a score based upon the votes shown. To compute the score, calculate the percentage of correct votes among those votes the Senator actually cast, ignoring absences. Then, subtract one point as a penalty for every absence (shown as small "a"). Unavoidable absences caused by illness, emergencies or official committee business appear as a capital A and are not penalized.

The chart includes as many 1978 environmental votes as we were able to use and still go to press in time to get charts out to the public before the elections. Some votes occurring in the late fall may have to be omitted.

Bear in mind that the chart does not reflect a Senator's total record. The Senators' public votes are only the tip of an iceberg, and the tip may be deceiving. Behavior on an important Committee or performance in the home state sometimes has more impact than a Senator's votes on the floor. Public votes reflect the pressures of his constituency as well as his personal conviction and may make him appear better or worse than he is in the relative privacy of a committee room. Some of the Senators appointed to fill vacancies have only been present for a few of the votes. Their scores are therefore not based on as broad a sample and their scores are put in parenthesis.

## THE LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS

The League is a national, nonpartisan campaign committee that analyzes, evaluates and publishes the environmental records of public officials. We support candidates with outstanding environmental records 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. They serve as individuals and do not officially represent these organizations. In selecting the votes to use on the charts, we also consult with many other national or local environmental leaders who have worked on the issues involved. We have tried to avoid using votes where environmental opinion was divided, even if the votes were important.



Marion Edey  
Executive Director

## STEERING COMMITTEE

Brent Blackwelder, Chairman	Thomas Dustin	Rafe Pomerance
Richard Ayres	Michael McCloskey	Douglas Scott
David Brower	Maryanne Meynet	Vim Wright

1

CLEAN AIR AMENDMENTS (S 252). The vote is on the Griffin amendment to delete provisions requiring that the Nitrogen Oxide standards for auto emissions be reduced to .4 gram per mile by 1983. Instead cars would be allowed to emit up to 1 gram of NOx per mile. Griffin's amendment gutted Senator Hart's amendment, which would have penalized cars that emitted more than .4 grams per mile and rewarded purchasers with rebates if their cars achieved better than the Ac's standards for all three pollutants (Carbon monoxide, hydrocarbons and nitrogen oxides). Griffin removed these provisions, leaving only a study on the health impact and feasibility of the .4 NOx standard. Environmentalists opposed the Griffin amendment because NOx is already known to be a major source of lung and respiratory disease. The Carter Administration had endorsed the original Committee bill which contained the weaker NOx standard, but did not lobby specifically on the Griffin or Hart amendments. Adopted 51-43; June 8, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

2

CLEAN AIR AMENDMENTS (S 252) The vote is on the Baker substitute to the Riegle-Griffin amendment. The Riegle-Griffin amendment would have substantially weakened protection against auto emissions by delaying the 1 gram per mile NOx standard for two years (from 1980 to 1982) and the hydrocarbon and carbon monoxide standards for one year (from 1979 to 1980). Baker's compromise retained the committee's earlier 1 gram NOx standard but accepted the one year delay for HC and CO. It allowed some 1980 and 1981 cars to emit up to 2 grams of NOx if they had innovative engine and emission systems not using precious metals and if they could meet other emission standards. All cars would have to comply with the standards by 1982. Environmentalists supported Baker's amendment. Considering the enormous pressure exerted by the auto industry, the vote in favor of Baker was considered a coup for clean air. The Administration supported the committee bill and opposed the Riegle-Griffin amendment. Adopted 56-38; June 9, 1977. YES is the correct vote.

3

CLEAN AIR AMENDMENTS (S 252). The vote is on the Stevens amendment to allow state Governors to permit Class I and Class II areas to exceed allowable pollution levels for 18 days a year. This amendment would gut that portion of the Clean Air Act which protects areas with pristine air from "significant deterioration" in air quality. Class I areas are national park and wilderness areas over 5,000 acres; Class II areas include all other areas not violating federal ambient air standards for sulphur dioxide and particulates. Exempting the 18 days of peak pollution would significantly lower air quality. The amendment would allow construction of giant power plants and manufacturing complexes near national parks. For example, the Inter-Mountain Power Project could have built a 300,000 megawatt coal fired power plant 9 miles from Capital Reef National Park in Utah under this amendment. Its defeat was a major victory for environmentalists. The Carter Administration opposed the amendment. Rejected 33-61; June 8, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

4

CLEAN WATER. Water Pollution Control Act Amendments (S 1952). The vote is on the Nelson amendment to limit the amounts of phosphates allowed in detergents, dishwashing compounds and water conditioners sold in the eight states adjacent to the Great Lakes. The amendment also directed the Environmental Protection Agency to study the need for a national phosphate control program. Environmentalists supported this amendment since phosphates reduce the levels of oxygen in bodies of water, causing eutrophication and killing fish. The Administration supported the amendment. Adopted 77-17; August 4, 1977. YES is the correct vote.

5

CLEAN WATER ENFORCEMENT Water Pollution Control Act Amendments (S 1952). The vote is on the Allen amendment to table and thus to kill the Kennedy amendment. The Kennedy amendment would have made the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia the only judicial court to review the national pollution standards and regulations set by the Environmental Protection Agency. This would have strengthened EPA's power to enforce pollution laws when challenged in court. Many private industries have learned to manipulate legal technicalities in order to get their court cases heard in certain localities by certain judges who are known to be hostile to environmental regulations. The Kennedy amendment would have ended this tactic, but Allen's motion allowed it to continue. The Administration opposed Allen, as did the environmentalists. Motion to table agreed to 59-36; August 4, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

6

FLOOD PLAIN DEVELOPMENT Flood Insurance Amendments (S 1523). The vote is on the Eagleton amendment to once again allow federally-insured banks to make loans for building on flood hazard areas that refused to participate in the Federal flood insurance program. The program was designed to discourage irresponsible new flood plain development. It required local communities to map their flood plains, zone against new construction in the most flood prone areas, and adopt other safety measures. The government's main sanction for implementing this program was the restriction on loans that this amendment removed. Without it, environmentalists feared that communities would drop out of the program, seek federally-insured financing for new construction and then yell for disaster relief when the floods hit. The amendment prohibited giving relief under such circumstances, but it is neither humane nor politically realistic to expect the government to deny relief to disaster victims. Environmentalists opposed the Eagleton amendment because it encourages flood plain development that paves over the richest farmland, increases flood damage, and creates pressure to build more dams. Adopted 49-36; June 7, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

7

WATERWAY USER FEES (S 1523). The vote is on the Stevenson amendment to authorize construction of a new Locks and Dam 26 to accommodate heavier barge traffic, but without authorizing a user fee system for the barges that would benefit. The user fee had been linked to Locks and Dam 26 by Senator Domenici who felt that this was the only way to get a user fee system to pass the Congress. Stevenson's amendment removed his bargaining chip and provided only for an 18 month Department of Transportation study of user fees. The barge companies now use federal waterways for free, even though they are built and maintained at taxpayers' expense by the Army Corps of Engineers. Thus barge companies lobby hard for further canal construction even when it can't be justified economically. Environmentalists support user fees to discourage the needless channelization of natural streams and the resulting destruction of fish and wildlife habitat. They joined the President in opposing Stevenson's amendment. Rejected 44-51; June 22, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

8

WATER PROJECTS Public Works Appropriations (HR 7553). The vote is on the McIntyre amendment to eliminate the seven water projects remaining on President Carter's hit list that were kept in the Appropriations Committee bill. All these projects were environmentally destructive and fiscally irresponsible. They would inundate prime farm land, scenic valleys and wildlife habitat for alleged flood control or recreational benefits. Some claim inflated benefits from flatwater recreation while destroying the recreational benefits of a free flowing river. Most couldn't be justified economically except through the use of outmoded and unrealistic interest rates in calculating their cost/benefit ratios, and often they benefit a select few at the expense of a larger group. The President supported the amendment, as did environmentalists. Rejected 34-52; June 30, 1977. YES is the correct vote.

9

WETLANDS PROTECTION Clean Water Act of 1977 (S 1952). The vote is on the Bentsen amendment to Section 404, to restrict the Army Corps of Engineers' jurisdiction and authority to prevent the dredging and filling of wetlands, including coastal wetlands. This amendment provided for statutory exemptions for various ranching, forestry, farming and construction activities and for certain Congressionally authorized water projects. It also directed the Corps to transfer most of its authority over wetlands to the state governments. Environmentalists opposed the amendment because very few states have effective wetland protection programs, and over 80% of our swamps and marshes would be left virtually unprotected. Wetlands are vital spawning areas for fish, and provide excellent habitat for wildlife. The Carter Administration opposed the Bentsen amendment. Rejected 45-51; August 4, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

10

WATER SUBSIDIES (HR 8309) The vote is on the Cranston amendment to nullify the Gravel amendment, which would have exempted the Kings River water users in California from the 160 acre limitation imposed on them by law. Environmentalists supported Cranston's effort to enforce the 1902 Federal Reclamation Act which said that federally-subsidized irrigation water could be provided only to small farmers. If this measure were strictly and vigorously enforced, it would break up the powerful agribusiness interests that are now growing rice and other water-intensive crops in semi-arid regions of the West. This would in turn reduce the political and economic pressure for more Bureau of Reclamation projects. Many of the California crops could be grown more easily in the South and East without irrigation and thus without the need for new dams. But eastern farmers can't compete when western farmers get federal water at ridiculously low prices. Pressure to enforce the 160 acre limit will probably drive up water prices and thus encourage water conservation. Many environmentalists would also like to help the small farmer compete successfully with agribusiness, believing that small resident farmers will have more respect for their land. Adopted 52-37; May 2, 1978. YES is the correct vote.

- 11 NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY ACT EXEMPTION; Department of Interior Appropriations (HR 12932). The vote is on the Curtis motion to prevent reconsideration of a vote to exempt water projects in the Colorado River Basin from having to prepare a comprehensive environmental impact statement as required by the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). Western Senators were afraid that a pending NEPA lawsuit would halt construction of some of their pet water projects, which had been evaluated individually, but not collectively with regard to their cumulative impacts. Consideration of these cumulative impacts is badly needed because of increasingly serious salinity problems, the cumulative loss of critical fish and wildlife habitat, and because there is not enough water in the Colorado River Basin to meet the demands of all the projects and uses that are already authorized. The Carter Administration favored a strict application of NEPA and opposed Curtis. Motion to table agreed to 59-33; August 8, 1978. NO is the correct vote.
- 12 REDWOOD PARK EXPANSION (S 1976). The vote is on the Havakawa amendment to delete from the bill provisions permitting the Secretary of Interior to take over some or all of a 30,000 acre designated zone bordering Redwood National Park, if that becomes necessary to protect the park. The original Redwood Park had been threatened by logging operations outside the park that caused soil erosion and flooding downstream within the park. The Committee bill provided this park protection zone to guard against such problems in the future. Environmentalists supported the Committee bill and opposed the amendment. So did the President. Rejected 28-65; January 31, 1978. NO is the correct vote.
- 13 REDWOOD PARK EXPANSION (S 1976) The vote is on the Havakawa amendment to give jurisdiction over compensation for parkland acquisition to the U.S. Court of Claims rather than the federal district courts as provided in the bill. The effect of this amendment would be to increase payments to the timber companies for their land, since the U.S. Court of Claims has a poor record on compensation issues and the federal district courts are better able to determine a fair price. Environmentalists opposed the amendment, fearing that if parkland acquisition became too costly there would be less money available to purchase other valuable parkland elsewhere. The Administration also opposed the amendment. Rejected 36-57; January 31, 1978. NO is the correct vote.
- 14 ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT (S 2899). The original Act prohibited any federal project from destroying the last remaining habitat of an endangered species. The vote is on the Stennis amendment to exempt from the Act any federal project that was begun before the Act passed in 1973, or was now more than 50% complete. The amendment also gave the heads of federal agencies the authority to exempt their own projects. Environmentalists charged that this was like "putting the fox in charge of the henhouse" and considered Stennis the key weakening amendment to the bill. They would have preferred to see no changes in the Act at all, but accepted the Culver-Baker Committee bill as offering a fair amount of protection for endangered species. The extinction of species has accelerated from one every 100 years in 1600, to one to twenty species lost each year in the 1970s. The Administration opposed the Stennis amendment. Rejected 22-76. July 18, 1978. NO is the correct vote.
- 15 ENDANGERED SPECIES (S 2899). The bill created a seven member Cabinet-level Commission to deal with conflicts between endangered species and projects. An agency with a project in conflict could present its case to this Commission and ask for an exemption. The vote is on the Scott amendment to allow four of the seven members to vote for an exemption from the law, instead of five as provided in the Culver-Baker bill. The Commission was composed of the Secretaries of the Army, Interior, and Agriculture, the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, the Administrators of the Environmental Protection Agency and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and the Governor of the state in which the project was located. Given the different views of these agencies, it would have been far more difficult to get five votes for an exemption than to get four. Environmentalists and the Administration opposed the Scott amendment. Rejected 23-69. July 19, 1978. NO is the correct vote.
- 16 MASS TRANSIT Transportation Appropriations (HR 12933) The vote is on the Lugar amendment to reduce the appropriation for the Urban Mass Transit Administration by \$170 million. Environmentalists favor full funding, to encourage the use of mass transit instead of the private automobile. The use of bus and rail transit for commuting reduces air pollution and promotes energy conservation. The Administration opposed the amendment. Rejected 26-44; June 23, 1978. NO is the correct vote.
- 17 COAL ROADS Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1978 (S 3073) The vote is on the Huddleston amendment to authorize an additional \$100 million for both Fiscal 1979 and 1980, from the Highway Trust Fund, for the rehabilitation of roads damaged by the transportation of "energy resources". This funding would be in addition to that already in the highway bill. The amendment would apply mainly to roads used for hauling coal, to repair damages caused by overweight trucks. Thus it was an indirect subsidy to the coal and trucking companies. It is usually more energy-efficient to haul the coal by rail. The Administration opposed the amendment. Rejected 37-51; August 21, 1978. NO is the correct vote.
- 18 FREE FEDERAL PARKING Energy Conservation Provisions of the National Energy Policy Act (S 2057) The vote is on the Percy amendment to require all federal employees including Congressional staff employees to pay for parking services currently provided free by the federal government. Senators voting against Percy were in effect advocating a policy that encouraged commuting by car. This obviously increases pollution, and is contrary to our national energy goal of reducing gasoline consumption. The vote had symbolic importance since the Senators set an example for the rest of the nation. The Administration did not take a position on the amendment. Rejected 25-56. Sept. 12, 1977. NO is correct vote.
- 19 NUCLEAR BREEDER REACTOR ERDA Authorization bill (S 1811). The vote is on the Bumpers amendment to limit spending on the Clinch River breeder reactor to \$33 million for project termination costs. The Committee bill contained the full \$150 million funding for the breeder, despite Presidential threats of a veto. Senator Church offered an amendment to provide \$75 million, enough to keep workers on the site until the reactor was redesigned, but not enough to begin actual construction. The Bumpers amendment was intended to stop the Clinch River breeder completely. It would not have affected breeder research, since \$333 million for research was provided elsewhere in the bill. Environmentalists have long opposed the breeder because it produces plutonium, is more dangerous than conventional nuclear reactors, and soaks up money that might otherwise go to alternative energy programs. In lobbying against the Clinch River breeder the President emphasized how plutonium increases the risk of nuclear weapons proliferation. The President supported the Bumpers amendment. Rejected 38-49; July 11, 1977. YES is the correct vote.
- 20 NUCLEAR POWER ERDA Appropriations (HR 7553) The vote is on the Kennedy amendment to reduce the appropriations for the Barnwell nuclear reprocessing plant from \$14 million to \$1 million. Senator Hollings had asked for the \$14 million to do studies and to keep the people at Barnwell employed. Environmentalists oppose federal funding for Barnwell (now a private facility) because this would facilitate a federal takeover to use the plant for reprocessing nuclear fuels and as a massive dumping ground for nuclear wastes. Barnwell is not a good spot for nuclear waste storage because it could contaminate the aquifers under the Savannah River. The Administration initially supported Kennedy, but then switched its support to Hollings at the last minute. Environmentalists supported Kennedy. Rejected 22-69; July 11, 1977. YES is the correct vote.
- 21 NUCLEAR POWER. ERDA Authorization (S 1811). The vote is on the Curtis amendment to delete Title II, which created a new and more costly system for charging electrical utilities for federally provided uranium enrichment services. The government has kept the price of uranium enrichment artificially low in the past. Title II would have raised the price to reflect true costs. Environmentalists supported this change because they oppose federal subsidies for the nuclear industry. Both environmentalists and the Carter Administration opposed the Curtis amendment. Rejected 39-58; July 12, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

22 STRIP MINING Surface Mining and Reclamation Act (S 7). The vote is on the Hart amendment to ban all strip mining of western alluvial valley floors, unless mining operations had been approved prior to January 4, 1977. This would have plugged a loophole in the bill, which exempted mines which had undergone "substantial and legal commitments" to begin mining. Alluvial valley floors are the most productive agricultural and cattle raising lands in the West, because they have naturally subirrigated and flood irrigated hay meadows. Strip mining here would further deplete scarce western water resources. An EPA study showed that less than 3% of the region's coal lay under alluvial valley floors, and hence environmentalists believe that agriculture should be given greater priority here. The Administration also supported the Hart amendment. Rejected 37-45; May 19, 1977. YES is the correct vote.

23 STRIP MINING (S 7) The vote is on the Johnston amendment to permit states to retain exclusive jurisdiction over strip mining regulations, if the Secretary of Interior determined that the state's environmental standards were at least as strict as the federal standards. Environmentalists saw this amendment as a way for the states to avoid federal oversight. Past history suggests that once states were granted exclusive jurisdiction, they might be very lax in enforcing their own regulations. Strip mine enforcement in most states has been very weak. Environmentalists opposed this amendment and supported the attempt in S.7 as written to establish uniform strip mine reclamation standards nationwide. The Administration also opposed the amendment. Rejected 39-51; May 19, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

24 STRIP MINING (S.7) The vote is on the Bumpers amendment to delete from the bill a requirement that surface owners must give their written consent before federally owned coal could be mined beneath their land, and to set compensation for damages to surface owners. In the past, the federal government opened up these western lands for homesteading, while retaining rights to the coal underneath. Yet the farmers and ranchers who settled here little dreamed that someday their land might be ruined. The amendment would have protected their rights and probably prevented strip mining in some areas. A National Academy of Science study concluded that most western states did not have enough water to support large scale coal development and that some areas would be impossible to reclaim for agriculture because strip mining would destroy the soil and the aquifers. The environmentalists and the President opposed the amendment. Adopted 44-32; May 20, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

25 STRIP MINING (S 7) The vote is on the Danforth amendment to weaken strip mine reclamation requirements in mountainous areas. The Committee bill required that the land be restored to its "approximate original contour". The Danforth amendment gutted this provision and required only that strip mine operators obey federal pollution, health and safety laws, and restore the land sufficiently to meet local land use requirements. Yet state and local land use laws are often very weak, or don't exist at all. This amendment would have allowed strip miners to leave highwalls in some areas because localities claimed they were planning to use the broad ledges underneath them for parking lots. The Administration and the environmentalists opposed the amendment. Rejected 36-46; May 20, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

26 MINE SAFETY (S. 717) The vote is on the Schmitt amendment to provide for automatic expiration of each new mine health and safety standard after five years, unless it is renewed by the Secretary of Labor. In other words, one bad Secretary of Labor could gut the bill. Environmentalists support strong health and safety provisions to protect the working environment of the miner. We cannot in good conscience continue to promote deep mining over strip mining unless we improve conditions in the deep mines. Every year about 150 people die in coal mines, while another 25,000 are injured. Environmentalists opposed the Schmitt amendment. Rejected 31-52; June 20, 1977. NO is correct vote.

27 MINE SAFETY (S 717) The vote is on the McClure amendment to delete provisions authorizing federal inspectors to close down mines cited for repeated violations of safety standards. The power to close the mines is the only really effective enforcement sanction that the government has, and passage of this amendment would have gutted the whole Act. Environmentalists opposed the amendment. The Administration took no known formal position, but probably opposed the amendment informally. Rejected 21-76; June 21, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

28 OFFSHORE OIL DRILLING Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (S 9). The vote is on the Bartlett amendment to allow the oil companies to withhold their interpretations of exploratory drilling data from the Interior Department, which leases Outer Continental Shelf lands. In the past the Interior Department has purchased the data but lacked the expertise to interpret it fully. Better information would help the Interior Department make more intelligent decisions about where to lease to maximize oil revenue while minimizing the impact on fisheries and on the environment. The Administration opposed the amendment. Rejected 32-54; July 15, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

29 OFFSHORE OIL DRILLING The vote is on the passage of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (S 9) which substantially improved the law governing the Interior Department's leasing of OCS lands for oil drilling. The new law gave the Secretary of Interior discretionary authority to cancel leases if they would have serious and lasting environmental impacts. The new Act imposed strict liability for oil spill damages, to give the oil companies a strong incentive to be careful, and it required the use of the safest available drilling technology. It set up an Oil Spill Liability Fund and a Fishermens Gear Compensation Fund for immediate compensation to people suffering damages. Coastal states received additional funding to help them cope with the onshore impacts of OCS development, and got greater power to participate in decision making. The Carter Administration supported the bill and signed it into law. Environmentalists considered it a big step forward in the effort to insure that offshore energy development does not jeopardize fisheries and coastal resources. Adopted 60-18; July 15, 1977. YES is the correct vote.

30 OIL SHALE Energy Tax Incentives provisions of the National Energy Policy Act (HR 5263). The vote is on the Hart amendment to delete from the bill a tax credit of \$3 per barrel for oil derived from shale rock. The tax credit would subsidize oil shale projects that were not commercially feasible for private investment, and make them profitable at public expense. Oil shale development is destructive to both land and water resources. The processing could cause carcinogens to leach into drinking water, and would leave mountains of tailings for which no good disposal methods have been devised. The Administration did not lobby on this amendment. Environmentalists supported Hart. Rejected 36-47. October 28, 1977. YES is the correct vote.

31 ENERGY MONOPOLIES Coal Conversion bill (S 977). The vote is on the Jackson motion to table and kill the Kennedy amendment to prohibit the major oil and natural gas companies from further acquisition of coal and uranium resources. The Kennedy amendment would not have affected the corporations' current holdings, but would have stopped the trend toward further monopoly control. The major oil companies already control from 35-40% of U.S. coal reserves and also dominate the uranium market. Environmentalists oppose monopoly control by energy conglomerates because it increases their power to control national energy policies. Most big energy corporations have a vested interest in policies that favor synthetic fuels, nuclear power and other destructive, highly centralized energy sources which only they can afford to produce. Environmentalists prefer solar heat, wind, and other small scale energy sources which lend themselves to competition. The Administration opposed the Kennedy amendment, fearing that it would jeopardize the energy bill in the House-Senate Conference Committee. Environmentalists supported Kennedy and opposed Jackson. Motion to table agreed to 62-30. September 8, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

32 UTILITY RATE REFORM (S 2114). The vote is on the Johnston motion to table and thus kill the Brooke amendment to authorize the federal Secretary of Energy to seek judicial review of certain state Public Utility Commission decisions regarding utility rates. Utilities can promote energy conservation by changing their rate structures to flatten out electricity demand throughout the day, and removing discounts given to the largest energy consumers. Under this amendment DOE could intervene in court in the name of energy conservation or equity to the consumer. But its appeals would be heard by state courts and governed by state laws. Environmentalists supported the amendment because they want state PUCs to adequately consider all such energy conservation options before supporting new power plant construction. The Administration supported the Brooke amendment. Motion to table agreed to 59-17. October 6, 1977. NO is the correct vote.

33 ENERGY TAX INCENTIVES (HR 5263) The vote is on the Jackson amendment to remove from the bill over \$30 billion in unnecessary tax credits and subsidies for environmentally destructive forms of energy development. The Jackson amendment would have eliminated four provisions that the Senate Finance Committee had embraced without adequate study and deliberation. It deleted Section 1054, which provided that no energy taxes could be imposed unless the revenues went into an Energy Production, Conversion and Conservation Trust Fund to be used for loan guarantees and other subsidies to the energy companies for development. Jackson called this "a blank check made out to the big energy producers drawn on the account of the American people." His amendment also deleted Section 1044, which provided the oil shale tax credit described in vote 30. And Jackson's amendment deleted two provisions in Section 1031, which provided 40% refundable tax credits for nuclear power and for synthetic fuels from coal. Both these technologies have great environmental hazards. The bill's massive subsidies would have put more desirable renewable energy technologies at a severe disadvantage. The Administration supported Jackson's position but did not lobby on the amendment. Environmentalists did. Rejected 38-56. October 7, 1977. YES is the correct vote.

34 ENERGY TAX INCENTIVES (HR 5263) The vote is on the Kennedy motion to table the Allen amendment. Kennedy had just offered an amendment to reduce from 40% to 10% the tax credits allowed to cover the business costs of conversion from oil or natural gas to coal-fired facilities. Allen proposed a compromise of a 20% tax credit, which was shot down by Kennedy in this vote. Environmentalists supported all of Kennedy's efforts to reduce these tax credits, since a Treasury Department analysis indicated that the bulk of the money would go to finance nuclear power or synthetic fuels (coal gasification, coal liquefaction, or oil shale). Again, these are destructive and inefficient energy technologies that would consume huge amounts of water, land and investment capital. The Administration supported Kennedy's position but did not lobby the amendment. Motion to table agreed to 41-34. October 28, 1977. YES is the correct vote.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	SCORE	SCORE	
Abouezk (D-SD)	N	Y	N	a	N	N	a	a	y	a	a	N	N	N	a	a	a	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	a	Y	Y	79	90	
Allen, M (D-ALA)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(24)	--		
Anderson (D-MN)	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	y	a	N	Y	N	N	a	a	N	N	a	a	Y	n	N	Y	N	N	N	N	a	Y	N	N	Y	a	80	--		
Baker (R-TN)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	n	N	N	N	a	Y	N	N	a	Y	n	n	n	n	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	n	Y	Y	32	26		
Bartlett (R-OKLA)	y	n	y	n	y	Y	a	a	y	n	y	y	y	y	Y	N	n	a	a	a	n	y	y	y	a	a	y	n	n	y	y	n	Y	0	2		
Bayh (D-IND)	y	n	N	Y	N	y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	n	n	N	Y	N	y	N	a	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	75	60
Bellmon (R-OKLA)	y	n	Y	n	y	Y	N	a	y	n	y	y	N	N	N	N	N	N	n	n	n	n	Y	N	y	y	y	y	a	a	n	y	y	n	Y	16	19
Bentsen (D-TX)	y	Y	N	Y	y	Y	N	n	N	Y	y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	n	n	n	n	Y	Y	y	y	N	N	Y	n	n	y	y	n	n	41	18
Biden (D-DEL)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	a	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	a	92	84	
Brooke (R-MA)	a	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	a	a	N	Y	Y	89	84	
Bumpers (D-ARK)	N	Y	N	Y	y	a	y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	a	n	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	y	N	y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	79	54	
Burdick (D-ND)	y	n	N	Y	y	N	y	n	N	Y	Y	N	N	y	y	A	N	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	y	N	N	N	Y	n	y	y	Y	Y	45	50	
Byrd, H (I-VA)	y	n	y	Y	y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	n	n	n	n	n	N	N	Y	N	y	Y	Y	n	y	n	n	Y	35	32		
Byrd, R (D-WVA)	y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	y	N	n	Y	56	39	
Cannon (D-NV)	y	Y	N	Y	y	Y	N	n	y	a	Y	N	N	N	Y	a	N	n	n	n	n	N	n	a	y	N	N	Y	N	a	n	y	y	n	n	36	26
Case (R-NJ)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	n	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	Y	n	N	Y	N	y	N	N	N	Y	n	y	N	Y	Y	79	86	
Chafee (R-RI)	y	Y	N	a	a	N	N	Y	n	N	y	a	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	62	--		
Chiles (D-FLA)	N	Y	N	Y	y	N	n	N	n	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	n	n	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	n	n	51	49		
Church (D-ID)	y	Y	N	n	y	a	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	n	n	n	n	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	a	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	64	64	
Clark (D-IA)	N	n	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	94	89	
Cranston (D-CA)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	n	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	Y	Y	N	a	a	a	a	a	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	85	84
Culver (D-IA)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	y	N	a	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	96	85
Curtis (R-NB)	y	n	y	n	y	N	n	y	a	y	y	y	y	y	y	N	Y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	7	3	
Danforth (R-MO)	y	n	N	Y	y	y	Y	y	n	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	Y	n	Y	n	y	N	y	Y	N	a	n	y	y	n	n	32	--	
DeConcini (D-AZ)	y	n	N	Y	y	y	y	n	N	n	y	N	y	y	N	y	a	n	n	n	n	N	a	y	a	a	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	n	Y	43	--
Dole (R-KS)	y	n	Y	Y	y	y	y	n	y	n	y	y	Y	N	N	N	a	n	n	n	n	y	a	y	N	y	Y	N	y	a	n	y	n	Y	20	11	
Domenici (R-NM)	y	Y	N	n	y	Y	N	n	y	N	y	N	Y	N	a	y	y	n	n	n	n	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	n	a	y	y	n	a	16	11
Durkin (D-NH)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	Y	Y	N	a	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	n	n	78	--	
Eagleton (D-MO)	y	n	y	Y	y	y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	n	n	n	n	N	a	N	a	a	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	62	33	
Eastland (D-MIS)	y	n	N	Y	y	y	y	n	y	Y	N	Y	y	a	a	n	a	n	n	n	n	N	n	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	a	n	y	n	n	23	18	
Ford (D-KY)	y	n	N	Y	y	a	n	y	Y	N	N	Y	y	a	Y	n	N	n	n	n	y	N	y	N	N	a	a	a	a	y	n	n	n	n	30	32	
Garn (R-UT)	N	Y	y	n	y	a	y	n	n	y	y	y	y	Y	N	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	11	3	
Glenn (D-OH)	y	n	y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	Y	n	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	76	43	
Goldwater (R-AZ)	y	n	y	n	y	N	n	y	y	y	y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	8	0	
Gravel (D-AK)	N	Y	N	Y	y	Y	N	a	y	n	y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	a	a	y	Y	y	a	y	N	N	Y	Y	n	y	y	n	n	43	41	
Griffin (R-MI)	y	n	Y	Y	y	Y	N	Y	N	n	a	y	Y	N	N	a	a	n	a	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	19	7	
Hansen (R-WY)	y	n	y	n	y	Y	N	n	y	N	N	Y	y	Y	N	n	n	n	n	n	n	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	n	y	n	n	n	18	7	
Hart (D-CO)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	93	72	
Haskell (D-CO)	N	a	a	Y	N	a	y	n	N	a	y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	a	69	71	
Hatch (R-UT)	y	n	Y	Y	y	y	y	n	y	n	y	y	y	y	Y	N	n	n	n	n	n	n	Y	a	Y	a	y	y	y	n	y	y	n	a	7	--	
Hatfield, M (R-OR)	N	a	a	Y	y	a	y	n	N	a	y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	a	a	a	a	a	N	N	Y	Y	a	y	n	a	61	51
Hatfield, P (D-MT)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(96)	--		
Hathaway (D-ME)	N	Y	N	Y	N	a	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	81	65		
Hayakawa (R-CA)	y	Y	y	n	y	N	n	y	y	y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	n	n	n	n	n	y	a	a	y	a	y	n	a	y	y	n	a	12	--	
Heinz (R-PA)	a	Y	N	Y	N	N	y	Y	N	n	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	n	n	n	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	n	n	66	--	
Helms (R-NC)	y	n	Y	Y	y	Y	N	Y	y	n	y	y	y	y	Y	N	n	n	n	n	n	y	N	y	y	y	y	y	n	n	y	y	n	n	18	10	
Hodges (D-ARK)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(88)	--		
Hollings (D-SC)	y	Y	Y	Y	y	y	n	y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	a	n	n	n	n	a	y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	57	42	
Huddleston, (D-KY)	N	n	N	Y	y	y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	y	y	Y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	N	Y	a	y	y	n	Y	41	36	
Humphrey, M (D-MN)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(98)	--		
Inouye (D-HI)	N	Y	N	Y	N	y	y	a	N	a	y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	a	a	a	a	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	54	49
Jackson (D-WA)	N	Y	N	Y	N	y	y	n	N	Y	y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	n	n	n	n	n	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	71	53
Javits (R-NY)	N	Y	N	Y	y	y	n	N	Y	y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	n	a	a	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	n	y	N	Y	a	76	74
Johnston (D-LA)	y	Y	y	Y	y	y	n	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	26	22	
Kennedy (D-MA)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	a	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	96	87	
Laxalt (R-Nev.)	N	Y	y	Y	y	y	a	y	n	y	y	y	y	y	Y	N	a	a	n	n	n	n	y	N	y	y	y	y	n	n	y	y	n	Y	16	0	
Leahy (D-Vt.)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N																								

Roth (R-De.)	N	n	N	Y	y	y	y	Y	N	n	N	y	y	N	N	y	N	Y	n	Y	y	Y	y	y	y	y	Y	n	y	y	Y	Y	44	52			
Sarbanes (D-Md.)	N	Y	N	Y	N	a	N	n	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	y	n	Y	Y	N	Y	N	y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	a	86	--		
Sasser (D-Tn.)	N	n	N	n	N	y	y	n	y	Y	y	N	N	N	y	y	n	n	n	y	a	N	y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	n	n	47	--			
Schmitt (R-N. Mex.)	y	n	y	Y	y	y	N	n	y	n	y	y	y	N	N	y	N	n	n	n	y	n	y	N	y	y	y	n	n	y	y	n	n	18	--		
Schweiker (R-Pa.)	y	n	N	Y	y	N	y	n	N	n	y	y	y	N	N	N	y	n	n	n	y	n	y	N	N	y	N	N	Y	n	y	n	n	35	74		
Scott (R-Va.)	y	n	y	n	y	y	y	a	y	n	y	y	N	y	y	a	y	n	n	n	y	n	y	N	y	y	y	a	a	a	y	y	n	a	1	6	
Sparkman (D-Al.)	y	Y	a	a	a	N	N	n	a	Y	y	y	N	y	N	N	y	n	Y	n	N	n	y	y	y	N	N	N	Y	n	a	y	n	a	40	32	
Stafford (R-Vt.)	N	Y	N	Y	y	N	N	Y	N	n	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	a	n	N	Y	N	a	a	a	N	N	y	Y	Y	y	N	n	Y	74	59
Stennis (D-Miss)	y	a	N	Y	y	y	y	n	y	Y	y	N	N	y	a	a	y	a	n	n	N	n	y	a	a	a	N	N	a	n	y	n	n	23	5		
Stevens (R-Alas)	y	n	y	Y	y	y	y	a	y	n	y	y	y	y	N	N	a	n	n	y	a	a	a	y	N	y	Y	n	y	N	n	a	15	22			
Stevenson (D-Ill)	y	Y	N	Y	N	N	y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	n	n	N	Y	N	y	N	N	N	a	a	N	N	Y	a	81	56			
Stone (D-Fla.)	A	Y	N	Y	y	A	y	n	N	a	N	a	a	N	N	y	y	a	n	n	y	Y	N	a	N	y	N	y	Y	n	y	n	n	39	39		
Talmadge (D-Ga.)	y	n	y	Y	y	y	N	n	y	Y	y	N	y	N	N	y	a	n	a	a	a	n	y	a	a	N	N	N	Y	n	y	n	a	30	26		
Thurmond (R-S.C.)	y	n	y	Y	y	y	n	y	n	y	y	y	y	y	a	N	a	n	n	y	n	y	N	y	y	y	Y	n	y	y	n	n	11	6			
Tower (R-Tex.)	y	n	y	n	y	y	a	n	y	n	y	y	y	A	y	a	N	n	n	n	y	a	y	a	a	y	y	n	n	y	y	n	n	0	4		
Wallop (R-Wyo.)	y	n	N	n	y	y	N	a	y	n	y	y	y	N	N	a	N	A	n	n	y	n	N	N	y	y	y	n	n	y	y	n	n	21	--		
Weicker (R-Ct.)	N	Y	N	Y	y	N	Y	N	Y	y	N	y	N	N	N	N	Y	n	n	N	Y	N	a	N	y	N	y	Y	n	y	N	Y	Y	72	65		
Williams (D-N.J.)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	y	a	N	n	N	N	N	N	N	N	y	n	Y	n	N	Y	N	y	N	N	N	Y	n	y	N	Y	n	72	81		
Young (R-N.D.)	y	n	y	n	y	y	n	y	a	y	y	y	y	y	a	N	a	n	n	N	n	y	N	y	a	N	a	Y	a	y	y	a	a	11	10		
Zorinsky (D-Neb.)	y	Y	N	Y	y	a	N	Y	y	n	y	N	N	N	N	y	N	Y	n	n	y	Y	y	N	y	N	Y	n	y	n	Y	51	--				
President Carter	-	-	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	-	Y	n	N	Y	N	N	N	-	-	N	Y	-	y	Y	-	-	92	--	