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CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET TRACKING SYSTEM

A Service of the

NATIONAL TAXPAYERS UNION FOUNDATION

October 1, 1992

Vice President Dan Quayle
Office of the Vice President
ATTN: David McIntosh
Room 286 OEOB
Washington, 20501
FAX: 456-6231
VOICE: 456-6614

Dear David:

The National Taxpayers Union Foundation has recently performed an analysis of Fall 92 CBTS net totals by party and forum membership at your request. All dollar amounts are mean averages unless otherwise noted. Individual lists of members of each group are available upon request. The results are as follows:

CBTS Totals by Party

House of Representatives

		Average in millions of dollars			Average in number of bills		
Party	#	Increase	Cut	Net	Increase	Cut	Total
D	(271)	117,852	-2,609	115,243	51.4	8.4	59.8
I	(1)	57,602	-1,020	56,582	88.0	10.0	98.0
R	(167)	17,833	-7,618	10,214	26.6	21.1	47.7

United States Senate

		Increase	Cut	Net	Increase	Cut	Total
D	(57)	74,799	-5,318	69,481	48.6	3.2	51.8
R	(43)	16,716	-8,756	7,960	27.4	6.3	33.7

Conservative Democratic Forum (CDF) members - House

		Average in millions of dollars			Average in number of bills		
Caucus	#	Increase	Cut	Net	Increase	Cut	Total
CDF	(53)	34,535	-2,422	32,112	32.2	8.8	41.0

Conservative Opportunity Society (COS) members - House

		Average in millions of dollars			Average in number of bills		
Caucus	#	Increase	Cut	Net	Increase	Cut	Total
COS	(45)	14,714	-11,337	3,377	22.3	32.3	54.6

Legislation Pending Before Congress

Total spending would increase dramatically if all of the agendas of members of Congress were enacted into law. Spending would increase as follows:

House

Net Total ($Mill)	# Bills	Increases	# Bills	Cut	# Bills
748,425 billion	948	890,484	~~[illegible]~~ 705	-142,059 billion	243

Senate

Net Total ($Mill)	# Bills	Increases	# Bills	Cut	# Bills
812,503	490	861,587	442	-49,084	48

There are about 80 million taxpaying households. If the net legislation in the house passed, this would increase the tax burden/deficit, on an annual basis by $ 9,355.31. The Senate total would be 10,156.29. If no spending cut proposals were enacted, these totals would be $11,131.05 for the House and $10,768.03 for the Senate. (All amounts are in per taxpaying household dollars.

SPONSORSHIP ONLY

We also examined the original authorship of legislation and found that two members of Congress were primarily responsible for being original authors of the majority of the spending decrease legislation in the House, Representatives Fawell (R-IL) & Santorum (R-PA).

Who writes the bills that affect the budget? Most spending increases and cuts in the 102nd Congress were proposed by just 13 senators and representatives. However, more than three-quarters of the Congress (415 out of 540 members) authored legislation increase or cut spending by $10 million or more through July 4, 1992.

These findings were the product of the National Taxpayer's Union Foundation's Congressional Budget Tracking System (CBTS), a study which tracks and obtains cost estimates for all legislation affecting the budget by more than $10 million and cross-indexes this information with the sponsorship records of senators and representatives. The study covers all bills written through July 4, 1992. During this period, the 102nd Congress produced 10,705 bills and resolutions, of which NTUF found that about one-seventh (1,602) would affect federal spending by at least $10 million.

The bad news for the taxpayer was that only 118 members of Congress (21.9%) wrote bills to cut spending, while 392 (73.6%) authored legislation to increase spending. This imbalance was amplified by disparities in the mean size of respective bills. The average proposed spending-increase totalled $2.84 billion, while the average bill to reduce spending would produce cuts of only $.91 billion.

- In the Senate, three members (Sens. Daniel Inouye, Harris Wofford, and Paul Wellstone) produced 52.3 percent of the proposed spending increases

- Three senators (Sens. Bill Bradley, Conrad Burns, and Lloyd Bentsen) proposed 62.1 percent of the spending cuts.

- In the House, five members (Reps. Ron Dellums, Marty Russo, Harry Johnston, Sam Gibbons, and Pete Stark) accounted for 50.4 percent of the proposed spending increases.

- Three representatives (Reps. Harris Fawell, Rick Santorum and Marty Russo) proposed 53.1 percent of the cuts.

- Only Marty Russo made both the lists of biggest would-be cutters and would-be spenders, although he proposed about 10 times more spending increases than cuts. Russo is retiring this year after losing a primary contest.

o In the House, more than 90 percent of spending cuts were proposed by only 3.1 percent of the membership; while in the Senate, 10 members proposed 92 percent of spending cuts.

How serious is this legislation, and what are its chances of passage? While a number of large proposals to increase or cut spending are unlikely to pass (e.g., multi-billion dollar housing subsidies and civil service staffing cuts), it remains that some of the largest bills have very serious prospects for passage in the next Congress.

For example, members proposing the largest spending increases have all authored costly national health insurance legislation--for which estimates supplied by their offices range from $177 billion to $503 billion per year (NTUF believes the higher estimates are the most accurate). Approximately 20 percent of the Congress is cosponsoring one or more of these bills. The Democratic Presidential nominee Bill Clinton, has endorsed a less expensive version of universal health care, called "pay or play." Meanwhile, several of the top authors of spending cuts are proposing deep reductions in the defense budget, which also have a good prospect of passage in the 103rd Congress.

On the whole, the study indicates that spending is likely to rise sharply in the 103rd Congress, despite significant cuts in military spending and soaring budget deficits.

Paul Hewitt or I would appreciate the opportunity to demonstrate CBTS's capabilities to you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Dr. William A. Duncan

DR. WILLIAM A. DUNCAN
Director, Congressional Budget Tracking SystemVice President

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET TRACKING SYSTEM

A Service of the

NATIONAL TAXPAYERS UNION FOUNDATION

NEWS

EMBARGOED for release:
Monday, September 7, 1992

Contact: Korten Communications
(703) 734-1776

NEW CBTS DATA: FOR SOME IN CONGRESS, PUBLICITY ABOUT

SPENDING AGENDA SPURS CHANGE; URGE TO SPEND STILL HIGH

(WASHINGTON, D.C.)---New data from the **Congressional Budget Tracking System (CBTS)**, operated by the National Taxpayers Union Foundation, shows that nearly a quarter of the members of Congress have taken steps to bring down the cost of their legislative agenda since the first CBTS results were published late last year. But for most in Congress, the urge to spend is still strong: 73 percent of Senators and 85 percent of House members have proposed legislation that would result in a net increase in federal spending of more than $5 billion.

CBTS is a computerized database that cross-indexes the cost of nearly all spending legislation introduced during the 102nd Congress with the sponsorship records of each member of the House and Senate. The data released today covers legislation introduced through July, 1992. The system is the result of extensive software development and data collection since the first day of the current session of Congress in January, 1991.

"The widespread publicity given to the cost of each member's sponsorship agenda has obviously gotten the attention of many in Congress who didn't even know what their proposed spending totals were until we added it up for them," said NTUF Chairman James Dale Davidson. "Many members are now looking for ways to *cut* federal spending, which almost no one was bothering to do when we launched this project last year."

In the first CBTS release, based on legislation sponsored through September 1991, only one member of either house of Congress had a legislative agenda (all of the bills they'd

(more)

404 EIGHTH STREET, NORTHEAST, WASHINGTON, DC 20002 ▾ (202) 543-1303 *tel.* ▾ (202) 543-2024 *fax*

personally sponsored) that would result in a net **drop** in federal spending. Today's release shows **45 legislators (8.5%) have sponsored more spending cuts than increases.**

An even broader gauge of a change in behavior among members of Congress is the fact that between September 1991 and July 1992, **92 House members and 34 Senators reduced their sponsorship totals** by an average of **$10.9 billion** per member. In the latest survey, CBTS found that only 3 members of Congress have not sponsored any bill to cut spending.

"Unfortunately, while some members of Congress have clearly become sensitive to the way their sponsorship record is viewed by constituents back home, the bias toward higher spending is still strong," according to NTUF Vice President for Research Paul Hewitt. "Our latest data show that bills currently before Congress propose **$14 of spending increases for every dollar of spending cuts.** That's a big improvement from our first study a year ago, when the ratio stood at $43 to one, but it's still a measure of how strong the compulsion to spend is on Capitol Hill."

Today's report includes some staggering totals:

- The enactment of **all bills before the House** (excluding duplicative bills) would **increase federal spending by a net of $748 billion a year.**

- Enacting **all bills before the Senate** (again, excluding duplicate measures) would **hike spending by $813 billion a year.**

- The typical **Senator** proposed **$18.3 billion** in net new spending, while the typical member of the **House** proposed an average of **$19.9 billion.**

(more)

Once again, as with the previous two releases of CBTS data, there are some significant variations in the propensity to spend, depending on the state/region members are from, and an interesting twist when the results are broken down by gender:

- **Female members of Congress** sponsored an average of **$90.8 billion** in net spending increases, while **males** sponsored an average of **$67.9 billion.**

- Delegations from **three states** wind up in the **top five** most likely to support new spending in **both** the Senate and the House: **Hawaii, Minnesota and New York.**

- Regional differences followed by-now familiar patterns:

  In the **House of Representatives**, members from the **East** had the highest levels of proposed new spending, offering an average of **$120.2 billion per** member. Those from the **South** were least anxious to spend more, proposing an average of **$33.4 billion** per member.

  In the **Senate**, those from the **Midwest** were most likely to favor new spending, with an average of **$77.8 billion** proposed by each Senator. As in the House, Senators from the **South** were least inclined toward new spending, with an average of **$13.8 billion** per member.

- Only the **New Hampshire** delegation ranked among the lowest five average totals in **both houses** of Congress.

- Members who are **college graduates** sponsored an average of **$66.0 billion** in new spending. Those **with no college degree**, on the other hand, proposed an average of **$98.3 billion** in spending increases.

(more)

The CBTS report released today includes data on 1,063 House bills and 608 Senate bills introduced on or before July 3, 1992 and cosponsored on or before July 21, 1992.

In the course of preparing the third CBTS report, the staff of the National Taxpayers Union Foundation had direct contact with scores of Congressional offices. "Both the anecdotal information we've gotten and the tracking information coming out of our computer runs indicated that quite a few members of Congress are now using CBTS as an important information and management tool," Hewitt said. "The fact that a third of the Senators and nearly a quarter of House members have cut their net sponsorship totals since our first report indicates clearly that it's making a difference. Most of those reductions took place during the first seven months of the second session of this Congress, after CBTS became public."

The data in CBTS is being made available to anyone who wants to purchase a computer disc containing the complete CBTS system software and the latest data. "This information is especially valuable to political scientists and students of the Congress," Hewitt said. [Note to journalists: NTUF will provide a disc to bona fide members of the news media without charge upon request. The software enables a user to sort and analyze groupings of members of Congress, by party, committee, length of service, etc.]

As with previous CBTS releases, NTUF sought to maximize precision and fairness by providing every member of Congress more than two weeks to comment confidentially on the accuracy of their own individual reports. And, as before, NTUF made numerous changes to its database as a result. To the extent that more up-to-date information becomes available, it will be reflected in future reports.

# # # #

Here is the computer report you requested.

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET TRACKING SYSTEM
HOUSE MEMBER REPORT SORTED BY TOTAL

(All Amounts are in Millions of Dollars)

	Name		Increases	Decreases	Total
1	OWENS M.	(D-NY)	425,510	-685	424,825
2	NORTON	(D-DC)	384,978	-1,456	383,522
3	TOWNS	(D-NY)	379,974	-3,685	376,289
4	SAVAGE	(D-IL)	375,743	-25	375,718
5	RANGEL	(D-NY)	378,452	-4,435	374,017
6	HAYES C.	(D-IL)	372,000	-602	371,398
7	MARTINEZ	(D-CA)	372,778	-5,775	367,003
8	DYMALLY	(D-CA)	356,035	-45	355,990
9	COLLINS B. R.	(D-MI)	352,744	-888	351,856
10	FRANK B.	(D-MA)	360,231	-9,922	350,309
11	CONYERS	(D-MI)	349,955	-312	349,643
12	WEISS	(D-NY)	346,457	-1,265	345,192
13	MINK	(D-HI)	344,601	-442	344,159
14	CLAY	(D-MO)	346,823	-4,381	342,442
15	HOCHBRUECKNER	(D-NY)	346,374	-4,526	341,848
16	ACKERMAN	(D-NY)	341,322	-1,307	340,015
17	BOXER	(D-CA)	339,260	-3,585	335,675
18	FORD H.	(D-TN)	335,737	-177	335,560
19	SERRANO	(D-NY)	336,316	-883	335,433
20	MFUME	(D-MD)	331,813	-409	331,404
21	FLAKE	(D-NY)	331,496	-121	331,375
22	LIPINSKI	(D-IL)	330,789	-1,676	329,113
23	DELLUMS	(D-CA)	329,808	-2,897	326,911
24	EVANS	(D-IL)	332,182	-7,557	324,625
25	PAYNE D.	(D-NJ)	324,237	-27	324,210
26	MARKEY	(D-MA)	323,474	-514	322,960
27	COLLINS C.	(D-IL)	322,635	-1,059	321,576
28	OBERSTAR	(D-MN)	324,544	-3,594	320,950
29	RAHALL	(D-WV)	318,519	-235	318,284
30	KILDEE	(D-MI)	319,795	-1,934	317,861
31	ABERCROMBIE	(D-HI)	319,033	-1,434	317,599
32	FOGLIETTA	(D-PA)	315,540	-110	315,430
33	POSHARD	(D-IL)	315,397	-199	315,198
34	OLVER	(D-MA)	313,961	-1,500	312,461
35	MCNULTY	(D-NY)	311,678	-2,417	309,261
36	SANGMEISTER	(D-IL)	308,042	-98	307,944
37	YATES	(D-IL)	309,254	-1,510	307,744
38	ENGEL	(D-NY)	310,898	-6,157	304,741
39	KLECZKA	(D-WI)	304,757	-73	304,684
40	SCHEUER	(D-NY)	304,629	-618	304,011
41	STUDDS	(D-MA)	305,341	-2,828	302,513
42	BROWN G.	(D-CA)	304,671	-4,004	300,667
43	PELOSI	(D-CA)	327,921	-27,957	299,964
44	BERMAN	(D-CA)	302,778	-3,495	299,283
45	DOWNEY	(D-NY)	300,252	-1,052	299,200
46	BORSKI	(D-PA)	299,590	-515	299,075
47	STARK	(D-CA)	299,945	-2,738	297,207
48	MCDERMOTT	(D-WA)	299,712	-4,854	294,858
49	LAFALCE	(D-NY)	296,439	-2,020	294,419
50	FALEOMAVAEGA	(D-AS)	294,953	-1,480	293,473
51	BLACKWELL	(D-PA)	292,876	-83	292,793
52	SAWYER	(D-OH)	291,668	-115	291,553
53	EDWARDS D.	(D-CA)	292,967	-1,531	291,436
54	SOLARZ	(D-NY)	289,697	-35	289,662
55	MOODY	(D-WI)	291,086	-1,848	289,238
56	LEWISJOHN	(D-GA)	289,433	-463	288,970
57	MILLER G.	(D-CA)	312,674	-24,203	288,471
58	DWYER	(D-NJ)	292,714	-4,541	288,173
59	FEIGHAN	(D-OH)	284,722	-1,382	283,340
60	SIKORSKI	(D-MN)	283,807	-525	283,282
61	BUSTAMANTE	(D-TX)	285,698	-3,289	282,409
62	SWIFT	(D-WA)	281,913	-316	281,597
63	VENTO	(D-MN)	282,981	-2,090	280,891
64	COYNE	(D-PA)	281,654	-889	280,765
65	NOWAK	(D-NY)	280,672	-584	280,088
66	ANNUNZIO	(D-IL)	279,435	-152	279,283
67	MAVROULES	(D-MA)	278,843	-938	277,905
68	WISE	(D-WV)	277,057	-439	276,618
69	DICKS	(D-WA)	274,131	-312	273,819
70	SCHUMER	(D-NY)	272,858	-17	272,841
71	SABO	(D-MN)	272,312	-106	272,206
72	GEJDENSON	(D-CT)	272,494	-1,650	270,844
73	KENNEDY	(D-MA)	270,762	-1,012	269,750
74	BEILENSON	(D-CA)	270,241	-885	269,356
75	ENGLISH	(D-OK)	264,110	-976	263,134
76	PALLONE	(D-NJ)	279,406	-25,742	253,664
77	JOHNSTON	(D-FL)	248,392	-847	247,545
78	ATKINS	(D-MA)	286,048	-39,421	246,627
79	RUSSO	(D-IL)	265,655	-21,534	244,121
80	TALLON	(D-SC)	216,162	-90	216,072
81	GIBBONS	(D-FL)	215,368	-14	215,354
82	LEHMAN W.	(D-FL)	194,317	-67	194,250
83	STAGGERS	(D-WV)	176,306	-140	176,166
84	TORRES	(D-CA)	174,464	-463	174,001
85	STOKES	(D-OH)	166,926	-88	166,838
86	BONIOR	(D-MI)	168,597	-5,408	163,189
87	TRAFICANT	(D-OH)	163,718	-1,442	162,276
88	OAKAR	(D-OH)	157,005	-16	156,989
89	JEFFERSON	(D-LA)	144,034	-5,204	138,830
90	DELUGO	(D-VI)	106,165	-3,167	102,998
91	ROE R.	(D-NJ)	93,895	-2,062	91,833
92	DINGELL	(D-MI)	85,157	-1,589	83,568
93	GEPHARDT	(D-MO)	79,438	-2	79,436
94	PERKINS	(D-KY)	79,532	-2,428	77,104
95	FROST	(D-TX)	78,586	-2,135	76,451
96	UNSOELD	(D-WA)	81,710	-6,936	74,774
97	OLIN	(D-VA)	75,087	-988	74,099
98	KAPTUR	(D-OH)	74,614	-1,343	73,271
99	SOLOMON	(R-NY)	83,522	-10,609	72,913
100	SMITH C.	(R-NJ)	68,308	-24	68,284
101	MURTHA	(D-PA)	64,133	-303	63,830
102	BLAZ	(R-GU)	65,031	-1,921	63,110
103	KOLTER	(D-PA)	64,585	-1,761	62,824
104	EMERSON	(R-MO)	65,294	-3,811	61,483
105	FAZIO	(D-CA)	58,987	-1,964	57,023
106	SANDERS	(I-VT)	57,602	-1,020	56,582

National Taxpayers Union Foundation
404 Eighth Street N.E., Washington D.C. 20002, (202) 543-1303

Bills are as of July 3, 1992

September 7, 1992

NOTICE: This report lists the total costs of bills a member has sponsored and is based upon public information. This report should not be construed as reflecting upon a member's fitness to serve.

Here is the computer report you requested.

	Name		Increases	Decreases	Total
107	REED	(D-RI)	58,715	-2,764	55,951
108	GONZALEZ	(D-TX)	55,608	-75	55,533
109	DEFAZIO	(D-OR)	55,937	-431	55,506
110	KOSTMAYER	(D-PA)	57,148	-3,559	53,589
111	KOPETSKI	(D-OR)	56,376	-2,858	53,518
112	ROYBAL	(D-CA)	53,957	-815	53,142
113	WAXMAN	(D-CA)	52,799	-16	52,783
114	NAGLE	(D-IA)	52,608	-624	51,984
115	NEAL R.	(D-MA)	56,274	-4,875	51,399
116	GOODLING	(R-PA)	54,631	-3,720	50,911
117	MINETA	(D-CA)	52,045	-1,305	50,740
118	COSTELLO	(D-IL)	51,484	-873	50,611
119	GAYDOS	(D-PA)	50,484	-159	50,325
120	WILSON	(D-TX)	50,646	-1,090	49,556
121	QUILLEN	(R-TN)	50,133	-689	49,444
122	LANCASTER	(D-NC)	52,792	-4,287	48,505
123	KENNELLY	(D-CT)	48,463	-423	48,040
124	WILLIAMS	(D-MT)	48,034	-211	47,823
125	JONES W.	(D-NC)	48,638	-835	47,803
126	DIXON J.	(D-CA)	47,828	-811	47,017
127	ROSTENKOWSKI	(D-IL)	46,737	-186	46,551
128	RICHARDSON	(D-NM)	51,318	-4,813	46,505
129	TRAXLER	(D-MI)	46,480	-513	45,967
130	LOWEY	(D-NY)	48,445	-2,787	45,658
131	AUCOIN	(D-OR)	49,624	-4,137	45,487
132	WASHINGTON	(D-TX)	47,477	-2,942	44,535
133	WOLPE	(D-MI)	48,066	-4,124	43,942
134	BEVILL	(D-AL)	44,460	-740	43,720
135	WHEAT	(D-MO)	45,322	-1,676	43,646
136	LEVINE M.	(D-CA)	43,493	-15	43,478
137	CLINGER	(R-PA)	45,254	-2,354	42,900
138	MATSUI	(D-CA)	44,151	-1,533	42,618
139	FORD W.	(D-MI)	43,614	-1,280	42,334
140	PETERSON C.	(D-MN)	43,548	-1,845	41,703
141	KANJORSKI	(D-PA)	41,942	-712	41,230
142	MURPHY	(D-PA)	41,984	-1,279	40,705
143	HERTEL	(D-MI)	41,916	-1,841	40,075
144	MCCLOSKEY	(D-IN)	40,738	-1,123	39,615
145	SMITHLARRY	(D-FL)	39,992	-403	39,589
146	LLOYD	(D-TN)	40,894	-1,717	39,177
147	MORRISON S.	(R-WA)	39,699	-728	38,971
148	WYDEN	(D-OR)	39,260	-927	38,333
149	DELAURO	(D-CT)	38,549	-1,266	37,283
150	HALL R.	(D-TX)	39,117	-1,870	37,247
151	PETERSON P.	(D-FL)	39,413	-2,903	36,510
152	BOUCHER	(D-VA)	37,892	-1,468	36,424
153	ROSE	(D-NC)	36,122	-144	35,978
154	JONES B.	(D-GA)	35,286	-253	35,033
155	HAMMERSCHMIDT	(R-AR)	37,077	-2,259	34,818
156	HORTON	(R-NY)	36,067	-1,386	34,681
157	TAYLOR G.	(D-MS)	34,911	-588	34,323
158	COLEMAN R.	(D-TX)	34,343	-90	34,253
159	ESPY	(D-MS)	34,135	-170	33,965
160	FISH	(R-NY)	36,707	-3,128	33,579
161	ANDREWS R.	(D-NJ)	39,228	-6,005	33,223
162	HUGHES	(D-NJ)	37,477	-4,273	33,204
163	DOOLEY	(D-CA)	34,776	-1,894	32,882
164	SCHROEDER	(D-CO)	37,579	-4,791	32,788

	Name		Increases	Decreases	Total
165	PEASE	(D-OH)	33,457	-690	32,767
166	HAYES J.	(D-LA)	32,279	-809	31,470
167	LANTOS	(D-CA)	31,992	-888	31,104
168	MRAZEK	(D-NY)	35,388	-4,415	30,973
169	SCHIFF	(R-NM)	32,780	-1,926	30,854
170	CLEMENT	(D-TN)	31,244	-399	30,845
171	BRYANT	(D-TX)	31,327	-491	30,836
172	FASCELL	(D-FL)	30,721	-101	30,620
173	MORAN	(D-VA)	30,627	-90	30,537
174	MAZZOLI	(D-KY)	34,908	-4,439	30,469
175	ECKART	(D-OH)	31,648	-1,868	29,780
176	MOLLOHAN	(D-WV)	29,401	-26	29,375
177	DELAGARZA	(D-TX)	28,916	-118	28,798
178	ROEMER T.	(D-IN)	29,004	-317	28,687
179	MANTON	(D-NY)	29,257	-821	28,436
180	MOLINARI S.	(R-NY)	29,817	-1,555	28,262
181	HALL T.	(D-OH)	29,074	-1,180	27,894
182	WALSH	(R-NY)	31,232	-4,597	26,635
183	CARR	(D-MI)	26,401	-79	26,322
184	NEAL S.	(D-NC)	27,696	-1,535	26,161
185	WHITTEN	(D-MS)	34,318	-8,331	25,987
186	MACHTLEY	(R-RI)	32,139	-6,283	25,856
187	HEFNER	(D-NC)	26,983	-1,318	25,665
188	PASTOR	(D-AZ)	25,722	-92	25,630
189	HUBBARD	(D-KY)	26,109	-611	25,498
190	OWENS W.	(D-UT)	29,811	-4,731	25,080
191	TORRICELLI	(D-NJ)	25,253	-195	25,058
192	DAVIS R.	(R-MI)	27,345	-2,490	24,855
193	ANDERSON	(D-CA)	25,312	-733	24,579
194	ALEXANDER	(D-AR)	24,615	-72	24,543
195	MORELLA	(R-MD)	28,530	-4,395	24,135
196	YATRON	(D-PA)	23,725	-84	23,641
197	LAUGHLIN	(D-TX)	25,224	-2,196	23,028
198	JOHNSON T.	(D-SD)	47,926	-24,995	22,931
199	WATERS	(D-CA)	23,220	-488	22,732
200	MCGRATH	(R-NY)	22,759	-464	22,295
201	LEVIN S.	(D-MI)	23,012	-809	22,203
202	RINALDO	(R-NJ)	22,180	-21	22,159
203	MARLENEE	(R-MT)	24,049	-1,906	22,143
204	CUNNINGHAM	(R-CA)	30,685	-8,554	22,131
205	ROGERS	(R-KY)	23,593	-1,511	22,082
206	GUARINI	(D-NJ)	44,555	-22,489	22,066
207	BACCHUS	(D-FL)	27,289	-5,357	21,932
208	BOEHLERT	(R-NY)	22,206	-406	21,800
209	STALLINGS	(D-ID)	21,754	-410	21,344
210	SLAUGHTER L.	(D-NY)	26,624	-5,345	21,279
211	VUCANOVICH	(R-NV)	23,458	-2,239	21,219
212	SWETT	(D-NH)	23,279	-2,188	21,091
213	BARRETT	(R-NE)	21,707	-1,212	20,495
214	BROOKS	(D-TX)	20,504	-56	20,448
215	LEHMAN R.	(D-CA)	21,098	-829	20,269
216	COLEMAN E.	(R-MO)	20,099	-20	20,079
217	ROS-LEHTINEN	(R-FL)	22,122	-2,098	20,024
218	BILBRAY	(D-NV)	20,150	-157	19,993
219	DREIER	(R-CA)	26,842	-6,930	19,912
220	PORTER	(R-IL)	28,738	-8,829	19,909
221	CAMPBELL B.	(D-CO)	21,555	-1,654	19,901
222	REGULA	(R-OH)	19,937	-253	19,684

National Taxpayers Union Foundation

404 Eighth Street N.E., Washington D.C. 20002, (202) 543-1303

Bills are as of July 3, 1992

September 7, 1992

NOTICE: This report lists the total costs of bills a member has sponsored and is based upon public information. This report should not be construed as reflecting upon a member's fitness to serve.

Here is the computer report you requested.

	Name		Increases	Decreases	Total
223	BENTLEY	(R-MD)	20,891	-1,406	19,485
224	SARPALIUS	(D-TX)	19,851	-516	19,335
225	PARKER	(D-MS)	20,100	-1,135	18,965
226	CHAPMAN	(D-TX)	26,442	-7,539	18,903
227	HENRY	(R-MI)	20,785	-1,942	18,843
228	BYRON	(D-MD)	18,912	-76	18,836
229	HATCHER	(D-GA)	18,722	-26	18,696
230	APPLEGATE	(D-OH)	19,556	-932	18,624
231	ANDREWS T.	(D-ME)	26,582	-7,978	18,604
232	VALENTINE	(D-NC)	20,173	-1,693	18,480
233	DORGAN B.	(D-ND)	19,115	-675	18,440
234	LOWERY	(R-CA)	20,075	-1,770	18,305
235	VOLKMER	(D-MO)	18,482	-475	18,007
236	BREWSTER	(D-OK)	18,963	-1,039	17,924
237	MCMILLEN T.	(D-MD)	17,804	-92	17,712
238	GILMAN	(R-NY)	22,880	-5,230	17,650
239	WELDON	(R-PA)	22,727	-5,644	17,083
240	HANSEN	(R-UT)	18,946	-1,893	17,053
241	VANDERJAGT	(R-MI)	18,947	-2,084	16,863
242	HOAGLAND	(D-NE)	16,868	-76	16,792
243	YOUNG D.	(R-AK)	17,350	-684	16,666
244	SMITH N.	(D-IA)	16,753	-134	16,619
245	HUCKABY	(D-LA)	18,736	-2,189	16,547
246	SISISKY	(D-VA)	16,577	-80	16,497
247	SAXTON	(R-NJ)	16,602	-129	16,473
248	WEBER	(R-MN)	18,005	-1,544	16,461
249	UPTON	(R-MI)	16,846	-513	16,333
250	BENNETT	(D-FL)	38,391	-22,422	15,969
251	PATTERSON	(D-SC)	17,759	-1,886	15,873
252	ERDREICH	(D-AL)	16,728	-893	15,835
253	GILLMOR	(R-OH)	17,243	-1,638	15,605
254	GLICKMAN	(D-KS)	15,599	-321	15,278
255	BILIRAKIS	(R-FL)	17,313	-2,078	15,235
256	YOUNG C.	(R-FL)	16,933	-1,783	15,150
257	LIGHTFOOT	(R-IA)	16,836	-1,864	14,972
258	SYNAR	(D-OK)	17,506	-2,536	14,970
259	PETRI	(R-WI)	25,066	-10,285	14,781
260	LEACH	(R-IA)	16,184	-1,505	14,679
261	GILCHREST	(R-MD)	22,005	-7,333	14,672
262	ORTON	(D-UT)	16,083	-1,635	14,448
263	GUNDERSON	(R-WI)	23,187	-8,764	14,423
264	CALLAHAN	(R-AL)	14,278	-79	14,199
265	FRANKS G.	(R-CT)	16,088	-1,916	14,172
266	JENKINS	(D-GA)	14,633	-615	14,018
267	BRUCE	(D-IL)	14,147	-193	13,954
268	DUNCAN	(R-TN)	19,545	-5,593	13,952
268	WYLIE	(R-OH)	14,017	-65	13,952
270	TAYLOR C.	(R-NC)	16,710	-3,054	13,656
271	GALLO	(R-NJ)	17,005	-3,385	13,620
272	SKEEN	(R-NM)	15,500	-1,969	13,531
273	SHUSTER	(R-PA)	13,536	-41	13,495
274	COX J.	(D-IL)	14,179	-853	13,326
275	SHAYS	(R-CT)	19,030	-5,732	13,298
276	SNOWE	(R-ME)	16,093	-3,013	13,080
277	PICKETT	(D-VA)	13,217	-179	13,038
278	GREEN	(R-NY)	13,965	-1,004	12,961
279	PAYNE L.	(D-VA)	14,253	-1,310	12,943
280	DARDEN	(D-GA)	13,376	-478	12,898

	Name		Increases	Decreases	Total
281	BEREUTER	(R-NE)	15,796	-3,074	12,722
282	CAMP D.	(R-MI)	17,751	-5,058	12,693
283	JOHNSON N.	(R-CT)	15,329	-2,819	12,510
284	GRANDY	(R-IA)	13,152	-695	12,457
285	SPENCE	(R-SC)	18,624	-6,364	12,260
286	MONTGOMERY	(D-MS)	13,326	-1,090	12,236
287	TANNER	(D-TN)	12,883	-730	12,153
288	HYDE	(R-IL)	20,609	-8,532	12,077
289	PAXON	(R-NY)	13,059	-1,053	12,006
290	MOAKLEY	(D-MA)	12,037	-80	11,957
291	MCDADE	(R-PA)	12,627	-673	11,954
292	LAGOMARSINO	(R-CA)	25,475	-13,539	11,936
293	HUTTO	(D-FL)	13,360	-1,491	11,869
294	ROUKEMA	(R-NJ)	12,605	-880	11,725
295	GEREN	(D-TX)	33,268	-21,637	11,631
296	THORNTON	(D-AR)	11,635	-6	11,629
297	HERGER	(R-CA)	19,754	-8,166	11,588
298	LENT	(R-NY)	19,792	-8,274	11,518
299	EDWARDS M.	(R-OK)	13,431	-1,968	11,463
300	TAUZIN	(D-LA)	19,644	-8,191	11,453
301	DERRICK	(D-SC)	12,517	-1,139	11,378
302	LIVINGSTON	(R-LA)	13,992	-2,655	11,337
303	CRAMER	(D-AL)	11,345	-66	11,279
304	THOMAS R.	(D-GA)	11,411	-327	11,084
305	DICKINSON	(R-AL)	14,253	-3,208	11,045
306	COUGHLIN	(R-PA)	11,720	-719	11,001
307	PANETTA	(D-CA)	11,067	-96	10,971
308	SHAW	(R-FL)	12,779	-1,846	10,933
309	DURBIN	(D-IL)	12,834	-2,057	10,777
310	JACOBS	(D-IN)	11,943	-1,208	10,735
311	MCCOLLUM	(R-FL)	12,304	-1,600	10,704
312	WOLF	(R-VA)	10,599	-22	10,577
313	ANDREWS M.	(D-TX)	10,578	-22	10,556
314	SMITH R. F.	(R-OR)	17,957	-7,471	10,486
315	MCCRERY	(R-LA)	11,046	-724	10,322
316	MCHUGH	(D-NY)	14,671	-4,381	10,290
317	BROWDER	(D-AL)	10,252	-54	10,198
318	HOLLOWAY	(R-LA)	16,157	-6,233	9,924
319	ROWLAND J. R.	(D-GA)	9,858	-67	9,791
320	CARDIN	(D-MD)	10,596	-885	9,711
321	ROTH	(R-WI)	12,774	-3,124	9,650
322	HARRIS	(D-AL)	9,773	-158	9,615
323	CONDIT	(D-CA)	18,287	-8,682	9,605
324	COBLE	(R-NC)	10,482	-1,198	9,284
325	HOUGHTON	(R-NY)	9,796	-678	9,118
326	MYERS	(R-IN)	10,162	-1,049	9,113
327	HUNTER	(R-CA)	19,097	-10,086	9,011
328	HORN	(D-MO)	9,877	-955	8,922
329	MCEWEN	(R-OH)	17,966	-9,089	8,877
330	OBEY	(D-WI)	8,871	-32	8,839
331	LEWISJERRY	(R-CA)	9,360	-808	8,552
332	SKELTON	(D-MO)	8,475	-305	8,170
333	RITTER	(R-PA)	15,748	-7,798	7,950
334	PICKLE	(D-TX)	7,899	-26	7,873
335	SUNDQUIST	(R-TN)	12,948	-5,138	7,810
336	PURSELL	(R-MI)	8,176	-384	7,792
337	BARNARD	(D-GA)	9,901	-2,136	7,765
338	VISCLOSKY	(D-IN)	8,228	-479	7,749

National Taxpayers Union Foundation
September 7, 1992 — 404 Eighth Street N.E., Washington D.C. 20002, (202) 543-1303 — Bills are as of July 3, 1992

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	Name		Increases	Decreases	Total
339	EDWARDS C.	(D-TX)	7,624	-6	7,618
340	GORDON	(D-TN)	14,568	-6,965	7,603
341	RAVENEL	(R-SC)	30,632	-23,082	7,550
342	BLILEY	(R-VA)	9,651	-2,102	7,549
343	BUNNING	(R-KY)	9,424	-1,907	7,517
344	RAMSTAD	(R-MN)	17,837	-10,362	7,475
345	SPRATT	(D-SC)	7,939	-565	7,374
346	BROOMFIELD	(R-MI)	13,464	-6,158	7,306
347	PRICE D.	(D-NC)	7,387	-90	7,297
348	RIDGE	(R-PA)	7,275	-84	7,191
349	KOLBE	(R-AZ)	8,830	-1,669	7,161
350	ORTIZ	(D-TX)	7,688	-605	7,083
351	MCCANDLESS	(R-CA)	14,842	-7,897	6,945
352	LONG	(D-IN)	7,051	-420	6,631
353	MARTIN D.	(R-NY)	8,564	-1,938	6,626
354	COMBEST	(R-TX)	15,482	-8,915	6,567
355	THOMAS C.	(R-WY)	13,654	-7,106	6,548
356	ANTHONY	(D-AR)	6,556	-27	6,529
357	HOPKINS	(R-KY)	6,473	-2	6,471
358	GINGRICH	(R-GA)	14,103	-7,738	6,365
359	HAMILTON	(D-IN)	6,588	-312	6,276
360	BAKER	(R-LA)	16,528	-10,342	6,186
361	SCHULZE	(R-PA)	6,099	-94	6,005
362	SLATTERY	(D-KS)	6,363	-474	5,889
363	KASICH	(R-OH)	8,481	-2,621	5,860
364	MILLER C.	(R-OH)	13,873	-8,021	5,852
365	ROBERTS	(R-KS)	7,646	-1,824	5,822
366	RAY	(D-GA)	9,635	-3,815	5,820
367	SKAGGS	(D-CO)	5,750	-15	5,735
368	DONNELLY	(D-MA)	9,167	-3,606	5,561
369	HOBSON	(R-OH)	13,676	-8,118	5,558
370	COLORADO	(D-PR)	5,528	0	5,528
371	MILLER J.	(R-WA)	13,381	-7,865	5,516
372	MOORHEAD	(R-CA)	14,693	-9,179	5,514
373	SHARP	(D-IN)	6,067	-802	5,265
374	GEKAS	(R-PA)	7,749	-2,651	5,098
375	STUMP	(R-AZ)	19,345	-14,335	5,010
376	NATCHER	(D-KY)	5,073	-75	4,998
377	HOYER	(D-MD)	5,194	-202	4,992
378	NICHOLS	(R-KS)	6,121	-1,174	4,947
379	CARPER	(D-DE)	5,482	-544	4,938
380	LEWIS T.	(R-FL)	9,511	-4,646	4,865
381	MCCURDY	(D-OK)	4,955	-307	4,648
382	JAMES	(R-FL)	14,152	-9,573	4,579
383	BALLENGER	(R-NC)	16,374	-11,825	4,549
384	MEYERS	(R-KS)	10,747	-6,205	4,542
385	EARLY	(D-MA)	5,320	-800	4,520
386	GALLEGLY	(R-CA)	18,888	-14,438	4,450
387	MICHEL	(R-IL)	5,008	-601	4,407
388	EWING	(R-IL)	11,230	-6,992	4,238
389	BARTON	(R-TX)	7,453	-3,281	4,172
390	DELAY	(R-TX)	13,251	-9,149	4,102
391	BURTON D.	(R-IN)	13,401	-9,451	3,950
392	SENSENBRENNER	(R-WI)	15,500	-11,749	3,751
393	RHODES	(R-AZ)	12,204	-8,934	3,270
394	ASPIN	(D-WI)	3,096	-34	3,062
395	DORNAN R.	(R-CA)	13,543	-10,743	2,800
396	BOEHNER	(R-OH)	15,182	-12,518	2,664
397	LUKEN	(D-OH)	6,793	-4,187	2,606
398	NUSSLE	(R-IA)	10,519	-8,362	2,157
399	COOPER	(D-TN)	2,100	-2	2,098
400	FIELDS	(R-TX)	11,279	-9,230	2,049
401	LAROCCO	(D-ID)	2,445	-560	1,885
402	WALKER	(R-PA)	12,017	-10,751	1,266
403	SMITHLAMAR	(R-TX)	8,965	-7,817	1,148
404	RIGGS	(R-CA)	17,626	-16,706	920
405	GRADISON	(R-OH)	730	-5	725
406	HEFLEY	(R-CO)	10,538	-10,067	471
407	CHANDLER	(R-WA)	7,025	-7,591	-566
408	MCMILLAN A.	(R-NC)	7,464	-8,226	-762
409	IRELAND	(R-FL)	11,167	-11,964	-797
410	STEARNS	(R-FL)	14,346	-15,397	-1,051
411	JOHNSON S.	(R-TX)	5,964	-7,062	-1,098
412	ARCHER	(R-TX)	5,936	-7,185	-1,249
413	JONTZ	(D-IN)	42,987	-44,626	-1,639
414	PENNY	(D-MN)	21,251	-23,368	-2,117
415	STENHOLM	(D-TX)	7,190	-9,603	-2,413
416	KLUG	(R-WI)	28,934	-31,414	-2,480
417	COX C.	(R-CA)	14,308	-16,790	-2,482
418	DANNEMEYER	(R-CA)	7,653	-11,651	-3,998
419	CRANE	(R-IL)	5,801	-10,194	-4,393
420	ALLARD	(R-CO)	7,025	-11,542	-4,517
421	THOMAS W.	(R-CA)	2,115	-6,658	-4,543
422	BATEMAN	(R-VA)	3,733	-9,846	-6,113
423	HANCOCK	(R-MO)	11,618	-17,752	-6,134
424	KYL	(R-AZ)	9,215	-16,247	-7,032
425	OXLEY	(R-OH)	9,675	-18,157	-8,482
426	ALLEN	(R-VA)	6,603	-15,642	-9,039
427	ROHRABACHER	(R-CA)	6,904	-16,312	-9,408
428	ARMEY	(R-TX)	8,080	-18,385	-10,305
429	INHOFE	(R-OK)	31,708	-42,320	-10,612
430	SCHAEFER	(R-CO)	17,575	-28,762	-11,187
431	GOSS	(R-FL)	17,162	-30,115	-12,953
432	HASTERT	(R-IL)	10,391	-23,984	-13,593
433	DOOLITTLE	(R-CA)	14,457	-28,953	-14,496
434	FAWELL	(R-IL)	10,181	-28,824	-18,643
435	CAMPBELL T.	(R-CA)	18,323	-40,000	-21,677
436	SANTORUM	(R-PA)	15,904	-38,901	-22,997
437	PACKARD	(R-CA)	11,808	-40,000	-28,192
438	ZELIFF	(R-NH)	16,086	-44,586	-28,500
439	ZIMMER	(R-NJ)	13,110	-44,402	-31,292

*Note: Representative Foley does not sponsor or cosponsor legislation due to his leadership position as Speaker of the House.

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CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET TRACKING SYSTEM
SENATE MEMBER REPORT #3, SORTED BY TOTAL

(All Amounts are in Millions of Dollars)

	Name		Increases	Decreases	Total
1	INOUYE	(D-HI)	545,697	-14,551	531,146
2	WELLSTONE	(D-MN)	384,441	-1	384,440
3	SIMON	(D-IL)	359,993	-1,524	358,469
4	MOYNIHAN	(D-NY)	279,181	-68	279,113
5	DASCHLE	(D-SD)	290,665	-14,550	276,115
6	METZENBAUM	(D-OH)	275,241	-51	275,190
7	WOFFORD	(D-PA)	274,376	-1	274,375
8	KERREY R.	(D-NE)	245,908	0	245,908
9	KENNEDY	(D-MA)	68,963	-118	68,845
10	CRANSTON	(D-CA)	61,672	-170	61,502
11	BURDICK	(D-ND)	75,669	-14,681	60,988
12	RIEGLE	(D-MI)	74,193	-14,550	59,643
13	ROCKEFELLER	(D-WV)	54,576	-2	54,574
14	ADAMS	(D-WA)	69,042	-14,624	54,418
15	SARBANES	(D-MD)	53,077	-369	52,708
16	GRAHAM	(D-FL)	51,114	-114	51,000
17	PACKWOOD	(R-OR)	48,281	-50	48,231
18	LEAHY	(D-VT)	44,920	-118	44,802
19	AKAKA	(D-HI)	61,237	-16,721	44,516
20	CHAFEE	(R-RI)	43,311	-91	43,220
21	DIXON A.	(D-IL)	40,798	-143	40,655
22	REID	(D-NV)	39,113	-1	39,112
23	PELL	(D-RI)	39,174	-202	38,972
24	SHELBY	(D-AL)	40,237	-1,804	38,433
25	SASSER	(D-TN)	37,428	-508	36,920
26	SPECTER	(R-PA)	35,624	-36	35,588
27	LAUTENBERG	(D-NJ)	34,530	-561	33,969
28	HARKIN	(D-IA)	33,717	-74	33,643
29	DECONCINI	(D-AZ)	48,419	-15,166	33,253
30	KERRY J.	(D-MA)	32,345	-50	32,295
31	SANFORD	(D-NC)	31,885	-92	31,793
32	BRYAN	(D-NV)	30,008	-1	30,007
33	BIDEN	(D-DE)	29,216	-1	29,215
34	GORTON	(R-WA)	28,559	-124	28,435
35	JEFFORDS	(R-VT)	27,282	-51	27,231
36	MITCHELL	(D-ME)	27,213	-1	27,212
37	LIEBERMAN	(D-CT)	41,629	-14,871	26,758
38	WARNER	(R-VA)	27,115	-622	26,493
39	BINGAMAN	(D-NM)	26,045	-125	25,920
40	DOLE	(R-KS)	24,980	-1	24,979
41	STEVENS	(R-AK)	25,073	-575	24,498
42	DODD	(D-CT)	38,816	-14,993	23,823
43	HEFLIN	(D-AL)	22,267	-12	22,255
44	GLENN	(D-OH)	21,173	-371	20,802
45	D'AMATO	(R-NY)	26,422	-6,768	19,654
46	JOHNSTON	(D-LA)	34,311	-15,337	18,974
47	HOLLINGS	(D-SC)	18,981	-41	18,940
48	MIKULSKI	(D-MD)	33,341	-14,902	18,439
49	PRESSLER	(R-SD)	19,115	-729	18,386
50	DURENBERGER	(R-MN)	22,258	-3,914	18,344
51	CONRAD	(D-ND)	18,348	-42	18,306
52	GORE	(D-TN)	17,732	-52	17,680
53	HATFIELD	(R-OR)	17,914	-402	17,512
54	WIRTH	(D-CO)	15,097	-50	15,047
55	LEVIN	(D-MI)	15,500	-795	14,705
56	BOREN	(D-OK)	29,069	-14,501	14,568
57	SIMPSON	(R-WY)	17,335	-3,933	13,402
58	BENTSEN	(D-TX)	26,856	-14,551	12,305
59	COCHRAN	(R-MS)	12,129	-74	12,055
60	ROBB	(D-VA)	11,964	-2	11,962
61	LUGAR	(R-IN)	14,291	-3,774	10,517
62	MACK	(R-FL)	14,091	-3,588	10,503
63	THURMOND	(R-SC)	14,417	-3,989	10,428
64	FOWLER	(D-GA)	13,734	-4,516	9,218
65	EXON	(D-NE)	10,852	-2,365	8,487
66	GRAMM	(R-TX)	8,247	0	8,247
67	COHEN	(R-ME)	8,297	-403	7,894
68	LOTT	(R-MS)	25,468	-17,648	7,820
69	SEYMOUR	(R-CA)	24,089	-16,700	7,389
70	MCCAIN	(R-AZ)	28,158	-21,105	7,053
71	WALLOP	(R-WY)	7,367	-433	6,934
72	BRADLEY	(D-NJ)	28,616	-23,252	5,364
73	BYRD	(D-WV)	5,360	0	5,360
74	PRYOR	(D-AR)	19,460	-14,576	4,884
75	BAUCUS	(D-MT)	19,295	-14,501	4,794
76	DANFORTH	(R-MO)	4,644	-74	4,570
77	NUNN	(D-GA)	4,911	-402	4,509
78	BOND	(R-MO)	4,291	-73	4,218
79	FORD	(D-KY)	18,606	-14,502	4,104
80	KOHL	(D-WI)	7,328	-3,641	3,687
81	BREAUX	(D-LA)	18,037	-14,551	3,486
82	KASSEBAUM	(R-KS)	3,044	-141	2,903
83	BUMPERS	(D-AR)	12,168	-9,340	2,828
84	MURKOWSKI	(R-AK)	6,201	-3,661	2,540
85	GRASSLEY	(R-IA)	21,870	-20,414	1,456
86	DOMENICI	(R-NM)	5,042	-3,631	1,411
87	BURNS	(R-MT)	17,524	-16,700	824
88	GARN	(R-UT)	625	-400	225
89	RUDMAN	(R-NH)	1,626	-3,501	-1,875
90	MCCONNELL	(R-KY)	13,899	-16,700	-2,801
91	BROWN H.	(R-CO)	5,624	-10,295	-4,671
92	NICKLES	(R-OK)	9,156	-16,700	-7,544
93	COATS	(R-IN)	12,251	-20,288	-8,037
94	SMITH R. C.	(R-NH)	10,880	-20,291	-9,411
95	HELMS	(R-NC)	6,450	-16,700	-10,250
96	ROTH	(R-DE)	6,668	-17,118	-10,450
97	SYMMS	(R-ID)	20,212	-31,217	-11,005
98	KASTEN	(R-WI)	19,560	-31,200	-11,640
99	HATCH	(R-UT)	16,152	-31,200	-15,048
100	CRAIG	(R-ID)	13,243	-31,200	-17,957

National Taxpayers Union Foundation
404 Eighth Street N.E., Washington D.C. 20002, (202) 543-1303

Bills are as of July 3, 1992

September 6, 1992

NOTICE: Rankings reflected on this report in no way reflect a member's fitness to serve. This is not a rating. **It is a rank based upon the numerical value of bills sponsored or cosponsored based upon public information.**

spenders, although he proposed about 10 times more spending increases than cuts. Russo is retiring this year after losing a primary contest.

o In the House, more than 90 percent of spending cuts were proposed by only 3.1 percent of the membership; while in the Senate, 10 members proposed 92 percent of spending cuts.

How serious is this legislation, and what are its chances of passage? While a number of large proposals to increase or cut spending are unlikely to pass (e.g., multi-billion dollar housing subsidies and civil service staffing cuts), it remains that some of the largest bills have very serious prospects for passage in the next Congress.

For example, members proposing the largest spending increases have all authored costly national health insurance legislation--for which estimates supplied by their offices range from $177 billion to $503 billion per year (NTUF believes the higher estimates are the most accurate). Approximately 20 percent of the Congress is cosponsoring one or more of these bills. The Democratic Presidential nominee Bill Clinton, has endorsed a less expensive version of universal health care, called "pay or play." Meanwhile, several of the top authors of spending cuts are proposing deep reductions in the defense budget, which also have a good prospect of passage in the 103rd Congress.

On the whole, the study indicates that spending is likely to rise sharply in the 103rd Congress, despite significant cuts in military spending and soaring budget deficits.

Paul Hew[illegible] would appreciate the opportunity [illegible] demonstrate CBTS's capabilities to you at your earl[illegible] [illegible]ence.

Sincerely,

Dr. William A. Duncan

DR. WILLIAM A. DUNCAN
Director, Congressional Budget Tracking System

U.S. Senate
Republican Policy
Committee
Don Nickles, Chairman
Kelly D. Johnston, Staff Director

Talking Points

September 29, 1992

BUSINESS AND TAXPAYERS BEWARE
Proposals that a Democrat Congress Back and a President Clinton Would Sign

During the past four years, Republicans in the U.S. Senate, working with a Republican President, have protected Americans from unsatisfactory legislation prized by the Democrat majority.

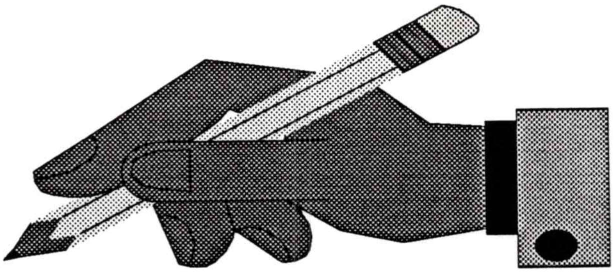
A Clinton presidency, though, working with a Democrat-controlled Congress, would unlock the closet door for these proposals, perhaps allowing many of them to become law. By 1996, Americans would be worse off in the areas of labor, family, energy and environment, defense, and taxes, than they are in 1992.

Since the beginning of the year, Democrats, Governor Clinton, and Senator Gore have laid out their agenda in various public sources, including:

- Pending House and Senate bills;
- House amendments;
- The Clinton June 22-page economic plan, *Putting People First*;
- The Clinton Platform; and
- The Clinton-Gore September campaign manifesto, also titled *Putting People First*.

Included in "Business and Taxpayers Beware" is brief information on bills and proposals in the following areas:

- Labor
- Family
- Energy and Environment
- Defense
- Taxes



FAMILY

H.R. 1430, Civil Rights Amendments Act of 1991. This bill would amend the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, along with other statutes, to add "affectional or sexual preference" to existing criteria of illegal discrimination such as race, religion, sex, physical handicap, national origin, etc. If enacted, H.R. 1430 would activate the full array of affirmative action mechanisms to ensure that homosexuals are not being discriminated against. The Clinton Platform adds "sexual orientation" to other criteria such as race and gender, and equates "homophobia" with antisemitism and racism.

S. 3084, prohibition of Discrimination by the Armed Forces on the basis of sexual orientation. S. 3084 would overturn the existing exclusion of homosexuals from the U.S. armed forces. In his Platform, Gov. Clinton specifically pledges "...an end to Defense Department discrimination." In their book *Putting People First*, Gov. Clinton and Sen. Gore state they will "issue executive orders to repeal the ban on gays and lesbians from military or foreign service."

Freedom of Choice Act. The Freedom of Choice Act would prohibit states from regulating abortion, in effect restricting State efforts to pass regulations based on the Pennsylvania law — a 24-hour waiting period, informed consent, and parental notification. The effort to enact the bill this year ultimately failed because of a threatened veto and because the bill's advocates felt that it would be "watered down" by amendments that would, for example, require that 15-year-olds obtain parental consent before getting abortions. A Clinton White House would press for swift enactment of this bill.

S. 548, the Reproductive Health Equity Act. S. 548 would obligate taxpayers to pay for abortion on demand. The bill amends all Federal programs that provide medical services — Medicaid, Federal employee health plans, Indian health care, military personnel and dependents, the Peace Corps, the District of Columbia, and Federal prisons — to make abortion available "to the same extent as other pregnancy-related services." In *Putting People First*, Clinton and Gore specifically pledge to sign this bill into law. The Clinton Platform calls for the "right of every woman to choose, consistent with *Roe* v. *Wade*, regardless of ability to pay."

S. 2268, RU-486 Regulatory Fairness Act. S. 2268 would mandate the Food and Drug Administration to begin the process of testing the French abortion pill RU-486, with the intent of making it widely available as soon as possible.

Family Planning Regulations. President Bush's veto and threats of vetoes have protected an Administration regulation that bars abortion counseling and referral from the federal family planning program. Clinton's Secretary of Health and Human Services would no doubt repeal this regulation at the earliest possible moment.

***Beck* regulations.** Labor Secretary Lynn Martin recently issued regulations implementing the *Beck* ruling. These regulations would allow workers to seek a refund of portions of their union dues that were used for political purposes. An effort by Senate Democrats to kill these regulations was squelched earlier this month by a Republican filibuster. Repeal of this rule is high on organized labor's agenda, and Clinton would no doubt oblige the unions early in his presidency.

Davis-Bacon regulations. Democrats have tried for the past several years to strengthen requirements that government contractors pay the "prevailing wage" on all projects — the so-called "Davis-Bacon" regulation. A recent court decision held that the "prevailing wage" standard does not apply to workers who transport materials to and from worksites of government contractors. The Department of Labor has also sought to exempt low-income "helpers" from the Davis-Bacon requirements. A Clinton presidency would mark the end of these efforts to relax antiquated Davis-Bacon requirements.

LABOR

S. 55, Striker Replacement. A favorite of organized labor leaders, who have endorsed Gov. Clinton, it would overturn a precedent that has governed collective bargaining for more than 50 years: that workers have a right to strike for better economic conditions and that management retains the right to replace them. A GOP filibuster earlier this year protected both workers and management from this unpredictable change in current law.

S. 5, Family and Medical Leave. Requires firms with more than 50 workers (about 300,000 businesses and 33.4 million workers) to provide employees with 12 weeks of unpaid leave when they become parents, became ill, or need time to care for a sick family member. This idea has been vetoed twice by President Bush, who prefers a tax credit of up to $1200 for similar time off. The President's plan would cover 6 million businesses and nearly 50 million workers.

regulators w/ figures

S. 1622, OSHA "reform." Democrats have thus far been frustrated in their efforts to enact legislation that would require every employer to have a written safety and health program and would require the establishment of safety and health committees at every worksite. The bill also would establish criminal penalties for employers who violate OSHA regulations. The estimated cost to the U.S. economy: $50 billion, according to an Employment Policy Foundation study. Under a Clinton presidency, this measure is likely to become law.

S. 2062, eliminating punitive damage caps. Gov. Clinton and Democrats want to lift the $150,000 cap on punitive damages that can be awarded under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, inviting another addition to the litigation explosion.

H.R. 2782, ERISA "reform." The bill would grant States the authority to enact laws dealing with prevailing wages, apprenticeship programs, and unpaid pensions under the purview of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA). This could result in at least 50 different sets of employee benefit standards.

S. 600, Child labor restrictions. Congressional Democrats have unsuccessfully pressed for passage of this measure, which has nothing to do with child labor and much to do with reducing job opportunities for teenagers. The bill would require all workers under 18 to obtain work permits from their state governments. It also would bar farmers from hiring workers under age 14. The teen unemployment rate is 20 percent; among black teenagers, the rate is twice as high. This bill would drive those figures even higher. Under a Bill Clinton presidency, this legislation would likely become law.

S. 1227, HealthAmerica; and S. 1446, Health USA. S. 1227 requires all businesses to "play" — establish health plans for workers — or "pay" — a new tax, estimated at between 7 and 9 percent, to enroll workers in a government-run health care program. S. 1446 creates a universal health care program and an annual health care budget, approved by Congress. Gov. Clinton endorsed "play or pay;" but now, in *Putting People First*, Gov. Clinton embraces universal coverage mandates and an annual health care budget to limit both public and private expenditures, but makes no mention of how the mandatory coverage will be funded. A payroll tax of the 7 to 9 pecent range would eliminate 700,000 jobs in its first year.

ENERGY and ENVIRONMENT

S. 1224, to increase Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards to 40 mpg by 2000. This high-CAFE standard, endorsed by Gov. Clinton, almost became law before the Senate narrowly failed to invoke cloture on the bill by a vote of 57-42 in September 1990. Not only would an estimated 300,000 U.S. auto manufacturing jobs be lost due to the bill; the measure would also drastically curtail the availability of light-duty trucks and vans.

S. 201, a new federal "energy efficiency" excise tax. In their economic plan, *Putting People First*, Gov. Clinton and Sen. Gore promise to improve energy efficiency 20 percent by the year 2000. To help achieve this goal, Sen. Gore has proposed a hefty new excise tax of up to $2,200 by the year 2000 for cars with a fuel economy of 27.5 mpg, today's CAFE average.

The book also proposes a comprehensive, EPA-run program to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by requiring any new facility (or the modification of an existing one) that emits more than 100,000 tons of carbon dioxide per year to first obtain an EPA permit, and then buy or earn emissions credits, or pay a $250 per ton penalty.

S. 39, preventing U. S. energy development in the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). Gov. Clinton and Sen. Gore have endorsed designating ANWR as a wilderness area in *Putting People First*. S. 39 would put people last, denying thousands of jobs in hard-hit energy-producing states while perpetuating our sufficiency on foreign energy.

S. 2668, the Global Climate Protection Act. Introduced in May 1992 by Senators Gore, Mitchell and 16 other Democrats, S. 2668 would require the President to unilaterally take action so that by January 1, 2000, U.S. carbon dioxide emissions are held at or below 1990 levels. The cost of these expensive programs could not be passed on to consumers, because our trading partners would not be imposing these same requirements on their industries.

S. 2806, creating a new "polluters" fund. Introduced by Senator Gore this year, the bill would require "toxic chemical" firms in the 100 most polluted counties in the U. S. to pay into a fund to be distributed to individuals in those counties for lobbying and technical assistance relating to inspections, reviews and studies.

S. 976, reauthorizing the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA). As currently reported, S. 976 would require each industry to recycle an arbitrary level of its products, a concept endorsed by Gov. Clinton in September. It would also:

- Require arbitrary reductions in packaging without regard to costs.
- Add 250 chemicals to the list of those normally used by firms which must be routinely reported to the EPA, coupled with an expansion of the number of firms — including small businesses — that must file. This program would represent a fundamental shift from government regulation of business emissions into the environment to potential regulation of internal manufacturing processes.

RCRA reauthorization proposals would create a new EPA classification on non-hazardous wastes from industrial sources that would impose paperwork and handling burdens virtually identical to those now required for hazardous wastes. Current regulations of the 280 million tons of hazardous wastes requires industry expenditures of $13 billion a year. RCRA reauthorizations could potentially regulate over 8 billion tons of industrial wastes, with a proportionate increase in cost to industry.

S. 1278, the reauthorization of the Council on Environmental Quality, which demands new and onerous filing requirements for Environmental Impact Statements. If S. 1278 were to become law, every "major Federal action," including the mere issuance of a Federal permit (e.g., a Clean Air permit), would be required to address global warming impacts, loss of biological diversity, and other issues still at question in the scientific community. This would multiply the ability of special interests to challenge any decision involving an EIS.

DEFENSE

House Amendment No. 586, nuclear test ban. A high priority for Democrats has been implementing an immediate comprehensive nuclear test ban. The Clinton Platform states that "a comprehensive test ban would strengthen our ability to stop the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries." House Amendment Number 586 imposed a one-year nuclear testing moratorium on the United States. The U.S. could resume nuclear tests only if the President certified to Congress that Russia had conducted a nuclear weapons test.

S. 2993, SDI funding reduction. S. 2933 would cut the Strategic Defense Initiative to a $2 billion research program. Since 1987, the Senate has held 21 roll-call votes on altering or cutting the SDI program. In *Putting People First*, Gov. Clinton and Sen. Gore write: "We should refocus our research and development on the goal of a limited missile defense system within the strict framework of the ABM Treaty. Deployment of a massive space-based defense, such as Brilliant Pebbles, is not necessary." According to media reports, Gov. Clinton plans to go much further. He would cut the SDI program by up to $20 billion by 1997, making the program, intended to protect the American people, an undeployable academic exercise confined to the laboratory.

House Amendment 428, to reduce $56.4 billion from the 5-year defense budget. Several Democrats have endorsed plans to cut defense spending during FY 1993-1997 well beyond that proposed by President Bush. Senator Sasser has endorsed a $70.1 billion cut, Sen. Mitchell a $100 billion reduction, and Sen. Kennedy a $115 billion cut. Gov. Clinton proposed a $60 billion cut in June, but he has also promised to build the C-17 airlifter (price tag: $35 billion); and the F-22 tactical fighter (price tag: $95 billion). Gov. Clinton also endorsed purchasing more Seawolf submarines earlier this year, in the face of a negligible offensive Russian naval threat and the then-upcoming Connecticut Democrat primary.

TAXES

H.R. 4210, the "Tax Fairness and Economic Growth Act." On January 28, 1992, President Bush asked Congress to pass a short-term growth package by March 20, 1992. Instead, the Congress sent him a tax-and-spend bill, which he vetoed and for which the House, in only the second time since 1956, couldn't even muster a majority in its veto override attempt. (Governor Clinton has stated he would have signed H.R. 4210.)

Among its various provisions, H.R. 4210 would have:

- Created a new 36 percent tax bracket for individuals beginning at:

  $140,000 for married individuals filing jointly;
  $127,500 for heads of households;
  $115,000 for individuals;
  $70,000 for married individuals filing separately; and
  $7,000 for estates and trusts.

- Created a new 32 percent tax bracket by extending for two years the income-progressive ceiling on itemized deductions for incomes above $105,250.
- Increased effective tax rates on real property by lengthening recovery period of depreciation from 31 to 40 years for commerical real estate and from 27.5 years to 31 years for residential real estate.
- Imposed a 20 cents per gallon diesel fuel excise tax for use by boats.
- Imposed a 10-percent surtax for individuals with taxable incomes over one million dollars ($500,000 for married individuals filing separately), plus a 2.5 percent surtax for alternate minimum tax (AMT) taxpayers over one million dollars.
- Constructed a new government agency with powers to impose taxes on U.S. coal production, a tariff on imported coal, and a special tax on companies that formerly had contracts with the United Mine Workers.

As of September 29, 1992, 245 days later, the Democrat Congress still has not passed any economic stimulus package, contributing to the nation's 7.6 percent unemployment rate.

S. 3, Senate Election Ethics Act of 1991. Vetoed by the President this spring, S. 3 would have imposed a hidden tax to fund Senate and House campaigns. In toto, S. 3 would have cost Americans almost $1 billion over a six year election cycle.

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