

The original documents are located in Box 3, folder “Black Lung Benefits Reform Act - H.R. 10760” of the Loen and Leppert Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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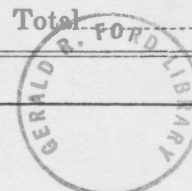
Next week the House will consider H.R. 10760, the Black Lung Benefits Reform Act. This provides that any miner who has worked 30 years in the mines automatically becomes eligible for black lung benefits with no medical verification required. Will you vote for this bill?

need no note

Western and Plains (Talcott)

	Yes	No	Und.	N/R
<i>California</i>				
Bell <i>probably</i>		/		
Burgener			/	
Clausen			/	
Clawson			/	
Goldwater			/	
Hinshaw			/	
Ketchum <i>probably "no"</i>		/		
Lagomarsino (ARW)		/		
McCloskey		/		
Moorhead		/		
Rousselot		/		
Talcott		/		
Wiggins		/		
Wilson		/		
<i>Pettis</i>		/		
<i>Alaska</i>				
Young <i>Probable</i>		/		
<i>Arizona</i>				
Conlan		/		
Rhodes		/		
Steiger		/		
<i>Colorado</i>				
Armstrong (ARW)		/		
Johnson		/		
<i>Idaho</i>				
Hansen		/		
Symms		/		
<i>New Mexico</i>				
Lujan <i>Probable</i>	/			
<i>Washington</i>				
Pritchard		/		
<i>Kansas</i>				
Sebelius <i>keeping no</i>		/		
Shriver		/		
Skubitz		/		
Winn		/		
<i>Nebraska</i>				
McCollister		/		
Smith		/		
Thone (ARW)		/		
<i>North Dakota</i>				
Andrews		/		
<i>Oklahoma</i>				
Jarman		/		
<i>South Dakota</i>				
Abdnor		/		
Pressler		/		
Total	1	17	8	10
Total pages 1 and 2	14	62	42	26

	Yes	No	Und.	N/R
<i>Indiana</i>				
Hillis		/		
Myers		/		
<i>Iowa</i>				
Grassley		/		
<i>Michigan</i>				
Broomfield		/		
Brown		/		
Cederberg		/		
Esch		/		
Hutchinson		/		
Ruppe		/		
Vander Jagt		/		
<i>Minnesota</i>				
Frenzel (ARW)		/		
Hagedorn		/		
Quie		/		
<i>Wisconsin</i>				
Kasten		/		
Steiger		/		
<i>Ohio</i>				
Ashbrook		/		
Brown		/		
Clancy		/		
Devine		/		
Gradison		/		
Guyer		/		
Harsha		/		
Kindness		/		
Latta		/		
Miller		/		
Mosher		/		
Regula		/		
Stanton		/		
Whalen		/		
Wylie		/		
<i>Illinois</i>				
Anderson		/		
Crane		/		
Derwinski		/		
Erlenborn		/		
Findley		/		
Hyde		/		
Madigan		/		
McClory		/		
Michel		/		
O'Brien		/		
Railsback	/			
Total	3	25	12	1



REPUBLICAN WHIP—ROBERT H. MICHEL

Tally Sheet

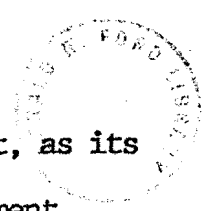
BLACK LUNG

94th Congress

Border and Southern (Young)					New England and Mid-Atlantic (McDade)				
	Yes	No	Und.	N/R		Yes	No	Und.	N/R
<i>Maryland</i>					<i>Connecticut</i>				
Gude <i>leaning no</i>					McKinney				
Holt					Sarasin				
Bauman					<i>Delaware</i>				
<i>Missouri</i>					duPont <i>leaning no</i>				
Taylor (ARW)					<i>Maine</i>				
<i>Kentucky</i>					Cohen				
Carter					Emery				
Snyder					<i>Massachusetts</i>				
<i>Tennessee</i>					Conte (ARW)				
Beard					Heckler				
Duncan					<i>New Hampshire</i>				
Quillen					Cleveland <i>leaning no</i>				
<i>Florida</i>					<i>New Jersey</i>				
Bafalis					Fenwick				
Burke					Forsythe				
Frey					Rinaldo				
Kelly					<i>Vermont</i>				
Young					Jeffords				
<i>North Carolina</i>					<i>New York</i>				
Broyhill					Conable				
Martin					Fish				
<i>South Carolina</i>					Gilman				
Spence					Hastings				
<i>Virginia</i>					Horton				
Butler					Kemp				
Daniel					Lent				
Robinson					McEwen				
Wampler					Mitchell (ARW)				
Whitehurst (ARW)					Peyser				
<i>Alabama</i>					Walsh				
Buchanan					Wydler				
Dickinson					<i>Pennsylvania</i>				
Edwards					Biester				
<i>Arkansas</i>					Coughlin				
Hammerschmidt					Eshleman				
<i>Louisiana</i>					Goodling				
Moore					Heinz				
Treen					Johnson (ARW)				
<i>Mississippi</i>					McDade				
Cochran					Myers				
Lott					Schneebeli				
<i>Texas</i>					Schulze				
Archer					Shuster				
Collins									
Steelman									
Total	5	13	8	7	Total	5	7	14	8



~~DRAFT~~ ~~DRAFT~~ ~~DRAFT~~ ~~DRAFT~~
Coal Policy Comm. statement issued 3/1/76
BLACK LUNG BENEFITS REFORM ACT OF 1975 is No Reform



H.R. 10760, a bill to liberalize black lung benefits, is a runaway and not, as its title suggests, a "reform." The Republican Policy Committee opposes its enactment.

The heart of this audacious legislation is the automatic entitlement of coal miners to benefits for black lung disease (pneumoconiosis) after 25 years work in anthracite coal mines and 30 years in other coal mines. Any and all requirements that the miners actually have black lung disease are eliminated (on the theory that diagnosis would cause too much government burden). In fact, the black lung benefit recipients can still work full time at mining or other jobs or draw workers' compensation for other injuries without forfeiting their entitlement. The American people will, in effect, be forced to pay automatic pensions for coal miners regardless of whether they are perfectly healthy or very ill.

~~Ironically, this will ultimately harm coal miners, not help them. The bill eliminates any incentive for the coal industry to strive to improve conditions and reduce dust particles in the mines since "black lung pensions" would go to all miners, both sick and well.~~

This bill is the latest chapter of a classic saga of a modest, well-intentioned one-shot measure that in seven years has snowballed into a splendid demonstration of the way uncontrollable, runaway federal spending gets started. Originally estimated in 1969 to cost between \$40 and \$350 million annually, the black lung benefits are now averaging about \$1 billion a year. H.R. 10760 will make the program permanent and further increase that total, perhaps by another \$1 billion over the next five years in federal outlays, an annual \$50-60 million loss in revenues, and billions in \$2.50-a-ton estimated Trust Fund assessments which will be passed along to the public in higher prices for electricity and manufactured goods. Possible savings from transferring responsibility to an industry-financed Trust Fund will be more than consumed by the liberalization of standards for benefits. While Congress publicly extolls the need for restraint of government spending, it will in this bill be hitting the American people with a back-door spending wallop, some of which will go to well, able-bodied workers and their families.

Dangerous precedents are set in this measure. It is not the end of the road as far

as black lung disease is concerned. Amendments even further liberalizing benefits standards are being proposed in both the House and the Senate, and the final version, if enacted, is likely to be even more ambitious than the present measure. Workers in other industries are watching this black lung-boondoggle -- if it works, they too soon will be seeking first compassionate compensation and then pensions for a variety of other industrially-linked diseases. The Majority's report on this bill sees "this concept of an industry-financed, industry-administered fund as a possible prototype for future legislative treatment of other occupational diseases." (page 20) While this momentum is building, Congress may also be considering a national workers' compensation program to federalize benefits for workers that will be paid in addition to the benefits for black lung and other disease.

House Republicans believe that true reform of the black lung benefits would increase rather than decrease equity. Equal compensation should be provided for equal disability. No compensation should be provided where no disability exists. The workers of just one industry should not receive a retirement program paid for by workers in other industries. Compensation paid for disability should be keyed to the extent of disability no matter what the cause; not vary from disease to disease, injury to injury.

"Reform" when applied to food stamp, political campaign and other legislation has signified restraint and cutting back to appropriate levels. Either this bill redefines the word or else it is no "reform" at all.

Congress should quit fronting for labor unions which have not been able to achieve their goals through bargaining. This bill should not be enacted. In light of its back door spending provisions, it should not even be considered on the Floor until Fiscal 1977 budget targets are established later this spring.

The Republican Policy Committee therefore urges defeat of both the rule and the Bill.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

IMPORTANT: SCHEDULED FOR HOUSE FLOOR TUESDAY, MARCH 2

February 27, 1976

Dear Colleague:

When considering your vote on H.R. 10760, the proposed Black Lung Benefits Reform Act, I hope you will respond to reason, and not to emotion.

More than 500,000 coal miners (both disabled and not disabled), dependents and survivors are now getting benefits at a rate of almost \$1 Billion a year.

This program started in the wake of a 1968 coal mine disaster in Farmington, West Virginia, which took 78 lives. With this tragic event as a setting, Congress decided to improve the health and safety of coal miners but went a step further. We decided to compensate them for years of neglect by the States and coal mine operators. Many of us warned then that a bad precedent could be set, but we passed the bill with the promise that the black lung program was a one-shot, one-time Federal responsibility which would be assumed by the States.

Our fears were warranted. In 1972, not only was the Federal responsibility extended, but the criteria for granting claims were liberalized.

1. A claim can no longer be denied solely on the basis of an x-ray which fails to reveal black lung (even though an x-ray is the only valid means of determining the presence of this disease).

-MORE-

2. Benefits are now paid to people who are not fully disabled and who have gainful employment.
3. There is no longer an offset for Social Security disability payments, so people now receive both.

Significantly, a recent report from the General Accounting Office indicates that the Social Security Administration has been more generous in determining eligibility for black lung benefits than the law intends.

In H.R. 10760, as we feared in 1972, we are being asked to extend the Federal responsibility forever.

Here is what else is wrong with this proposal:

1. Pays disability benefits to healthy coal miners and sets a patently wrong precedent for workers compensation by paying benefits even if there is no medical evidence of occupational disease or no disability, and solely on the basis of a worker having spent a specified number of years in a particular industry.
2. Pays benefits to people who are also getting unemployment or State workmen's compensation, and Social Security disability or who are working.
3. Discriminates against other disabled workers whose compensation is offset by payment of other benefits.
4. Prohibits appeal of decisions favorable to claimants.
5. Requires the Secretary of HEW to locate potential claimants.

6. Requires the Social Security Administration (with its already overextended workload and which has mangled the Supplemental Security Income program) to review 180,000 claims previously denied and previously reviewed.
7. Pays benefits to widows of miners killed in a mine accident after 17 years of working in mines.
8. Imposes a tax on coal to meet a part of the costs of benefits, without any knowledge of what that tax might be.
9. The expense of that tax will increase the cost of coal and utility rates.
10. It will also result in a reduction of \$50 to \$60 million a year in revenues.
11. Federal costs will be increased up to \$1 Billion over the next five years .
(beyond the almost \$1 Billion a year cost for the existing program).
12. Bypasses collective bargaining process by giving miners a pension their labor representatives have not been able to get for them.

I believe reason will tell you that this bill should not be passed.

Very truly yours,



John N. Erlenborn, M. C.
2236 House Office Building



House Votes to Broaden Black Lung Benefits

The House March 2, on a 210-183 vote, passed a bill (HR 10760) liberalizing black lung disease benefits and shifting responsibility for payment of future benefit claims from the federal government to the coal industry.

Coal miners in Washington to lobby for the bill watched from crowded visitors' galleries the partisan vote on passage. Only 21 Republicans voted with 189 Democrats in favor of the bill, while 112 Republicans and 71 Democrats opposed it. (*Vote 52, p. 535*)

As passed, the bill automatically presumed that anyone who had worked for 30 years in an underground bituminous coal mine or for 25 years in an underground anthracite coal mine was afflicted with black lung disease (pneumoconiosis) and was entitled to black lung benefits.

The bill was an addition to the existing program, first enacted in 1969 and amended in 1972, which paid benefits to miners who had not worked so long but who could prove they had the disease, which is caused by inhaling coal dust and can lead to severe breathing problems and premature death.

A second major feature of the bill established an industry-financed trust fund to pay benefits for miners who had filed claims after Dec. 31, 1973. Claims filed before that period were paid by the government.

Under existing law, later claims were to be paid by the coal operators through state workers' compensation laws. If the state laws did not meet federal standards, and none of them did, the federal government would try to locate the mine owner who last employed the claimant. If the owner could not be found, the federal government would pay the claim. According to the Education and Labor Committee, which reported the bill Dec. 31, 1975, the Labor Department had been able to locate the responsible mine owner in only about 50 per cent of the cases and the operators were challenging 97 per cent of all cases where they were held responsible.

Under HR 10760, individual operators still would be liable for the benefit payments to individual mine workers. But if the responsible operator could not be determined, the benefits would be paid by the trust fund rather than the federal government.

The bill also made some other liberalizations in the benefit program. The most controversial was one that would award black lung payments to widows of miners who had worked underground for at least 17 years and who had been killed in mine accidents before June 30, 1971, the date that federal coal dust standards went into effect. (*Provisions, committee report, Weekly Report p. 101*)

PRO: Simple Justice

Supporters of the bill pointed out that 81 per cent of the claims of miners who had worked 30 years or more had been approved. "Of the 19 per cent that were not approved, you can rest assured there is substantial likelihood of error in those denials," declared John H. Dent (D Pa.), floor manager of the bill and one of its chief sponsors.

"Everything we have done [in this bill] has been done after all of the research has been in our hands. Everything we have done we have done after receiving all of the facts we could get together," Dent said, justifying the committee position.

Maintaining that in many instances the original law had been administered inequitably, denying benefits to miners impaired by black lung, Ken Hechler (D W.Va.) warned that "unless this Congress brings justice to the miners by passing legislation which not only compensates those who deserve compensation, but also genuinely reduces the dust level...there will be strikes and violence in the coal fields."

CON: Inequitable Treatment

"If this bill is enacted," said John N. Erlenborn (R Ill.), who led the opposition on the floor, "no longer would one have to even claim to be disabled, no longer would he have to pretend that there is something that makes it difficult or impossible for him to earn a living."

Many opponents said enactment of the bill would set a bad precedent and would be unfair to workers in other hazardous occupations who did not receive special compensation. Erlenborn said the benefits also would be unfair to other miners. "Why should not the coal miner who is hurt in a roof fall get as much compensation as one who is supposedly a victim of black lung disease?" he asked.

Lobby Pressures

The bill was strongly backed by the United Mine Workers (UMW), who sent some 300 miners to Washington to press for its enactment. Opposition came from the Labor Department and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and from the National Coal Association, the main organization of mine operators.

The bill also was opposed as being too weak by a few thousand miners in West Virginia who began a wildcat strike March 1 in protest. Although the UMW originally had supported a bill that would have granted benefits to any miner who had worked 15 years or more, the union condemned the protest strike.

Floor Action

The House considered nine amendments to HR 10760, adopting two by voice vote and rejecting the others.

Liberalizations Rejected

One of the key rejected amendments, offered by Paul Simon (D Ill.), would have lowered the number of years a bituminous coal miner had to work so that both bituminous and anthracite miners would be eligible for benefits after 25 years of work in an underground mine.

Gary A. Myers (R Pa.) offered a substitute that would have required both hard and soft coal miners to work 30

years before becoming automatically entitled to benefits.

Defending his amendment, Simon said that a study of 400 miners' autopsies showed that 90 to 95 per cent of the miners who had worked more than 20 years underground had evidence of black lung disease.

But Myers warned that adoption of Simon's amendment might make the bill more veto-prone: "I think we all must recognize the fact that we are dealing with a bill here that could run the same risks of a veto that a public works bill [HR 5247] did that passed here a couple of weeks ago. In that case we had too successful a lobbying activity with the result that too much was placed on the bill, it lost its buoyancy and it sunk and nobody received anything." (*HR 5247 veto sustained, Weekly Report p. 415*)

Dent opposed both amendments, contending that medical evidence justified the five-year difference between anthracite and bituminous coal miners.

Myers' amendment was rejected by voice vote. Simon's amendment was rejected on a 22-27 standing vote.

Another major amendment that was rejected was offered by Tim L. Hall (D Ill.). Under the bill, miners who received federally paid benefits (those who filed their claims before Dec. 31, 1973) would have had to complete their 25 or 30 years prior to Jan. 1, 1970. Miners who received industry-paid benefits (those who filed their claims after Jan. 1, 1974) would have had to complete their years prior to July 1, 1971.

Hall's amendment would have deleted the July 1, 1971, date. Hall argued that mine operators should be liable for black lung disease that developed after July 1, 1971, because studies showed that coal dust levels remained too high.

But Dent said deletion of the provision would force operators to pay benefits in the future to miners who completed their 25 or 30 years in the mines after the coal dust standards went into effect. By that time black lung disease should no longer exist because of the lowered dust levels, Dent said.

Hall's amendment was rejected by voice vote. An amendment by John Buchanan (R Ala.) to change the July 1, 1971, date to the date that HR 10760 was enacted was also rejected by voice vote.

Other Amendments

The House also rejected an amendment, offered by Myers, that would have deleted the provision awarding benefits to widows of miners who had worked for 17 years and were killed in mine accidents.

Education and Labor Committee Chairman Carl D. Perkins (D Ky.), a cosponsor of the bill, defended the provision, arguing that many of the miners killed in accidents had black lung and that their widows deserved benefits. Myers' amendment was rejected 141-253. (*Vote 51, p. 535*)

Two other amendments also were rejected:

- By Philip H. Hayes (D Ind.), to ensure that strip miners would be entitled to the automatic benefits. The bill stipulated that the government could determine whether dust conditions in aboveground situations approximated underground conditions and warranted benefit payments. The Hayes amendment was rejected on a 9-29 standing vote.

- By Joe Skubitz (R Kan.), to strike the committee bill and simply provide benefits to widows of miners who had worked 25 years or more in underground mines. The amendment was defeated on a 43-86 standing vote.

Unemployment, Prices

Encouraging economic news came on two fronts the week ending March 6, the Labor Department announced.

The national unemployment rate dropped .2 per cent, to 7.6 per cent in February, the fourth consecutive month that the jobless rate had fallen. At the same time, total employment increased by 125,000 and, according to the department, "has now fully returned to the July 1974 pre-recession peak of 86.3 million." Unemployment remained the same or improved for most categories of workers, but the rate for blacks and other minorities increased .5 per cent, to 13.7 per cent.

Wholesale prices also fell in February, dropping .5 per cent. It was the fourth month in a row that wholesale prices did not rise and was the sharpest drop since March 1975. A large decline in farm and food prices offset a small increase in industrial goods. The downward trend marked a continued easing of inflation; wholesale price movements usually are reflected later at the retail level.

Two amendments were adopted by voice vote:

- By Hechler, to require that the government accept the claimant's physician's reading of an X-ray rather than having the X-ray reread by a person who had no contact with the claimant.

- By Peter A. Peyser (R N.Y.), to authorize the Education and Labor Committee to conduct a study of talcosis or "white lung" disease to determine the possible need for federal legislation to protect talc miners.

Other Action

Before final passage, the House approved HR 10760 as amended on a 106-38 standing vote and rejected by voice vote a motion by Erlenborn to recommit the bill.

The rule under which the bill was considered had been adopted on a 275-118 vote. (*Vote 50, p. 535*)

During debate on the rule, John B. Anderson (R Ill.) opposed the bill on the grounds that it "flagrantly violates the spirit, if not the letter, of the 1974 Budget Act."

Noting that HR 10760 was reported Dec. 31, 1975, Anderson said, "[T]his bill would clearly not be in order for consideration today if it had been reported from committee this year, since the law clearly prohibits consideration of such a bill if it is to take effect before the first day of the fiscal year in the calendar year in which it was reported." (*Budget Act procedures, Weekly Report p. 305*)

House Budget Committee Chairman Brock Adams (D Wash.) agreed that it would have been more "appropriate" to take up the bill after May 15, the date by which Congress must set its fiscal 1977 spending targets. But, Adams added, because the bill was reported in 1975, "there is no legal bar to considering it."

Dent denied that the bill was reported on the final day of 1975 to avoid falling under the restrictions of the budget act. He said it would have been reported earlier except that the Social Security Administration had been slow in giving the committee a cost estimate.

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee had taken no action on black lung legislation. Its Labor Subcommittee tentatively planned to begin hearings in April. ■

—By Martha V. Gottron

49. HR 11700. New York City Pensions. Ullman (D Ore.) motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to allow five New York City employees' pension plans to buy \$2.5-billion of city bonds without losing tax advantages under federal law. Motion agreed to 298-45: R 82-36; D 216-9 (ND 153-3; SD 63-6), March 1, 1976. A two-thirds majority vote (229 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules. (Story, p. 533)

50. HR 10760. Black Lung Benefits. Adoption of the rule (H Res 1056) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to liberalize black lung (pneumoconiosis) benefits. Adopted 275-118: R 40-91; D 235-27 (ND 177-5; SD 58-22), March 2, 1976. (Story, p. 531)

51. HR 10760. Black Lung Benefits. Myers (R Pa.) amendment to delete the provision that would grant black lung benefits to the widow of any miner who had worked for at least 17 years in underground mines and had been killed in a mine accident prior to June 30, 1971. Rejected 141-253; R 99-36; D 42-217 (ND 10-172; SD 32-45), March 2, 1976. (Story, p. 531)

52. HR 10760. Black Lung Benefits. Passage of the bill to grant black lung benefits to any miner who had worked in an underground bituminous coal mine for 30 years or who had worked in an underground anthracite coal mine for 25 years and to establish an industry-financed trust fund to pay black lung benefits. Passed 210-183: R 21-112; D 189-71 (ND 162-21; SD 27-50) March 2, 1976. (Story, p. 531)

53. H Res 1054. Ethics Committee Subpoena Power. Young (D Texas) motion to order the previous question (and thus end debate) on H Res 1054, the resolution granting the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct power to subpoena witnesses who are not members or employees of the House for purposes of investigating the leak of the House Select Intelligence Committee's report. Motion agreed to 306-99: R 132-6; D 174-93 (ND 101-86; SD 73-7), March 3, 1975. (Story, p. 543)

54. H Res 1054. Ethics Committee Subpoena Power. Adoption of the resolution to grant the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct power to subpoena witnesses who are not members or employees of the House for purposes of investigating the leak of the House Select Intelligence Committee's report. Adopted 321-85: R 134-2; D 187-83 (ND 107-80; SD 80-3), March 3, 1976. (Story, p. 543)

55. HR 11963. Foreign Military Aid/Sales. Harrington (D Mass.) amendment to prohibit military assistance, including cash sales of weapons, to Chile. Rejected 139-266: R 10-128; D 129-138 (ND 116-70; SD 13-68), March 3, 1976. (Story, p. 540)

56. HR 11963. Foreign Military Aid/Sales. Bauman (R Md.) amendment to delete language in the bill that would partially lift the U.S. trade embargo against North and South Vietnam if the Vietnamese provided an accounting of U.S. military personnel still missing in action. Rejected 185-223: F 103-36; D 82-187 (ND 30-157; SD 52-30), March 3, 1976. (Story, p. 540)

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea)
✓ Paired for.
† Announced for.
N Voted against (nay).
X Paired against.
- Announced against.
P Voted "present."
● Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

ALABAMA

1 Edwards N ? Y N Y Y N Y
2 Dickinson Y N Y N Y Y N Y
3 Nichols Y Y N Y Y Y N Y
4 Bevil Y N Y N Y Y N Y
5 Jones Y Y ? ? Y Y N N
6 Buchanan Y N Y N Y Y N Y
7 Flowers ? Y N Y Y N Y Y

ALASKA

AL Young Y N Y N Y Y ? Y

ARIZONA

1 Rhodes ? N ? N Y Y N Y
2 Udall ? ? ? ? ? ? Y N
3 Steiger ? N Y N Y Y N Y
4 Conlan ? N Y N ? ? ? ✓

ARKANSAS

1 Alexander Y Y ? Y Y Y N Y
2 Mills ? Y ? N Y Y N Y
3 Hammerschmidt ? Y N Y Y Y N Y
4 Thornton ? Y N Y Y Y ? Y

CALIFORNIA

1 Johnson Y Y N Y Y Y N N
2 Clausen Y N Y N Y Y N Y
3 Moss ? Y N Y N Y N Y
4 Leggett Y ? N Y N Y N Y
5 Burton, J. Y ? N Y N Y N Y
6 Burton, P. Y N Y N Y N Y N
7 Miller Y Y N Y N Y N Y
8 Dellums Y Y N Y N Y N Y
9 Stark Y Y N Y N Y N Y
10 Edwards Y Y N Y N Y N Y
11 Ryan ? Y N Y N Y N Y
12 McCloskey ? Y Y N Y Y N N
13 Mineta Y Y N Y N Y N Y
14 McFall Y Y N Y Y Y N N
15 Sisk Y ? ? ? Y Y ? ?
16 Telcott Y N Y N Y Y N Y
17 Krebs Y N Y Y Y Y Y Y
18 Ketchum Y N Y N Y Y N Y
19 Lagomarsino Y N Y N Y Y N Y
20 Goldwater N N Y X Y Y N Y
21 Corman Y Y N Y N Y N Y
22 Moorhead N N Y N Y Y N Y
23 Rees Y ? ? X N N N Y
24 Waxman Y Y N Y N Y N Y
25 Roybal Y Y N Y N Y N Y
26 Rousselot ? N Y N Y Y N Y
27 Bell ? N Y N Y Y N Y
28 Burke ? Y N Y N Y N Y
29 Hawkins ? Y N Y N Y N Y
30 Danielson Y Y N Y Y Y N Y
31 Wilson Y Y N Y Y Y N Y
32 Anderson N Y N Y N Y N Y
33 Clawson N N Y N Y Y N Y
34 Hannaford Y Y N Y Y Y N Y
35 Lloyd Y Y N Y Y Y N Y
36 Brown ? Y N Y Y Y N Y
37 Pettis ? N Y N Y ? N Y
38 Patterson Y Y N Y ? N N Y
39 Wiggins ? N Y N Y Y N Y
40 Hinshaw ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?
41 Wilson N ? Y N Y Y N Y
42 Van Deelen Y Y N Y N Y N Y
43 Burgener Y N Y N Y Y N Y

COLORADO

1 Schroeder Y Y N Y N Y N Y
2 Wirth ? Y N Y N Y N Y
3 Evans ? Y N Y N Y N Y
4 Johnson N N Y N Y Y N Y

49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56

5 Armstrong
CONNECTICUT

1 Cotter Y Y Y N N Y Y N
2 Dodd ? ? ? ? X X ? X
3 Giaimo Y Y N Y N Y N Y
4 McKinney Y N Y N Y Y N N
5 Sarasin Y Y N Y Y Y N N
6 Moffett ? Y N Y N Y N Y

DELAWARE

AL du Pont † Y Y N Y Y N N

FLORIDA

1 Sikes Y N ? X ✓ ✓ ? ?
2 Fuqua ? Y N Y N Y N N
3 Bennett Y Y N Y Y Y N Y
4 Chappell ? ? ? ? ✓ Y N Y
5 Kelly N Y Y N Y Y N Y
6 Young N Y Y N Y Y N Y
7 Gibbons N Y N Y Y Y N Y
8 Haley Y N N Y Y Y N Y
9 Frey Y N Y N Y Y N Y
10 Batalls Y ● ● Y Y N Y
11 Rogers Y Y Y N Y Y N Y
12 Burke ? Y Y X Y ? N N
13 Lehman Y Y Y N Y Y N Y
14 Pepper ? ? ? ? ✓ Y N Y
15 Fascell Y Y N N N Y N Y

GEORGIA

1 Ginn Y Y N N Y Y N Y
2 Mathis Y Y N N Y Y N Y
3 Brinkley N N Y N Y Y N Y
4 Levitas Y Y N Y Y Y N Y
5 Young ? ? ? ? X X Y N
6 Flynt Y Y N Y Y Y N Y
7 McDonald N N Y N Y Y N Y
8 Stuckey Y Y N N Y Y N Y
9 Landrum ? ? Y N Y Y N Y
10 Stephens ? Y N ? Y N Y Y

HAWAII

1 Matsunaga ? Y N Y Y Y N N
2 Mink Y Y N Y N Y N N

IDAHO

1 Symms N ? ? X ? ? ? ✓
2 Hansen, G. N N Y N Y Y N Y

ILLINOIS

1 Metcalfe ? ? ? ? X X ? X
2 Murphy Y Y N Y Y Y N N
3 Russo Y N Y N Y N Y Y
4 Derwinski N N Y N Y N Y Y
5 Fary Y Y N Y Y N N N
6 Hyde Y Y Y N Y Y N Y
7 Collins ? ? ? ? X X ? ?
8 Rostenkowski Y Y N Y N Y N N
9 Yates Y Y N Y N Y N Y
10 Mikva Y Y N N N Y ?
11 Annunzio Y Y N Y Y N N N
12 Crane N N Y N Y N Y Y
13 McClary Y Y N Y Y N N N
14 Erlenborn N N Y N Y ? ?
15 Hall Y Y N Y N Y N Y
16 Anderson Y N N Y Y Y N Y
17 O'Brien Y N N Y Y Y N Y
18 Michel ? N Y N Y Y N Y
19 Railsback Y ? N Y Y Y N N
20 Findley Y Y N Y Y Y N N
21 Madigan Y N Y N Y Y N Y
22 Shipley Y Y N Y Y Y N N
23 Price Y Y N Y Y N N N
24 Simon Y Y N Y N Y N N

INDIANA

1 Madden Y Y N Y Y Y N N
2 Fithian Y Y N Y Y Y N Y
3 Brademas Y Y N Y N Y N Y
4 Roush Y Y N Y Y Y N Y
5 Hillis Y Y N Y Y Y N Y
6 Evans Y Y N Y Y Y N Y
7 Myers N Y N Y Y Y N Y
8 Hayes ? Y N Y N Y N Y
9 Hamilton Y Y N Y Y Y N N
10 Sharp Y N N Y Y Y N N
11 Jacobs Y Y N N Y Y N N

IOWA

1 Mezvinsky Y Y N Y N Y N N
2 Blouin Y Y N Y N Y N N
3 Grassley N N Y N Y Y N Y
4 Smith Y Y N Y Y Y N N
5 Harkin Y Y N Y N Y N N
6 Bedell Y Y N Y N Y N N

Democrats Republicans

	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56		49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56		49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56		49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56		
KANSAS																																					
1 Sebellus	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	4 Randall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	9 Martin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	7 Jones	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
2 Keys	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	10 Broyles	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	8 Ford	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
3 Winn	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	6 Litton	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	11 Taylor	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	TEXAS									
4 Shriver	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	7 Taylor	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	NORTH DAKOTA									1 Patman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	
5 Skubitz	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	AL Andrews	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	2 Wilson	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	
KENTUCKY										9 Hungate	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	OHIO									3 Collins	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	10 Burlington	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	1 Gradison	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	4 Roberts	N	N	Y	X	Y	Y	?	Y	
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	MONTANA									2 Clancy	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	5 Steelman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	1 Baucus	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	3 Whalen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	6 Teague	N	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	
4 Snyder	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	2 Melcher	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	4 Guyer	Y	?	?	X	?	?	?	?	7 Archer	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
5 Carter	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	NEBRASKA									5 Latta	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	8 Eckhardt	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
6 Breckinridge	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	1 Thone	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	6 Harsha	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	2 McCollister	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7 Brown	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	10 Pickle	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
LOUISIANA										3 Smith	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	8 Kindness	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	11 Poage	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
1 Hebert	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	NEVADA									9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	12 Wright	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
2 Boggs	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	AL Santini	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	10 Miller	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
3 Treen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	NEW HAMPSHIRE									11 Stanton	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	14 Young	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
4 Waggonner	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 D'Amours	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	12 Devine	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	15 de la Garza	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
5 Passman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2 Cleveland	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	13 Mosher	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	16 White	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
6 Moore	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	NEW JERSEY									14 Seiberling	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	17 Bureson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Florio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	15 Wylie	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	18 Jordan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
8 Long	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2 Hughes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	16 Regula	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	19 Mahon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
MAINE										3 Howard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	17 Ashbrook	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	
1 Emery	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4 Thompson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	18 Hays	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	21 Krueger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
2 Cohen	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	5 Fenwick	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	19 Carney	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	22 Vacancy									
MARYLAND										6 Forsythe	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	20 Stanton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
1 Bauman	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7 Maguire	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	21 Stokes	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	24 Milford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
2 Long	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	8 Roe	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	UTAH									
3 Sarbanes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	9 Helstoski	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	23 Mottl	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 McKay	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
4 Holt	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	10 Rodino	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	OKLAHOMA									2 Howe	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
5 Spellman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	11 Minish	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Jones	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	VERMONT									
6 Byron	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	12 Rinaldo	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	2 Risenhoover	?	?	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	AL Jeffords	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
7 Mitchell	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	13 Meyner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3 Albert	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	VIRGINIA									
8 Gude	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	14 Daniels	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4 Steed	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Downing	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
MASSACHUSETTS										15 Patten	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	5 Jarmen	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	2 Whitehurst	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
1 Conte	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	NEW MEXICO									6 English	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	3 Satterfield	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
2 Boland	?	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Lujan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	OREGON									4 Daniel	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
3 Early	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2 Rannels	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	1 AuCoin	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	5 Daniel	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	NEW YORK									2 Ullman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	6 Butler	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
5 Tsongas	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Pike	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3 Duncan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7 Robinson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
6 Harrington	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	2 Downey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4 Weaver	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	8 Harris	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
7 Macdonald	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3 Ambro	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	PENNSYLVANIA									9 Wampler	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
8 O'Neill	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4 Lent	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Barrett	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	10 Fisher	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
9 Moakley	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	5 Wylder	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	2 Nix	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	WASHINGTON									
10 Heckler	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	6 Wolff	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3 Green	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Pritchard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
11 Burke	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4 Eilberg	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2 Meeds	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	5 Schulze	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	3 Bonker	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
MICHIGAN										9 Delaney	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4 McCormack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	Y	X	X	?	?	10 Biaggi	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7 Edgar	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	5 Foley	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
2 Esch	?	?	?	?	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	11 Scheuer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	8 Blester	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	6 Hicks	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
3 Brown	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	12 Chisholm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	9 Shuster	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7 Adams	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
4 Hutchinson	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	13 Solarz	Y	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	10 McDade	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	WEST VIRGINIA									
5 Vander Veen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	14 Richmond	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	11 Flood	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Mollohan	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
6 Carr	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y																													