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ASPECIAL EDITION: APR 2 1 1976 ACTION

APRIL 16, 1976 • VOLUME 20 • NUMBER 15

to help members of the National Chamber's Congressional Action system keep track of what Congress is doing . . . and communicate with their Senators and Representatives on legislation that affects their business, their employees, and their communities.

HOW THEY VOTED

First Session

94th Congress

Here is how each Member of Congress voted in 1975 on selected legislative is ues affecting you, at home and in your business.

This publication is issued in response to numerous requests for a report on how Representatives and Senators are voting on issues of vital concern to those most actively involved in our economic system.

The votes selected reflect Congress of al attitudes on such subjects as:

- -Private enterprise vs. government control
- —Federal fiscal responsibility
- —Growth of the federal bureaucracy
- —Federal control over state and local decisions

Thus, these are votes on issues that are important to improving the quality of life for the American people—issues that have a bearing on inflation, employment, the budget, regulation, supplies of critical materials, and the ability of the business community to meet the demands of a growing population. And each vote is evaluated on the basis of National Chamber policy positions relative to the exercise of economic and political freedom within our system.

Some of these votes were on final passage of legislation; others were on crucial amend-

ments or attempts to override Presidential vetoes.

Obviously, the votes recorded here are but a few of the hundreds that are cast each session of Congress. But, that does not lessen the value of this report for the selected votes do help you discern a voting pattern. Nevertheless, we urge you to examine also the overall voting records of your Congressmen, both on the floor and within their various committees.

It is interesting to see the number of Senators and Representatives who consistently support fiscal responsibility, freedom of choice, and the private market economy. It is equally interesting to note the number who just as consistently vote the opposite way by supporting new or expanded federal programs and new restrictions on essential economic decisions.

Why Not Take This Little Test?

Before looking at the record, fill in the blanks below

On the 17 votes in the House of Representatives recorded here, I think my Congressman voted "right" ______ times; "wrong" _____ times.

On the 16 votes in the Senate recorded here, I think Senator _____ from my state voted "right" _____ times; "wrong" _____ times. I think Senator _____ voted "right" _____ times; "wrong" _____ times.

Now check the record. How well are your representatives in Congress representing you?

Chamber of Commerce of the United States 1615 H Street, N.W./Washington, D.C. 20006

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SENATE VOTES — 1975

94th Congress: 1st Session

- 1. SURFACE MINING CONTROL AND RECLAMATION ACT (S.7). Final passage of the bill to provide for the regulation of surface coal mining operations and the acquisition and reclamation of abandoned mines. Estimated this would have cut coal production as much as 22% the first year and eliminated 50% of coal reserves from future production; reduced current supply of electricity and impeded essential development of new generating facilities; required new coal taxes, production and enforcement costs totalling \$400-\$500 million; and cost up to 36,000 jobs at a time when the national unemployment rate was 8.9%. Bill passed 84-13. A NAY vote was against passage and in accord with the Chamber's position on the ultimate damage to the economy. 3/12/75
- 2. EMERGENCY PRICE SUPPORT FOR 1975 CROPS (H.R. 4296). Final passage of the bill to adjust target prices, loan and purchase levels on the 1975 crops of cotton, corn, wheat, soybeans, and provide price support for milk at 80% parity with quarterly adjustments. Much costlier than the House version. Estimated would have cost the government \$19 billion over a 3-year period, resulted in higher prices for the consumer, unnecessary deficit spending, and reversed the trend toward market-oriented agriculture. Bill passed 57-25. A NAY vote was against passage and in accord with the Chamber's position on consumer prices, deficit spending, and market-oriented agriculture. 3/26/75
- 3. FIRST CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET (S. Con. Res. 32). Final passage of the resolution setting budget targets of \$297.8 billion in revenues, \$365 billion in outlays, and a \$67.2 billion deficit for FY 1976. The deficit level was over \$15 billion above the President's original budget. Resolution passed 69-22. A NAY vote was against this high spending level and in accord with the Chamber's position on holding down the deficit. 5/1/75
- 4. COUNCIL ON WAGE AND PRICE STABILITY ACT AMENDMENTS (S. 409). Tower (R-Tex.) motion to table, and thus kill the Stevenson amendment which called for confering subpoena and information-gathering authority on the Council. Stevenson amendment, strongly opposed by the Chamber, gave the Council power to subpoena company records on wages, prices, costs, profits and productivity by product line, and to seek court action if the subpoenas were ignored. Tower motion failed 41-47. A YEA vote was for adoption of the motion and in accord with the Chamber's position. 5/6/75
- 5. COUNCIL ON WAGE AND PRICE STABILITY ACT AMENDMENTS (S. 409). Final passage of the bill to substantially broaden the WPS Council's powers to include subpoenas of company records on wages, prices, costs, profits and productivity by product lines, and to seek action in the courts if the subpoenas were ignored. Chamber opposed becaused (1) wage and price controls

- have been dismal failures throughout history, (2) the mere threat of controls puts pressure on workers to ask for higher wages and on business to raise prices so they would not be caught "short" if controls were reinstituted, and (3) the subpoena provisions were strongly opposed by business. Bill passed 67-20. A NAY vote was against passage and in accord with the Chamber's position on economic recovery without rekindling inflation. 5/6/73
- 6. CONSUMER PROTECTION ACT (S. 200). Modified Weicker (R-Conn.) amendment to delete the section exempting union disputes from intervention by the Agency for Consumer Advocacy. The agency would have the power to intervene in other agencies proceedings in behalf of the so-called "consumer interest." Deleting the union exemption would have killed the bill because the unions would have withdrawn their support if organized labor were covered. Chamber strongly opposed the creation of this unnecessary new bureaucracy with unlimited potential for both growth in size and for harassing business. Weicker amendment failed 36-52. A YEA vote was for the amendment and in accord with the Chamber's position. 5/12/75
- CONSUMER PROTECTION ACT (S. 200). Final passage of the bill to establish an independent Agency for Consumer Advocacy, which the Chamber strongly opposed. Bill passed 61-28. A NAY vote was against passage and in accord with the Chamber's position. 5/15/75
- 8. PUBLIC WORKS EMPLOYMENT ACT (S. 1587). Final passage of the bill to provide \$2 billion for public works construction and \$2 billion to subsidize states and cities facing budgetary problems due to high unemployment. Subsidies to states and cities, once called "countercyclical," now termed "anti-recession" funds. Although the bill was less than the \$5 billion passed by the House for public works alone, the Chamber opposed the measure as still contributing to a rising deficit and of little real aid. Bill passed 65-28. A NAY vote was against passage and in accord with the Chamber's position on government economy. 7/29/75
- 9. OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF MANAGEMENT ACT (S. 521). Jackson (D-Wash.) amendment to the bill calling for new regulation of leasing areas on the Outer Continental Shelf. Amendment authorized the Secretary of Interior to conduct exploratory drilling for national security and environmental reasons or to expedite development in frontier areas. Chamber opposed because allowing the federal government into the oil and gas business would be a first step toward nationalization. Amendment adopted 46-41. A NAY vote was against the amendment and in accord with the Chamber's position. 7/30/75

- 10. EMERGENCY PETROLEUM ALLOCATION ACT EXTENSION (S. 1849). Vetoed by the President. Chamber opposed to extending EPAA authorities for six months, thus extending price controls on domestic "old" oil. Proposal to override the veto failed by 61-39, six votes short of the necessary two-thirds. A NAY vote was against overriding the veto and in accord with the Chamber's position. 9/10/75
- 11. EMERGENCY NATURAL GAS DECONTROL (S. 2310). Stevenson (D-III.) amendment to the Pearson-Bentsen version of the bill to remove price controls on newly-sold interstate gas from onshore wells, and phase out controls on gas from offshore wells over five years. Amendment would combine ceilings on all natural gas with a rollback in the price of "new" oil, selling at about \$13 per barrel, to \$9, and to extend price controls on natural gas to the intrastate market. Chamber opposed because the Pearson-Bentsen approach would be both a short- and long-range solution to the natural gas shortage. Stevenson amendment failed 45-55. A NAY vote was against the amendment and in accord with the Chamber's position. 10/8/75
- 12. EMERGENCY NATURAL GAS DECONTROL (S. 2310). Final passage of the Pearson-Bentsen version of the bill to provide needed deregulation of price controls on newly-sold interstate gas from onshore wells, and phase out controls on gas from offshore wells over five years, thus stimulating exploration and production. Bill passed 58-32. A YEA vote was for passage and in accord with the Chamber's position. 10/22/75
- 13. COMMON SITUS PICKETING (S. 1479). Final passage of the bill to legalize broad scale construction site picketing by allowing construction trades unions to conduct secondary-boycott picketing at the construction site. Chamber opposed because giving one union on a construction site the right to close down that entire project would cause the badly crippled construction industry one of the worst victims of the recession to face escalating costs and work stoppages that would envelop

Y = Yea Vote

N = Nay Vote

? = Not Voting

Totals:

R = Number Right

W = Number Wrong

? = Absent or Voting Present

Those votes in color are in accord with the Chamber's position.

larger and larger numbers of workers. Bill passed 52-45. A NAY vote was against passage and in accord with the Chamber's position that the result would be (1) threatening thousands of non-union craftsmen with loss of jobs, (2) diminishing competition between union and non-union employers, (3) severe eroding of individual right of free choice, (4) increase in construction costs, and (5) decrease in productivity and efficiency. 11/19/75

- 14. PRICE-ANDERSON ACT EXTENSION (H.R. 8631). Final passage of the bill to extend for 10 years the federal program insuring the public against damages up to \$650 million resulting from a nuclear accident and limited liability of the nuclear power industry, in such event, to that amount. Bill passed 76-18. A YEA vote was for passage and in accord with the Chamber's position that a strong nuclear industry is essential to our quest for energy independence. 12/16/75
- 15. DIVESTITURE/NATURAL GAS DECONTROL BILL (S. 2310). Mansfield (D-Mont.)-Hart (D-Mich.) amendment to the bill to remove price controls on newly-sold interstate gas from onshore wells, and phase out controls on gas from offshore wells over five years. Amendment called for "vertical" divestiture to force the 15 largest oil companies to get rid of all refining, transportation and marketing operations. Chamber opposed to any divestiture as "the most fundamental attack on the enterprise economy ever considered by the Senate." Amendment failed 40-49. A NAY vote was against the amendment and in accord with the Chamber's position. 10/22/75
- 16. DIVESTITURE/NATURAL GAS DECONTROL BILL (S. 2310). Kennedy (D-Mass.) amendment to the natural gas bill (above). Amendment called for "horizontal" divestiture to require the 20 largest oil companies to divest themselves of any interests in coal, uranium, geothermal and solar energy. Chamber opposed to any divestiture as "the most fundamental attack on the enterprise economy ever considered by the Senate." Amendment failed 39-53. A NAY vote was against the amendment and in accord with the Chamber's position. 10/22/75

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SENATE VOTES

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PENNSYLVANIA Scott (R) Schweiker (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	NN	Y	YY	NY	N	N	YN	N	Y	NY	N Y	9 2	7 14	
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SOUTH CAROLINA Thurmond (R) Hollings (D)	Y	Y	N ?	YN	ZZ	Y	N	N	N	N	N Y	YN	NN	Y	N	N Y	14 4	2 11	NAC NAC NAC
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TENNESSEE Baker (R) Brock (R)	Y	YN	YN	Y	YN	N	Y	Y	? N	NN	NN	Y	NN	Y	? N	? N	6 13	7 3	-

SENATE VOTES

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Hansen (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	14	2	-

HOUSE VOTES — 1975 94th Congress: 1st Session

- 1. TAX REDUCTION ACT OF 1975 (H.R. 2166). Conable (R-N.Y.) substitute for the proposed \$21.3 billion tax cut in the form of both a rebate on 1974 taxes and a reduction on 1975 taxes. Substitute called only for a \$12.2 billion rebate on 1974 taxes on a graduated scale, with a maximum rebate of \$430 which, along with the investment tax credit boost, would stimulate the economy. Conable substitute failed 160-251. A YEA vote was for the substitute and in accord with the Chamber's position for providing stimulus to the economy without adding unnecessarily to the deficit. 2/27/75.
- TAX REDUCTION ACT OF 1975 (H.R. 2166). Green (D-Pa.) amendment to eliminate the 22% oil and gas depletion allowance effective January 1, 1975. Amendment passed 248-163. A NAY vote was against the amendment and in accord with the Chamber's position that the depletion allowance should be retained as an incentive to energy development. 2/27/75.
- 3. THIRD BUDGET RESCISSION BILL (H.R. 4075), Michel (R-III.) amendment to the President's request of Congress to rescind as unnecessary about \$1.2 billion of spending previously authorized by Congress, most of it in the health, education, and welfare areas. As reported from Committee, the bill rescinded only \$16.5 million of the \$1.2 billion request. Because it was apparent that only this small portion of the President's request would be approved, the Michel amendment called for approval of 50% of the recissions, but that in no case should the level of expenditure for any line item go below the highest amount spent for the program in either 1974 or proposed in the 1975 budget — thus slowing some of the growth in these programs. Michel amendment failed 132-252. A YEA vote was for the amendment and in accord with the Chamber's position on government economy. 3/10/75.
- 4. EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT (H.R. 4481). Vetoed by the President. The bill provided \$5.3 billion for emergency acceleration of existing federal programs and projects in order to increase national employment immediately. Did much more than the President's request to provide for essential public services and summer youth jobs. Included such items as purchasing vehicles for GSA and Treasury, reforestation and timber stand improvement, and funds for VA. Proposal to override the President's veto failed by 277-145, five votes short of the necessary two-thirds. A NAY vote was against overriding the President's veto and in accord with the Chamber's position on government economy. 6/4/75.
- 5. EMERGENCY PRICE SUPPORT FOR 1975 CROPS (H.R. 4296). Vetoed by the President. The bill adjusted target prices, loan and purchase levels on the 1975 crops of cotton, corn, wheat, soybeans, and provided price support for milk at 80% parity with quarterly adjustments. This would have cost the government \$900 million the first year and \$5 billion by 1977, resulted in higher prices for

- the consumer, unnecessary deficit spending, and reversed the trend toward market-oriented agriculture. Proposal to override the President's veto failed by 245-182. A NAY vote was against overriding the President's veto and in accord with the Chamber's position on consumer prices, deficit spending, and market-oriented agriculture. 5/13/75.
- 6. SURFACE MINING CONTROL AND RECLAMATION ACT (H.R. 25). Final passage of the bill to provide for the regulation of surface coal mining operations and the acquisition and reclamation of abandoned mines. Estimated this would have cut coal production as much as 22% the first year and eliminated 50% of coal reserves from future production; reduced current supply of electricity and impeded essential development of new generating facilities; required new coal taxes, production and enforcement costs totalling \$400-\$500 million; and cost up to 36,000 jobs at a time when the national unemployment rate was 8.9%. Bill passed 333-86. A NAY vote was against passage and in accord with the Chamber's position on the ultimate damage to the economy. 3/18/75.
- SURFACE MINING CONTROL AND RECLAMATION ACT (H.R. 25). Vetoed by the President. Proposal to override the veto failed by 278-143, three votes short of the necessary two-thirds. A NAY vote was against overriding the veto and in accord with the Chamber's position on the ultimate damage to the economy. 6/10/75.
- 8. FIRST CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET (H. Con. Res. 218). Final passage of the resolution setting budget targets of \$298.1 billion in revenues, \$368.2 billion in outlays, and a \$70 billion deficit for FY 1976. The deficit level was over \$18 billion above the President's original budget. Resolution passed 200-196. A NAY vote was against this high spending level and in accord with the Chamber's position on holding down the deficit. 5/1/75.
- 9. EMERGENCY MIDDLE/INCOME HOUSING ACT (H.R. 4485). Vetoed by the President on the grounds that \$2.1 billion bill would have added unnecessarily to the deficit and incrased the risk of double-digit inflation. Proposal to override the veto failed 268-157. A NAY vote was against overriding the veto and in accord with the Chamber's position urging resistance to unnecessary and ineffective spending when the national need for achieving economic recovery without rekindling inflation was of the utmost importance. 6/25/75
- 10. ENERGY CONSERVATION AND CONVERSION ACT (H.R. 6860). Final passage of the bill to heavily tax business on the use of petroleum and natural gas beginning in 1977 in an effort to "encourage" conservation, without spurring increased domestic production which might allow conservation moves less onerous to consumers. Bill passed 291-130. A NAY vote was against

- passage and in accord with the Chamber's position supporting a more realistic measure to fit the national need. 6/19/75.
- 11. CREDIT USES REPORTING ACT (H.R. 6676). Final passage of the bill to maximize the availability of credit for national priority uses, in nine Congressionally mandated areas, and require the Federal Reserve Board to screen federally-insured banks and report to Congress semiannually on how much credit is channeled into these areas, such as capital investment and housing. Chamber opposed because (1) requirement for banks to report how much funding went into 9 priority areas was unnecessary since the largest banks already voluntarily report loans to the Federal Reserve and (2) passage would be the first step toward government allocation of credit for politically favored purposes, thus restricting financial markets and distorting the flow of consumer credit. Bill failed 183-205. A NAY vote was against passage and in accord with the Chamber's position. 6/23/75.
- 12. COMMON SITUS PICKETING BILL (H.R. 5900). Final passage of the bill to legalize broad scale construction site picketing by allowing construction trades unions to conduct secondary-boycott picketing at the construction site. Chamber opposed because giving one union on a construction site the right to close down that entire project would cause the badly crippled construction industry one of the worst victims of the recession - to face escalating costs and work stoppages that would envelop larger and larger numbers of workers. Bill passed 230-178. A NAY vote was against passage and in accord with the Chamber's position that the result would be (1) threatening thousands of non-union craftsmen with loss of jobs, (2) diminishing competition between union and non-union employers, (3) severe eroding of individual right of free choice. (4) increase in construction costs, and (5) decrease in productivity and efficiency. 7/25/75.
- 13. COUNCIL ON WAGE AND PRICE STABILITY ACT AMENDMENTS (H.R. 8731). Final passage of the bill to substantially broaden the WPS Council's powers to include subpoenas of company records on wages, prices, costs, profits and productivity by product lines, and to seek court action if the subpoenas were ignored. Chamber opposed because (1) wage and price controls have been dismal failures throughout history, (2) the mere threat of controls puts pressure on workers to ask for higher wages and on business to raise prices so they

Y = Yea Vote

N = Nay Vote

? = Not Voting

Totals:

R = Number Right

W = Number Wrong

? = Absent or Voting Present

Those votes in color are in accord with the Chamber's position.

- would not be caught "short" if controls were reinstituted, and (3) the subpoena provisions were strongly opposed by business. Bill passed 235-188. A NAY vote was against passage and in accord with the Chamber's position on economic recovery without rekindling inflation, 7/31/75.
- 14. ENERGY CONSERVATION AND OIL POLICY ACT (H.R. 7014). Final passage of the bill to roll back some oil prices, reimpose price ceilings, order refineries and importers to cut back on production, order manufacturers of appliances to cut energy consumption of their products and carry energy efficiency labels on all goods, require automakers to produce cars that use less gas or pay a penalty, and permit the GAO to audit oil company books. Bill passed 225-148. A NAY vote was against passage and in accord with the Chamber's position on this burdensome legislation. 9/23/75.
- 15. CONSUMER PROTECTION ACT (H.R. 7575). Final passage of the bill to establish an independent Agency for Consumer Protection with the power to intervene in other agencies proceedings in behalf of the so-called "consumer interest." Chamber strongly opposed the creation of this unnecessary new bureaucracy with unlimited potential for both growth in size and for harassing business. Bill passed 208-199. A NAY vote was against passage and in accord with the Chamber's position. 11/6/75.
- 16. PRICE-ANDERSON ACT EXTENSION (H.R. 8631). Final passage of the bill to extend for 10 years the federal program insuring the public against damages up to \$650 million resulting from a nuclear accident and limited liability of the nuclear power industry, in such event, to that amount. Bill passed 329-61. A YEA vote was for passage and in accord with the Chamber's position that a strong nuclear industry is essential to our quest for energy independence. 12/8/75.
- 17. OVERSEAS CITIZENS' VOTING RIGHTS ACT (S. 95). Final passage of the bill to assure American citizens who live outside the U.S. the right to vote in all federal elections in the state in which they were last domiciled. Bill passed 374-43. A YEA vote was for passage and in accord with the Chamber's position for extending the franchise already held by federal civilian employees and members of the Armed Forces. 12/10/75.

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	R	w	?
ALABAMA		190	1																	
1. Edwards (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	?	N	Y	Y	15	1	1
2. Dickinson (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	17		1
3. Nichols (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	10	7	
4. Bevill (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	8	9	
5. Jones (D)	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	12	2
6. Buchanan (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	15	2	_
7. Flowers (D)	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	8	7	2
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2. Udall (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Υ	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?	Y	?	Y	1	12	4
3. Steiger (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	?	Y	16	-	1
4. Conlan (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	17	201137	
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1. Alexander (D)	N	Y	N	?	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	7	8	2
2. Mills (D)	?	?	?	Y	Y	?	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	5	7	5
3. Hammerschmidt (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	14	3	_
4. Thornton (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	10	7	_
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1. Johnson (D)	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	5	12	
2. Clausen (R)	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	11	6	1
3. Moss (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Υ	Y	Y	Y	Υ	Y	Y	2	15	_
4. Leggett (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	12	3
5. Burton, J. (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	3	14	_
6. Burton, P. (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	1	15	1
7. Miller (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	2	15	
8. Dellums (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	4	13	A0
9. Stark (D)	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	2	14	1
0. Edwards (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	1	16	
1. Ryan (D)	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	13	1
2. McCloskey (R)	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	7	7	3
3. Mineta (D)	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	14	1
4. McFall (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	
5. Sisk (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	_
6. Talcott (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	11	6	
7. Krebs (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	3	14	
8. Ketchum (R)	?	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	14	1	2
9. Lagomarsino (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	11	6	
0. Goldwater (R)	?	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	14	1	2
1. Corman (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	_
2. Moorhead (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	15	2	_
3. Rees (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	3	13	1
4. Waxman (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	1	15	1
5. Roybal (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	_
C Devendet (D)	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N						71	
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CALIFORNIA																7/7				AIGH	OBE
28. Burke (D)		N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	1	14	2
29. Hawkins (D)		N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	14	1
30. Danielson (D)		N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	_
31. Wilson (D)		N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4	13	_
32. Anderson (D)		N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4	12	1
33. Clawson (R)		Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	16	1	
34. Hannaford (D)		N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Υ	Υ	Y	N	Y	Υ	Y	Y	3	14	_
35. Lloyd (D)		N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	5	12	
36. Brown (D)		N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	4	13	_
37. Pettis (R)		?	?	?	N	N	?	Y	?	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	10	2	5
38. Patterson (D)		?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	2	11	4
39. Wiggins (R)		Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	12	4	1
40. Hinshaw (R)		Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	?	?	11	3	3
41. Wilson (R)		Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	?	N	Y	Y	13	2	2
42. Van Deerlin (D)		N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Υ	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	
43. Burgener (R)		Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	14	3	
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1. Schroeder (D)		N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	3	14	-
2. Wirth (D)		N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	2	14	1
3. Evans (D)		N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4	12	1
4. Johnson (R)		Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	13	3	1
5. Armstrong (R)		Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	14	3	
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1. Cotter (D)		N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	4_0
2. Dodd (D)		N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	2	15	DIT
3. Giaimo (D)		N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	1
4. McKinney (R)		Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	8	7	2
5. Sarasin (R)		Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	10	7	-
6. Moffett (D)		N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	2	15	
DELAWARE	111	11		- 1															-	10	
AL duPont (R)		N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	9	7	1
FLORIDA	II			1		H						11	10		P MI					49 199	1 9
1. Sikes (D)		N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?	9	7	1
2. Fuqua (D)		N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?	Y	5	11	1
3. Bennett (D)		N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Υ	Y	N	4	13	2 14
4. Chappell (D)		?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	10	5	2
5. Kelly (R)		Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	15	2	
6. Young (R)		Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	14	3	Ann S
		Elle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		N		N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	7	8	2
7. Gibbons (D)		N					75	Y	7 7	N		P	30.7					-	1,744	7	-
8. Haley (D)		N	N	Y	Y	N	Y		N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	10	A PROPERTY.	S - N
9. Frey (R)		Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	15	2	NECTA
10. Bafalis (R)		Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	12	5	_
11. Rogers (D)		N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y		5	11	1
12. Burke (R)		Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?	13	2	2
13. Lehman (D)		N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	3	13	1
		N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4	12	1
14. Pepper (D) 15. Fascell (D)		N	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1/	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Ÿ	4	12	1

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State & District							по	USE	VO	IES											
1. Ginn (D) 2. Mathis (D) 3. Finkley (D) 4. Levitas (D) 4. Levitas (D) 5. Young (D) 6. Flynt (D) 7. N Y N Y N N N N N N N N N N N N Y N Y	State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	R	w	?
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3. Binkley (Ď) 4. Levitas (D) 5. Young (D) 4. Levitas (D) 7. Y	` '	1																	1 1 10 1	1	1
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7. McDonald (D) Y N Y N N N N N N N N N N		200						100													
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9. Landrum (Ó)		Y	1		1000													100			
10. Stephens (D)		Y			N				N				N					N	190	1 8	
1. Matsunaga (D) 2. Mink (D) N Y N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y		Y	1 2 2	-	N		2.00	127	N		370	Y	N	100		9713		0.00	0.7557.73		_
1. Matsunaga (D) 2. Mink (D) N Y N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	HAWAII	1			17						Y	T		7				1 1	4) 110	nerra	1.8
2. Mink (D)		N	V	N	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	2	15	1 .81
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1. Symms (R)				1	1 y	Y	1.Y	Y	14	Y	31	M	34	W	110			(0)	n Iriba		J0.
2. Hánsen (R)		Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	16	1	1_8
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2. Murphy (D)		N	V	N	V	N	V	V	N	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	NI	V	2	14	V.S
3. Russo (D) 4. Derwinski (R) 7. N Y N Y N N N N N N N N N N N N N Y Y 16 1 — 4. Derwinski (R) 7. Fary (D) 7. ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? Y Y Y Y Y Y							0.0		1000											0.00	7 3
4. Derwinski (R)							7		35-31-7			100			200	1000				1000000	
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10. Mikva (D)				1 4 5	1 0			000	1000			1000								7 7 7 7 7	_
11. Annunzio (D) N Y N Y N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y		N		1 22	Y	1000									- 2	-	?			1 15/35/1	1
13. McClory (R) Y N Y N N N N N N N N N N N N N N Y Y 15 2 — 14. Erlenborn (R) Y N Y N N N N N N N N N N N N N N Y Y 16 1 — 15. Hall (D) N Y N Y N N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y		N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y		15	_
14. Erlenborn (R) Y N Y N N Y N N N N N N N N N N Y Y 16 1 — 15. Hall (D) N Y N Y N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	12. Crane (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	16	1	_
15. Hall (D) N Y N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	13. McClory (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	15	2	ALD C
16. Anderson (R) Y N Y N N N Y N N N N N N N N Y Y Y 13 4 — 17. O'Brien (R) Y N Y N N N N N N N N N N N N Y Y 15 2 — 18. Michel (R) Y N Y N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N	14. Erlenborn (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	16	1	5-17
17. O'Brien (R) Y N Y N N Y N N N N N N N N N Y Y 15 2 — 18. Michel (R) Y N Y N N N N N N N N N N N N N N Y Y 15 2 — 19. Railsback (R) Y N Y Y N N Y Y N N N N N N N N N N N	15. Hall (D)	N	Y		Y	0.00	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		2	15	-
18. Michel (R) 19. Railsback (R) 20. Findley (R) 21. Madigan (R) 22. Shipley (D) 23. Price (D) 24. Simon (D) N Y N Y N N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y												N								1000	_
19. Railsback (R) 20. Findley (R) 21. Madigan (R) 22. Shipley (D) 23. Price (D) 24. Simon (D) N Y N N Y N N Y Y Y N N N N N N N N N		1000	1 10 1	1	1		Y		N	N		N	N							2	-
20. Findley (R) N Y ? N N Y Y N N N N N N Y Y 11 5 1 21. Madigan (R) N Y N N N N N N N N N N N Y Y 12 5 — 22. Shipley (D) N N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y N N N N N N Y Y Y Y			1		100	55 6 7	1 100			1						1000			1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1		
21. Madigan (R)			1 2				100									4.00					
22. Shipley (D) N N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y N N N Y Y Y Y Y Y						1 2 1 1						1	1000	100			100		100000	1 1 1 1 1 1 1	1
23. Price (D)									1000				100								-
24. Simon (Ď)					1					100		1 1 1 1	1	1 1 1 1					1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1		
INDIANA 1. Madden (D) 2. Fithian (D) 3. Brademas (D) 4. Roush (D) N Y N Y N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y				100		1 1970 1	11 100			100			201		100	14.5			The second second		
1. Madden (D) 2. Fithian (D) N Y N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y		N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	_
2. Fithian (D)	INDIANA	1	10-1		14	M	13		Y	1		1374	VA.	W					(a)	ingia.	9 701
3. Brademas (D)													1								
4. Roush (D) N Y N Y Y Y Y N Y N Y N Y Y Y 5 12 -										100					-						
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5. HIIIIS (H) Y N Y N Y N N N N N Y Y Y ? ? Y 10 5 2				1		0.000	100		1000		100			1000	and the same						-
	5. Hillis (H)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	10	5	2

								пос	JOL	VO	ILS											
State & District	By		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	R	w	?
INDIANA 6. Evans (D) 7. Myers (R) 8. Hayes (D) 9. Hamilton (D) 10. Sharp (D) 11. Jacobs (D)	Y S I Y Y	×× ××	2 > 2 2 2 2	YNYYY	2 2 2 2 2 2	YNYYYN	?	Y N Y Y Y Y	Y N Y Y Y Y	Z	YNYNY	YNYYYN	YXYXXY	Y Y Y Y Y Y	22422	Y N Y Y Y Y	2 2 2 2 2 2	Y	Y Y Y Y Y Y	5 15 3 5 4 7	11 2 14 12 13 10	1
IOWA	Sel .	i				W		4	W	1	15%		-							100	A TOTAL	-
1. Mezvinsky (D) 2. Blouin (D) 3. Grassley (R) 4. Smith (D) 5. Harkin (D) 6. Bedell (D)	N Y Y Y Z	****	22722	Y Y Y Y Y Y	NNYNN?	Y N Y Y	Y	Y	Y N Y Y	Y	YYNYY	Y	Y Y N Y Y Y	YYNYN	Y Z Z Z Z Z	Y	Y Y N Y Y N	NYYYN	Y Y N Y Y Y	1 3 11 3 4	16 14 6 14 14 12	_ _ _ _ 1
KANSAS	X.	[Y				N.	Y	-Va	Y	14		Y.	NY.	11/1	N.	M		7		19	donu	3 11
1. Sebelius (R) 2. Keys (D) 3. Winn (R) 4. Shriver (R) 5. Skubitz (R)			YXYYY	ZZZZZ	YNYNY	ZZZZZ	Y	N Y Y Y ?	NYZZZ	NYN?N	N Y Y N	ZZZZZ	ZZZZZ	ZZZZZ	Z Y Z Y Z	2 2 2 2 2	2222	YNYYY	N Y Y Y	15 2 14 12 15	2 15 3 4 1	- - 1 1
KENTUCKY	Y	M	Ela.	100	J.M	10	NA.	1//	10	100						17			(H)	nosi	iriohi	1.3
 Hubbard (D) Natcher (D) Mazzoli (D) Snyder (R) Carter (R) Breckinridge (D) Perkins (D) 			222 - 222	Y N Y N Y	N N N ? Y N N	YYYNNYY	YYNYYYY	Y Y Y N Y Y Y	N Y Y N N Y Y	YNNNNY	YYYNNYY	Y	NNNNY	N Y Y Z Z Z Y	N Y Y Y Y Y	Y	X	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	Y	7 5 7 11 10 4 2	10 12 10 5 7 13 15	_ _ 1 _
LOUISIANA	N		V	Ty	Y		-	V	-	Y	IÝ	Y	Ty	M	V	П				10	SDO	1 8
1. Hebert (D) 2. Boggs (D) 3. Treen (R) 4. Waggonner (D) 5. Passman (D) 6. Moore (R) 7. Breaux (D) 8. Long (D)	YOUNG	****	Y	222222	Y	YYNNYNYY	N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	N Y N N N N Y Y	N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y	N Y Z Z Z Z Y Y	YYNNYNYY	YYNYYNYY	X	N Y N N N N Y Y	2222222	X	X	Y	? Y N N Y N Y	13 7 14 14 12 15 9 5	3 10 2 3 5 2 8 12	1 - 1
MAINE		THE REAL PROPERTY.	M	19	1991	10	11/2	Y	1	1	IN.	14			M			7	7/8) 1	begn	133
1. Emery (D) 2. Cohen (R)			Y	Y	Y	Y	N N	Y	Y	N N	N N	N N	N N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	11 10	6 7	-
MARYLAND 1. Bauman (R) 2. Long (D) 3. Sarbanes (D) 4. Holt (R) 5. Spellman (D) 6. Byron (D)	NYN	N. S.	Y?NYNY	N ? Y N Y N	Y	N Y Y N Y N	22222	N Y N Y N	N Y Y N Y N	NNYNYN	N Y Y N Y N	N Y Y Y Y	N Y Y N Y N	N N Y N Y N	NNYNYN	NNYNYN	N Y Y N Y N	YNYYY	N Y Y N Y Y	16 6 3 15 3 16	1 9 14 2 14	

H	10	U	SE	V	OI	TES

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State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	R	W	?
MARYLAND																			Att	MON
7. Mitchell (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	3_8
8. Gude (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	4	13	_
MASSACHUSETTS	V	14	10	1			10		.v	-V									The Vie	
1. Conte (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7	10	-
2. Boland (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	_
3. Early (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4	13	TO THE
4. Drinan (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	2	15	_
5. Tsongas (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	_
 Harrington (D) Macdonald (D) 	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y?	Y	N	Y	4	12	1
8. O'Neill (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	8_1
9. Moakley (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	1
10. Heckler (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	5	11	1
11. Burke (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	23-12-31
12. Studds (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	_
MICHIGAN	1	NY.		4¥			N.	N.	Y	1	Y		TY.	M.				5 15	Trans	XX
1. Conyers (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	4	12	1
2. Esch (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	?	11	5	1
3. Brown (R)	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	11	3	3
4. Hutchinson (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	16	1	(TEX
5. Vander Veen (D)6. Carr (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	2	15 14	-
7. Riegle (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N ?	?	2	12	3
8. Traxler (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	_
9. Vander Jagt (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	?	Y	14	2	1
10. Cederberg (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	16	1	_
11. Ruppe (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	12	5	_
12. O'Hara (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	3	14	_
13. Diggs (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	1	14	2
14. Nedzi (D) 15. Ford (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y ?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y ?	Y	2 2	15 13	
16. Dingell (D)	N	N	N	Y	V	Y	Y	V	Y	Y	Y	V	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	
17. Brodhead (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	1	16	
18. Blanchard (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	9-0
19. Broomfield (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	15	2	1-0
MINNESOTA										M						199		347	LUBB:	
1. Quie (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	11	6	4 .0
2. Hagedorn (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	15	2	POST
3. Frenzel (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	13	4	_
4. Karth (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	_
5. Fraser (D) 6. Nolan (D)	? N	? Y	N	Y	Y	? Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	? Y	? Y	? N	? Y	3	10	7
7. Bergland (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	
8. Oberstar (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	1	16	U_B
MISSISSIPPI																	7 A			
1. Whitten (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	10	6	1
2. Bowen (D)	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	11	5	1

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	R	w	?
MISSISSIPPI 3. Montgomery (D) 4. Cochran (R) 5. Lott (R)	YYY	NNN	YYY	ZZZ	YYY	222	2 2 2	N N N	222	YNY	222	222	N Y N	NNN	ZZZ	YYY	YYY	15 15 15	2 2 2	111
MISSOURI 1. Clay (D) 2. Symington (D) 3. Sullivan (D) 4. Randall (D) 5. Bolling (D) 6. Litton (D) 7. Taylor (R) 8. Ichord (D) 9. Hungate (D) 10. Burlison (D)	222222	Y Y Y Y ? N Y Y Y	222237222	Y	Y	Y Y Z Y Y Z Y Y	Y	NYYNYYN?	Y	Y	Y	YYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYY	Y	Y	××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××	Y Y Y Y ? ? Y Y	Y	3 2 2 8 2 2 14 10 4 4	14 15 15 9 14 13 2 5 12 13	
MONTANA 1. Baucus (D) 2. Melcher (D)	22	YN	ZZ	YY	YY	YY	YY	YY	Y	Y	YN	Y	Y	Y	Y	YN	Y	2 3	15 14	
NEBRASKA 1. Thone (R) 2. McCollister (R) 3. Smith (R)	Y Y Y	YNN	Y Y Y	222	YYY	> Z Z	222	222	222	ZZZ	222	ZZZ	222	YZZ	222	Y Y Y	N Y Y	12 16 16	5 1 1	8 8 8 8
NEVADA Santini (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Z	Y	N	Y	N	Υ	Y	6	11	28.
NEW HAMPSHIRE 1. D'Amours (D) 2. Cleveland (R)	ZZ	Y	N	YN	Y	Y	YZ	YN	YN	YN	Y	ZZ	Y	YN	Y ?	Y Y	Y	3 12	14	_
NEW JERSEY 1. Florio (D) 2. Hughes (D) 3. Howard (D) 4. Thompson (D) 5. Fenwick (R) 6. Forsythe (R) 7. Maguire (D) 8. Roe (D) 9. Helstoski (D) 10. Rodino (D) 11. Minish (D) 12. Rinaldo (R) 13. Meyner (D) 14. Daniels (D) 15. Patten (D)	222224222222	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	Y Y Y Y N N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	Y	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	X	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y Y N N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y Y Z X Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	Y ? Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y Y Z Z Y Z Y Y Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	2 3 2 2 10 13 3 4 3 3 5 2 3 4	15 13 15 15 5 2 14 13 12 14 14 14 12 15 14	
NEW MEXICO 1. Lujan (R) 2. Runnels (D)	Y	2 2	Y	YN	NY	YN	? N	NN	ZZ	NN	NN	N Y	NN	ZZ	2 2	Y	Y	14 15	2 2	1

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								ПО	JSE	VO	IES	,										
State & District		ar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	R	w	?
NEW YORK	1																			15	uzei	MISS
1. Pike (D)		W	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4	12	1
2. Downey (D)		100	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	
3. Ambro (D)			Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4	13	_
4. Lent (R)			Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	13	4	_
5. Wydler (R)			Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	13	3	1
6. Wolff (D)		Y.	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Υ	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	2	14	1
7. Adabbo (D)		X	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	3
8. Rosenthal (D)			N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	2	15	
9. Delaney (D)			N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	1 1
10. Biaggi (D)			N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4	13	8
11. Scheuer (D)			N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Υ	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	13	1
12. Chisholm (D)			N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	2	15	1
13. Solarz (D)			N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	1	16	8
14. Richmond (D)			N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	1	16	8
15. Zeferetti (D)			N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	4	13	_01
16. Holtzman (D)			N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	3	14	_
17. Murphy (D)			N	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	4	10	3
18. Koch (D)			N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	2	15	_
19. Rangel (D)			N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	2	14	1
20. Abzug (D)			?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	2	14	81
21. Badillo (D)			N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	12	2
22. Bingham (D)			N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	1	16	-
23. Peyser (R)			N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4	13	
24. Ottinger (D)			N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	2	15	_
25. Fish (R)			Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	11	6	VEN
26. Gilman (R)			N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	5	12	Den S
27. McHugh (D)			N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	1	16	_
28. Stratton (D)			N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7	10	Di Sala
29. Pattison (D)			N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Υ	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	3	13	1
30. McEwen (R)			Y	N	?	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	15	1	1
31. Mitchell (R)			Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	13	4	MEN
32. Hanley (D)			N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4	13	_
33. Walsh (R)			N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	10	7	
34. Horton (R)			Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Υ	N	N	N	N	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	7	8	2
35. Conable (R)			Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	17	_	_
36. LaFalce (D)			N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	14	-
37. Nowak (D)			N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	_
38. Kemp (R)			Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	15	1	1
39. Hastings (R)			Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	14	2	1
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NORTH CAROLINA	Y		1	У.	W.		V	90	N.		y.	u	1							egyle	maga	.0
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4. Guyer (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	15	2	100
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6. Harsha (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	13	4	81
7. Brown (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	15	2	PT
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15. Wylie (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	14	2	1
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3. Duncan (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	5	12	_
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3. Green (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	1	16	
4. Eilberg (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	_
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11. Flood (D)		N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Υ	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	_
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3. Collins (R)		Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	15	2	-
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3. Baldus (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	14	1
4. Zablocki (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	-
5. Reuss (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	_
6. Steiger (R)	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	14	2	1
7. Obey (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	1	16	-
8. Cornell (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	15	_
9. Kasten (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	14	3	-
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SEPTEMBER 10, 1976 VOLUME 20 • NUMBER 33

* SPECIAL REPORT: 1976 Platforms

- Senate Repeals 1% Pension Kicker p.
- House Working on Clean Air Act p. 1
 - Senate Approves Bad Antitrust Bill p. 2 Hay Increase Denied by Senate - p. 11

FEDERAL PENSION REFORM: In Surprise Vote, Senate Repeals 1% Kicker; Now House Must Act

Your many months of effort and thousands of letters that have inundated the Congress urging repeal of the 1% addon, or "kicker," to the CPI-indexed cost-of-living increase for Federal retirees have helped in the good news coming out of Washington this week.

Here's the story.

On Wednesday, September 8, the Washington Post ran the headline "Bid to Kill U.S. Pension 'Kicker' Fails." The story was based on the assumption that the Senate "wouldn't work on it" this session. Later the same day, the Senate went ahead and voted to repeal the kicker anyway, through an amendment to the Legislative Appropriations bill, H.R. 14238.

Sen. Hollings (D-SC.) proposed an amendment calling for outright repeal of the 1% "inflation bonus." However, Sen. Chiles (D-Fla.) prevailed with his own compromise amendment that had a little "sweetener" for Federal retirees.

The Chiles amendment provides for semi-annual, auto-

matic cost-of-living adjustments in Federal annuities, without the 1% add-on. This means Federal retirees will no longer have to wait until the CPI rises at least 3%, with a six month delay before payment.

The Congressional Budget Office estimates that outright repeal would have saved the American taxpayer some \$173 million the first year and \$3.7 billion over a five year period. Although the Chiles amendment would save only about half that first year amount, over five years it nearly matches the outright repeal figure — resulting in a \$3.4 billion savings.

▶ But, don't stop your efforts now. The House still has to go along with the Senate compromise before the repeal can be sent to the President.

By the way, the next time one of your friends tells you that you're just wasting your time by writing to your Congressman, why don't you point out just how effective you were in "raising repeal of the 1% kicker from the dead?"

CLEAN AIR ACT: House Confirms Worst Fears of Business; Result is No-growth

As CA goes to press, the House continues consideration of the Clean Air Act Amendments (H.R. 10498). Actions so far only serve to confirm the worst fears of business.

The House is fashioning a bill that will result in one thing: a national policy of no-growth—land use from the sky.

Opponents of the harsh restrictions on business contained in this measure have been defeated at every turn in their efforts to put some reason back into the Clean Air Act. Here's a partial list of the amendments which have thus far been *defeated* on the House floor:

A Rep. Chappell (D-Fla.) amendment which would have deleted the land-use-motivated "nondegradation" section in favor of a one-year study of the economic impacts of these provisions. Instead, approval was given for establishment of a National Commission on Air Quality to study the impacts, but, presumably, only after implementation.

An amendment to delete a provision which shifts the "burden of proof" to industry to show that emissions "may not be harmful to public health."

A Rep. Rooney (D-Pa.) amendment which would have provided some relief to all industry—especially oil, steel and chemical plants— which either want to expand or locate new facilities in areas not presently meeting the national air quality standards, so-called "nonattainment" areas.

It is sadly ironic that, on the one hand, the House passes legislation to increase employment through massive public works and then turns right around and cuts off potential job growth in the only place it will have a lasting effect—private industry.

▶ Here's the 156-199 vote by which the House rejected the Chappell amendment to delete the "nondegradation" section and replace it with a one-year study.

If your Representative voted "AYE," you will want to thank him or her for this reasonable stand.

Likewise, if he or she voted "NO," you will want to ask how this no-growth vote can possibly be justified.

[Roll No. 698]

	Abdnor	Buchanan	Devine	Gonzalez	Jarman	Long, La.	Moorhead,	Rousselot	Stokes
	Andrews, N.C.	Burgener	Dickinson	Goodling	Jenrette	Lott	Calif.	Ruppe .	Stratton
	Andrews,	Burleson, Tex.	Downing, Va.	Grassiey	Johnson, Colo.		Myers, Ind.	Santini	Taylor, Mo.
	N. Dak.	Burlison, Mo.	Duncan, Oreg.	Guyer	Johnson, Pa.	McCormack	Natcher	Satterfle'd	Taylor, N.C.
	Archer	Butler	Duncan, Tenn.	Hagedorn	Jones, Ala.	McDonald	Neal	Schneebeli	Thornton
	Armstrong	Byron	Edwards, Ala.	Hall, Tex.	Jones, N.C.	McEwen	Nichols	Schulze	Treen
	Baldus	Carter	English	Hammer-	Jones, Okla.	Madigan	O'Brien	Shipley	Ullman
	Bauman	Cederberg	Erlenborn	schmidt	Jones, Tenn.	Mahon	Paul	Shriver	Waggonner
	Beard, Tenn.	Chappell	Evans. Ind.	Harsha	Kazen	Mann	Pickle	Shuster	
			Evins, Tenn.	Hefner	Kelly	Martin	Poage		Wampler
	Bennett	Cawson Del						Sikes	White
	Bevill	Clay	Findley	Hicks	Kemp	Mathis	Quillen	Skubitz	Whitehurst
	Bowen	Cochran	Flowers		Ketchum	Michel	Railsback	Slack	Whitten
	Breaux	Collins, Tex.	Flynt		Kindness	Milford	Randall	Snyder	Wilson, Tex.
	Breckinridge	Conable	Foley	Holt	Krueger	Miller, Ohio	Regula	Spence	Winn
	Brinkley	Crane	Fountain		LaFalce	Mo!lohan	Rhodes	Stanton,	Wright
	Brooks	Daniel, Dan	Frenzel	Hungate	Landrum	Montgomery	Risenhoover	J. William	Young, Fla.
	Broomfield	Daniel, R. W.	Frey	Hutchinson	Latta	Moore	Roberts	Steed	Young, Tex.
	Broyhill	de la Garza	Ginn		Lloyd, Tenn.		Robinson	Steiger, Wis.	
	2.0,11				2S199			210.801, 11201	
	Adams	Brademas	Derwinski	Fraser	Jordan	Metcalfe	O'Hara	Rooney	Thone
	Allen	Brown, Calif.	Diggs	Fuqua	Kasten	Meyner	O'Neill	Rose	Traxler
	Ambro	Burke, Calif.	Dingell	Gaydos	Kastenmeier	Mezvinsky	Ottinger	Rostenkowski	Tsongas
	Anderson,	Burke, Mass.	Dodd	Giaimo	Keys	Mikva	Patten, N.J.	Roush	Udall
	Calif.	Burton, John	Downey, N.Y.	Gibbons	Koch	Miller, Calif.	Patterson.	Roybal	Van Deerlin
	Anderson, Ill.	Burton, Phillip		Gilman	Krebs	Mineta	Calif.	Russo	Vander Jagt
	Annunzio	Carney	Early	Gradison	Lagomarsino	Minish	Pattison, N.Y.	Sarasin	Vanik
	Ashley	Carr	Eckhardt	Gude	Leggett	Mitchell, Md.	Pepper	Sarbanes	Vigorito
	AuCoin	Cleveland	Edgar	Hall, Ill.	Lehman	Mitchell, N.Y.	Perkins	Scheuer	Waxman
	Baucus	Cohen	Edwards, Calif.		Lent	Moakley	Pettis	Schroeder	Whalen
	Beard, R.I.	Collins, Ill.	Eilberg	Hanley	Levitas	Moffett	Pike	Seiberling	Wilson, C. H.
	Bedell	Conte	Emery	Hannaford	Lloyd, Calif.	Moorhead, Pa.		Sharp	Wirth
	Bell _			Harkin	Long, Md.		Preyer		
		Cornell	Evans, Colo.			Morgan		Simon	Wolff
	Bergland	Cotter	Fary.	Harris	McCloskey	Mosher	Price	Smith, Iowa	Wydler
	Biaggi	Coughlin	Fascell	Hawkins	McDade	Mottl	Pritchard	Smith, Nebr.	Yates
	Biester	D'Amours	Fenwick	Hayes, Ind.	McFall	Murtha	Quie	Solarz	Yatron
	Bingham	Daniels, N.J.	Fish	Hechler, W. Va		Myers, Pa.	Reuss	Spellman	Zablocki
	Blanchard	Danielson	Fisher	Heckler, Mass.		Nedzi	Richmond	Staggers	
	Blouin	Davis	Fithian	Ho tzman	McKinney	Nix	Rinaldo	Stark	
	Boggs	Delaney	Flood	Hughes	Madden	Nolan	Rodino	Studds	
	Boland	Dellums	Florio	Jacobs	Maguire	Nowak	Roe	Symington	
	Bolling	Dent	Ford, Mich.	Jeffords	Mazzoli	Oberstar	Rogers	Talcott	
	Bonker	Derrick	Forsythe	Johnson, Calif		Obey	Roncalio	Thompson	
				NOT Y	OTING-74	the Seriate.		ated name	
	Abzug	Burke, Fla.	Esch	Heinz	Karth	Murphy, Ill.	Ryan	Stuckey	Wylie
	Addabbo	Chisholm	Eshleman	Helstoski	Lujan	Murphy, N.Y.	St Germain	Sullivan	Young, Alaska
	Alexander								
	Ashbrook	Clancy	Ford, Tenn.	Henderson	Lundine	Passman	Sebelius	Symms	Young, Ga.
		Clausen,	Go'dwater	Hillis	McCollister	Peyser	Sisk	Teague	Zeferetti
	Aspin	Don H.	Green	Hinshaw	Matsunaga	Rangel	Stanton,	Vander Veen	
	Badillo	Conlan	Haley	Horton	Melcher	Rees	James V.	Walsh	
	Brodhead	Conyers	Hansen	Howard	Mills	Riegle	Stee!man	Weaver	
	Brown, Mich.	Corman	Harrington	Howe	Mink	Rosenthal	Steiger, Ariz.	Wiggins	
	Brown, Ohio	du Pont	Hébert	Hyde	Moss	Runnels	Stephens	Wilson, Bob	
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*	ANSWERED '	"PRESENT"—1	Rep	rinted from the	CONGRESSIO	NAL RECOR	O, September 8,	1976.	

Paired or announced for: Hebert, Teague, Stuckey, Stephens, Ford (Tenn.), Haley, Passman, Mills, Ashbrook, Symms, Hyde, Brown (Ohio), Clancy, Burke (Fla.), Hansen, Steiger (Ariz.),

Bafalis

Paired or announced against: Addabbo, Howard, Zeferetti, Rangel, Murphy (III.), Corman, Murphy (N.Y.), Abzug, du Pont, Horton, Walsh, Heinz, Steelman, Peyser, Lujan, Chisho lo, Rosenthal, St Germain.

ANTITRUST: Senate Approves Bad Bill; House Passage Expected; Veto Uncertain

"Unusual procedure" is a total understatement in describing the way Congress is going about ramming the three-pronged Antitrust bill (H.R. 8532) through the legislative process. Part of the reason for this appears to be that two of the three parts of this business-punishing bill are relatively "uncontroversial" as far as most members of Congress are concerned.

The "uncontroversial" sections are:

- Expanding the authority of the Justice Department and the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) to obtain documents and interview witnesses in investigations.
- Requiring pre-merger notification of Justice and the FTC if a company fits the \$100 million/\$10 million trigger, thus giving the Federal government a chance to

block a merger in court until its legality is determined.

The so-called "controversial" section has been labeled simply as parens patriae. What this section does is to allow State attorneys general to sue business on behalf of the States' citizens for triple damages in class action suits.

The original House-passed bill limited damages to single assessment, not triple, if the offending business could show it acted "in good faith." The House measure also prohibited States from hiring outside attorneys on a contingency fee basis to undertake suits the States lacked the manpower or resources to handle.

The Senate tripled the damages and allowed contingency fee contracts where the court concludes the fee to be "reasonable."

(Cont'd on page 11)



1976 Party Platforms: A Comparison

Both major political parties are claiming abundant contrast between the 1976 party platforms to offer the American people a clear choice of underlying philosophy for the operation of the Federal government. To help you decide what choices are being offered you, excerpts from the two platforms are presented in the following pages.



The first column on each page is a summary of planks in the Republican Party platform that should be of specific interest to the business community. Likewise, the Democratic Party platform is summarized in the second column on each page.

Both platforms run over 60 pages in length, so that any presentation in such limited space will necessarily omit many areas of broad general interest, such as foreign relations, defense, crime, law and justice.

Moreover, both platforms go into great depth describing the relative virtues, and accomplishments, of each party. In the belief that most CA readers are familiar with the records of both major parties, these remarks are largely omitted.

Instead, for both platforms, attention is focused on proposals that appear to relate to pending or future legislation. Many of the issues involved have been under consideration in Congress this year, but have not reached final form because of their controversial nature or the little time left until adjournment. Some of these issues are sure to be a part of the legislative schedule for the 95th Congress convening in January, 1977.

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REPUBLICAN

Except for the material printed in italics or in parenthesis, the words are those used in the platform planks.

IOBS AND INFLATION

We believe it is of paramount importance that the American people understand that the number one destroyer of jobs is inflation. We wish to stress that the number one cause of inflation is the government's expansion of the nation's supply of money and credit needed to pay for deficit spending. It is above all else deficit spending by the Federal government which erodes the purchasing power of the dollar.

The temptation to spend and deficit spend for political reasons has simply been too great for most of our elected politicians to resist. Individuals, families, companies and most local and State governments must live within a budget. Why not Congress?

Republicans hope every American realizes that if we are to permanently eliminate high unemployment, it is essential to protect the integrity of our money. That means putting an end to deficit spending. The danger, sooner or later, is runaway inflation.

Wage and price controls are not the solution to inflation. They attempt to treat only the symptom—rising prices—not the cause. Historically, controls have always been a dismal failure, and in the end they create only shortages, black markets and higher prices. For these reasons the Republican Party strongly opposed any reimposition of such controls, on a standby basis or otherwise.

Massive, Federally-funded public employment programs, such as the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill . . . will cost billions and can only be financed either through very large tax increases or through ever increasing levels of deficit spending. . . . Sound job creation can only be accomplished in the private sector of the economy. Americans must not be fooled into accepting government as the employer of last resort.

Unfortunately... Congress now persists in attempting to obtain control over our nation's money creation policies by taking away the independence of the Federal Reserve Board. The Same people who so massively expanded government spending should not be allowed politically to dominate our monetary policy. The independence of the Federal Reserve System must be preserved.

The Democratic Party is committed to the right of all adult Americans willing, able and seeking work to have opportunities for useful jobs at living wages. To make that commitment meaningful, we pledge ourselves to the support of legislation that will make every responsible effort to reduce adult unemployment to 3% within 4 years (Humphrey-Hawkins).

To meet our goals we must set annual targets for employment, production and price stability; the Federal Reserve must be made a full partner in national economic decisions and become responsive to the economic goals of Congress and the President; credit must be generally available at reasonable interest rates; tax, spending and credit policies must be carefully coordinated with our economic goals, and coordinated within the framework of national economic planning.

Of special importance is the need for national economic planning capability. This planning capability should provide roles for Congress and the Executive as equal partners in the process and provide for full participation by the private sector, and State and local government.

Institutional reforms and the use of conventional tax, spending and credit policies must be accompanied by a broad range of carefully-targeted employment programs that will reduce unemployment in the private sector, and in regions, States and groups that have special employment problems.

Consistent and coherent economic policy requires Federal anti-recession grant programs to State and local government, accompanied by public employment, public works projects and direct stimulus to the private sector. In each case, the programs should be phased in autocatically when unemployment rises and phased out as it declines.

To restore balance, national economic policy should be designed to target Federal resources in areas of greatest need. To make low interest loans to businesses and State and local governments for the purpose of encouraging private sector investment in chronically depressed areas, we endorse consideration of programs such as a domestic development bank of Federally insured taxable State and local bonds with adequate funding, proper management and public disclosure.

The Federal government has the responsibility to ensure that all Americans able, willing and seeking work are provided opportunities for useful jobs.

The economic and social costs of inflation have been enormous. Inflation is a tax that erodes the income of our workers, distorts business investment decisions, and redistributes income in favor of the rich.

(Continued on next page)





JOBS AND INFLATION (Cont'd)

At times, direct government involvement in wage and price decisions may be required to ensure price stability.

... A strong domestic council on price and wage stability should be established with particular attention to restraining price increases in those sectors of our economy where prices are "administered" and where price competition does not exist.

The Federal government should hold public hearings, investigate and publish facts on price, profit, wage and interest rate increases that seriously threaten national price stability.

Finally, tax policy should be used if necessary to maintain the real income of workers as was done with the 1975 tax cut.

SMALL BUSINESS

Small business, so vital to our economic system, is free enterprise in its purest sense. It holds forth opportunity to the individual, regardless of race or sex, to fulfill the American dream. Small businesses are the base of our economy and its main source of strength. . . . Yet small businesses have a unique place in our society, they also have unique problems that government must address. Therefore, we recommend that the Small Business Administration (SBA):

—Assure adequate financing to those credit worthy firms that cannot now obtain funds through conventional channels.

—Include the proper mix of loan programs to meet the needs of the many different types of firms that constitute the American small business community.

—Serve as an aggressive advocate for small business and provide procurement, management and technological assistance.

For survival, small businesses must have relief from the overwhelming burden placed on them by many regulatory bodies. Paperwork proliferation has grown out of control, and small business is not equipped to deal with this aggravation.

The present tax structure does not allow small firms to generate enough capital to grow and create jobs. Estate taxes need liberalization to benefit the family business in the same manner as the family farm. Encouraging investment in small businesses through more equitable tax treatment remains the best and least expensive method of creating productive employment.

The Republican Party, recognizing that small and independent business is the backbone of the American competitive system, pledges itself to strengthen this vital institution.

A healthy and growing small business community is a prerequisite for increasing competition and a thriving national economy.

To alleviate the unfavorable conditions for small business, we must make every effort to assure the availability of loans to small business, including direct government loans at reasonable interest rates, particularly to those in greatest need, such as minority-owned businesses. . . Federal contract and procurement opportunities in such areas as housing, transportation and energy should support efforts to increase the volume of minority and small business involvement. Regulatory agencies and the regulated small business must work together to see that Federal regulations are met, without applying a stranglehold on the small firm or farm and with less paperwork and red tape.

TAX REFORM

The Republican Party recognizes that tax policies and spending policies are inseparable. If government spending is not controlled, taxes will inevitably rise either directly or through inflation.

The Republican Party advocates a legislative policy to

We pledge the Democratic Party to a complete overhaul of the present tax system, which will review all special tax provisions to ensure that they are justified and distributed equitably among our citizens.

We will strengthen the internal revenue tax code so that

TAX REFORM (Cont'd)



obtain a balanced budget and reduced tax rates. . . . Simplification should be a major goal of tax reform. We support economic and tax policies to insure the necessary job-producing expansion of our economy. These include:

- Hastening capital recovery through new systems of accelerated depreciation.
- Removing the tax burden on equity financing to encourage more capital investment.
- Ending their unfair double taxation of dividends.
- Supporting proposals to enhance the ability of our working and other citizens to own "a piece of the action" through stock ownership.

When balanced by expenditure reductions, the personal exemption should be raised to \$1,000.

high income citizens pay a reasonable tax on all economic income.

We will reduce the use of unjustified tax shelters in such areas as oil and gas, tax-loss farming, real estate, and movies.

We will eliminate unnecessary and ineffective tax provisions to business and substituting effective incentives to encourage small business and capital formation in all businesses.

We will end abuses in the tax treatment of income from foreign sources; such as special tax treatment and incentives for multinational corporations that drain jobs and capital from the American economy.

We will overhaul Federal estate and gift taxes to provide an effective and equitable structure to promote tax justice and alleviate some of the legitimate problems faced by farmers, small business men and women and others who would otherwise be forced to liquidate assets in order to pay a tax.

We will seek and eliminate provisions that encourage uneconomic corporate mergers and acquisitions.

We will curb expense account deductions.

GOVERNMENT THAT WORKS

We believe that the extent of Federal regulation and bureaucratic interference in the lives of the American people must be reduced. The programs and activities of the Federal government should be required to meet strict tests of their usefulness and effectiveness.

We support legislation to control and reduce the burden of Federal paperwork, particularly that generated by the Internal Revenue Service and the Census Bureau.

What we need is a top-to-bottom overhaul. Two high level presidential commissions . . . have investigated and come up with the same answer: There must be functional realignment of government, instead of the current arrangement by subject areas or constituencies.

We reaffirm the long standing principle of the Republican Party that the best government is the one closest to the people. It is less costly, more accountable, and more responsive to the people's needs. . . . Revenue Sharing is an effort to reverse the trend toward centralization. Revenue Sharing must continue without unwarranted Federal strictures and regulations.

Citizens are demanding the end to the rapid and wasteful increase in the size of Washington government. All steps must be taken to insure that unnecessary Federal agencies and programs are eliminated and that Congress carefully scrutinize the total budget of each agency. If it is determined that sunset laws and zero-based budgeting can accomplish these ends then they will have our support.

The Democratic Party is committed to the adoption of reforms such as zero-based budgeting, mandatory reorganization timetables, and sunset laws which do not jeopardize the implementation of basic human and political rights.

To begin to restore the shaken faith of Americans that the government in Washington is their government . . . government decision-making must be opened up to citizen advocacy and participation.

All persons and citizen groups must be given standing to challenge illegal or unconstitutional government action in court and to compel appropriate action (and reasonably compensated if they win).

Democrats have long sought . . . the creation and maintenance of an independent consumer agency with the staff and power to intervene in regulatory matters on behalf of the consuming and using public.

We support the revision of the Hatch Act so as to extend to Federal workers the same political rights enjoyed by other Americans as a birthright, while still protecting the Civil Service from political abuse.

An Office of Citizen Advocacy should be established as part of the executive branch, independent of any agency, with full access to agency records and with both the power and the responsibility to investigate complaints.

To assist further in relieving both the fiscal and service delivery problems of States and local governments, the Democratic Party reaffirms its support for general revenue sharing as a base for the fiscal health of all levels of government, acknowledging that the civil rights and citizens' participation provisions must be strengthened.

... to alleviate the financial burden placed on our cities



CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

GOVERNMENT THAT WORKS (Cont'd)

by the combination of inflation and recession, the Democratic Party restates its support for an emergency antirecession aid to States and cities particularly hard hit by recession.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

Free collective bargaining remains the best way to insure that American workers receive a fair price for their labors. Union membership as a condition of employment has been regulated by State law under Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. This basic right should continue to be determined by the States. We oppose strikes by Federal employees, the unionization of our military forces and the legalization of common-situs picketing.

Employees of the Federal government should not engage in partisan politics. The Civil Service system must remain non-partisan and non-political.

Safe and healthful working conditions are goals of utmost importance. We should expect the Occupational Safety and Health Administration to help employers, particularly in small businesses, comply with the law, and we will support legislation providing on-site consultation.

Raising the pay standard for overtime work, additional hiring of part-time persons and flexible work schedules will increase the independence of workers and create additional job opportunities, especially for women. We also support the principle of equal pay for comparable work. We will seek to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to speed up redress of workers asserting their legal rights.

We will seek to enforce and, where necessary, to amend the National Labor Relations Act to eliminate delays and inequities and to provide for more effective remedies and administration.

We will support the full right of construction workers to picket a job site peacefully (common site picketing).

We will seek repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which allows States to legislate the anti-union open shop.

We will maintain strong support for the process of voluntary arbitration, and we will enact minimum Federal standards for workers compensation laws and for eligibility, benefit amounts, benefit duration and other essential features of the unemployment insurance program. Unemployment insurance should cover all wage and salary workers.

The Democratic Party will also seek to enact a comprehensive mine safety law, utilizing the most effective and independent enforcement by the Federal government and support special legislation providing adequate compensation to coal miners and their dependents who have suffered disablement or death as a result of the black lung disease.

HEALTH CARE

Every American should have access to quality health care at an affordable price.

We support extension of catastrophic illness protection to all who cannot obtain it. We should utilize our private health insurance system to assure adequate protection for those who do not have it.

The Republican Party opposed compulsory national health insurance.

The most effective, efficient and economical method to improve health care and extend its availability to all is to build on the present health delivery and insurance system, which covers nine out of every ten Americans. We oppose excessive intrusions from Washington in the delivery of health care. We believe in preserving the privacy that should exist between a patient and a physician, particularly in regard to the confidentiality of medical records.

We need a comprehensive national health insurance system with universal and mandatory coverage. Such a national health insurance system should be financed by a combination of employer-employee shared payroll taxes and general tax revenues. Consideration should be given to developing a means of support for national health insurance that taxes all forms of economic income.

National health insurance must also bring about a more responsive consumer-oriented system of health care delivery.



HFALTH CARE (Cont'd)



Federal health care programs should be consolidated into a single grant to each state, where possible, thereby allowing much greater flexibility in setting local priorities.

WELFARE REFORM

Congress has produced a jumble of degrading, dehumanizing, wasteful, overlapping and inefficient programs failing to assist the needy poor. A systematic and complete overhaul of the welfare system should be initiated immediately.

The following goals should govern the reform of the welfare system:

- Provide adequate living standards for the truly needy.
- End welfare fraud and prevent it in the future with emphasis on removing ineligible recipients from the welfare rolls, tightening food stamp eligibility requirements, and ending aid to illegal aliens and the voluntarily unemployed (strikers).
- Strengthen work requirements, particularly directed at the productive involvement of able-bodied persons in useful community work projects.
- Provide educational and vocational incentives to allow recipients to become self-supporting.
- Better coordinate Federal efforts with local and State social welfare agencies and strengthen local and State administrative functions.

We oppose Federalizing the welfare system; local levels of government are most aware of the needs of their communities. Consideration should be given to a range of options in financing the programs to assure that State and local responsibilities are met. We also oppose the guaranteed annual income concept of any programs that reduce the incentive to work.

We must never forget that unemployment compensation is insurance, not a welfare program. It should be redesigned to assure that working is always more beneficial than collecting unemployment benefits. . . . Major efforts must be encouraged through the private sector to speed up the process of finding jobs for those temporarily out of work.

We should move toward replacement of our existing inadequate and wasteful system with a simplified system of
income maintenance, substantially financed by the Federal government, which includes a requirement that
those able to work be provided with appropriate available jobs or job training opportunities. . . . This maintenance system should embody certain basic principles.
First and most important, it should provide an income
floor both for the working poor and the poor not in the
labor market. It must treat stable and broken families
equally. It must incorporate a simple schedule of work
incentives that guarantees equitable levels of assistance
to the working poor.

As an interim step, and as a means of providing immediate Federal fiscal relief to State and local governments, local governments should no longer be required to bear the burden of welfare costs. Further, there should be a phased reduction in the States' share of welfare costs.

ENERGY

One fact should now be clear: We must reduce sharply our dependence on other nations for energy and strive to achieve energy independence at the earliest possible date. Our approach toward energy self-sufficiency must involve both expansion of energy supply and improvement of energy efficiency. It must include elements that insure increased conservation at all levels of our society. It must also provide incentives for the exploration and development of domestic gas, oil, coal and uranium, and for expanded research and development in the use of solar, geothermal, co-generation, solid waste, wind, water, and other sources of energy.

We must immediately eleminate price controls on oil and newly discovered natural gas.

The nation's clear and present need is for vast amounts of new capital to finance exploration, discovery, refining,

The Democratic energy platform begins with a recognition that the Federal government has an important role to play in insuring the nation's energy future, and that it must be given the tools it needs to protect the economy and the nation's consumers from arbitrary and excessive energy price increases and help the nation embark on a massive domestic energy program focusing on conservation, coal conversion, exploration and development of new technologies to insure an adequate short-term and long-term supply of energy for the nation's needs.

The Democratic Party will support legislation to establish national building performance standards on a regional basis designed to improve energy efficiency.

Strip mining legislation designed to protect and restore the environment, while ending the uncertainty over the rules governing future coal mining, must be enacted.



ENERGY (Cont'd)

and delivery of currently usable forms of energy, including the use of coal as well as discovery and development of new resources.

We vigorously oppose . . . divestiture of oil companies — a move which would surely result in higher energy costs, inefficiency and under-capitalization of the industry. (We totally oppose proposals) that the Federal government compete with industry in energy development by creating a national oil company.

The uncertainties of government regulation regarding the mining, transportation and use of coal must be removed and a policy established which will assure that governmental restraints, other than proper environmental controls, do not prevent the use of coal. Mined lands must be returned to beneficial use.

We believe full disclosure of data on reserves, supplies and costs of production should be mandated by law.

When competition inadequate to insure free markets and maxmum benefit to American consumers exists, we support effective restrictions on the right of major companies to own all phases of the oil industry (divestiture).

We also support the legal prohibition against corporate ownership of competing types of energy, such as oil and coal.

ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES

We are determined to preserve land use planning as a unique responsibility of State and local government. Public lands must be maintained for multiple use management where such uses are compatible. Public land areas should not be closed to exploration for minerals or for mining without an overriding national interest.

We also believe that Americans are realistic and recognize that the emphasis on environmental concerns must be brought into balance with the needs for industrial and economic growth so that we can continue to provide jobs for an ever-growing work force.

We will support broader use of resource recovery and recycling processes through removal of economic disincentives caused by unnecessary government regulation. Economic inequities created by subsidies for virgin materials to the disadvantage of recycled materials must be eliminated. Depletion allowances and unequal freight rates serve to discourage the growing numbers of businesses engaged in recycling efforts.

Environmental research and development within the public sector should be increased substantially.

Federal environmental anti-pollution requirement programs should be as uniform as possible to eliminate economic discrimination. A vigorous program with national minimum environmental standards fully implemented, recognizing basic regional differences, will ensure that States and workers are not penalized by pursuing environmental programs.

The technological community should be encouraged to produce better pollution-control equipment, and more importantly, to produce technology which produces less pollution.

HOUSING

To meet the housing needs of this country there must be a continuous, stable and adequate flow of funds for the purpose of real estate mortgages at realistic interest rates. To continue to encourage home ownership . . . we support the deductibility of interest on home mortgages and property taxes.

We favor the concept of Federal revenue sharing and block grants to reduce the excessive burden of the property tax in financing local government.

We are concerned with the excessive reliance of financing welfare and public school costs primarily by the property

We support inflation-impact studies on governmental regulations, which are inflating housing cost. We support direct Federal subsidies and low interest loans to encourage the construction of low and moderate income housing.

We support the expansion of the highly successful programs of direct Federal subsidies to provide housing for the elderly.

We call for greatly increased emphasis on the rehabilitation of existing housing to rebuild our neighborhoods . . . We will work to assure that credit institutions make greater efforts to direct mortgage money into the financing of private housing.

We support greater flexibility in the use of community development block grants at the local level.

The Democratic Party pledges itself to aggressive policies designed to assure lenders that their commitments will be backed by government resources, so that investment risks will be shared by the public and private sectors.





AGRICULTURE

Government should not dictate to the productive men and women who work the land. To assure this, we support the continuation of the central principles of the Agricultural Act of 1973, with adjustments of target prices and loan levels to reflect increased production costs.

We oppose government-controlled grain reserves, just as we oppose Federal regulations that are unrealistic in farm practices, such as those imposed by (OSHA and EPA).

We firmly believe that when the nation asks our farmers to go all out to produce as much as possible for worldwide markets, the government should guarantee them unfettered access to those markets.

In order to assure the consumers of America and uninterrupted source of food, it is necessary to pass labor relations legislation which is responsive to the welfare of workers and to the particular needs of food production. We must help farmers protect themselves from dought, flood and other natural disasters through a system of allrisk crop insurance through Federal government reinsurance of private insurance companies combined with the existing disaster payment program.

We urge prompt passage of . . . legislation now pending in Congress which will increase the estate tax exemption to \$200,000, allow valuation of farm property on a current use basis and provide for extension of the time of payment in the case of farms and small businesses. . . . We favor liberalized marital deduction and oppose capital gains tax at death.

Innovations in agriculture need to be encouraged by expanding research programs including new pest and predator control measures, and utilization of crops as a new energy resource.

We continue to support farmer cooperatives, including rural electric and telephone cooperatives, in their efforts to improve services to their members. We support the Capper-Volstead Act.

We believe that non-farm corporations and tax-loss farming should be prevented from unfairly competing against family farms, which we support as the preferred method of farm organization.

Since farmers are practicing conservationists, they should not be burdened with unrealistic environmental regulations. Foremost attention must be directed to the establishment of a national food and fiber policy which will be fair to both producer and consumer, and be based on the family farm agricultural system which has served the nation and the world so well for so long.

Producers shall be encouraged to produce at full capacity within the limits of good conservation practices, including the use of recycled materials, if possible and desirable, to restore natural soil fertility. Any surplus production needed to protect the people of the world from famine shall be stored on the farm in such a manner as to isolate it from the market place.

Excess production beyond the needs of the people for food shall be converted to industrial purposes. (The) Democratic Party will:

- Support the Capper-Volstead Act in its present form.
- Curb the influence of non-farm conglomerates which, through the elimination of competition in the marketplace, pose a threat to farmers.
- Support the farmer cooperatives and bargaining associations.
- Scrutinize and remedy any illegal concentrations and price manipulations of farm equipment and supply industries.
- Revitalize basic credit programs for farmers.
- Provide adequate credit tailored to the needs of young farmers.
- Assure access for farmers and rural residents to energy, transportation, electricity and telephone services.
- Reinstate sound, locally administered soil conservation programs.
- Elimate tax shelter farming.
- Overhaul Federal estate and gift taxes to alleviate some of the legal problems faced by farm families who would otherwise be forced to liquidate their assets to pay the tax.

ANTITRUST ENFORCEMENT

The Republican Party believes in and endorses the concept that the American economy is traditionally dependent upon fair competition in the marketplace. To assure fair competition, antitrust laws must treat all segments of the economy equally.

Vigorous and equitable enforcement of antitrust laws heightens competition and enables consumers to obtain the lowest possible price in the marketplace.

The next Democratic administration will commit itself to move vigorously against anti-competitive concentration of power within the business sector.

We reiterate our support for unflinching antitrust enforcement, and the selection of an Attorney General free of political obligation and committed to rigorous antitrust prosecution.

(Cont'd from page 2)

Under the usual Congressional procedures, the Senatepassed bill would have to go to Conference with the Houseapproved measure to iron out the differences. Instead, Senate and House sponsors, in a secret meeting, modified the bill to avoid such a Conference.

The bill now goes to the House, which must vote it either up or down on its merits, without further amendment.

Predictions on the chances of House approval under this "unusual procedure" are all over the lot. Sen. Abourezk (D-S.D.), one of the measure's sponsors, predicts that, "Chances are excellent that the House will accept" the changes. Meanwhile, one of the bill's chief opponents, Sen. Allen (D-Ala.), who led an ill-fated filibuster against the bill, says that the changed bill "in all likelihood won't be accepted." Others maintain simply that the outcome is "uncertain."

As to the chances of President Ford vetoing the bill should it pass the House in its present form, that is also up in the air. Rep. McClory (R-III.), who was the chief spokesman for the Administration during House Judiciary Committee consideration of the bill, thinks the President will have to veto it in its present form. Senate backers of the bill conclude just the opposite.

The only thing that can be said about this legislation is that it is *bad news for business*.

Now is the time to contact the President urging him to veto the bill if it is sent to him as presently written. If the House doesn't accept the Senate-amended version outright, then there probably isn't enough time left in this Congress to resolve the differences and pass a new bill. Even if the latter is the case, you can be assured the issue isn't dead. You will see it again in the next Congress.

CONGRESSIONAL PAY INCREASE: Senate Follows House Lead; But Only for Members of Congress

Following the lead of the House, the Senate has voted to reject the October 1 raise in its members' pay by the 4.83% cost-of-living increase slated to go into effect on that date.

As reported in last week's CA, the House voted to reject the increase for all members of Congress, Cabinet officers, Federal judges and other top government executives by adopting an amendment to the otherwise-routine Legislative Appropriations bill (H.R. 14238) to cover Congressional expenses for the coming Fiscal Year. The Senate decided to limit the rejection of the increase to only members of Congress.

As with the House debate, there were some hard feelings and bruised egos on the floor of the Senate during consideration. Some Senators followed Rep. Udall's (D-Ariz.) lead in pointing out how "demeaning" it is for members of

Congress to deny themselves the cost-of-living increase while allowing it for other high-level bureaucrats, judges and Cabinet officers whose actions they may not agree with.

Coming as it did in an election year, the issue became decidedly political, but Sen. Taft (R-Ohio) got to the real crux of the matter during floor consideration. He said that, "time and time again, legislation has passed which hides Congressional salary increases in with those of other Federal employees" and suggested that these salaries should "be subject to change only by passage of a separate statute."

Congress is finding it much more difficult to untie the string binding pay increases for its members to those for Federal employees thanit was to do the tying in the first place. As long as this situation persists, the issue is likely to remain a politically sensitive one.

HEALTH MANPOWER: Conferees Agree on Bill; Two Controversial Provisions Dropped

After a two-year history of delay and deadlock, House-Senate Conferees have agreed on a Health Manpower Education bill (H.R. 5546) which retains capitation support for medical schools and allows voluntary approaches to solving the problems of medical specialty and geographic maldistribution.

Two controversial provisions dropped from the bill would have required:

- Mandatory student payback of capitation support to medical schools by (1) practicing in an under-served area at the rate of one year service for every year of capitation payment, or (2) actually paying the Federal government the amount the school received as a capitation payment.
- Each medical school to have set percentages of residencies filled in primary care specialties.

As approved by Conference, the bill:

• Establishes goals for residencies in primary care at 35%

for 1978, 40% for 1979 and 50% for 1980. Schools are allowed to meet these goals on a national aggregate basis before any attempt is made to individually require them to conform to percentages as a condition for continued support.

- Authorizes Federal support for family medical departments, residencies in general dentistry, occupational health training centers and curriculum development for preventive medicine and environmental health.
- Strengthens the National Health Service Corps (NHSC) program as a means of placing health professionals in shortage areas, abandoning the mandatory service requirement for medical students.

Half of each year's appropriation will go to the NHSC scholarship program on a schedule of a maximum of \$75 million in 1978, \$140 million in 1979 and \$200 million in 1980.

Editorial

Monongahela Decision"

Several months ago, a brand new lumber mill in Darby, Montana, was put on sale. It wasn't put on the block because the owner died or the firm was mismanaged or because wage scales made it unprofitable. It was on the block because the owner couldn't get any timber to saw! Unbelievably, logging and wood products firms are without lumber in the middle of a continent covered with it.

It's not every day that a brand new business is put on sale, but it isn't every day that business can't get hold of their raw product. Two years ago, we learned this about petroleum when the Arab exporters temporarily embargoed us. Now we're learning the same thing about timber and wood products. This time, the embargo is self-inflicted.

How could such a ridiculous situation come about? Simple, A group of environmentalists sued the U.S. Forest Service to force a halt to clearcutting in national forests. Clearcutting is a practice in which all trees in a limited area are removed at once, rather than selectively cutting trees here and there. The environmentalists won what has now been called the "Monongahela Decision" because it originally applied to the Monongahela National Forest in West Virginia.

The judge based the decision on the 1897 Organic Act of the National Forests. He admitted that this law might be "an anachronism," but held that it was up to Congress not the courts - to change the law. We agree.

Congress is on the verge of changing this anachronistic law, but a special push will be needed to see that they do so before the October adjournment. If they don't further chaos will result in the timber industry and related fields.

One half of our nation's standing inventory of softwoods is in the national forests. If the Monongahela Decision isn't rectified by amending the law, production from these national forests will be cut by 75% during the first full year of implementing the Monongahela Decision and by 50% per year after that. These are estimates made by the head of the Forest Service, John Maguire, in testimony before a Congressional committee.

What does this mean to a business that is not directly involved in timbering? What does it mean to realtors, accountants and plumbers? It means disaster.

One didn't have to run a gas station to feel the effects of the Arab oil embargo. One needn't run a lumber mill to feel the effects of the Monongahela Decision.

Have you ever tried to build a house without lumber or plywood? Have you ever tried to sell a product without paper or packaging? Sure, these are extreme examples, but it doesn't take much imagination to picture the effect of drastically reduced forest products supplies on a hundred different sectors of the American economy.

The primary forest products industry is already feeling the brunt of Monongahela — mills are closing or going on sale, lumberers, mill operators, truckers, etc. are already being laid off - the spreading economic malady of Monongahela.

If Congress moves decisively in the next few weeks, the situation can be reversed. Before the House of Representatives is the bill HR 15069, the "National Forest Timber Management Reform Act of 1976," If passed, it will rectify the Monongahela Decision by allowing continued clearcutting under controlled, limited conditions.

We think this is the way to go. We think this is one good way to see that the economic recovery of recent months continues. We urge you to write your Representative urging him or her to support HR 15069.

1976 PARTY PLATFORMS: A COMPARISONcontained in this week's issue of CA is available. If you'd like to order extra copies, be sure to ask for Publication No. 5407.

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NEWSPAPER

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A BULLETIN

to help members of the National Chamber's Congressional Action system keep track of what Congress is doing and communicate with their Senators and Representatives on legislation that affects their business, their employees, and their communities,

★ IN THIS ISSUE ★

- House Passes Bad Clean Air Bill p. 1
- Rules Again Kills Surface Mining p. 3
- Revenue Sharing Out of Senate p. 3
- 1% Kicker Approved by Conferees p. 3

CLEAN AIR: House Passes Horrendous Bill; Only Fair Shake for Business is Auto Emissions

The only fair shake business got out of House floor consideration of the Clean Air Act Amendments (H.R. 10498) before passage of this horrendous bill was an amendment to stretch out the timetable for full implementation of automobile emission standards to 1982. The effect of the rest of the bill is a national policy of no-growth — land use from the sky.

The auto emissions amendment, sponsored by Reps. Dingell (D-Mich.) and Broyhill (R-N.C.), freezes the present standards until 1980, tightening them over the following two years with full implementation of the final goal of 90% reduction in carbon monoxide and hydrocarbon pollutants from the 1970 levels.

In a last minute try to put some reason back into the Clean Air Act, Rep. Broyhill offered an ill-fated amendment to recommit the bill back to Committee with instructions to immediately report back with (1) three improvements in the so-called "nondegradation" section which would make it much more "livable" for business and (2) provisions allowing States more flexibility under the "nonattainment" section in approving construction permits in areas where the air quality standards are not presently being met.

Failure of the Broyhill amendment insures a national policy of no-growth. The nondegradation provisions put even more restrictions on the amount of development per-

mitted in areas of the country where the air quality is already better than the national health and welfare standards require. The nonattainment provisions make it almost impossible for companies to either expand or locate new facilities in areas that do not meet present standards.

▶ Below is the 224-169 vote (No. 731) by which the House passed the Dingell-Broyhill amendment to delay full implementation of the auto emission standards.

If your Representative voted "AYE," you will want to thank him or her for giving business a fair shake on at least this portion of the bill.

If your Representative voted "NO," you will want to ask him or her why business should be denied this reasonable compromise on the timetable for meeting the strict standards.

▶ Also below is the 117-272 vote (No. 733) by which the House defeated Rep. Broyhill's attempt to put some reason back into the Clean Air Act.

If your Representative voted "YEA," you will want to thank him or her for supporting the recommittal motion on this bad bill.

Likewise, if your Representative voted "NAY," you will want to let him or her know how you feel about this move to put undue, no-growth burdens on the business community.

[Roll No. 731]

Abdnor Alexander Andrews, N.C. Andrews N. Dak Annunzio Archer Armstrong Ashbrook Ashley Baldus Beard, Tenn. Rell Bevill Blanchard Boggs Breaux Brinkley Brooks Broomfield Brown, Mich. Brown, Ohio Broyhill

Buchanan
Burgener
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Collins, Tex.
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de la Garza

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ANSWERED	"PRESENT"—1		•					

Paired or announced for: Bowen, Beard (R.I.), Hebert, Vander Jagt, Esch, LaFalce, Carter, Hansen, Steelman, McCollister.

Young, Alaska

ANSWERED "PRESENT"-1

Bafalia

Paired or announced against: O'Neill, AuColn, Chisholm, Zeferetti, Young (Alaska), Heistoski, Collins (III.), Biaggi, Ford (Tenn.), Bergland.

Reprinted from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 15,

[Roll No. 733]

Abdnor Alexander Andrews, N.C. Andrews, N. Dak. Archer Ashbrook Beard, Tenn. Bevill Breaux Brinkley Broyhill Buchanan Burleson, Tex.	Burlison, Mo. Butler Byron Chappell Clancy Clawson, Del Cochran Collins, Tex. Conable Crane Daniel, Dan Daniel, R. W. Derrick Devine	Dickinson Downing, Va. Duncan, Tenn. Edwards, Ala. English Eshleman Flowers Flynt Fountain Frey Ginn Goldwater Goodling Grassley	schmidt Hefner Henderson Hightower Holt Hubbard Hutchinson Jarman	Jones, Tenn. Kazen Kelly Kethy Ketchum Kindness Krueger Latta Levitas Lloyd, Tenn. Lott McCormack McDonald McEwen	Mahon Mann Martin Mathis Michel Miller, Ohio Montgomery Moore Moorhead, Calif. Myers, Ind. Myers, Pa. Nichols Passman	Paul Poage Quillen Randall Rhodes Roberts Robinson Rousselot Runnels Ruppe Satterfield Schneebeli Schulze Sebelius	Shuster Sikes Smith, Nebr. Snyder Spence Steiger, Ariz. Symms Taylor, Mo. Taylor, N.C. Teague Thone Thornton Treen Waggonner	Wampler White Whitehurst Whitten Wiggins Wilson, Bob Young, Alaska Young, Fia.
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SURFACE MINING CONTROL: House Rules Kills "Same Old Dog With Fleas Slightly Rearranged"

By a vote of 9-6, the House Rules Committee has rejected reconsideration of the twice-vetoed Surface Mining Control bill (H.R. 13950), a measure so aptly described by Rep. Sam Steiger (R-Ariz.) as the "same old dog with fleas slightly rearranged."

This action culminated the last ditch effort by a group of supporters led by Rep. John Melcher (D-Mont.) to woo the Rules Committee into allowing the measure on the floor for a vote. The Committee had tabled, and thus killed, a similar bill last March.

Before taking the vote, the Committee heard arguments from *proponents* Seiberling (D-Ohio), Melcher, Udall (D-Ariz.), Mink (D-Hawaii) and *opponents* Skubitz (R-Kan.), Wampler (R-Va.), Bevill (D-Ala.) and, of course, Steiger.

▶ Below is the lineup on the Committee vote. If your Representative voted for granting the bill a rule, you will want to let him know how you feel about his efforts to, as one Washington observer put it, "deal in third-hand goods."

Likewise, if your Representative voted *against* granting a rule, you will want to thank him for his stand against this unnecessary legislation.

FOR: Bolling (D-Mo.), Pepper (D-Fla.), Gillis Long (D-La.), Moakley (D-Mass.), Madden (D-Ind.), Young (D-Ga.).

AGAINST: Delaney (D-N.Y.), Sisk (D-Calif.), Murphy (D-III.), Young (D-Tex.), Quillen (R-Tenn.), Anderson (R-III.), Latta (R-Ohio), Clawson (R-Calif.), Lott (R-Miss.).

REVENUE SHARING: Overwhelming Senate Vote Approves Bill; Conference Committee Next

Quick Conference Committee action is expected now that the Senate, by an overwhelming 80-4 vote, has approved renewal of the Revenue Sharing Program slated to expire this year.

House and Senate versions of the bill (H.R. 13367) both retain the program's present system for side-stepping annual appropriations by allocating funds over several years and are similar in their call for tighter civil rights enforcement

The only question the Conferees will really have to solve is choosing between the House's three and three-quarters years extension at a \$24.9 billion cost and the Senate's five and three-quarters years extension at a \$41.2 billion price tag that includes a built-in inflation increase of \$200 million annually, starting October 1, 1977.

Extension of this highly-popular Chamber-backed program is almost a certainty before the Congress adjourns in October.

FEDERAL PENSION REFORM: Legislative Appropriations Bill Contains Two Key Amendments

As sometimes happens, an otherwise-routine piece of legislation suddenly becomes very "interesting" once Congress has had some time to add a few amendments.

Such is the case with the Legislative Appropriations bill (H.R. 14238) just reported from a joint House-Senate Conference Committee. As reported, the bill contains two very important amendments.

First, the Committee agreed to Sen. Chiles' (D-Fla.) formula for repealing the 1% add-on, or "kicker," to the CPI-indexed cost-of-living increase for Federal retirees.

The Chiles formula provides for semi-annual, automatic cost-of-living adjustments in Federal annuities, without the 1% kicker. This means Federal retirees will no longer have to wait until the CPI rises at least 3% with a six month delay before payment. It also means a savings to the American taxpayer of an estimated \$3.4 billion over a five year period. An outright repeal is estimated to better that figure by only

\$300 million over the same time.

The repeal was very recently relegated to legislative limbo by opponents in both Houses, but a tremendous flood of mail from all over the country — much of it pouring in from the business community — "raised it from the dead" and saved the day.

Second, the Committee agreed to reject the 4.83% costof-living increase automatically due for members of both the House and Senate on October 1.

Some view this action as simply an election-year move to avoid the embarrassment of voting themselves more money, but that's for the constituents back home to decide. One thing that is certain is that the members of Congress are not going to go down alone. The Conference accepted the House language which also denies the raise to Cabinet officers, judges and high-level bureaucrats.

Anything can happen in an election year.

MEDICARE/MEDICAID: Senate Finance Committee Reports Bill to Combat Fraud and Abuse

In the wake of recent disclosures, the Senate Finance Committee has approved legislation to combat the estimated \$1.5 billion yearly cost of fraud and abuse in the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

The Committee took the Medicare and Medicaid Administrative and Reimbursement Reform Act (S. 3201), a bill to tighten up the operations of the two Federal health programs for more efficiency and effectiveness, and combined

it with an anti-fraud measure (H.R. 12961), legislation to help the medical profession take care of the so-called "Medicaid mills,"

The combined bill, H.R. 12961, would:

- Repeal the law requiring States to permit suits against them.
- Establish an Office of Central Fraud and Abuse Control within HEW to monitor and investigate possible abuse in the programs, and assist Federal and State prosecutors in developing fraud cases.
- Increase the penalty for fraud from a misdemeanor, which carries a maximum penalty of one year in jail and a \$10,000 fine, to a felony, punishable by up to five years in jail and a \$25,000 fine.
- Authorize local physicians groups, Professional Standards Review Organizations (PSROs), to review "shared health care facilities," the so-called "Medicaid mills." If a

doctor or facility do not meet professional standards or the health care is not needed, no Federal funds would be dispersed for that care and the doctor would lose eligibility to participate in the programs.

 Expand information and recordkeeping requirements, now only required by hospitals and nursing homes, to independent laboratories, pharmacies and durable medical equipment suppliers.

Medicare and Medicaid costs are rising at an alarming rate, \$38 billion in fiscal 1977 - up \$7 billion over fiscal 1976. In an effort to get a handle on the costs of these programs, the Administration proposed a flat 7% limit on hospital fee increases and a 4% limit on physician charges. The National Chamber opposed this proposal as wage price control on one segment of the economy.

No date has been scheduled for Senate floor action on H.R. 12961.

TOXIC SUBSTANCES: Conference Committee Agrees on Compromise Control Bill

House-Senate Conferees have reached agreement on the Toxic Substances Control bill, S. 3149; after being stalled over the issue of how to regulate a chemical substance while awaiting completion of safety tests.

Both House and Senate versions of the measure called for 90-days premarket notification of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) before manufacture begins. The problem arose over what authorities EPA should have to stop or limit manufacture of a new chemical during the 90-day premarket period.

The Conferees agreed to a procedure by which:

 The administrator, lacking information sufficient for evaluation of health and environmental effects, can issue a proposed order up to 45 days before expiration of the notification period. This can be extended up to a total of 180 days.

 The manufacturer and processor, notified of the reason for the order, have 30 days to file an objection or the order goes into effect.

 EPA, receiving an objection from the manufacturer or processor, must seek a Federal district court injunction to prohibit or limit manufacture of the substance.

From the New York Times, September 15, 1976, under the headline "Best Buy, Not Nader."

Jeffrey Joseph, who monitors consumer legislation for the United States Chamber of Commerce, was eager to get his hands on a transcript of the responses of Jimmy Carter, the Presidential candidate, to consumer questions at a luncheon sponsored by the Public Citizen Forum here last month.

Like others, he discovered that the forum, one of Ralph Nader's many offsprings, wanted \$10 for the 30page transcript.

Mr. Joseph decided the price was a bit steep and went shopping. He found that Product Safety Letter, a newsletter for businessmen and consumer, was selling copies

of the document for half the price, only \$5.

The address is 1080 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20005, and there is a 25-cent tax for residents of the Capitol.



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A BULLETIN

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• Synfuels Takes the Plunge - p. 2

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• Lobbying Controls Snags in House - p. 4

FEDERAL PENSION REFORM: 1% Kicker Repealed by Congress; You Did It

You did it. You insisted on repeal of the 1% add-on, or "kicker," to the cost-of-living increases in Federal pensions.

Congress acted this week by sending to the President a bill, the Legislative Appropriations measure (H.R. 14238), that contains provisions eliminating this unfair burden on the American taxpayer.

Believe it or not, it actually took 12 separate votes in the House and Senate — starting April 9 and ending September 22 — to eliminate the kicker across the board. This came in bits and pieces, in civil service, foreign service, military and finally all Federal government annuities.

Although official Washington press people were continually writing the obituary for the repeal, tremendous response from businessmen and women and women from all over the country turned the tide with a flood of letters to their elected representatives in Congress.

Your appeals to the members of Congress succeeded against heavy opposition. Strong efforts to defeat, or delay the repeal were made by the Federal employee unions, associations of Federal retirees and many of the seven and one-half million active and retired Federal civilian and military personnel. But, justice, equity and common sense prevailed.

What makes this victory even more incredible is the fact

that it came, as it did, just six short weeks before the elections. It paves the way for overall Federal pension reform and is the kind of action needed to restore confidence in Congress.

Never again allow the apathetic to tell you your voice is not heard in Washington or that Congressional mistakes, once made, must be endured forever.

Also included in the bill is a rejection of the 4.83% costof-living increase which was automatically due for members of both the House and Senate on October 1.

This rejection was also extended to Cabinet officers, judges and high-level bureaucrats. Some view this action as simply an election-year move by Congress to avoid the embarrassment of voting itself more money, but that's for the constituents back home to decide.

► Here's the 250-157 vote by which the House accepted the Senate provision repealing the 1% kicker.

If your Representative voted "YEA," you will certainly want to thank him or her for correcting this gross inequity.

Likewise, if your Representative voted "NAY," you will want to let him or her know how you feel about this attempt to continue the 1% inflation bonus for Federal retirees.

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Lloyd, Calif.

Reprinted from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 22, 1976.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING/GUARANTEED JOBS: Humphrey-Hawkins Rolls Over Dead, For Now

House Speaker Carl Albert (D-Okla.) has apparently rung the death knell to this year's "brand new" Humphrey-Hawkins bill (H.R. 50) when he stated, "Any bill the Senate is not going to pass, I don't want to see brought up over here, no matter how strongly I am for it."

He was speaking, of course, of the "new, sanitized" version of the bill to reduce unemployment to 3% over four years by mandating the Federal government to provide a job for everyone who claims to want one.

After Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter registered some complaints about the bill, Rep. Hawkins (D-Calif.) obligingly decided to come up with a revised version.

The House Labor Committee then reported out a "new" watered-down version of the bill. As revised, the bill would:

- Set as its goal, jobs for those unemployed aged 20 and over, conveniently forgetting about the serious teenage unemployment problem so touted by the original version.
- Hold the inflation rate below the level prevailing when

the bill is enacted, but 6% inflation would reduce the purchasing power of the dollar by half in 12 years.

- Enact a two-year delay in starting last-resort government jobs.
- Not cover construction jobs, thus avoiding Davis-Bacon pay scales.

Under Committee instructions, Labor Committee Chairman Perkins (D-Ky.) dutifully asked the Rules Committee for a rule to take the bill to the floor in these waning days of the 95th Congress. Speaker Albert's remarks appear to have killed any chance of that happening.

The only thing that can be said for sure is that if the bill does not receive floor consideration in the next week, we are bound to see it back again next year. The National Chamber is hard at work on legislative initiatives that offer a much better alternative to any such measure. This will again be offered if the measure reappears in the 95th Congress.

SYNTHETIC FUELS: House Rejects Floor Consideration by Razor-thin, One-vote Margin

"The greatest single failure of this Congress has been our collective failure to do anything — anything, Mr. Speaker — to increase the energy supplies of the United States. This is our only chance."

Rep. Jim Wright (D-Tex.)

"When we look today at the unbelievable dependence we have on Arab countries for our energy...it seems to me nothing in the world is more important that Congress should be concerned with."

Rep. B. F. Sisk (D-Calif.)

Despite such stately remarks on behalf of the businesssupported Synthetic Fuels Development bill (H.R. 12112), the House voted on the razor-thin margin of 192-193 to block floor consideration of the \$4 billion loan guarantee measure.

Here's the story.

Last year, the House killed similar legislation at the Conference Committee stage.

This year, the House Science, Banking and Ways and Means Committees recommended approval for \$3.5 billion in loan guarantees for the development of synthetic fuels and \$500 million in price supports for a program emphasizing conversion of coal to synthetic fuels, including coal gasi-

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fication. A fourth Committee, House Commerce, supported loans of \$2 billion, but objected to the use of guarantees for financing conversion of coal to synthetic fuels.

Outright opponents of the measure simply added to this controversial situation, seizing the chance to avoid any extended debate in these waning days of the 94th Congress, by defeating the rule which would have granted floor consideration. There were even reports that, should the rule be accepted, an effort would be made to attach the twicevetoed Surface Mining Controls bill as an amendment, thus

insuring the death of the measure.

► Here's the vote by which the House defeated the rule allowing consideration of H.R. 12112.

If your Representative voted "YEA," you will want to thank him or her for this vote to provide badly needed energy development.

Likewise, if your Representative voted "NAY," you will want to tell him or her what you think about this move which one Washington observer characterized as "tantamount to lashing this country to the Arab bed of nails."

[Roll No. 803] YEAS-192

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Reprinted from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 23, 1976.

CLEAN AIR ACT: Conferees Deadlocked; Muskie Offers So-called "Compromise"

The joint House-Senate Conference Committee on the Clean Air Act Amendments (S. 3219, H.R. 10498), which has met on three separate occasions, appears to be hopelessly dead-locked over the controversial provisions of the bill.

At issue are some 77 points of contention dealing with everything from auto emission standards, to nondegradation,

to nonattainment, to extensions for emissions from stationary sources, to a host of minor amendments to the Act.

The tightest deadlock to date concerns the nonattainment provisions, affecting the ability of industry to either locate new facilities or expand existing ones in areas not presently meeting the national ambient air quality standards.

The Senate is insisting on its provisions to provide minimal relief for such facilities, while the House is steadfast in its demand that no such relief be granted.

In an effort to break the impasse, Sen. Muskie (D-Maine) offered a "compromise" in the form of the Senate bill combined with the points already agreed to by the Conferees. The House Conferees must now respond, in writing, to the Muskie offer.

Whether the House will agree or not is still in question. Should the offer be turned down, there is every possibility that we may not see a bill this year.

Aside from the auto industry, which desperately needs some indication from Congress for future auto emission standards, the rest of industry needs some relief from the current nonattainment provisions.

REVENUE SHARING: Conference to Meet September 27; Uncertainty Over Which Version Will Prevail

High hopes for quick Conference Committee action on legislation to renew the very-popular, Chamber-backed Revenue Sharing Program caught a snag and consideration is now scheduled to begin September 27.

Reportedly, Rep. Jack Brooks (D-Tex.), Chairman of the House Government Operations Committee and foe of the revenue sharing idea, has been dragging his feet on a Conference in an attempt to force acceptance of the more restrictive House-passed bill.

Both House and Senate versions of the bill (H.R. 13367) retain the program's present system of side-stepping annual appropriations by allocating funds over several years. The House version calls for more vigorous civil rights enforcement than the Senate bill.

The big question will be choosing between the House's three and three-quarters years extension, at a cost of \$24.9 billion, and the Senate's five and three-quarters years extension, with a price tag of \$41.2 billion. The Senate version has a built-in inflation increase of \$200 million annually, starting October 1, 1977.

The nationwide popularity of the Revenue Sharing Program certainly insures some action by Congress before it expires this year. Exactly which alternative will be enacted, however, is no sure thing. There are even some reports that, should the Conference Committee run into serious problems, we may see just a simple extension of the present program until the next Congress can work out the problems.

LOBBYING CONTROLS: Delayed Consideration Could Defeat Any Legislation This Year

Whether any lobbying control legislation will come out of the 94th Congress is beginning to look like an open question. Time is running out and the House will not begin debate on its version of the bill, H.R. 15, until September 28, only four days before the scheduled adjournment.

What the members of the House will be doing, in effect, is writing a bill on the floor because it will be jointly managed by the Judiciary and Standards of Official Conduct Committees and will be open to amendment from other sources.

The National Chamber has urged the House to adopt provisions for a lobbying test similar to that contained in the Senate-passed S. 2775 and based on the number of contacts a lobbyist makes. In addition, the Chamber has called for:

- Deletion of coverage of Executive Branch contacts.
- A broad exemption for constituent communications.
- Extending coverage to the so-called "professional volunteers" such as Ralph Nader, who are not presently

covered

- Opposing proposed requirements to log all communications.
- Opposing expansion of grassroot reporting to include the naming of all recipients of communications and divulging those individuals or organizations who "control" lobbying groups.

Due to the illness of Standards of Official Conduct Chairman John Flynt (D-Ga.) debate on the bill was postponed until September 28. The House has adopted the rule governing floor consideration, with four hours time to be equally divided between the two managing Committees.

There's no doubt it will take at least 12 hours work on a bill to finish it in one day. At that rate, a Conference couldn't begin until Wednesday, September 29.

This lends credibility to the assumption that only if the Democratic leadership is willing to delay adjournment beyond Friday will it be possible to send a bill to the President this year.

CLEAN WATER: Senate Conferees Reject Wright Compromise; Adjournment Deadline Pressing

Senate Conferees, meeting with their House counterparts in an effort to resolve differences in their respective versions of the Water Pollution Control Act Amendments (S. 2710), have rejected a House compromise on the "dredge and fill" activities of the U.S. Corps of Engineers.

Rep. Jim Wright (D-Tex.) suggested a plan for compromise containing a two-year moritorium on the Corps'

permit program required for the dredging and filling of tributaries and wetlands adjacent to "navigable" waters, and a three-year authorization to give municipalities additional time to plan future activities.

The Conference Committee will resume consideration of the bill September 28, under pressure of the adjournment deadline of October 2.

FOOD STAMP REFORM: Any Real "Reform" is Dead This Year; That's Probably a Good Thing

One of the victims of the time constraints on Congress, if it is to meet the scheduled adjournment date of October 2, is reform of the food stamp program this year.

Considering the pending legislation, which is supposed to bring about some "reform," no bill this session is probably a good idea.

The Senate passed a bill, S. 3136, which would:

- Provide an income-eligibility ceiling of \$8,000.
- Reduce the price of stamps.
- Establish a ceiling based on the past 30 days income.
- Add an estimated \$500 million to the \$6 billion program's cost.

The House Agriculture Committee recently cleared its own version of "reform" legislation, H.R. 13613, which would:

 Require States to foot the bill for a small portion of the annual cost of the stamps after October 1, 1977 – some \$120 million, reducing the cost to the Federal government to about \$5.9 billion.

- Eliminate an estimated 1.5 million people from the program which presently reaches 17.8 million people.
- Ban strikers from receiving food stamps and limit their use by students.
- Ease eligibility rules and lower the purchase price of food stamps to participants, thus creating benefit hikes for eligible recipients.

The Administration's move to tighten Agriculture Department regulations and cut five million people from the food stamp rolls, saving the government around \$1.2 billion a year, was blocked in court. This legal battle could last for months.

We are hearing quite a bit of rhetoric being bantered about this election year, but that's all it is — rhetoric. Meanwhile, the outright fraud and abuse in the program continue unabated.

This election year, it's politics as usual.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION: Filibuster Delays Action. But Senate Vote Expected

A week-long filibuster in the Senate over the payment of court fees in civil rights suits (S. 2278) has delayed action on the Chamber-suppored bill, H.R. 10210, to replenish the Federal Unemployment Compensation (U.C.) trust fund.

The Senate Finance Committee revised, somewhat, the House-passed bill, but agreed to a rise in the taxable wage gase to \$6,000 and an increase in the tax rate to 0.7%. Points of disagreement with the House include (1) retention of the higher rate until the Federal trust fund becomes solvent, (2) deletion of farm worker and

domestic coverage and (3) a "trigger" change for further tightening on the availability of payments to States for extended U.C. benefits.

Several Chamber-opposed amendments expected to be offered on the Senate floor include (1) adding a Federal benefit standard, (2) extending supplemental benefits, (3) further liberalizing the "trigger" and (4) raising the taxable wage base even higher.

Reportedly, the Administration supports the measure in its present form. A Senate vote is expected the week of September 27.

ZERO-BASE BUDGETING: Not a Reality This Year, But Stage is Set for Next Year

Although the Senate failed to act, as scheduled, on the Zero-base Budgeting bill (S. 2925), enough consideration has been given the proposal to set the stage for enactment in the next Congress.

Essentially, zero-base budgeting provides a mechanism to weed out outdated and ineffective spending programs in the Federal government.

Senate Government Operations held hearings and reported S. 2925 for floor consideration, but the Finance

1976 PARTY PLATFORMS: A COMPARISON-contained in the September 10 issue of CA is still available. If you'd like to order extra copies, be sure to ask for Publication No 5407.

1 - 9 copies: free.

10 - 99 copies: 5 cents each. 100 or more: 4 cents each.

Minimum order: \$1.00.

and Rules Committees registered general dissatisfaction with the proposal, probably leading to the measure being dropped from the schedule.

On the House side, the Rules Committee has jurisdiction over a similar bill, H.R. 15473, but didn't get beyond the hearing stage.

The National Chamber has been pushing the zerobase budgeting idea for some years now and will continue to urge Congressional action.

A CHECKLIST FOR ELECTION DAY-contained in the August 27 issue of CA has been reprinted by popular demand. It is available for 5 cents a copy through the Legislative Action Department.

If you'd like to order extra copies, be sure to ask for Publication No. 5402. Orders will be filled on a first-come, first-served basis.

Minimum order is \$1.00.

BUSINESS IN POLITICS

Because of the controversy surrounding the role of business Political Action Committees (PACs) under the restrictions of the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments passed this year, other sections of the Amendments went little noticed at the time — areas which opened additional avenues of business activity in the political process.

Since the President signed the legislation into law last May, the questions most often asked by business concern just what kinds of communication a business can make to its employees.

In an effort to answer some major questions along this line, the National Chamber has published a basic guide for business called *Get-Out-the-Vote for Private Enterprise*, available through the Chamber's Public Affairs Department.

The guide is in four sections.

Sections I and II deal with communications to (1) stockholders, executive and administration personnel and their families and (2) all employees.

Section III is the appendix, quoting key sections of the applicable Federal Election Commission (FEC) regulations covering the first two sections.

Section IV is a compilation of suggested material, with samples, that may be used to implement political programs. Here's a thumbnail sketch of the first two sections.

PARTISAN COMMUNICATION

The Act defines the right of business to make partisan communication to its stockholders and executive employees and their families. This means business can actually endorse candidates for Federal office or a political party. The costs involved, of course, may be subject to the reporting requirements of the FEC.

Some partisan political activities might include:

- Distribution of printed material of a partisan nature:
- An invitation to a candidate to speak at a regularly scheduled meeting of stockholders or executive personnel.
- Telephone calls urging registration in a certain party and/or voting for a particular candidate.
- Registration and get-out-the-vote drives of a partisan nature.

NONPARTISAN COMMUNICATION

Communication with all employees is restricted to nonpartisan activity.

Some nonpartisan political activities might include:

- Nonpartisan voter information services through posters, newsletters or other communications urging all employees to register to vote or otherwise participate in the political process.
- A reprint, in its entirety, of the list of names and political affiliations on an official ballot.
- Distribution of "Voter Guides" and other types of brochures describing the candidates and their positions if (1) the materials do not favor one candidate over another and (2) they are obtained from a civic or other nonprofit organization that does not endorse, support, or is affiliated with a candidate or political party.
- Support for nonpartisan registration and get-out-thevote drives for all employees if such drives are locally sponsored and *conducted* by a civic or other nonprofit organization.

HOW TO ORDER

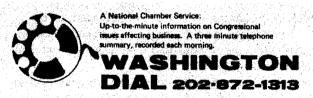
In a phrase, Get-Out-the-Vote for Private Enterprise is a basic guide to business for openly practicing the nuts and bolts of practical politics.

If you'd like to order copies of this valuable tool, be sure to ask for Publication No. 5406.

1 - 9 copies: \$3.00 each. 10 or more copies: \$2.50 each.

Bulk orders: on request from the Public Affairs

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OCTOBER 4, 1976 • VOLUME 20 • NUMBER 36

A BULLETIN

to help members of the National Chamber's Congressional Action system keep track of what Congress is doing , and communicate with their Senators and Representatives for legislation that affects their business, their employees, and their communities,

★ IN THIS ISSUE ★

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- Toxic Substances Compromise Passes p. 2
- Revenue Sharing Gets Extension p. 3
- Unemployment Compensation Approved p. 3
- Clear-Cutting Bill Enacted p. 3

HECTIC CLOSING DAYS OF THE 94TH CONGRÉSS: 64 BILLS IN 63 MINUTES

The closing days, and hours, of the 94th Congress were nothing short of hectic — at one point, the Senate passed 64 bills in 63 minutes — with adjournment finally coming in the "wee small hours" of the scheduled date of October 2.

In the waning hours, three major bills opposed by the National Chamber died due to the lack of time. The Clean Air Act Amendments fell under a late Senate filibaster, the Lobbying Controls bill was shunted aside, and the restrictive Export Administration Act Amendments went down in controversy over its Arab boycott provisions.

Approval was given to some Chamber-supported bills dealing with unemployment compensation, revenue sharing and clear-cutting in national forests.

Amid the last minute rush to pass as much legislation as possible, the hubbub caused some tempers to run mighty short. The confusion was such that when one Senator objected to consideration of a bill expediting the selection of a route for the Alaskan pipeline, another visibly upset Senator rushed over to his desk, grabbed the bill and ripped it to pieces. The objecting Senator, now visibly upset himself, corralled two staff aides who pieced the bill back together so he could see just what it did. Finally determining the bill to be "safe," it passed without objection.

Despite such commotion, acting Senate Majority Leader Byrd (D-W.Va.) thought the Senate was making pretty good progress. He said, "It may look like the New York Stock Market, but it looks more disorderly than it is."

CLEAN AIR: Filibuster Kills Muskie Bill; Auto Manufacturers Could Face Problem Next Year

A last minute filibuster in the Senate killed the Clean Air Act Amendments (S. 3219) for this year, but not without leaving a potentially severe problem for the auto manufacturing industry.

Under the 1970 Clean Air Act, to have been amended by the now-defunct measure, manufacturers must meet very strict emission standards for 1978 model cars, a requirement they say cannot be met. The dead bill would have delayed the standards to the 1979 models. The floor manager of the bill, Sen. Muskie (D-Maine), after narrowly losing on the move to take the bill from the calendar, emotionally warned the auto manufacturers "not to expect a quick fix from me come January."

Although most of the fuss was made over the auto emission standards section, the real problem with the measure lay in its "nondegradation" and "nonattainment" sections. Citing the magnitude of the impact these provisions would have on their State, the two Utah Senators, Garn (R) and Moss (D), filibustered the bill. This action, combined with the crush of legislative measures behind it waiting to be heard, forced a reluctant acting Majority Leader, Sen. Byrd (D-W.Va.), to remove it from consid-

eration early in the evening of October 1.

One major problem was that the measure was reported from the Conference Committee a scant two days before Congress was to adjourn, facing consideration on the floor without a copy of the report or a copy of the bill's final language. In an effort to inform their colleagues of what was actually in the measure, Senators Garn and Moss insisted on a reading of the entire bill. After listening for a short while, even one rather liberal Senator (Williams, D-N.J.) found the bill to be quite restrictive, saying, "If this bill passes, people will forget about what OSHA is doing to them!"

What became increasingly clear during the reading was that the bill would provide little, if any, relief for industry located in "nonattainment" areas of the country, areas presently not meeting the national air quality standards. This would mean virtually no expansion of present facilities or location of new facilities in these areas.

The bill also included an entirely new and original version of "nondegradation," preventing deterioration of air quality in areas already cleaner than the national standards require.

TOXIC SUBSTANCES: Compromise Bill Passes Congress; Premarket Notification Included

Capping a long five-year history of consideration, both Houses finally passed a Toxic Substances Control Act (S. 3149) after working out a compromise on premarket notification requirements to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

By overwhelming margins in both Houses, Congress agreed to a bill:

 Granting EPA authority to require testing of chemical substances and mixtures and halt or limit production for reasons of insufficient data or because a substance either may present an unreasonable risk of injury, result in substantial environmental exposure, or substantial human exposure.

- Requiring manufacturers to notify EPA 90 days before marketing of a new chemical or an existing chemical to be put to a new use.
 - Allowing EPA another 90 days extension.
- Requiring EPA to issue stop orders within 45 days before expiration of the notification period.
- Allowing 30 days for the manufacturer or processor. once notified of the reason for the stop order, to file an
- · Requiring EPA, having received the objection, to seek a Federal district court injunction to prohibit or limit manufacture of the substance.

SOLID WASTE DISPOSAL: Another Compromise Passed: Cost About \$300 Million

Another compromise permitted Congress to pass and send to the President a Solid Waste Disposal bill (S. 2150) which creates a Department of Solid Waste Disposal within EPA and strengthens the Department of Commerce's resource recovery program.

The measure authorizes roughly \$250 million through 1979 to States and regional waste management boards for enforcement of new Federal regulations on hazardous waste disposal and closing open dumps over the next five years. These grants can also be used for administration and planning of new programs to replace open dumping and recycle wastes.

The bill also authorizes another \$45 million for EPA to conduct studies on mining waste, sludge, product packaging and content and other "resource conservation" pro-

CLEAN WATER: Conferees Reach Impasse; Measure Killed in Deadlock

Conferees reached an impasse shortly after meeting on two widely conflicting versions of S. 2710, the Clean Water Act Amendments, with the central dispute arising over court interpretation of the Act's provisions governing dredging and filling of wetlands.

The court ruling would expand regulation of commercial activity in those areas and affect some 75% of the 70 million acres of wetlands where agricultural, lumbering, housing and other development either exists or is contemplated. The Chamber supported the House version with provisions narrowing Federal controls.

The House Conferees offered a compromise, rejected by

Senate negotiators, to place a three-year moratorium on the proposed expansion of Federal control.

So, the question of clarification as to whether the Corps of Engineers has authority to control dredge and fill activities will carry over into the next Congress. Also carried over are provisions for funds for water construction projects needed to help the recovery of the recession-laden construction industry, as well as provisions granting municipalities a case-by-case extension beyond the strict mid-1977 water standards.

Senator Muskie (D-Maine) has indicated he wants a comprehensive overhaul of the law in the 95th Congress.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 14, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (TITLE 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNER-SHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION of CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, published weekly (during sessions of Congress), at Washington, D.C., for October 1, 1976.

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

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REVENUE SHARING: \$25.6 Billion Bill Passes Congress; President Expected to Sign

The Congress has approved automatic revenue sharing funding of \$25.6 billion over three and three-quarters years, with \$4.98 billion for fiscal 1977 and \$6.85 billion annually for fiscal 1978-80.

The measure includes a built-in inflation increase of \$600 million over the three years, subject to revision based on the

CPI index. It also continues the present allocation system for break-down of funds between the States and localities and bars localities from using funds for any program which would discriminate because of age, handicap, religion or

President Ford is expected to sign the bill.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION: Chamber-supported Bill Approved; Feared Amendments Out

One Chamber-supported bill to receive final approval before Congress left for the end of the session was an Unemployment Compensation bill (H.R. 10210) intended to replenish the State and Federal unemployment insurance trust funds which had to borrow Treasury funds to pay benefits during the recession.

As passed, the bill:

- Raises the taxable wage base to \$6,000 in January 1978, up from \$4,200.
- Increases the employer tax rate to 0.7% from 0.5%. beginning January 1977, to remain in effect until the States have repaid all advances from the U.C. trust fund.
- Extends coverage to all State and local government employees, domestics if their employer pays salaries totalling \$1,000 per quarter and farm workers if their employer

has 10 or more workers, or pays salaries totalling \$20,000

 Tightens the present mechanism for triggering extended unemployment benefits into effect in individual States as unemployment goes up.

The extended coverage will include 7.1 million local government workers, 600,000 State government workers, 150,000 farm workers and some 100,000 domestic workers. When fully effective, employers will be required to pay an estimated \$3 billion more in taxes annually.

Not included in the final version were amendments feared to be added (1) calling for a minimum Federal benefit standard, (2) extending supplemental benefits, (3) further liberalizing the "trigger" and (4) raising the taxable wage base even higher.

LOBBYING CONTROLS: "Unanimous Consent" Motion Denied: Measure Doesn't Get to Senate Floor

The Senate was blocked from considering the House-approved Lobbying Controls bill (H.R. 15) when objections were raised to Sen, Ribicoff's (D-Conn.) "unanimous consent" motion to take up the bill. Despite this defeat, Sen, Ribicoff vowed to bring the bill back before the Senate next January.

This bill for registration and reporting requirements for lobbyists based it's lobbying test on quarterly spending of \$1,250 for a lobbyist or hiring someone who would devote at least 20% of his or her time to "lobbying."

Nearly all attempts on the House floor to amend the bill, to bring it more in line with the position of the Chamber and

other business groups, were rejected. Among these were amendments to strike coverage for influencing the award of government contracts and to base the lobbying test on the number of contracts.

Particularly objectionable was an added amendment setting a \$2,500 disclosure threshold for dues and other contributions made by members to lobbying organizations.

Rejection of Sen. Ribicoff's motion to consider the House bill also sunk a proponents' plan to offer a "backdoor" substitute which, reportedly, increased grass-roots reporting requirements.

NATIONAL FOREST MANAGEMENT: Clear-cutting Bill Passes on Voice Vote; 1897 Law Repealed

By a voice vote, both the House and Senate agreed to the Chamber-supported National Forest Timber Management Reform Act, S. 3091, repealing an 1897 law and allowing the resumption of clear-cutting in national forests under new guidelines.

A recent Federal court ruling threatened to prohibit the practice of removing standing timber in wide sections, clear-cutting, rather than on a selective basis.

The bill requires the Agriculture Department to write

new guidelines, within two years, to specify that clear-cutting can occur only when the land slope, soil, watershed and terrain are protected. The bill is generally acceptable to industry because it repeals the 1897 law which gave the courts the basis for banning clear-cutting.

The National Chamber thinks that allowing continued clear-cutting under controlled, limited conditions is the right way to go. We urged passage of the bill and applaud Congress for doing so.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS OF INTEREST TO BUSINESS

Although questioning the "merits" of the parens patriae concept in the ANTITRUST bill, President Ford signed the measure into law which permits States to act on behalf of

consumers to recover triple damages from price-fixing without having to prove individual claims. Public Law 94-435 also requires large corporations to pre-notify antitrust

authorities in advance of consumating mergers and enables Justice to demand pre-complaint evidence from firms and individuals not under investigation.

Under a bill sent to the President, which he is expected to sign, the U.S. population will be counted every five years instead of every 10. This NEW CENSUS is in addition to the regular decennial census and will begin in 1985 and every 10 years afterward. The bill also repeals the never-used jail sentences for failure to answer census question, but retains fines of \$100 to \$10,000.

The House killed an OFFSHORE DRILLING bill when its

members voted to send it back to Conference with instructions to delete provisions authorizing Interior to conduct exploratory offshore drilling through contracts with private companies. Senate Conferees were adamant about retention of the drilling authority.

The Senate killed a NUCLEAR FUEL ASSURANCE bill when its members narrowly tabled a motion to bring up a bill guaranteeing commercialization of uranium enrichment technologies. The Federal government would have been required to guarantee delivery of technology and loans totalling \$8 billion in contractual liability.

Comment

Is Public Employee Pension Reform Possible?

Last April, we editorialized on the need for public employee pension reform in a two-part series entitled "Where to Begin" and "Where to End." We suggested the place to begin was with repeal of the 1% add-on, or "kicker," to the cost-of-living increases in Federal pensions.

Thanks to all of you who contacted your members of Congress, repeal of the kicker is now a reality — quite an incredible victory. The tax savings alone will amount to over \$200 million in fiscal year 1977, \$3 billion in the next five years, and \$37 billion by 1990.

Yet, this victory holds deeper significance. It has destroyed some long-held myths about what can be done in Washington and it shows the way for further actions that are needed to achieve full public employee pension reform.

Let's look at some of the myths.

First, there was the myth of the invincibility of Federal employee unions who lobbied so hard to prevent the repeal, but they lost.

Second, there was the myth that the sheer numbers, seven and a half million active and retired Federal civilian and military personnel, were too formidable to overcome, but they weren't.

Third, there was the myth that the self-interest of members of Congress — inextricably interwoven with that of all other Federal employees — would prevent enactment of any such legislation, but it didn't.

Finally, there was the myth that Congress would never, and certainly not in an election year, take away any bene-

fit, even if that benefit had been mistakenly conferred and had no economic justification. Yet, Congress did just that.

A mere six weeks before election day, all these myths have been proven to be just that — myths.

More important, a shining example has now been set for many State and local public employee pension plans.

The apathetic and the doomsayers, of course, will not be convinced. Rather, they will be very successful in convincing each other that the kicker repeal was an atypical occurrence arising out of the current anti-Washington sentiment. We disagree.

We think the repeal is only the beginning. And we stand by our statement of where it will all end. "The problem will be solved when the American taxpayer is assured that public employee compensation, both pay and benefits, is reasonably comparable to compensation in the private sector."

Such a solution is possible. Equity, reason and common sense demand it. Repeal of the kicker has shown the way.



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