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Vital Statistics on Congress, 1989-1990

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As the 1980s draw to a close, **Vital Statistics on Congress, 1989-1990,** chronicles the turmoil of the past decade in Congress: the obsession with budget-related issues through most of the Reagan years, the fracture and reconsolidation of the Democrats in the House, the sharp swings in partisan control of the Senate, and the evolving role of political action committees in congressional campaigns. The statistics that document these and other developments show how well Congress fulfills its role as the branch of government most immediately responsive to changes in society. Its approach to governing changed in each year of the Reagan administration and appears to have followed shifting public opinion about taxation, defense spending, and social services.

This fourth update of the original 1980 volume is intended for all those who watch Congress as journalists, political scientists, students, lobbyists, citizens—even as staff and members of the institution itself. A comprehensive index, a new feature in this edition of **Vital Statistics on Congress,** makes it easier for Congress watchers to find and use the wealth of information contained within.

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group or a quasi-political party. It consistently has given more than 90 percent of its growing pool of money to Democrats, and it consistently has been willing to give money to challengers and open-seat candidates.

Nonconnected PACs also have always been willing to give to challengers and open-seat candidates. Nonconnected PACs include most of the ideological and issue groups. The partisan shift among these groups did not occur because existing groups changed stripes, but because new groups formed, adding new money into the pool. The new groups that appeared between 1982 and 1988 were predominantly liberal—whether antinuclear, proenvironmental, prochoice, or pro-elderly.

Business groups have not changed their political stripes: they have all but dropped them. They give to Democrats in House races, and Republicans in Senate races, not because they are Democratic or Republican, but because they are incumbents. Most business groups have drastically reduced their contributions to challengers and open-seat candidates—from 30 percent in 1980 and 23 percent in 1982 to 10 percent in 1988.

The net result of the three trends: all incumbents are well funded, as are most Democratic challengers with a serious chance of winning. The average losing Democratic challenger who earned 40 percent or more of the vote raised $100,000 more than a comparable losing Republican challenger ($439,612 to $333,865). That difference was due entirely to PAC contributions. The average losing Democrat with 40 percent or more of the vote received $141,475 from PACs, versus only $47,977 for a similar Republican. It would be wrong, therefore, to say that PACs support only incumbents. Many PACs support viable Democratic challengers. Republican challengers are the ones who are left out.

Table 3-3 House Candidates Who Spent More Than $500,000, 1974-1988

Election	*Democratic*	*Republican*	*Total*
1974	0	0	0
1976	0	0	0
1978	3	4	7
1980	15	13	28
1982	31	36	67
1984	43	34	77
1986	51	54	105
1988	82	58	140

Sources: For 1974, Common Cause, *1974 Congressional Campaign Finances,* vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1976); for 1976, Federal Election Commission, *Disclosure Series No. 9* (House of Representatives Campaigns), September 1977; for 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977-78, Interim Report No. 5* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), June 1979; for 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979-80, Final Report* (U.S. House and Senate Campaigns), January 1982; for 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981-82, Interim Report No. 3* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), May 1983; for 1984, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1983-84, Final Report* (U.S. House and Senate Campaigns), November 1985; for 1986, Common Cause, "Almost Half of U.S. Representatives Received 50% or More of Campaign Funds from PACs," press release, April 7, 1987; for 1988, Federal Election Commission, "$458 Million Spent by 1988 Congressional Campaigns," press release, February 24, 1989.

Table 3-8 Campaign Expenditures for Open Senate Seats, by Election Outcome, 1984-1988
(mean net dollars)

	1984	*1986*	*1988*
Democrat won with 60% or more	3,180,975 ($N = 1$)	2,057,422 ($N = 1$)	2,881,666 ($N = 1$)
Republican lost with 40% or less	1,777,581 ($N = 1$)	1,699,175 ($N = 1$)	282,229 ($N = 1$)
Democrat won with less than 60%	—	3,242,445 ($N = 4$)	7,491,600 ($N = 1$)
Republican lost with more than 40%	—	2,580,921 ($N = 4$)	2,853,842 ($N = 1$)
Republican won with 60% or more	7,063,519 ($N = 2$)	2,408,766 ($N = 1$)	876,877 ($N = 1$)
Democrat lost with 40% or less	2,666,291 ($N = 2$)	531,698 ($N = 1$)	549,908 ($N = 1$)
Republican won with less than 60%	9,509,724 ($N = 1$)	5,376,255 ($N = 1$)	3,812,824 ($N = 3$)
Democrat lost with more than 40%	5,880,512 ($N = 1$)	4,377,661 ($N = 1$)	2,753,999 ($N = 3$)

Note: The Federal Election Commission included the following disclaimer along with its 1986 data, and *Vital Statistics* considers it appropriate for all years: "The small *N*'s and unique nature of some Senate campaigns make all measures of central tendency like averages or medians problematic and, as a result, the Commission would not include tables such as these in its regular release of information."

Sources: For 1984, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1983-84, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), November 1985; for 1986, Federal Election Commission computer printout, July 1987; for 1988, Federal Election Commission, "$458 Million Spent by 1988 Congressional Campaigns," press release, February 24, 1989.

Table 3-9 Funding Sources for Congressional Candidates in General Elections, by Party, 1974-1988

	Amount raised by candidates and party expenditures on behalf of candidates ($ millions)[a]	*Percentage distribution*		
		Non-party PACs	Party (contributions plus 441a[d] expenditures)[a]	Individual and other[b]
	House			
1974[c]				
All candidates	$45.7	17	4	79
Democrats	23.9	22	1	77
Republicans	21.7	10	7	83
1976				
All candidates[d]	66.1	22	8	70
Democrats	35.1	27	4	69
Republicans	30.5	17	13	70
1978[e]				
All candidates[d]	93.6	24	7	69
Democrats	48.7	27	3	70
Republicans	44.2	22	11	67
1980[e]				
All candidates[d]	127.1	28	6	66
Democrats	61.4	32	2	66
Republicans	64.6	25	9	66
1982[e]				
All candidates[d]	189.8	31	6	63
Democrats	94.3	34	2	64
Republicans	95.4	27	10	63
1984[e]				
All candidates[d]	204.0	36	6	58
Democrats	107.2	41	3	56
Republicans	96.6	30	11	59
1986[e]				
All candidates[d]	235.1	36	4	60
Democrats	126.4	42	2	56
Republicans	108.7	29	6	65
1988[e]				
All candidates[d]	248.9	40	4	56
Democrats	140.0	46	3	51
Republicans	108.9	31	6	63

(Table continues)

PACS contributed almost 1/3 of the amount raised on behalf of candidates.

Table 3-9 (continued)

	Amount raised by candidates and party expenditures on behalf of candidates ($ millions)[a]	*Percentage Distribution*		
		Non-party PACs	Party (contributions plus 441a[d] expenditures)[a]	Individual and other[b]
		Senate		
1974[c]				
All candidates	$28.2	11	6	83
Democrats	16.2	13	2	85
Republicans	11.6	7	13	80
1976				
All candidates[d]	39.2	15	4	81
Democrats	19.5	19	2	79
Republicans	18.8	11	6	83
1978[e]				
All candidates[d]	68.9	13	6	81
Democrats	27.8	14	3	83
Republicans	40.6	12	8	80
1980[e]				
All candidates[d]	83.5	19	9	72
Democrats	42.0	18	4	78
Republicans	41.2	21	15	64
1982[e]				
All candidates[d]	127.0	17	10	73
Democrats	64.0	17	4	79
Republicans	62.7	17	15	68
1984[e]				
All candidates[d]	158.0	18	7	75
Democrats	73.1	18	6	76
Republicans	84.6	18	8	74
1986[e]				
All candidates[e]	208.7	21	9	70
Democrats	90.2	22	8	70
Republicans	118.5	21	9	70
1988[e]				
All candidates[e]	199.5	22	9	69
Democrats	103.1	23	7	70
Republicans	96.4	22	11	67

(Notes follow)

Not as bad as House

[a] The "amount raised' column includes the sum of what general election candidates raised from January 1 of the odd-numbered year preceding an election through December 31 of the election year plus 441a(d) party expenditures on behalf of those candidates. The 441a(d) expenditures for each year are given in table 3-10.

[b] "Other" includes contributions from individuals of less than $500, contributions from the candidate to himself or herself, unrepaid loans, and, for the 1974 Senate races, some funds whose sources were not identified. Because of confusion over unrepaid loans, the FEC says that it cannot specify loan amounts or candidate self-financing and that its numbers from 1976 and 1978 are unreliable. This also affects the data for small individual contributions, many of which need not be reported individually because those figures are derived by subtracting all other categories from the total.

[c] The figures for 1974 are only for candidates who were opposed in the general election.

[d] Includes minor party candidates.

[e] Louisiana instituted a two-step election process in 1978 in which candidates of all parties run against one another in a September primary. If no candidate wins 50 percent or more of the vote at that time, the top two candidates run against each other in November. In these data candidates in a September Louisiana primary are considered "general election candidates" when the September balloting produces a clear winner with more than half the total vote.

Sources: For 1974, Gary C. Jacobson, *Money in Congressional Elections* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), chap. 3; for 1976, Federal Election Commission, *Disclosure Series No. 4* (National Party Committees), *Disclosure Series No. 6* (Senate Campaigns), and *Disclosure Series No. 9* (House Campaigns), September 1977; for 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977-78, Interim Report No. 5* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), June 1979, 31-32; for 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979-80, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), January 1982, 49-50; for 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981-82, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), October 1983, 33-34; for 1984, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1983-84, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), November 1985; for 1986, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1985-86, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), 37-41; for 1988, Federal Election Commission, "$458 Million Spent by 1988 Congressional Campaigns," press release, February 24, 1989; "FEC Summarizes 1988 Political Party Activity," March 27, 1989.

Table 3-10 Campaign Funding Sources for General Election Candidates in House and Senate Elections, 1982-1988

Party and candidate status	*Number of candidates*	*Amount raised by candidates plus party expenditures on behalf of candidates ($ millions)*	*Percentage distribution*							
			Total party contributions plus 441a(d) expenditures	Total PAC contributions	Corporate PAC	Labor PAC	Trade/ membership/ health PAC	Nonconnected PAC	Co-op and corp. w/o stock PAC	Individuals, candidate to self, and other
				House, 1982						
All candidates[a]	830	$191.0	6	30	10	8	8	4	1	64
Democrats	435	94.6	2	34	7	15	7	4	1	64
Incumbents	218	59.1	1	38	10	13	9	3	2	61
Challengers	166	21.7	4	28	1	19	3	5	1	69
Open seats	51	13.9	2	28	4	15	4	4	1	70
Republicans	395	96.3	10	27	12	1	10	3	1	63
Incumbents	168	53.3	8	33	15	1	13	3	2	59
Challengers	176	24.9	14	17	7	0	5	5	0	69
Open seats	51	18.1	12	21	9	0	7	4	0	67
				Senate, 1982						
All candidates[a]	66	$128.2	10	17	6	4	4	3	1	74
Democrats	33	64.5	4	17	4	7	3	2	1	79
Incumbents	19	33.4	4	24	6	8	5	3	1	72

Challengers	11	17.4	5	12	0	8	1	3	0	83
Open seats	3	13.6	4	6	1	3	1	1	0	90
Republicans	33	63.4	15	17	9	1	4	3	0	68
Incumbents	11	25.9	9	25	13	1	7	3	1	67
Challengers	19	23.5	21	11	6	0	2	3	0	67
Open Seats	3	14.1	15	13	8	0	3	2	1	72
				House, 1984						
All candidates[a]	816	$203.8	7	36	11	9	10	4	1	58
Democrats	434	107.2	3	41	9	17	10	4	2	56
Incumbents	258	81.8	2	46	12	16	11	4	2	52
Challengers	152	16.3	6	29	1	20	4	4	0	66
Open seats	24	9.1	6	22	2	13	4	3	0	72
Republicans	382	96.6	11	30	13	1	10	4	1	60
Incumbents	154	52.1	6	37	17	2	14	3	2	58
Challengers	204	33.8	17	18	7	0	4	6	0	65
Open seats	24	10.7	13	31	14	0	9	7	1	56
				Senate, 1984						
All candidates[a]	68	$157.7	7	18	7	3	4	3	1	75
Democrats	33	73.1	6	18	4	6	3	4	1	76
Incumbents	12	22.8	3	28	10	6	7	4	1	69
Challengers	17	25.5	9	17	11	8	2	6	0	74
Open seats	4	24.8	6	9	2	4	1	2	0	85

(Table continues)

Table 3-10 (continued)

Party and candidate status	*Number of candidates*	*Amount raised by candidates plus party expenditures on behalf of candidates ($ millions)*	*Percentage distribution*							
			Total party contributions plus 441a(d) expenditures	Total PAC contributions	Corporate PAC	Labor PAC	Trade/ membership/ health PAC	Non-connected PAC	Co-op and corp. w/o stock PAC	Individuals, candidate to self, and other
Republicans	35	84.6	8	18	10	0	4	3	1	74
Incumbents	17	55.6	6	21	12	1	5	5	1	74
Challengers	13	10.0	20	15	7	0	3	0	5	65
Open seats	5	19.0	9	10	7	0	2	2	0	81
			House, 1986							
All candidates[a]	810	$234.2	4	36	11	9	10	5	1	60
Democrats	427	125.7	2	42	10	16	10	5	1	56
Incumbents	235	84.1	1	49	14	16	13	4	2	50
Challengers	147	22.1	6	29	1	19	3	6	0	65
Open seats	45	19.5	3	31	3	15	5	7	1	66
Republicans	383	108.5	6	29	13	2	10	4	2	65
Incumbents	160	67.3	4	37	17	2	13	3	2	59
Challengers	182	21.4	10	11	3	0	3	4	0	79
Open seats	41	19.8	10	24	10	0	8	5	1	66

				TOTAL PAC						
				Senate, 1986						
All candidates[a]	68	$208.6	9	21	9	3	5	4	1	70
Democrats	34	90.2	8	22	5	7	4	5	1	70
Incumbents	9	28.2	7	26	9	6	6	4	1	67
Challengers	18	40.3	9	19	3	8	3	5	1	72
Open seats	7	21.7	8	22	4	8	3	6	1	70
Republicans	34	118.5	9	21	12	1	5	3	1	70
Incumbents	18	68.9	8	24	13	1	6	3	1	73
Challengers	9	20.4	18	9	5	0	2	2	0	73
Open seats	7	29.1	6	22	14	0	5	3	1	72
				House, 1988						
All candidates[a]	809	$248.6	4	40	12	10	11	4	2	56
Democrats	427	140.0	3	47	11	17	12	5	2	50
Incumbents	248	103.9	2	52	15	16	14	5	2	46
Challengers	153	23.4	6	32	1	21	4	6	0	62
Open seats	26	12.7	6	37	3	19	7	7	1	57
Republicans	382	108.9	6	31	14	2	11	3	1	63
Incumbents	164	73.8	3	39	18	2	14	3	2	58
Challengers	193	21.4	14	10	4	0	3	3	0	76
Open seats	25	13.7	11	21	7	1	8	4	1	68

(Table continues)

Table 3-10 (continued)

Party and candidate status	*Number of candidates*	*Amount raised by candidates plus party expenditures on behalf of candidates ($ millions)*	*Percentage distribution*							
			Total party contributions plus 441a(d) expenditures	Total PAC contributions	Corporate PAC	Labor PAC	Trade/ membership/ health PAC	Non-connected PAC	Co-op and corp. w/o stock PAC	Individuals, candidate to self, and other
				Senate, 1988						
All candidates[a]	66	$199.4	9	22	9	3	5	4	1	69
Democrats	33	103.1	7	23	7	6	4	5	1	70
Incumbents	15	53.1	4	29	10	6	7	5	1	67
Challengers	12	29.1	11	16	2	7	2	5	0	73
Open seats	6	20.9	8	16	4	5	3	4	0	76
Republicans	33	96.4	11	22	12	1	6	3	1	67
Incumbents	12	50.8	8	26	14	1	7	3	1	66
Challengers	15	27.7	18	11	6	0	2	2	0	71
Open seats	6	17.8	13	26	14	1	7	4	1	61

[a] Excludes minor-party candidates.

Sources: For 1982, Federal Election Commission, "FEC Releases Data on 1981-1982 Elections," press release, May 2, 1983; for 1984, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1983-84, Final Report* (U.S. House and Senate Campaigns), November 1985; for 1986, Federal Election Commission, "FEC Releases Final Report on 1986 Congressional Candidates," press release, May 5, 1988; "FEC Releases First Complete PAC Figures for 1985-86," press release, May 21, 1987; for 1988, Federal Election Commission computer printout (interim data, May 3, 1989).

Table 3-11 Political Party Financial Activity, 1976-1988
(in dollars)

	Adjusted receipts	*Adjusted disbursements*	*Contributions to presidential, Senate, and House candidates*	*Expenditures for presidential, Senate, and House candidates*
		1976		
Democratic				
National committee	13,095,630	12,516,979	22,050	3,055,644
Senatorial	1,017,454	971,562	375,237	4,359
Congressional	937,717	1,011,157	423,200	500
Conventions, other national	3,164,573	3,062,675	0	0
State/local	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Total Democratic	18,215,374	17,562,373	820,487	3,060,503
Republican				
National committee	29,118,930	26,679,143	1,871,726	1,442,773
Senatorial	1,774,815	2,010,629	445,902	113,976
Congressional	12,207,055	9,243,195	2,071,525	329,853
Conventions, other national	2,605,088	2,143,220	11,343	0
State/local	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Total Republican	45,705,888	40,076,187	4,400,496	1,886,602
		1978		
Democratic				
National committee	11,314,008	11,455,639	64,307	68,822
Senatorial	269,981	893,773	427,000	0
Congressional	2,766,963	2,118,161	537,438	0
Conventions, other national	3,324,519	3,428,481	403,502	0
State/local	8,688,999	8,994,213	433,337	329,765
Total Democratic	26,364,470	26,890,267	1,865,584	398,587
Republican				
National committee	34,221,058	36,016,600	905,244	366,981
Senatorial	10,882,480	11,107,961	456,110	2,599,290
Congressional	14,062,070	15,695,690	1,817,424	839,421
Conventions, other national	4,400,216	2,330,882	598,382	0
State/local	20,960,029	20,728,829	745,191	579,974
Total Republican	84,525,853	85,879,962	4,522,351	4,355,666
		1980		
Democratic				
National committee	15,418,300	15,150,984	41,051	3,942,526
Senatorial	1,653,849	1,618,162	481,500	589,316

(Table continues)

Table 3-11 (continued)

	Adjusted receipts	Adjusted disbursements	Contributions to presidential, Senate, and House candidates	Expenditures for presidential, Senate, and House candidates
Congressional	2,864,088	2,828,184	614,097	34,686
Conventions, other national	8,147,837	6,631,517	132,200	0
State/local	9,103,520	8,754,177	384,358	375,660
Total Democratic	37,187,594	34,983,024	1,653,206	4,942,188
Republican				
National committee	77,838,238	75,821,719	844,455	5,352,269
Senatorial	22,308,963	21,211,482	414,893	5,025,802
Congressional	20,287,961	34,790,731	2,005,663	1,229,110
Conventions, other national	6,031,367	6,080,735	482,159	0
State/local	33,781,069	32,545,199	781,207	837,292
Total Republican	161,247,598	170,449,866	4,528,377	12,444,473
	1982			
Democratic				
National committee	16,466,029	16,547,601	124,574	144,742
Senatorial	5,622,254	5,568,352	530,000	1,877,245
Congressional	6,525,419	6,461,703	563,105	197,936
Conventions, other national	3,086,023	3,838,556	0	0
State/local	7,567,985	7,731,834	546,290	1,081,674
Total Democratic	39,267,710	40,148,146	1,763,969	3,301,597
Republican				
National committee	84,140,281	85,113,252	1,700,178	232,964
Senatorial	48,879,354	47,680,853	558,327	8,707,537
Congessional	58,041,972	57,041,301	2,554,924	4,943,249
Conventions, other national	2,967	87,246	0	0
State/local	23,984,934	24,099,337	812,787	401,213
Total Republican	215,049,508	214,021,989	5,626,216	14,284,983
	1984			
Democratic				
National committee	46,626,873	46,611,516	925,672	2,665,184
Senatorial	8,904,115	8,713,726	420,185	3,948,650
Congressional	10,391,548	10,207,965	762,767	1,124,047
Conventions, other national	14,036,588	13,739,121	0	0
State/local	18,522,274	18,166,202	519,120	1,274,170
Total Democratic	98,481,398	97,438,530	2,627,744	9,012,051

(Table continues)

Table 3-11 (continued)

	Adjusted receipts	*Adjusted disbursements*	*Contributions to presidential, Senate, and House candidates*	*Expenditures for presidential, Senate, and House candidates*
Republican				
National committee	106,151,941	104,791,503	848,794	6,817,810
Senatorial	81,655,723	83,642,301	563,051	6,732,151
Congessional	58,304,582	61,729,942	2,581,579	6,264,062
Conventions, other national	8,672,623	8,692,070	0	0
State/local	43,129,200	41,931,619	887,109	269,291
Total Republican	297,914,069	300,787,435	4,880,533	20,083,314
	1986[a]			
Democratic				
National committee	17,235,406	17,372,276	20,500	343,348
Senatorial	13,397,809	13,533,142	583,305	6,066,372
Congressional	12,322,969	12,562,666	610,840	1,545,376
Conventions, other national	7,618,834	7,801,818	1,000	0
State/local	14,008,888	14,300,052	462,504	1,021,952
Total Democratic	64,843,580	65,913,729	1,678,149	8,977,048
Republican				
National committee	83,780,156	86,679,251	350,427	2,100
Senatorial	84,438,546	83,734,148	629,472	9,959,330
Congessional	39,796,974	40,830,736	1,655,250	4,098,389
Conventions, other national	86,813	89,202	0	0
State/local	47,031,995	47,426,676	763,461	290,563
Total Republican	252,432,915	254,166,001	3,478,604	14,344,160
	1988[a]			
Democratic				
National committee	52,295,783	47,036,799	137,998	8,107,044
Senatorial	16,297,386	16,289,589	420,579	6,206,137
Congressional	12,469,354	12,481,532	666,637	2,425,633
Conventions, other national	19,164,401	19,152,131	0	0
State/local	27,696,663	26,967,036	507,092	1,177,295
Total Democratic	127,923,587	121,927,087	1,732,306	17,915,989
Republican				
National committee	90,980,761	89,893,536	325,440	8,291,273
Senatorial	65,896,691	63,350,247	760,488	10,250,633

(Table continues)

Table 3-11 (continued)

	Adjusted receipts	*Adjusted disbursements*	*Contributions to presidential, Senate, and House candidates*	*Expenditures for presidential, Senate, and House candidates*
Congressional	34,483,260	33,569,320	1,583,503	4,107,689
Conventions, other national	9,646,685	9,610,085	0	0
State/local	62,249,430	60,532,621	718,487	64,853
Total Republican	263,256,827	256,956,304	3,387,918	22,714,353

n.a. = not available.

[a] Figures are net, not adjusted.

Sources: For 1976, Federal Election Commission, *Disclosure Series No. 4* (National Party Political Committees: Receipts and Expenditures), November 1977, 5-40; for 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977-78, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, April 1980, 101; for 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979-80, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, January, 1982, 61; for 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981-82, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, October 1983, 55; for 1984, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1983-84, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, November 1985, 55; for 1986, Federal Election Commission, "FEC Final 1985-86 Report on Political Parties Shows Decline in Finance Activity," press release, May 5, 1988; for 1988, Federal Election Commission, "FEC Summarizes 1988 Political Party Activity," press release, March 27, 1989.

Table 3-12 Party Contributions and Coordinated Expenditures, by Office and Party, 1976-1988
(in dollars)

	Senate		*House*	
	Contributions	Expenditures	Contributions	Expenditures
1976				
Democrats	468,795	4,359	1,465,629	500
Republicans	930,034	113,976	3,658,310	329,583
1978				
Democrats	466,683	229,218	1,262,298	72,892
Republicans	703,204	2,723,880	3,621,104	1,297,079
1980				
Democrats	480,464	1,132,912	1,025,989	256,346
Republicans	677,004	5,434,758	3,498,323	2,203,748
1982				
Democrats	579,337	2,265,197	1,052,286	694,321
Republicans	600,221	8,715,761	4,720,959	5,293,260
1984				
Democrats	441,467	3,947,731	1,280,672	1,774,452
Republicans	590,922	6,518,415	4,060,120	6,190,309
1986				
Democrats	620,832	6,656,286	968,913	1,836,213
Republicans	729,522	10,077,902	2,520,278	4,111,474
1988				
Democrats	488,899	6,592,264	1,197,537	2,880,301
Republicans	721,237	10,260,600	2,650,569	4,162,644

Note: The table includes direct contributions made by party committees to congressional candidates and coordinated expenditures made on their behalf, known as 441a(d) expenditures because the legal spending limits are contained in U. S. Code, Title 2, sec. 441a(d). Under this provision, party committees are allowed to spend money on behalf of federal candidates, in addition to the money they may contribute directly. Unlike "independent expenditures," which are prohibited to the parties (see table 3-20 for a definition), this spending may be coordinated with a candidate.

House candidates may receive in direct contributions up to $10,000 each ($5,000 in the primary and $5,000 in the general election) from the national party, congressional campaign committee, and state or local party. Senate candidates may receive in direct contributions a total of $17,500 from the national party and senatorial campaign committee and another $10,000 from a state or local party.

The limits on 441a(d) expenditures are as follows: (a) for Senate candidates and for House candidates from states with only one House district, two 1975 cents times the voting age population, or $20,000 in 1975 dollars adjusted for inflation, whichever is greater; (b) for all other House candidates, $10,000 in 1975 dollars adjusted for inflation. State parties are allowed to spend equal amounts on behalf of congressional candidates, and court decisions permit state and local parties to designate a national party committee as its agent for these expenditures. *(Notes continue)*

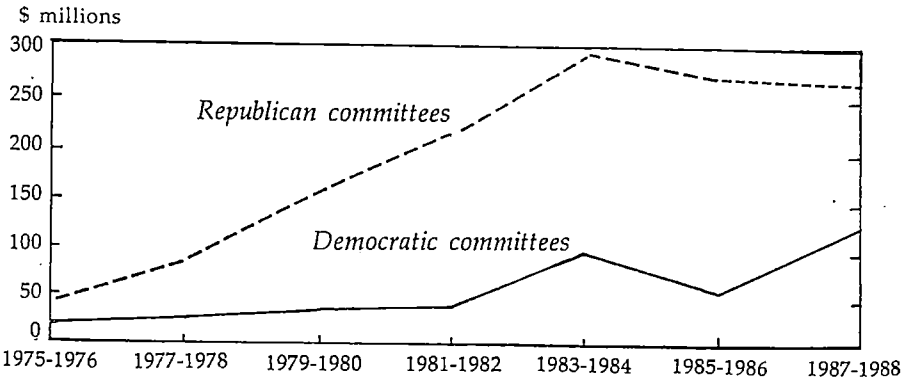
They can't budget or control spending in their own campaigns - How can they be expected to do it in office?

Table 3-12 (continued)

Combining state and national party contributions and 441a(d) expenditure limits, the maximum amount a House candidate could receive from party committees in 1988 was $86,100. Senate limits ranged from a low of $119,700 in small states to a high of $1,904,876 in California.

Sources: For 1974, Gary C. Jacobson, *Money in Congressional Elections*, chap. 3; for 1976, Federal Election Commission, *Disclosure Series No. 4* (National Party Committees), *Disclosure Series No. 6* (Senate Campaigns), and *Disclosure Series No. 9* (House Campaigns), September 1977; for 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977-78, Interim Report No. 5* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), June 1979, 31-32; for 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979-80, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), January 1982, 49-50; for 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981-82, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), October 1983, 33-34; for 1984, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1983-84, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), November 1985; for 1986, Federal Election Commission, "FEC Releases Final Report on 1986 Congressional Candidates," press release, May 5, 1988; for 1988, Federal Election Commission, "FEC Summarizes 1988 Political Party Activity," press release, March 27, 1989.

Figure 3-4 Political Party Receipts, 1975-1988



Source: Table 3-11.

Table 3-13 Number of Registered Political Action Committees, 1974-1988

Committee type	*1974*	*1976*	*1978*	*1980*	*1982*	*1984*	*1986*	*1988*
Corporate	89	433	784	1204	1467	1682	1744	1816
Labor	201	224	217	297	380	394	384	354
Trade/membership/ health[a]	318	489	451	574	628	698	745	786
Nonconnected	—	—	165	378	746	1053	1077	1115
Cooperative	—	—	12	42	47	52	56	59
Corporation without stock	—	—	24	56	103	130	151	138
Total	608	1146	1653	2551	3371	4009	4157	4268

Note: Data as of December 31 for every year.

[a] Includes all noncorporate and nonlabor PACs through December 31, 1976.

Source: Federal Election Commission PAC count press release, issued annually.

Table 3-14 Financial Activity of Political Action Committees, 1972-1988 (in dollars)

Election cycle[a]	*Adjusted receipts*[b]	*Adjusted expenditures*[b]	*Contributions to congressional candidates*
1972	n.a.	19,168,000	8,500,000[c]
1974	n.a.	25,000,000[d]	12,526,586
1976	54,045,588	52,894,630	22,571,912
1978	79,956,291	77,412,860	34,121,356[e]
1980	137,728,528	131,153,384	55,217,211[e]
1982	199,452,356	190,173,539	83,620,190[e]
1984	288,690,535	266,822,476	105,330,090
1986[f]	353,429,266	339,954,146	132,671,437
1988	369,502,748	349,611,558	147,897,641

n.a. = not available.

[a] All data are for full election cycle. The periods covered by each election cycle vary. Data for 1972 are limited for the period before April 7, 1972, the effective date for disclosure under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. Until then, campaign finance disclosure was governed by the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, under which much activity went unreported. Data for 1974 cover September 1, 1973 to December 31, 1974. Data for 1976 and for subsequent years cover January 1 of the odd-numbered year to December 31 of the even-numbered year.

[b] Adjusted receipts and expenditures exclude funds transferred between affiliated committees.

[c] Excludes contributions to candidates defeated in primaries.

[d] This is a rough estimate and does not correspond to the total in table 3-15, which was thought to be too low.

[e] Contributions to candidates for election in the year indicated, made during the two-year election cycle.

[f] 1986 FEC data was not adjusted and may be slightly inflated.

Sources: For data on receipts and expenditures, see the sources listed for table 3-15. For data on contributions, see the sources listed for table 3-16.

Table 3-15 Adjusted Expenditures of Political Action Committees, by Category, 1972-1988 (in millions of dollars)

Type of PAC	*1972*	*1974*[a]	*1976*	*1978*	*1980*	*1982*	*1984*	*1986*[b]	*1988*
Labor	8.5	11.0	17.5	18.6	25.1	34.8	47.5	57.8	70.4
Business-related[c]	8.0	8.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Corporate	[d]	[d]	5.8	15.2	31.4	43.3	59.2	79.3	89.0
Trade/membership/health	[d]	[d]	[e]	23.8	32.0	41.9	54.0	73.3	81.6
Nonconnected[f]	2.6	0.8	[e]	17.4	38.6	64.3	97.4	118.4	97.0
Other[g]	—	1.1	29.6	2.4	4.0	5.8	8.7	11.1	11.6
Total	19.2	20.9	52.9	77.4	131.2	190.2	266.8	340.0	349.6

Note: Adjusted expenditures exclude transfers of funds between affiliated committees. Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

[a] Data for 1974 do not correspond with those in table 3-14, which reflects an estimated amount, because the data in this table were thought to be low.

[b] 1986 FEC data were not adjusted, therefore these figures may be slightly inflated.

[c] This encompasses the Common Cause categories for business, health, and, in 1976, lawyers. This category is included here for the purpose of listing the data for 1972-1976, before the specific breakdowns were devised by the FEC for the corporate and other categories, and it is based on the assumption that the majority of PACs it includes have a basically probusiness orientation. It is only roughly comparable to the combined corporate and trade/membership/health groups in 1978-1982, but most of the business-related PACS would fall into those two FEC categories (some would be scattered in the nonconnected, cooperative, and corporation-without-stock groups).

[d] Included in business-related.

[e] Included in other figures for "other" category.

[f] For 1972 and 1974 this reflects spending by ideological PACs, as grouped by the Citizens' Research Foundation (1972) or Common Cause (1974). After 1976 it corresponds directly to the FEC category by that name (which is dominated by the ideological groups).

[g] This is a catchall category, for which only the 1978-1982 figures are comparable to one another. For 1974 this includes PACS grouped as "miscellaneous" by Common Cause and includes such groups as the NEA (and affiliates), environmentalists, and some cooperatives. For 1976 it includes all PACs now grouped by the FEC as trade/membership/health, nonconnected, cooperative, and corporation without stock. For 1978-1982, it combines the FEC categories of cooperatives and corporations without stock.

Sources: For 1972-1976 and for footnotes, Joseph E. Cantor, "Political Action Committees: Their Evolution and Growth and Their Implications for the Political System," Report No. 82-92, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., November 6, 1981, updated May 7, 1982, 83-84; for 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977-78, Final Report* (Party and Non-party Political Committees), vol. 1, April 1980, 139-140; for 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979-80, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, January 1982, 97-98; for 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981-82, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, October 1983, 90-92; for 1984, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1983-84, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, November 1985, 78; for 1986, Federal Election Commission, "FEC Final Report on 1986 PAC Activity," press release, May 5, 1988; for 1988, Federal Election Commission, "FEC Finds Slower Growth at PAC Activity During 1988 Election Cycle," press release, April 9, 1989.

Table 3-16 Types of PACs Contributing to Congressional Candidates, 1972-1988
(in millions of dollars)

Type of PAC	*1972*	*1974*	*1976*	*1978*[a]	*1980*[a]	*1982*[a]	*1984*[a]	*1986*[b]	*1988*
Labor	3.6	6.3	8.2	9.9	13.2	20.3	24.8	29.9	33.9
Business-related[c]	2.7	4.4	10.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Corporate	—	—	—	9.5	19.2	27.5	35.5	46.2	50.5
Trade/membership/health	—	—	—	11.2	15.9	21.9	26.7	32.9	38.9
Nonconnected[d]	—	0.7	1.5	2.5	4.9	10.7	14.5	18.8	19.2
Other[e]	2.2	1.0	2.8	1.0	2.0	3.2	3.8	4.9	5.5
Total	8.5	12.5	22.6	34.1	55.2	83.6	105.3	132.7	147.9

Note: Data are for all congressional candidates, except for 1972, where primary losers are excluded. Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

[a] Contributions to candidates for election in the year indicated, made during the two-year election cycle.

[b] 1986 FEC data were not adjusted, therefore these figures may be slightly inflated.

[c] This encompasses the Common Cause categories for business, health, and, in 1976, lawyers. This category is included here for the purpose of listing the data for 1972-1976, before the specific breakdowns were devised by the FEC for the corporate and other categories, and it is based on the assumption that the majority of PACs it includes have a basically probusiness orientation. It is only roughly comparable to the combined corporate and trade/membership/health groups in 1978-1982, but most of the business-related PACS would fall into those two FEC categories (some would be scattered in the nonconnected, cooperative, and corporation-without-stock groups).

[d] For 1974 and 1976 the nonconnected category, as defined by the FEC, correlates with the ideological group used by Common Cause for those two years. Most of the ideological PACs are today listed in the nonconnected group, which also includes PACs that are not ideological. Thus the data for 1974 and 1976 are not exactly comparable to those for 1978-1982, in view of the different standards applied to the nonconnected and the ideological groups. (Ideological PACs in 1972 were lumped into Common Cause's "miscellaneous" group.)

[e] This is a catchall category, in which the earlier figures are only roughly comparable to the later ones. For 1972-1976 the data reflect Common Cause's "miscellaneous" category, which included such groups as the NEA (and affiliates), environmentalists, and some cooperatives, and its agriculture/dairy category. In 1972 Common Cause included the ideological PACS under "miscellaneous," before their separate listing in 1974; thus 1972 includes more types of PACS than the 1974 and 1976 data do. For 1978-1982 the "other" data equate directly with the FEC's cooperatives and corporation-without-stock groups. Thus the data for 1972 are not exactly comparable with those for 1978-1982. The common thread is the inclusion of the major dairy PACS—ADEPT, C-TAPE, and SPACE—in "other" in all six election years.

Sources: For 1972-1976 and for footnotes, Cantor, "Political Action Committees," 87-88; for 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977-78, Interim Report No. 5* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), June 1979, 94; for 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979-80, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), January 1982, 127; for 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981-82, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), October 1983, 92; for 1984, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1983-84, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), November, 1985, 101; for 1986, Federal Election Commission, "FEC Final Report on 1986 PAC Activity," press release, May 5, 1988; for 1988, Federal Election Commission, "FEC Finds Slower Growth at PAC Activity During 1988 Election Cycle," press release, April 9, 1989.

Table 3-17 Types of PACs Contributing to Presidential, Senate, and House Campaigns, 1978-1988

Committee type	No. contributing	Contributions ($ millions) Total	Presidential	Senate	House
		1978			
Labor	215	10.3	0.03	2.8	7.4
Corporation	704	9.8	0.01	3.6	6.1
Nonconnected	122	2.8	0.001	0.7	2.1
Trade/membership/health	400	11.3	0.001	2.8	8.6
Cooperative	11	0.9	0.009	0.2	0.7
Corporation without stock	22	0.1	0	0.03	0.1
Total	1,474	35.2	0.05	10.1	25.0
		1980			
Labor	240	14.2	0.3	4.2	9.7
Corporation	1101	21.6	1.1	7.7	12.7
Nonconnected	243	5.2	0.1	1.9	3.2
Trade/membership/health	490	17.0	0.3	4.6	12.1
Cooperative	31	1.5	0.04	0.4	1.1
Corporation without stock	50	0.7	0.04	0.3	0.4
Total	2,155	60.2	1.8	19.1	39.3
		1982			
Labor	293	20.9	0.04	5.2	15.7
Corporation	1317	29.4	0.04	9.9	19.4
Nonconnected	407	11.0	0.01	3.4	7.5
Trade/membership/health	524	22.9	0.01	5.7	17.2
Cooperative	46	2.2	0	0.5	1.7
Corporation without stock	78	1.1	0.001	0.3	0.8
Total	2,665	87.6	0.1	25.1	62.4
		1984			
Labor	289	26.2	0.3	5.6	20.3
Corporation	1521	39.0	0.7	14.3	24.0
Nonconnected	517	15.3	0.2	5.8	9.3
Trade/membership/health	575	28.3	0.2	7.3	20.8
Cooperative	50	2.6	0.04	0.6	2.0
Corporation without stock	94	1.5	0.03	0.5	0.9
Total	3,046	112.9	1.5	34.1	77.3

(Table continues)

Table 3-17 (continued)

Committee type	No. contributing	Contributions ($ millions) Total	Presidential	Senate	House
		1986			
Labor	261	31.0	0.0	7.9	23.1
Corporation	1584	49.6	0.0	21.7	27.8
Nonconnected	576	19.4	0.0	8.1	11.3
Trade/membership/health	598	34.5	0.0	10.5	24.0
Cooperative	51	2.7	0.0	0.7	1.9
Corporation without stock	117	2.6	0.0	1.1	1.5
Total	3,187	139.8	0.1	50.1	89.6
		1988			
Labor	253	34.5	0.6	7.1	26.9
Corporation	1613	52.3	1.8	18.8	31.7
Nonconnected	623	19.6	0.5	7.8	11.3
Trade/membership/health	626	39.2	0.3	10.3	28.6
Cooperative	51	2.6	0.1	0.6	2.0
Corporation without stock	121	3.0	0.1	1.0	1.9
Total	3,287	151.2	3.4	45.6	102.4

→ Contribute more to House than Senate & Pres. combined

Note: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding. The Senate and House figures include contributions made to committees that may not have been those of candidates during the election cycle indicated, such as debt retirement committees, the committees of retiring incumbents and senators whose terms end in a subsequent election cycle. The number of committees making contributions is lower than the number registered in table 3-13.

Sources: For 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977-78, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, April 1980, 144-152; for 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979-80, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, January 1982, 102-110; for 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981-82, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, October 1983, 96-105; for 1984, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1983-84, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, November 1985, 79-85; for 1986, Federal Election Commission, "FEC Final Report on 1986 PAC Activity," press release, May 5, 1988; for 1988, Federal Election Commission, "FEC Finds Slower Growth at PAC Activity During 1988 Election Cycle," press release, April 9, 1989.

Table 3-18 Political Action Committee Contributions to House Candidates, 1978-1988

Committee type	Amount contributed (dollars)	Percentage distribution					
		Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat	
		D	R	D	R	D	R
		1978[a]					
Labor	7,462,424	60	3	17	0	19	0
Corporate	6,158,069	35	28	2	16	7	12
Nonconnected	2,064,062	12	13	4	39	6	25
Trade/membership/ health	8,571,697	36	27	2	14	9	12
Cooperative	674,698	66	16	2	1	9	6
Corporation without stock	95,390	48	13	7	4	17	11
Total	25,026,340	42	19	7	12	11	10
		1980[b]					
Labor	8,883,834	69	4	16	0	10	0
Corporate	11,662,361	36	32	1	20	1	9
Nonconnected[c]	2,831,209	21	15	5	41	4	12
Trade/membership/ health	11,215,269	39	32	2	17	3	8
Cooperative	985,177	59	26	2	3	3	7
Corporation without stock	387,740	47	30	2	11	2	7
Total	35,965,590	45	24	5	15	4	7
		1982[d]					
Labor	14,557,589	53	4	28	0.1	14	1
Corporate	18,136,407	32	45	1	9	3	9
Nonconnected	6,886,695	29	19	16	18	8	10
Trade/membership/ health	15,901,781	34	42	4	8	4	8
Cooperative	1,650,239	52	33	4	1	6	3
Corporation without stock	771,847	51	32	5	3	5	4
Total	57,904,558	39	30	11	7	7	7

(Table continues)

Table 3-18 (continued)

Committee type	Amount contributed (dollars)	Percentage distribution: Incumbent D	Incumbent R	Challenger D	Challenger R	Open seat D	Open seat R
		1984[e]					
Labor	18,686,078	71	5	17	0.2	6	0.2
Corporate	22,908,071	43	39	0.5	11	0.7	6
Nonconnected	8,641,416	41	15	8	24	4	9
Trade/membership/ health	19,805,084	47	36	3	7	2	5
Cooperative	1,965,801	61	31	2	2	1	2
Corporation without stock	885,512	62	27	2	4	1	3
Total	72,891,962	52	26	6	8	3	4
		1986[f]					
Labor	21,946,955	60	7	19	0.1	13	0.4
Corporate	26,358,751	45	42	1	3	2	7
Nonconnected	10,713,993	35	21	13	9	12	10
Trade/membership/ health	23,003,124	46	38	3	3	4	7
Cooperative	1,847,860	54	37	1	1	4	3
Corporation without stock	1,373,922	53	32	2	4	4	7
Total	85,244,605	48	29	8	3	7	6
		1988[g]					
Labor	25,753,300	64	7	19	0	9	0
Corporate	31,069,925	50	42	1	3	1	3
Nonconnected	10,720,895	45	22	13	6	8	5
Trade/membership/ health	27,880,942	52	36	3	2	3	4
Cooperative	1,936,543	59	33	2	0	4	2
Corporation without stock	1,839,135	57	31	2	4	2	4
Total	99,200,740	54	29	7	2	5	3

Note: General election candidates only. D indicates Democrat; R indicates Republican. Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

(Notes continue)

Summary

1988 - PAC funds more likely to be given to the following in the order they are likely to be given:

Dem. Incumbent

Rep. Incumbent

Dem. Challenger

Rep. Challenger

↓

more is given to open seat candidates than Rep. Challenger

Table 3-18 (continued)

[a] Contribution figures are for all 1978 House candidates, but most went to general election candidates. The total number of candidates was 797; 31 percent of those were Democratic incumbents, 17 percent Republican incumbents, 14 percent Democratic challengers, 25 percent Republican challengers, 7 percent Democrats running for an open seat, and 7 percent Republicans running for an open seat.

[b] The total number of candidates was 738; 34 percent of those were Democratic incumbents, 19 percent Republican incumbents, 13 percent Democratic challengers, 23 percent Republican challengers, 6 percent Democrats running for an open seat, and 5 percent Republicans running for an open seat.

[c] PACs not connected to other organizations also gave more than 1 percent of their House contributions to challengers who were neither Democrats nor Republicans.

[d] The total number of candidates was 830; 26 percent of those were Democratic incumbents, 20 percent Republican incumbents, 20 percent Democratic challengers, 21 percent Republican challengers, 6 percent Democrats running for an open seat, and 6 percent Republicans running for an open seat.

[e] The total number of candidates was 816; 32 percent of those were Democratic incumbents, 19 percent Republican incumbents, 19 percent Democratic challengers, 25 percent Republican challengers, 3 percent Democrats running for an open seat, and 3 percent Republicans running for an open seat.

[f] The total number of candidates was 810; 29 percent of those were Democratic incumbents, 20 percent Republican incumbents, 18 percent Democratic challengers, 23 percent Republican challengers, 6 percent Democrats running for an open seat, and 5 percent Republicans running for an open seat.

[g] The total number of candidates was 809; 31 percent of those were Democratic incumbents, 20 percent Republican incumbents, 19 percent Democratic challengers, 24 percent Republican challengers, 3 percent Democrats running for an open seat, and 3 percent Republicans running for an open seat.

Sources: For 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977-78, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, April 1980, 149-150; for 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979-80, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), January 1982, 65-66; for 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981-82, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), October 1983, 47-48; for 1984, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1983-84, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), November 1985, 53; for 1986, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1985-86, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), March 1988, 53; for 1988, Federal Election Commission computer printout, May 3, 1989.

Table 3-19 Political Action Committee Contributions to Senate Candidates, 1978-1988

Committee type	Amount contributed (dollars)	Percentage distribution: Incumbent D	Incumbent R	Challenger D	Challenger R	Open seat D	Open seat R
		1978[a]					
Labor	2,831,336	38	9	33	1	20	1
Corporate	3,616,388	15	37	6	20	7	15
Nonconnected	732,993	10	19	11	37	4	18
Trade/membership/ health	2,751,980	19	31	9	17	10	13
Cooperative	202,600	22	21	13	10	20	13
Corporation without stock	25,578	16	35	7	16	12	15
Total	10,160,875	22	26	15	15	11	11
		1980[b]					
Labor	3,428,404	65	9	14	1	11	1
Corporate	6,445,566	25	14	1	47	2	11
Nonconnected	1,690,574	22	6	2	53	2	14
Trade/membership/ health	3,816,424	37	17	3	32	5	7
Cooperative	325,050	65	11	1	11	6	6
Corporation without stock	214,853	40	18	3	27	5	7
Total	15,920,871	37	13	4	33	5	8
		1982[c]					
Labor	4,830,051	56	7	27	0.3	9	1
Corporate	8,275,630	26	41	1	17	1	14
Nonconnected	3,150,309	28	20	15	23	6	7
Trade/membership/ health	4,857,841	37	39	4	10	2	8
Cooperative	427,526	52	19	12	2	1	14
Corporation without stock	262,140	45	33	3	6	2	11
Total	21,803,497	36	29	10	12	4	9

(Table continues)

Table 3-19 (continued)

Committee type	Amount contributed (dollars)	Percentage distribution: Incumbent D	Incumbent R	Challenger D	Challenger R	Open seat D	Open seat R
		1984[d]					
Labor	4,600,719	28	6	46	0.1	20	0.03
Corporate	11,398,143	20	57	2	6	3	11
Nonconnected	5,079,528	20	28	28	10	9	6
Trade/membership/ health	6,003,397	27	48	9	4	6	6
Cooperative	450,942	31	49	10	1	8	1
Corporation without stock	368,185	33	39	11	4	7	5
Total	27,900,914	23	41	16	6	8	7
		1986[e]					
Labor	7,129,594	23	8	43	0	26	1
Corporate	18,953,704	13	49	7	6	5	21
Nonconnected	7,466,771	15	26	25	5	16	12
Trade/membership/ health	9,424,448	19	42	13	3	8	15
Cooperative	632,380	23	40	20	2	7	8
Corporation without stock	973,804	16	47	15	4	7	11
Total	44,580,701	16	37	18	4	11	15
		1988[f]					
Labor	6,778,094	47	6	31	0	14	2
Corporate	18,340,192	30	39	3	10	5	14
Nonconnected	7,678,148	33	22	18	8	10	9
Trade/membership/ health	10,090,145	34	36	5	6	6	12
Cooperative	550,057	40	29	8	3	5	14
Corporation without stock	1,011,831	41	32	6	5	6	10
Total	44,448,467	34	30	10	7	8	10

Note: General election candidates only. D indicates Democrat; R indicates Republican. Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

(Notes follow)

Same as 1988 in the House.

Table 3-19 (continued)

[a] Contribution figures for all 1978 Senate candidates, but most went to general election candidates. The total number of candidates was 68; 16 percent of those were Democratic incumbents, 16 percent Republican challengers, 19 percent Democrats running for open seats, and 18 percent Republicans running for open seats.

[b] The total number of candidates was 66; 27 percent of those were Democratic incumbents, 9 percent Republican incumbents, 9 percent Democratic challengers, 27 percent Republican challengers, 14 percent Democrats running for open seats, and 14 percent Republicans running for open seats.

[c] The total number of candidates was 66; 29 percent of those were Democratic incumbents, 17 percent Republican incumbents, 17 percent Democratic challengers, 29 percent Republican challengers, 5 percent Democrats running for open seats, and 5 percent Republicans running for open seats.

[d] The total number of candidates was 68; 18 percent of those were Democratic incumbents, 25 percent Republican incumbents, 25 percent Democratic challengers, 19 percent Republican challengers, 6 percent Democrats running for open seats, and 7 percent Republicans running for open seats.

[e] The total number of candidates was 68; 13 percent of those were Democratic incumbents, 26 percent Republican incumbents, 26 percent Democratic challengers, 13 percent Republican challengers, 10 percent Democrats running for open seats, and 10 percent Republicans running for open seats.

[f] The total number of candidates was 66; 23 percent of those were Democratic incumbents, 20 percent Republican incumbents, 18 percent Democratic challengers, 23 percent Republican challengers, 9 percent Democrats running for open seats, and 9 percent Republicans running for open seats.

Sources: For 1948-78, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977-78, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, April 1980, 147-148; for 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979-80, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), January 1982, 63-64; for 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981-82, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), October 1983, 45-46; for 1984, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1983-84, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), November 1985, 52; for 1986, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1985-86, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), March 1988, 52; for 1988, Federal Election Commission computer printout, May 3, 1989.

Table 3-20 Independent Expenditures in House, Senate, and Presidential Election Campaigns, 1977-1988 (in dollars)

	For Democrats	*Against Democrats*	*For Republicans*	*Against Republicans*	*Total*[a]
1977-1978					
House	28,725	31,034	70,701	5,298	143,162
	(*N* = 55)	(*N* = 7)	(*N* = 83)	(*N* = 5)	(*N* = 164)
Senate	102,508	36,717	26,065	1,985	168,125
	(*N* = 13)	(*N* = 6)	(*N* = 22)	(*N* = 5)	(*N* = 48)
President	4,442	0	1,726	0	6,168
	(*N* = 2)		(*N* = 1)		(*N* = 3)
1979-1980					
House	190,615	38,023	410,478	45,132	684,727
	(*N* = 91)	(*N* = 32)	(*N* = 205)	(*N* = 6)	(*N* = 321)
Senate	127,381	1,282,613	261,678	12,430	1,684,102
	(*N* = 24)	(*N* = 15)	(*N* = 58)	(*N* = 5)	(*N* = 89)
President	123,058	737,796	12,537,522	65,040	13,746,444
	(*N* = 2)	(*N* = 3)	(*N* = 3)	(*N* = 2)	(*N* = 15)
1981-1982					
House	241,442	862,654	492,404	66,296	1,662,796
	(*N* = 84)	(*N* = 39)	(*N* = 164)	(*N* = 14)	(*N* = 276)
Senate	127,451	3,182,986	298,410	483,750	4,094,597
	(*N* = 25)	(*N* = 28)	(*N* = 46)	(*N* = 9)	(*N* = 90)
President	568	1,394	91,765	0	93,727
	(*N* = 1)	(*N* = 1)	(*N* = 1)		(*N* = 2)
1983-1984					
House	560,727	118,171	633,646	26,847	1,339,391
	(*N* = 159)	(*N* = 37)	(*N* = 194)	(*N* = 43)	(*N* = 373)
Senate	326,031	410,428	1,807,981	2,082,207	4,626,647
	(*N* = 33)	(*N* = 26)	(*N* = 31)	(*N* = 11)	(*N* = 81)
President	806,417	486,998	15,830,043	343,835	17,467,293
	(*N* = 2)	(*N* = 4)	(*N* = 1)	(*N* = 1)	(*N* = 7)
1985-1986					
House	2,385,685	227,286	1,313,578	120,037	4,046,581
Senate	988,382	632,412	3,342,790	348,006	5,311,590
1987-1988					
House	1,465,554	278,723	919,929	148,705	2,812,911
	(*N* = 280)	(*N* = 22)	(*N* = 246)	(*N* = 12)	(*N* = 534)
Senate	831,064	617,066	2,809,517	143,441	4,401,088
	(*N* = 42)	(*N* = 25)	(*N* = 55)	(*N* = 19)	(*N* = 110)
President	567,900	3,352,264	10,054,116	146,439	14,120,719
	(*N* = 7)	(*N* = 10)	(*N* = 6)	(*N* = 6)	(*N* = 21)

(Notes follow)

Table 3-20 (continued)

Note: An independent expenditure is defined as an "expenditure by a person for a communication expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate that is not made with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or any agent or authorized committee of such candidate" (11 C.F.R. 109.1[a]).

The Federal Election Commission's data on 1975-1976 independent expenditures were not completed or verified. On October 9, 1980, the FEC released the following information about independent expenditures during the 1975-1976 election cycle: $2,033,207 was spent independently for or against 144 candidates; $1,646,540 was spent for or against presidential candidates; $198,787 was spent for or against Senate candidates; $187,880 was spent for or against House candidates.

The Federal Election Commission's 1985-1986 data did not include information on presidential campaigns.

[a] The totals include expenditures made on behalf of, or in opposition to, candidates who were neither Democrats nor Republicans. In 1980, $479 was spent on behalf of one such candidate for the House, $271,978 was spent on behalf of seven presidential candidates (including $199,438 on behalf of John Anderson), and $11,050 was spent in opposition to two presidential candidates. In 1977-1978, $7,404 was spent on behalf of fourteen candidates for the House and $920 on behalf of two Senate candidates. (In 1981-1982, there were no independent expenditures for or against candidates who were neither Democrats nor Republicans.) The "*N*" figures in "Total" column refer to total number of candidates. Because there may have been independent expenditures for and against the same candidates, the total may be less than the sum of the candidates in each column. No "*N*" figures were available for 1985-1986 data.

Sources: For 1975-1978, Federal Election Commission,"FEC Releases Information on Independent Expenditures," press release, October 9, 1980; for 1979-1980, "FEC Study Shows Independent Expenditures Top $16 Million," press release, November 29, 1981; for 1982, "FEC Issues Final Report on 1981-1982 Independent Spending," press release, October 14, 1983; for 1983-1984, "FEC Reports 1983-84 Independent Spending Activity," press release, October 4, 1985; for 1986, Federal Election Commission, "Final FEC Report on 1985-86 Independent Expenditures Shows Change in Spending Patterns," press release, March 31, 1988; for 1988, Federal Election Commission, "Independent Expenditures of $21 Million Reported in 1988, FEC Study Shows," press release, May 19, 1989.

Table 4-6 Majority Party Chairmanships of House Committees and Subcommittees, 84th-101st Congresses, 1955-1990

Congress	Party in majority	No. of majority party members in House	No. chairing standing committees and subcommittees	No. with two or more chairmanships	% chairing standing committees and subcommittees	No. chairing all committees and subcommittees[a]	No. with two or more chairmanships	% chairing all committees and subcommittees[a]
84th (1955-56)	D	232	63	18	27.2	75	22	32.3
90th (1967-68)	D	247	111	32	44.9	117	38	47.4
92d (1971-72)	D	254	120	25	47.2	131	31	51.6
94th (1975-76)	D	289	142	24	49.1	150	28	51.9
96th (1979-80)	D	276	144	19	52.2	149	28	54.0
97th (1981-82)	D	243	121	16	49.8	125	26	51.4
98th (1983-84)	D	267	124	23	46.4	127	33	47.6
99th (1985-86)	D	253	129	27	51.0	131	37	51.8
100th (1987-88)	D	258	128	28	49.6	132[b]	42	51.2
101st (1989-90)	D	260	134	26	51.5	137	38	52.7

[a] Includes standing committees, subcommittees of standing committees, select and special committees, subcommittees of select and special committees, joint committees, and subcommittees of joint committees.

[b] Includes task forces when committee has no other subcommittees.

Sources: Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory; Congressional Quarterly Almanac.*

Table 4-7 Majority Party Chairmanships of Senate Committees and Subcommittees, 84th-101st Congresses, 1955-1990

Congress	Party in majority	No. of majority party in Senate	No. chairing standing committees and subcommittees	% chairing standing committees and subcommittees	Average no. of standing committees and subcommittees chaired by majority members	No. chairing all committees and subcommittees[a]	% chairing all committees and subcommittees[a]	Average no. of all committees and subcommittees chaired by majority members
84th (1955-56)	D	48	42	87.5	1.8	42	87.5	2.0
90th (1967-68)	D	64	55	85.9	1.8	58	90.6	2.1
92d (1971-72)	D	55[b]	51	92.7	2.6	52	94.5	2.9
94th (1975-76)	D	62[b]	57	91.9	2.4	57	91.9	2.9
96th (1979-80)	D	59[b]	58	98.3	1.8	58	98.3	2.1
97th (1981-82)	R	53	51	96.2	1.9	52	98.1	2.3
98th (1983-84)	R	54	52	96.3	1.9	52	96.3	2.5
99th (1985-86)	R	53	49	92.4	1.9	49	92.4	2.0
100th (1987-88)[c]	D	54	47	87.0	1.8	47	87.0	2.0
101st (1989-90)	D	55	46	83.6	1.9	46	83.6	1.9

[a] Includes standing committees, subcommittees of standing committees, select and special committees, subcommittees of se1ect and special committees, joint committees, and subcommittees of joint committees.

[b] Includes Harry Byrd, Jr., elected as independent.

[c] Figures for the 100th Congress were compiled after the death of Sen. Edward Zorinsky (D-Neb.) but before the appointment of his successor and the redistribution of his chairmanships.

Sources: Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory; Congressional Quarterly Almanac.*

Congressional Staff and Operating Expenses 5

Congress is made up of a great deal more than elected senators and representatives. With more than 31,000 employees in 1987 (table 5-1 and figure 5-1), the legislative branch is larger than the departments of State, Labor, or Housing and Urban Development. In comparison, the second most heavily staffed legislative branch in the world is the Canadian Parliament, which gets by with a staff of fewer than 3,500.[1]

Congress's employees include more than the personal and committee staffs of representatives and senators. Also included are major research agencies, such as the Congressional Research Service (CRS) of the Library of Congress, and support personnel, such as mail carriers, police officers, barbers, hairdressers, television technicians, computer specialists, printers, carpenters, parking attendants, photographers, and laborers.

The development of this large congressional establishment is a twentieth-century phenomenon. At the turn of the century, representatives had no personal staff, and senators had a total of only thirty-nine personal assistants (see table 5-2 and figure 5-1). Committee staffs consisted of a few clerks (see table 5-5). By contrast, 11,659 persons served on the personal staffs of representatives and senators in 1987, and more than 3,000 people were employed by congressional committees.

The enlargement of Congress's support staff reflects both the expanding role of the government in the United States and the changing role of the individual legislator. As government has done more, the congressional workload, in terms of both legislation and constituency service, has increased, and the staffing needs of Congress have expanded accordingly. The most dramatic staff growth has taken

place since World War II, the personal staffs of the House and Senate having increased more than fivefold and sixfold, respectively, since 1947. One reflection of the increased demands on legislators for constituency services and the members' encouragement of those demands for reelection purposes is the dramatic expansion of congressional staff working in constituency offices. Two-fifths of the personal staffs of representatives and one-third of those of senators now work in district or state offices—a dramatic increase since the early 1970s (see tables 5-3 and 5-4).

The explosion in congressional staffing is also evident on the standing committees: House committee staffs increased twelvefold and Senate committee staffs more than fourfold between 1947 and 1987 (see table 5-5). Committee staffing has grown steadily since the turn of the century, but the most dramatic increases occurred in the 1970s. House committee staffs were two and three-quarters times as large in 1979 as they were in 1970, and Senate committee staffs doubled over the same period.

The enlargement of House committee staffs after 1970 is to a significant degree a result of the reform movement that swept the chamber. The sentiment for diluting the powers of committee chairmen extended to their nearly exclusive authority to hire and fire committee staff. Reforms allowed a much larger number of subcommittee chairmen and ranking members to hire their own staffs. The 1975 surge in committee staffing in the Senate reflects the passage of Senate Resolution 60, which authorized each senator to have a personal legislative assistant for each committee assignment. The modest reductions in Senate committee staffs in 1977 were caused by the committee reorganization that went into effect that year, which among other things reduced the number of Senate subcommittees and shifted employees hired under Senate Resolution 60 to personal staff payrolls.

The 1980s have not been a repeat of the 1970s. Personal staffs have continued to grow, but at a greatly reduced rate, and committee staff numbers have leveled off. Senate committee staffs underwent a one-shot 14 percent cut after the Republicans gained control in 1981 and promised to reverse the previous decade's trends. Note, however, that more than one-half of the cuts came from one committee, Judiciary (see table 5-7). As significant as the cuts were, the Senate still had almost 70 percent more committee staff in 1987 than in 1970.

Tables 5-6 and 5-7 rank the standing committees according to their current staff size. Each committee except the Senate Judiciary Committee had a significantly larger staff in 1987 than it had in 1960. Most committees employ well over fifty persons, a far cry from the

post-World War II era of small, intimate, informal committee staffs. The size of a committee staff does not appear to be related uniformly to the reported power or desirability of an assignment to that committee. The powerful Senate Finance Committee, for example, is modestly staffed compared with the less influential Labor and Human Resources and Governmental Affairs committees. Of course, some committees that are generally considered less desirable assignments may well have expanded their staffs to attract new members.

A significant part of the congressional staff works for Congress's four major research agencies (see table 5-8). Two of these, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) and the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA), were created in the mid-1970s, their creation reflecting a basic factor underlying the growth of congressional staff. The expanded role of the government in domestic and international affairs had made Congress increasingly dependent on the executive branch for information. A growing distrust of the executive, which festered during the Johnson and Nixon administrations, convinced Congress of the necessity for congressionally controlled sources of information. Congress thus authorized these new agencies and simultaneously expanded the roles of the Congressional Research Service and the General Accounting Office (GAO). The GAO has multiple functions, including audit responsibilities with limited relevance to its role as a congressional agency. The same is true of the Library of Congress. Thus table 5-1 includes a subtotal of GAO and Library of Congress staff, which is an estimate of the number of employees with a direct congressional function.

Although the numbers in these tables describe the growth of congressional staff, they do not reveal the many roles staff members play in the legislative process. The infinite variety of staffing arrangements that exists in members' offices and on committees and the influence exercised by various staff members become apparent only through close examination of individual offices and committees. The role played by staff within individual offices may also change over time with the ebb and flow of political tides. President Reagan's ability to make Congress focus on budget issues, for example, greatly reduced the number of bills Congress passed (see chapter 6). That meant less chance for members to use their staffs as policy entrepreneurs, unless the staffs could come up with programs that did not increase the budget. In short, it is difficult, if not impossible, to generalize about staffing roles and patterns solely on the basis of gross figures.

The costs of running Congress have grown along with the staff. Today's Congress is well over a billion-dollar enterprise. Even though congressional costs may appear puny when compared with those of the

executive branch, they have grown at a dramatic pace. In the years between 1946 and 1988, legislative branch appropriations increased 3,127.9 percent. Over the same period, the consumer price index went up "only" 516 percent (see table 5-9). As recently as the mid-1960s, the cost of operating Congress was less than one-ninth what it is today. We may now be seeing some signs of legislative self-control: in the years between 1976, when Congress first approached the billion-dollar threshold, and 1988, legislative branch appropriations went up only 84 percent, while the consumer price index increased by 114 percent.

The figures summarizing legislative branch appropriations include much more than the cost of House and Senate operations. The appropriation also includes the expenses of such agencies as the Library of Congress, the Government Printing Office, the General Accounting Office, the Botanic Garden, and the Copyright Royalty Commission. Indeed, these agencies' budgets comprised 46 percent of the 1988 legislative branch appropriation (see table 5-10 for a breakdown of the components of the congressional budget).

Table 5-11 traces one of the perquisites of office available to members of Congress—use of the frank to send materials pertaining to the official business of Congress through the U.S. mails. In 1987 the cost of the congressional franking privilege was $91.5 million, nearly double the cost in 1981. Until 1981, the main reasons for the growing use of the frank were a more liberal law, permitting members of Congress to send mail (including newsletters and questionnaires) addressed to "occupant," and the increased value that legislators attach to communications with their constituents. The explosive growth since 1981 is a reflection of grass-roots lobbying. In other words, the first wave of growth was stimulated by members, the second by constituents.

Tables 5-12 and 5-13 summarize the allowances available to representatives and senators for operating their offices and outline the changes in those allowances since 1970. In the past, expenses for such things as postage, stationery, office furnishings, equipment, and travel were governed by strict individual spending limits. The House in 1978 and the Senate in 1973 consolidated their office expense allowances into one account to give members greater flexibility in using their expense allowances. Because Congress is a labor-intensive enterprise, however, the largest share of the congressional allowance is for staff.

NOTE: In the source notes to the tables in this chapter, two kinds of frequently cited legislative appropriations documents are abbreviated as follows:

1) *House LBA Hearings for 19xx* = U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Legislative Branch Appropriations, *Hearings on Legislative Branch Appropriations for 19xx*. 2) *Senate LBA Hearings for 19xx* = U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings on Legislative Branch Appropriations for 19xx*. The year in the citation is the fiscal year covered by the appropriation hearing, not the calendar year that appears in the table.

NOTE

1. Michael J. Malbin, *Unelected Representatives: Congressional Staff and the Future of Representative Government* (New York: Basic Books, 1980), 10.

Table 5-1 Congressional Staff, 1979-1987

	1979	1981	1983	1985	1987
House					
Committee staff[a]	2,027	1,917	2,068	2,146	2,136
Personal staff	7,067	7,487	7,606	7,528	7,584
Leadership staff[b]	162	127	135	144	138
Officers of the House, staff[c]	1,487	1,686	1,728	1,818	1,845
Subtotal, House	10,743	11,217	11,537	11,636	11,703
Senate					
Committee staff[a]	1,410	1,150	1,176	1,178	1,207
Personal staff	3,593	3,945	4,059	4,097	4,075
Leadership staff[b]	91	106	120	118	103
Officers of the Senate, staff[c]	828	878	948	976	904
Subtotal, Senate	5,922	6,079	6,303	6,369	6,289
Joint committee staffs	138	126	123	131	132
Support agencies					
General Accounting Office (30% of GAO) working directly for Congress	5,303 (1,591)	5,182 (1,555)	4,960 (1,488)	5,042 (1,513)	5,016 (1,504)
Library of Congress (Congressional Research Service)	5,390 (847)	4,799 (849)	4,815 (853)	4,809 (860)	4,824 (860)
Congressional Budget Office	207	218	211	222	226
Office of Technology Assessment	145	130	130	143	143
Subtotal, support agencies	11,045	10,329	10,116	10,216	10,209
(Subtotal, Only CRS in Library, 30% of GAO)	(2,790)	(2,752)	(2,682)	(2,738)	(2,733)
Miscellaneous					
Architect	2,296	1,986	2,061	2,073	2,412
Capitol Police Force	1,167	1,163	1,148	1,227	1,250
Subtotal	3,463	3,149	3,209	3,300	3,662
Total	31,311	30,900	31,288	31,652	31,995
(Total, only CRS in Library and 30% of GAO)	(23,056)	(23,323)	(23,854)	(24,174)	(24,519)

[a] Includes select and special committee staffs. Figures therefore do not agree with those in table 5-5.
[b] Includes legislative counsels' offices.
[c] Doorkeepers, parliamentarians, sergeants-at-arms, clerk of the House, Senate majority and minority secretaries, and postmasters.

(Sources follow)

What do you do w/ over 2,000 architects? More arch. than leadership staff!

Table 5-1 (continued)

Sources: For 1979, *Report of the Clerk of the House,* July 1, 1979-September 30, 1979; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate,* April 1, 1979-September 30, 1979; U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Work Force Analysis and Statistics Branch, *Federal Civilian Workforce Statistics,* monthly release, October 31, 1979, 6. For 1981, U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Legislative Branch Appropriations, *Hearings on Legislative Branch Appropriations for 1983,* pt. 1, 24-28; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings on Legislative Branch Appropriations for 1982,* 117, 253, 266; Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Committee Funding,* 97th Cong., 1st sess., 1981, Committee Print 2; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate,* October 1, 1981-March 31, 1982, 1-23. For 1983, *House LBA Hearings for 1985,* pt. 1, 23-27; Office of the Clerk of the House; Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Committee Funding,* 98th Cong., 2d sess., 1984, Committee Print 3; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1984,* 47, 276; Office of the U.S. Capitol Police. For 1985, *House LBA Hearings for 1987,* pt. 1, 22-27; *Report of the Clerk of the House,* October 1, 1985-December 31, 1985; Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Committee Funding,* 99th Cong., 2d sess., 1986, Committee Print 2; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1986; Report of the Secretary of the Senate,* October 1, 1985-March 31, 1986; Office of the U.S. Capitol Police. For 1987, *House LBA Hearings for 1989,* pt. 2; Office of the Clerk of the House; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1988; Report of the Secretary of the Senate,* October 1, 1987-March 31, 1988; Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1989* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 252; Office of the Architect of the Capitol; Office of the U.S. Capitol Police.

Table 5-2 Staffs of Members of the House and the Senate, 1891-1987

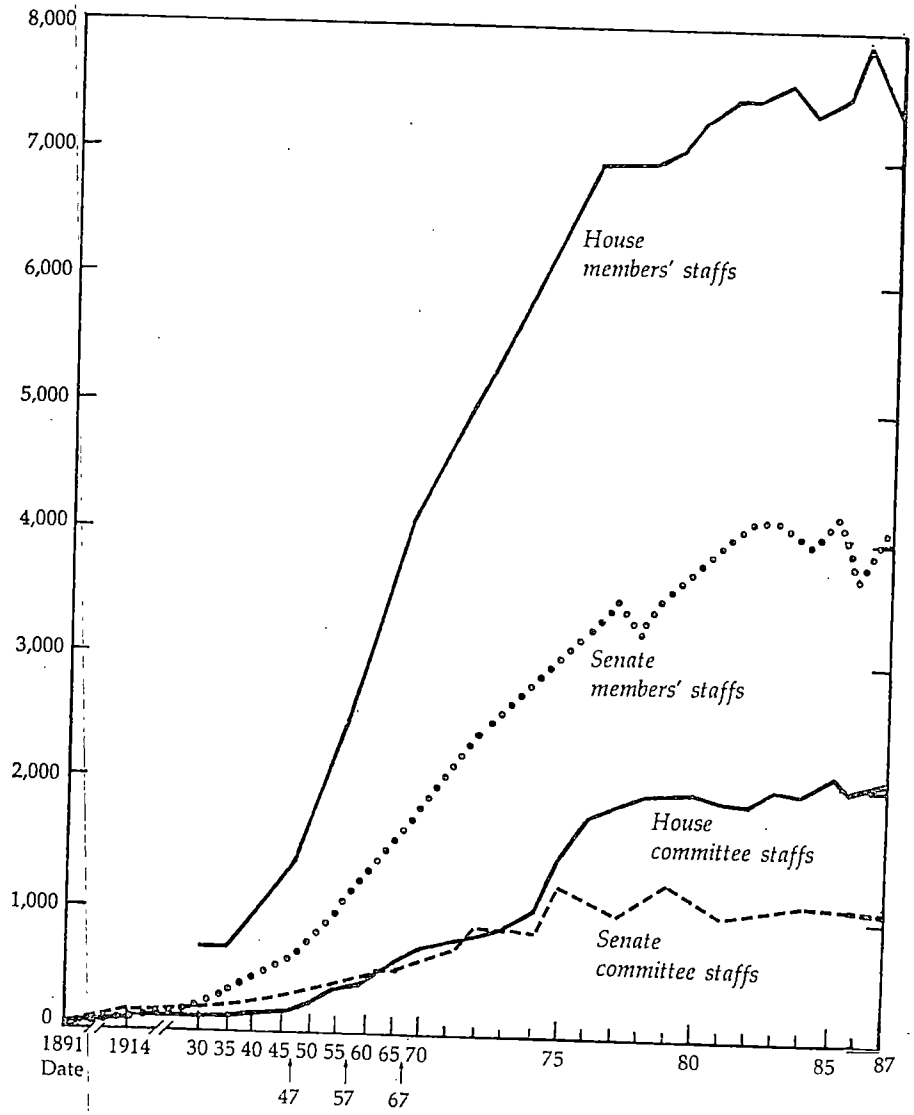
Year	Employees in House	Employees in Senate
1891	n.a.	39
1914	n.a.	72
1930	870	280
1935	870	424
1947	1,440	590
1957	2,441	1,115
1967	4,055	1,749
1972	5,280	2,426
1976	6,939	3,251
1977	6,942	3,554
1978	6,944	3,268
1979	7,067	3,593
1980	7,371	3,746
1981	7,487	3,945
1982	7,511	4,041
1983	7,606	4,059
1984	7,385	3,949
1985	7,528	4,097
1986	7,920[a]	3,774[a]
1987	7,584	4,075

n. a. = not available.

[a] Senate figures reflect the period immediately after Gramm-Rudman mandated staffing cuts. House figures are for the entire fiscal year, thus averaging post-Gramm-Rudman staffing levels with previous, higher levels.

Sources: For 1891 through 1976, Harrison W. Fox, Jr., and Susan W. Hammond, *Congressional Staffs: The Invisible Force in American Lawmaking* (New York: Free Press, 1977), 171. For 1977 and 1978, Judy Schneider, "Congressional Staffing, 1947-78," Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, August 24, 1979, reprinted in U.S. Congress, House, Select Committee on Committees, *Final Report*, 96th Cong., 2d sess., 1980, 540. For 1977, 1978, and 1979 House, *Report of the Clerk of the House*. For 1979 Senate, *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*. For 1980, *House LBA Hearings for 1982*, pt. 1, 25; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1981*, pt. 1, 26. For 1981, *House LBA Hearings for 1983*, pt. 1, 24-28; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, October 1, 1981-March 31, 1982. For 1982, *House LBA Hearings for 1984*, pt. 1, 25; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, October 1, 1982-March 31, 1983. For 1983, *House LBA Hearings for 1985*, pt. 1, 24; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, October 1, 1983-March 31, 1984. For 1984, *House LBA Hearings for 1986*, pt. 1, 22; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, October 1, 1984-March 31, 1985. For 1985-1986, *House LBA Hearings for 1987*, pt. 1, 23; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, October 1, 1985-March 31, 1986. For 1987, *House LBA Hearings for 1989*, pt. 2; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1988; Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, October 1, 1987-March 31, 1988.

Figure 5-1 Staff of Members and of Committees in Congress, 1891-1987



Sources: Tables 5-2 and 5-5.

Table 5-3 House Staff Based in District Offices, 1970-1988

Year	*Employees*	*Percentage of total personal staffs in district offices*
1970	1,035	n.a.
1971	1,121	n.a.
1972	1,189	22.5
1973	1,347	n.a.
1974	1,519	n.a.
1975	1,732	n.a.
1976	1,943	28.0
1977	2,058	29.6
1978	2,317	33.4
1979	2,445	34.6
1980	2,534	34.4
1981	2,702	36.1
1982	2,694	35.8
1983	2,785	36.6
1984	2,872	38.9
1985	2,871	38.1
1986	2,940	43.6
1987	2,503	40.9
1988	2,954	39.6

n.a. = not available.

Sources: For 1970-1978, Schneider, "Congressional Staffing, 1947-78." For 1979-1988: Charles B. Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory* (Washington, D.C., Congressional Staff Directory, annual editions).

Table 5-4 Senate Staff Based in State Offices, 1972-1988

Year	*Employees*	*Percentage of total personal staffs in state offices*
1972	303	12.5
1978	816	25.0
1979	879	24.3
1980	953	25.4
1981	937	25.8
1982	1,053	26.1
1983	1,132	27.9
1984	1,140	28.9
1985	1,180	28.8
1986	1,249	34.1
1987	1,152	34.2
1988	1,217	33.7

Sources: Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory.*

Table 5-5 Staffs of House and Senate Standing Committees, 1891-1987

Year	Employees in House	Employees in Senate
1891	62	41
1914	105	198
1930	112	163
1935	122	172
1947	167	232
1950	246	300
1955	329	386
1960	440	470
1965	571	509
1970	702	635
1971	729	711
1972	817	844
1973	878	873
1974	1,107	948
1975	1,460	1,277
1976	1,680	1,201
1977	1,776	1,028
1978	1,844	1,151
1979	1,909	1,269
1980	1,917	1,191
1981	1,843	1,022
1982	1,839	1,047
1983	1,970	1,075
1984	1,944	1,095
1985	2,009	1,080
1986	1,954	1,075
1987	2,024	1,074

Note: Figures for 1947-1986 are for the statutory and investigative staffs of standing committees. They do not include select committee staffs, which varied between 31 and 238 in the House and between 62 and 172 in the Senate during the 1970s. For this reason, the numbers do not agree with those in table 5-1.

Sources: For 1891-1935, Fox and Hammond, *Congressional Staffs*, 171. For 1947-1978, Schneider, "Congressional Staffing, 1947-78." For 1979-1980 Senate, U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Inquiries and Investigations*, 96th Cong., 2d sess., 1980, Committee Print 2, March 5, 1980. For 1981-1986 Senate, U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Committee Funding*, annual committee prints. For 1981 House, *House LBA Hearings for 1983*, pt. 2, 107. For 1982 House, *House LBA Hearings for 1984*, pt. 2, 77. For 1983-1984 House, Office of the Clerk of the House. For 1985 House, *Report of the Clerk of the House*, October 1, 1985-December 31, 1985. For 1986 House, *Report of the Clerk of the House*, October 1, 1986-December 31, 1986. For 1987 House, *Report of the Clerk of the House*, October 1, 1987-December 31, 1987; Senate, Committee on Rules and Administration.

Table 5-6 Staffs of House Standing Committees, 1947-1987

Committee	*1947*	*1960*	*1970*	*1975*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*	*1985*	*1987*
House Administration[a]	7	4	25	217	273	252	267	275	228
Appropriations	29	59	71	98	129	127	160	182	188
Energy and Commerce	10	45	42	112	160	151	158	162	153
Education and Labor	10	25	77	114	121	121	121	119	127
Budget	[b]	[b]	[b]	67	86	93	97	109	124
Ways and Means	12	22	24	63	99	91	94	99	108
Foreign Affairs	10	14	21	54	82	84	85	97	101
Banking	4	14	50	85	97	87	93	90	99
Government Operations	9	54	60	68	85	84	87	86	80
Public Works	6	32	40	88	81	86	84	84	83
Post Office and Civil Service	6	9	46	61	66	74	87	83	85
Judiciary	7	27	35	69	80	75	82	81	81
Science and Technology	[b]	17	26	47	87	74	78	78	78
Merchant Marine and Fisheries	6	9	21	28	91	82	81	79	77
Interior	4	10	14	57	75	70	73	73	71
Armed Services	10	15	37	38	48	49	56	64	70
Agriculture	9	10	17	48	66	62	70	67	69
Small Business	[b]	[b]	[b]	27	46	54	53	53	62
Veterans' Affairs	7	18	18	26	34	34	32	32	44
Rules	4	2	7	18	47	43	47	45	43
District of Columbia	7	8	15	43	41	41	46	42	42
Standards of Official Conduct	[b]	[b]	5	5	15	9	19	9	11
Internal Security	10	46	51	27	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]

Note: Committees are ranked in order of their staff size in 1987.

[a] After 1972, figures include employees of House Informations Systems, the House of Representatives' central computer facility.

[b] Not a standing committee.

Sources: For 1947-1975, Schneider, "Congressional Staffing, 1947-78." For 1979, *House LBA Hearings for 1981*, pt. 2, 136. For 1981, *House LBA Hearings for 1983*, pt. 2, 107. For 1983, Office of the Clerk of the House. For 1985, *Report of the Clerk of the House*, October 1, 1985-December 31, 1985. For 1987, *Report of the Clerk of the House*, October 1, 1987-December 31, 1987.

Table 5-7 Staffs of Senate Standing Committees, 1947-1987

Committee	*1947*	*1960*	*1970*	*1975*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*	*1985*	*1987*
Judiciary	19	137	190	251	223	134	141	141	138
Labor and Human Resources	9	28	69	150	155	119	125	127	127
Governmental Affairs	29	47	55	144	179	153	138	131	126
Commerce, Science, and Transportation	8	52	53	111	96	78	90	93	93
Budget	[a]	[a]	[a]	90	91	82	79	81	83
Appropriations	23	31	42	72	80	79	82	82	81
Foreign Relations	8	25	31	62	75	59	63	61	60
Energy and Natural Resources (Interior)	7	26	22	53	55	50	56	57	57
Environment and Public Works	10	11	34	70	74	56	56	56	56
Finance	6	6	16	26	67	50	53	54	54
Armed Services	10	23	19	30	31	36	41	48	49
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs	9	22	23	55	48	39	39	38	39
Agriculture	3	10	7	22	34	34	34	34	35
Rules and Administration	41	15	13	29	37	31	30	28	27
Small Business	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]	26	24	26
Veterans' Affairs	[a]	[a]	[a]	32	24	22	22	25	23
Aeronautics and Space Sciences	[a]	10	12	22	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]
District of Columbia	4	7	18	33	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]
Post Office and Civil Service	46	20	31	25	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]

Note: Committees are ranked in the order of their staff size in 1987.

[a] Committee not in existence.

Sources: For 1947-1975, Schneider, "Congressional Staffing, 1947-78." For 1979-1987, U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Committee Funding* (this annual committee print lists the number of positions authorized for each committee; the number actually employed at any one time may be less).

Table 5-8 Staffs of Congressional Support Agencies, 1946-1987

Year	Library of Congress	Congressional Research Service Only[a]	General Accounting Office[b]	Congressional Budget Office	Office of Technology Assessment
1946	—	—	14,219	—	—
1947	1,898	160	10,695	—	—
1950	1,973	161	7,876	—	—
1955	2,459	166	5,776	—	—
1960	2,779	183	5,074	—	—
1965	3,390	231	4,278	—	—
1970	3,848	332	4,704	—	—
1971	3,963	386	4,718	—	—
1972	4,135	479	4,742	—	—
1973	4,375	596	4,908	—	—
1974	4,504	687	5,270	—	10
1975	4,649	741	4,905	193	54
1976	4,880	806	5,391	203	103
1977	5,075	789	5,315	201	139
1978	5,231	818	5,476	203	164
1979	5,390	847	5,303	207	145
1980	5,047	868	5,196	218	122
1981	4,799	849	5,182	218	130
1982	4,803	849	5,027	218	130
1983	4,815	853	4,960	211	130
1984	4,802	858	4,985	210	139
1985	4,809	860	5,042	222	143
1986	4,807	860	5,019	222	143
1987	4,824	860	5,016	226	143

[a] Legislative Reference Service through 1970.
[b] Before 1950 the GAO was responsible for auditing all individual federal transactions and keeping a record of them. Legislation in 1950 transferred these responsibilities to the executive branch. The staff reductions through 1965 result from this 1950 change. *See* Frederich C. Mosher, *The GAO: The Quest for Accountability in American Government* (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1979), 124.

Sources: For Library of Congress and CRS 1946-1986, Library of Congress, *Annual Reports of the Librarian of Congress.* For GAO 1946-1965, *Annual Reports of the Comptroller General of the United States.* For CBO 1975, Joel Havemann, *Congress and the Budget* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 109. (Data are as of October 1975. The CBO's director took office on February 24, 1975.) For OTA 1974-1976, *Appendixes of the Budget of the United States,* fiscal 1976 (p. 18), 1977 (p. 18), 1978 (p. 40). For GAO 1970-1978, CBO 1976-1978, and OTA 1977-1978, Schneider, "Congressional Staffing, 1947-1978"; for 1979-1987 see sources in table 5-1.

Table 5-9 Legislative Branch Appropriations and the Consumer Price Index, 1946-1988

Year	Appropriation (dollars)	Increase (percent)	Consumer Price Index	Increase (percent)
1946	54,065,614	—	58.5	—
1947	61,825,020	14.4	66.9	14.4
1948	62,119,714	0.5	72.1	7.8
1949	62,057,678	−0.1	71.4	−1.0
1950	64,313,460	3.6	72.1	1.0
1951	71,888,244	11.8	77.8	7.9
1952	75,673,896	5.3	79.5	2.2
1953	77,670,076	2.6	80.1	0.8
1954	70,925,361	−8.7	80.5	0.5
1955	86,304,923	21.7	80.2	−0.4
1956	94,827,986	9.9	81.4	1.5
1957	120,775,798	27.4	84.3	3.6
1958	107,785,560	−10.8	86.6	2.7
1959	136,153,580	26.3	87.3	0.8
1960	131,055,385	−3.7	88.7	1.6
1961	140,930,781	7.5	89.6	1.0
1962	136,686,715	−3.0	90.6	1.1
1963	150,426,185	10.1	91.7	1.2
1964	168,467,869	12.0	92.9	1.3
1965	221,904,318	31.7	94.5	1.7
1966	197,965,307	−10.8	97.2	2.9
1967	221,715,643	12.0	100.0	2.9
1968	282,003,322	27.2	104.2	4.2
1969	311,542,399	10.5	109.8	5.4
1970	361,024,327	15.9	116.3	5.9
1971	443,104,319	22.7	121.3	4.3
1972	564,107,992	27.3	125.3	3.3
1973	645,127,365	14.4	133.1	6.2
1974	662,180,668	2.6	147.7	11.0
1975	785,618,833	18.6	161.2	9.1
1976[a]	947,185,778	20.6	170.5	5.8
1977	963,921,185	1.8	181.5	6.5
1978	1,009,225,350	4.7	195.4	7.7
1979	1,124,766,400	11.4	217.4	11.3
1980	1,199,061,463	6.6	246.8	13.5
1981	1,285,943,826	7.2	272.4	10.4
1982	1,365,272,433	6.2	289.1	6.1
1983	1,467,318,263	7.5	298.4	3.2
1984	1,644,160,600	12.0	311.1	4.3
1985	1,599,977,138	−2.7	322.2	3.6

(Table continues)

Table 5-9 (continued)

Year	Appropriation (dollars)	Increase (percent)	Consumer Price Index	Increase (percent)
1986	1,783,255,000	11.4	328.4	1.9
1987	1,635,190,214	−8.3	345.7	4.4
1988	1,745,201,500	6.7	360.5	4.4
1946-1988[a]	—	3,127.9	—	516.2

Note: Appropriations include supplementals, except for 1986; appropriations are for fiscal years, but the consumer price index is for calendar years.

[a] From fiscal year 1946 through fiscal year 1976, the fiscal year began on July 1. Beginning with fiscal year 1977, the start of the fiscal year was shifted to October 1. During the transition quarter of July 1-September 30, 1976, the amount appropriated for legislative branch operations was $207,391,365. This amount is not included.

Sources: For 1946-1976, U.S. Congress, House, Committee on House Administration, *Studies Dealing with Budgetary, Staffing, and Administrative Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1947-78*, 95th Cong., 2d sess., 1978. For 1977-1979, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1977-1980). For 1980, *House LBA Hearings for 1981*, pt. 1, 10-11; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1981*, pt. 1, 15-23; Public Law 96-304 (July 8, 1980); Public Law 97-51 (October 1, 1981). For 1981, *House LBA Hearings for 1982*, pt. 1, 15-23; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1982*, 268; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Appropriations, *Comparative Statement of New Budget Authority and Outlays—Fiscal Year 1983*, 97th Cong., 2d sess., 1982 (unpublished committee document), 3; Public Law 97-12 (June 5, 1981). For 1982-1986, House Committee on Appropriations, *Comparative Statement of New Budget Authority* (unpublished committee documents). For 1987, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. 42 (1987). For 1988, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. 43 (1988). For consumer price index, all years, *Economic Report of the President*, January 1989.

Table 5-10 Legislative Branch Appropriations, by Category, 1982-1988
(dollars)

	1982	*1983*	*1984*	*1985*	*1986*[b]	*1987*	*1988*
Senate	228,034,108	239,008,000	255,855,800	285,930,000	308,834,000	307,658,014	337,314,000
House of Representatives	380,386,325	367,871,263	419,783,800	439,398,100	455,431,000	463,907,200	513,786,500
Joint items[a]	84,472,000	102,448,000	128,933,000	96,415,188	155,804,000	103,136,000	94,981,000
Architect of the Capitol	83,173,000	143,768,000	82,021,000	85, 180,850	112,191,000	101,633,000	107,306,000
Botanic Garden	2,351,000	1,897,000	2,158,000	2,080,000	2,197,000	2,062,000	2,221,000
Congressional Budget Office	13,226,000	15,094,000	16,723,000	17,541,000	18,455,000	17,251,000	17,886,000
Congressional Research Service	31,605,000	33,851,000	36,700,000	39,833,000	38,963,000	39,602,000	43,022,000
Copyright Royalty Commission	487,000	469,000	210,000	217,000	227,000	123,000	129,000
General Accounting Office	236,000,000	252,665,000	271,710,000	299,704,000	339,639,000	304,910,000	329,847,000
Government Printing Office	129,851,000	121,829,000	125,700,000	122,704,000	122,268,000	94,956,000	89,521,000
Library of Congress	195,123,000	209,185,000	228,715,000	228,242,000	242,829,000	183,670,000	191,998,000
Office of Technology Assessment	12,169,000	13,084,000	14,831,000	15,692,000	17,000,000	15,532,000	16,901,000
Railroad Accounting Principles Board	—	—	50,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	—	—

Note: Includes supplemental appropriations, except for 1986.

[a] Includes such items as joint committees, Capitol police, and official mail costs.

[b] Figures for 1986 are prior to Gramm-Rudman-Hollings sequestration.

Sources: For 1982-1986, House Committee on Appropriations, *Comparative Statement of New Budget Authority.* For 1987, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. 42 (1987). For 1988, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. 43 (1988).

Table 5-11 Costs of Official Mail, 1971-1987

Year	*Appropriations (dollars)*	*Average unit cost of franked mail (cents)*
1971	11,244,000	8.0
1972	14,594,000	8.0
1972 supplement	18,400,000	
1973	21,226,480	8.97
1974	30,500,000	9.9
1975	38,756,015	11.4
1976	46,101,000	13.2
Transition period[a]	11,525,000	
1976 supplement	16,080,000	
1977	46,904,000	13.4
1978	48,926,000	11.4
1979	64,944,000	12.8
1980[b]	50,707,000	13.4
1981	52,033,000	12.4
1982	75,095,000	13.9
1983	93,161,000	13.1
1984	117,277,000	12.8
1985	85,797,000	12.6
1986	95,700,000	12.6
1987	91,423,000	18.4

Note: See table 6-8 for number of pieces of franked mail.

[a] Reflects change in the fiscal year from July 1 to October 1.

[b] Lower figure reflects decrease in bulk mail rates.

Source: Office of the Clerk of the House.

Table 5-12 Allowances for Representatives, 1977-1989

Category	*1977*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*	*1985*	*1987*	*1989*
Clerk-hire	$238,580	$288,156	$336,384	$366,648	$394,680	$406,560	$431,760[a]
Postage	$211	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]
Stationery	$6,500	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]
Travel (round trips)	33	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]
Telephone/telegraph	$5,200 for equipment; 15,000 long-distance minutes	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]
District and state offices rental	2,500 sq. ft.	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]
Furnishings (one-time)	$27,000	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]
Official expenses	$7,000	$50,000-130,000	$66,200-248,601	$588,850-279,470	$105,513-306,509	$105,513-306,509[c]	$108,400-306,500
Constituent communications (begun in 1975)	$5,000	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]
Equipment lease	$9,000	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]

[a] Each member was entitled to an annual clerk-hire allowance of $431,760 for a staff not to exceed twenty-two employees, four of whom must fit into five categories: (1) shared payroll—employees, such as computer experts, who are shared by members; (2) interns; (3) employees on leave without pay; (4) part-time employees; (5) temporary employees—employees hired for a specific purpose for not more than 90 days.

[b] As of January 3, 1978, previous individual allowances for travel, office equipment lease, district office lease, stationery, telecommunications, mass mailings, postage, computer sevices, and other official expenses were consolidated in a single allowance category—the official expenses allowance. Members may budget funds for each category as they see fit. The official expenses allowances for individual members ranged from $108,400 to $306,500 for the 1989 calendar year. The average allowance for 1989 was $148,475.

[c] Each member is entitled to a base official expenses allowance of $67,000. In addition, there are three variables that determine the total amount allotted for official expenses: (1) transportation costs, (2) telecommunications costs, and (3) cost of office space. The amount allotted for travel is computed as follows: 64 multiplied by the rate per mile multiplied by the mileage between the District of Columbia and the farthest point in the member's district. The minimum amount allotted for travel in 1987 was $6,200 per member.

The amount allotted for [illegible]

official expenses: (1) transportation costs, (2) [illegible] 64 multiplied by the rate per mile multiplied by the mileage between the District of Columbia and the farthest point in the member's district. The minimum amount allotted for travel in 1987 was $6,200 per member.

The amount allotted for telecommunications is computed as follows: 15,000 times the highest long-distance rate per minute from the District of Columbia to the member's district. The minimum amount allotted for telecommunications in 1987 was $6,000 per member. If the member has elected to use WATS or a similar service in his office, the 15,000-minute multiplier will be reduced by one-half.

The amount allotted for office space costs is computed as follows: 2,500 square feet multiplied by the highest applicable rate per square foot charged by the administrator of the General Services Administration to federal agencies in the district for rental of office space.

The official expenses allowance may not be used for:

1. expenses relating to the hiring and employment of individuals, including, but not limited to, employment service fees, transportation of interviewees to and from employment interviews, and cost of relocation upon acceptance or termination of employment
2. items purchased from other than the House stationery store that have a useful life greater than current term of the member and that would have a residual value of more than $25 upon the expiration of the current term of the member
3. holiday greeting cards, flowers, and trophies
4. personal advertisements (other than meeting or appearance notices)
5. donations of any type, except flags of the United States flown over the Capitol and items purchased for use as gifts when on official travel
6. dues other than to legislative support organizations as approved by the Committee on House Administration
7. educational expenses for courses of study or information or training programs unless the benefit accrues primarily to the House and the skill or knowledge is not commonly available
8. purchases of radio and television time
9. parking for member and employees at district offices, except when included as an integral part of the lease or occupancy agreement for the district office space.

Each member may allocate up to $40,000 from the clerk-hire allowance to supplement the official expenses allowance. A member also may allocate up to $40,000 from the official expenses allowance to supplement the clerk-hire allowance, provided that monthly clerk-hire disbursements not exceed 10 percent of the total clerk-hire allowance.

Sources: For 1977 and 1979, Committee on House Administration, *Studies Dealing with Budgetary, Staffing and Administrative Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1946-1978.* For 1981, 1983, and 1985, U.S. House of Representatives, *Congressional Handbook.* For 1987, "Salaries and Allowances: The Congress," Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., July 15, 1987 update. For 1989, Office of the Clerk of the House.

Table 5-13 Allowances for Senators, 1972-1989

Category	*1972*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*	*1985*	*1987*	*1989*
Clerk-hire	$311,577-588,145[a]	$508,221-1,021,167[a]	$592,608-1,190,724[a]	$645,897-1,297,795[a]	$695,244-1,396,947[a]	$716,102-1,438,856[a]	$754,000-1,636,000[a]
Legislative assistance	n.a.	$157,626[b]	$183,801[b]	$200,328[b]	$215,634[b]	$243,543[b]	$248,000[b]
Postage	$1,215-1,520	[c]	[c]	[c]	[c]	[c]	[c]
Stationery	$3,600-5,000	[c]	[c]	[c]	[c]	[c]	[c]
Travel (round trips)	20-22	[c]	[c]	[c]	[c]	[c]	[c]
District and state offices rental	n.a.	4,800-8,000 sq. ft.[d]	4,800-8,000 sq. ft.[d]	4,800-8,000 sq. ft.[d]	4,800-8,000 sq. ft.[d]	4,800-8,000 sq. ft.	4,800-8,000 sq. ft.[d]
Furnishings, state offices	n.a.	$22,550-31,350	$22,550-31,350	$22,550-31,350	$22,550-31,350	$30,000-41,744	$30,000-41,744[e]
Official office expense account	n.a.	$33,000-143,000[f]	$33,000-143,000[f]	$36,000-156,000[f]	$36,000-156,000[f]	$36,000-156,000	$33,000-156,000[f]

n.a. = not applicable.

[a] There is no limit on the number of employees a senator may hire. He must, however, use only the clerk-hire or legislative assistance allowance to pay staff salaries. The clerk-hire allowance varies according to state population.

[b] In addition to clerk-hire, each senator has a legislative assistance allowance worth $248,000 in 1989. This allowance is reduced for any committee chairman or ranking minority member of a committee. It is also reduced for any other senator authorized by a committee chairman to recommend or approve any individuals for appointment to the committee staff who will assist that senator "solely and directly" in his duties as a member of the committee. The reduction requirements were waived for the 99th and 100th Congresses.

[c] This allowance is one of the allocations of the consolidated office expense allowance. Before January 1, 1973 senators were authorized individually controlled allowances for six expense categories as follows: transportation expenses for the senator and his staff; stationery; air mail and special delivery postage; long-distance telephone calls; telegram charges; and home state expenses, which include home state office expenses-telephone service charges incurred outside Washington, D.C.; subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and clipping or similar services; and home state office rent (repealed effective July 1, 1974).

Effective January 1, 1973, the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1973, provided for the consolidation of these same allowances to provide flexibility to senators in the management of the same dollars provided for their expense allowances. No limit was imposed on any expense category by this

Effective January 1, 1975, the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1975, provided a formula for the allowable aggregate square feet of office space in the home state of a senator. There is no limit on the number of offices that may be established by a senator in his home state, but the designated square footage may not be exceeded. The cost of office space in the home state is not chargeable to the official office expense account.

[e] An aggregate furniture and furnishings allowance is provided through the General Services Administration for one or more state offices in either federal or privately owned buildings. The $30,000 minimum allowance for office space not greater than 4,800 square feet is increased by $734 for each authorized increase of 200 square feet of space.

[f] The expense account may be used for the following expenses (2 U.S.C. 58[a], as amended):

1. official telegrams and long-distance phone calls and related services
2. stationery and other office supplies purchased through the stationery room for official business
3. costs incurred in the mailing or delivery of matters relating to official business
4. official office expenses in home state, other than equipment or furniture (purchase of office equipment beyond stated allocations may be made through 10 percent funds listed under item 9 below)
5. official telephone charges incurred outside Washington, D.C.
6. subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, periodicals, or clipping or similar services
7. travel expenses incurred by a senator or staff member, subject to certain limitations
8. expenses incurred by individuals selected by a senator to serve on panels or other bodies making recommendations for nominees to service academies or federal judgeships
9. other official expenses as the senator determines are necessary, including (a) additional office equipment for Washington, D.C., or state offices; (b) actual transportation expenses incurred by the senator and employees for official business in the Washington metropolitan area (this is also allowed to employees assigned to a state office for actual transportation expenses in the general vicinity of the office to which assigned but is not available for a change of assignment within the state or for commuting between home and office).

The total reimbursement expense for the calendar year may not exceed 10 percent of the total official office expense account.

Beginning with fiscal year 1981, each senator was also allowed to transfer funds from the administrative, clerical, and legislative assistance allowances to the official office expense account.

Sources: For 1972, *Senate LBA Hearings for 1980.* For 1979-1985, U.S. Senate, *Congressional Handbook.* For 1987, "Salaries and Allowances: The Congress." For 1989, Office of the Secretary of the Senate; Office of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

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Congress:
Issues for the 102d Congress
IP 444C

While no one can predict with certainty the state of key legislation that will dominate the action of the 102d Congress, this Info Pack discusses in general terms some of the important matters to be considered. The enclosed material is intended only as an overview of and introduction to these issues. For those who want to follow congressional issues more closely, and wish to read more than just the daily newspapers and weekly news magazines, we have enclosed a copy of a CRS report, *The Congressional Scene*. This is a list of more specialized publications which cover congressional matters in detail.

The article cited below is not reproduced in this Info Pack, but may also be of interest as a forecast of issues facing this Congress:

> "Legislative Outlook," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, v. 49, January 19, 1991, pp. 149-168.

Members of Congress who want further forecasts, review, and analysis of congressional activity may contact CRS at 7-5700. Additional CRS reports may be identified by looking in the current *Guide to CRS Products* (for congressional use only) under "Congress" and in the latest *Update* under "Government and Politics."

Constituents may find additional information on this topic in a local library through the use of *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS) *Bulletin*, and various newspaper indexes.

We hope this information will be helpful.

Congressional Reference
Division

1/91

Washington Post, January 2, 1991, p. A4

Anxious Congress Returning to Face Threat of War, Recession

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Only a year after ushering in the 1990s with high hopes for a new era of peace and prosperity, an anxious Congress returns to Capitol Hill Thursday to face the threat of war in the Persian Gulf and recession at home—with no clear plan of action on either front.

Rarely has the opening of a session been marked by so much uncertainty and apprehension, a dramatic contrast to the opening of last year's session when the joy over waning of the Cold War prompted dreams of a "peace dividend" for long-neglected domestic needs.

In what may be a metaphor for the opening of the 102nd Congress, lawmakers do not even know what they will be doing after the noontime opening ceremonies that culminate in the swearing-in of members who were newly elected or reelected last fall.

In a normal year, Congress would immediately go back home until just before the president's State of the Union address, scheduled this year for Jan. 29. But with Iraq facing a U.N.-ordered deadline for withdrawal from Kuwait by Jan. 15, congressional leaders have put both houses on alert to return on short notice to consider what could amount to an authorization for war.

Invoking Congress's war-declaring powers under the Constitution, House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) and Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) have said President Bush must seek congressional authorization before ordering offensive military action against Iraq. The White House has suggested that Congress move on its own in accord with the U.N. Security Council resolution.

Foley recently said he thought an authorization of some kind would pass but by a divided vote, which could send a weaker signal than Bush might want. Mitchell has been warning that a U.N.-style open-ended authorization would probably fail.

Since Bush is scheduled to meet with congressional leaders Thursday on the gulf situation, leaders of both parties have been sending go-slow signals to the White House. Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and several Democratic leaders warned over the past week that they believe the country will not support war against Iraq until more efforts are made to reach a peaceful settlement, and House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) said Congress may consider a resolution calling for continued sanctions instead of military action.

Congress's domestic agenda, which was still being assembled by House and Senate leaders before the Christmas and New Year's holidays, presents another reflection of the dramatic turnabout since last year.

Among the top priorities cited by Foley, Mitchell and Gephardt in interviews over the past 10 days were energy policy, which slipped off the congressional screen more than a decade ago, and anti-recession initiatives, which were last seen during tough times in the early 1980s. "Infrastructure," such as highway-building programs that carry the promise of jobs and economic stimulation, has again become a legislative buzz-word.

The federal budget, which dominated so much of the session last year, is expected to pass swiftly this year, so long as it is not blown apart by war in the Persian Gulf. Its contours are already established by the five-year, nearly $500 billion deficit reduction plan approved by the 101st Congress shortly before it adjourned Oct. 28, leaving little spare cash for what is expected to be an intense battle over spending priorities. Bush is scheduled to present his budget Feb. 4, and congressional hearings are expected to begin shortly thereafter.

Even the threat of another partisan dust-up over taxes may be fading in the form of an unspoken deal under which the Democrats would hold off on plans to push a tax increase on million-dollar incomes if Bush relents on plans to push for a big cut in capital gains taxes.

But the budget agreement spells trouble in dealing with a sick economy.

Political pressure for action to stimulate the economy is expected to revive the push for a Social Security tax cut that began last year. Other than that, however, the budget's tough fiscal constraints virtually rule out the kind of big stimulative tax cuts and expensive jobs programs that Congress normally employs to ease the pain of recession and hasten recovery. Moreover, any energy initiatives that carry a big price tag, or threaten the stability of an already shaky economy, are likely to be approached with caution, forcing Con-

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A FULL PLATE ON CAPITOL HILL

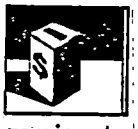
Here are some of the major issues that the 102nd Congress will face when it convenes Thursday:



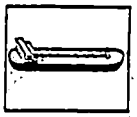
■ **Persian Gulf:** As the Bush administration and Congress anxiously await the Jan. 15 deadline imposed by the United Nations Security Council for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, Congress's role in the war-or-peace debate remains unclear. Democratic leaders are insisting that President Bush seek and obtain congressional authorization for any military assault, but the administration appears wary of a rancorous, protracted debate that would send a message of domestic division to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

■ **Budget and taxes:** Weary after its almost year-long battle of the budget last year, Congress hopes to wrap up work on the fiscal 1992 budget as quickly, and painlessly, as possible. Operating under the five-year, nearly $500 billion deficit-reduction plan approved at the end of last year, it will be arguing mainly over priorities within the pay-as-you-go limits of the budget plan. Bush's hopes for a major capital gains tax cut and Democrats' dream of a tax increase for the super-rich could wind up in a draw.

■ **Anti-recession initiatives:** As the nation's economy sours and jobless ranks grow, Democratic leaders are beginning to discuss recession-fighting initiatives but find that budget constraints have stripped them of their usual tools, including tax cuts and big jobs programs. Expansion of unemployment insurance and job training are among options under study; there is also new talk of a major "infrastructure" initiative for highways, airports and other such projects, which, coincidentally, could provide jobs during a recession.



■ **Ethics and campaign finance:** Televised hearings of the "Keating Five" influence-peddling case in the Senate, scheduled to resume today, will give new impetus to overhaul of congressional campaign financing laws, which foundered in a partisan deadlock last year. But there is no sign thus far of a break in the impasse over spending limits, which Democrats demand and Republicans reject.



■ **Energy:** After more than a decade of neglect, energy policy, including resource development and conservation, will be back on the front burner because of the threat to oil supplies in the Persian Gulf.

■ **Civil rights:** Thwarted last year by a veto that they could not override, Democrats will try again this year to reverse or modify recent Supreme Court decisions that make it harder for workers to win job discrimination suits. Also, members of both parties, angered by the administration's handling of last month's dispute over college scholarships for minorities, say they will introduce legislation to protect the stipends.



■ **Health:** Democratic leaders plan to begin a major push for new initiatives in health care delivery, including long-term care for the elderly and protection for the uninsured, with some lawmakers exploring Canada's health care system as a possible model for a broader overhaul. But fiscal constraints are a problem, and swift action is not expected.



■ **Financial institutions:** Stung by the cost of the savings-and-loan bailout and nervous about the shakiness of the banking and insurance industries, congressional leaders are urging a thorough examination of the nation's financial institutions, and the administration plans to propose major banking reforms. More money will have to be pumped into the thrift cleanup as well.

■ **Miscellaneous:** Democrats plan another push for family medical leave legislation. The Senate could be facing a strategic arms reduction (START) treaty if, as expected, one is signed this year by the United States and Soviet Union. A Puerto Rican plebiscite on the island's governmental status may be approved. A recession could give new impetus to the push to cut Social Security taxes. Another debate is anticipated over re-regulation of the cable television industry. Cabinet status for the Environmental Protection Agency may be considered again.

BY MICHAEL DREW—THE WASHINGTON POST

(continued)

gress to focus instead on such things as seed money for research.

"We are in a different situation because of the magnitude of the deficit . . . we are in uncharted waters," said Gephardt, who envisions only a modest anti-recession effort, limited largely to programs such as unemployment insurance and job training.

Senior Democrats have been talking for years of launching a major drive for sweeping improvements in health care delivery and plan to do so this year, although they acknowledge that swift action is doubtful. Among the goals are long-term care for the elderly and health coverage for the uninsured.

Democrats can also be expected to put renewed emphasis on education, including passage of Bush's modest package of initiatives that stalled in the final days of last year's session.

Since passage of the landmark clean-air legislation last year, Mitchell plans to give resource-recovery, including national recycling legislation, a top priority on the environmental front this year.

But as usual, most of the congressional business will be old business: civil rights, campaign finance reform and other endeavors that stalled during the last Congress, ranging from departmental status for the Environmental Protection Agency to unpaid leave for workers with new infants or ill family members.

Along with pushing again for the bill to restore workers' leverage in suits against job discrimination, which Bush vetoed as an invitation to racial quotas, many lawmakers plan to try to block the administration's controversial, scaled-back policy to restrict scholarships for minority students.

The savings and loan debacle will haunt the 102nd Congress just as it did its predecessor.

The case against "the Keating Five"—senators accused of improperly intervening with federal regulators on behalf a major campaign contributor, thrift executive Charles H. Keating Jr.—is expected to add to pressure for legislation to overhaul Congress's much-criticized campaign finance laws. But Republicans remain opposed to Democratic proposals for spending limits, and outlook for the measure is in doubt.

The case is also expected to lead to a tightening of the Senate's ethics rules and possible overhaul of its process for handling ethics cases. But chances that the Senate will join the House in banning honoraria from special-interest groups in exchange for a pay raise (which takes effect this month in the House) may have faded. The public is skeptical enough at Congress's motives, and pay raises do not sit well with people during a recession in any case.

The S&L debacle, coupled with hints of trouble from the banking and insurance industries, will probably spawn a major inquiry into the health of the nation's financial institutions along with action on at least some banking reforms, according to House and Senate leaders. Clean-up efforts are also likely to require a new infusion of cash.

Hearings on the five senators will resume today, and a decision by the Senate ethics committee is considered likely by the end of the month, possibly including a recommendation for sanctions against some of the senators by the full Senate.

Staff writers Tom Kenworthy and John E. Yang contributed to this report.

Christian Science Monitor, January 2, 1991, p. 8

Taxes, Civil Rights Key Themes for US in '91

By Marshall Ingwerson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

MOST of the key players shaping American domestic policy are expecting 1991 to be more contentious and politically scrappy after the relatively friendly and productive past two years.

Two themes expected to emerge early on:

- Taxes – from tax hikes on million-dollar incomes to tax cuts for capital-gains earnings.
- Civil rights – with a louder, rougher debate over affirmative action and racial quotas.

The Bush years have mostly been marked by a softening and fine-tuning of the Reagan revolution. A president with historically high public approval built relationships with Congress, passed a long-languishing Clean Air Act, enacted child-care subsidies and credits, and managed – if not to actually shrink the deficit – then to cinch the belt tighter than it might have been over the next five years.

But now a faltering economy and the threat of war are threatening to disrupt peace and prosperity.

White House aides working on domestic policy plans expect domestic politics to be a mere sideshow to the more riveting war-and-peace questions centered in the Persian Gulf.

They are less certain what to make of the economy. As of mid-December, many Bush administration officials, along with Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan, suspected that the recession's bark might be worse than its bite.

Since the White House was also leery of taking any action that might contribute to the recession psychology of fear and retrenchment, it was not yet embracing any policies in response to recession.

In fact, the White House response to economic recession came last year with the deficit-cutting budget deal. Budget director Richard Darman believed that if the deficit could be cut, then the

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Federal Reserve Board would lower interest rates enough to keep the economy humming. The Fed didn't move fast enough. White House chief of staff John Sununu blames Democrats for forcing the process to take so long.

The budget and its staggering, still growing deficit will dominate the legislative landscape and is likely to stifle any government plans for costly programs.

As the administration has been working through the 1992 budget in recent weeks, staff members say they have been struck by how much leverage the new agreement gives them to hold down spending.

"It's almost the equivalent of a line-item veto," says a White House aide. "I think that will be fully realized very, very shortly."

White House aides working on domestic policy plans expect domestic politics to be a mere sideshow to events in the Persian Gulf. The budget and its still growing deficit will also dominate the legislative landscape.

THE Democrats who control Capitol Hill have the apparent initiative on the most politically charged issues coming up. Republicans acknowledge they were outmaneuvered politically on the question of taxing the very rich this fall. Democrats immediately began plans to revive the issue in the 102nd Congress in January.

The Republican response is shaping up along these lines: The president and his party will not support raising income taxes any more on anybody at any level – including those who earn more than $1 million a year.

The administration is probably going to bring back its proposal to cut capital gains tax rates as a spur to economic growth. Many Democrats have argued that the capital-gains tax cut is a tax cut for the wealthy. In this growth versus fairness debate last year, the Democrats won the most political points, according to opinion polls last fall.

This debate will return. It may open up some new aspects, too, such as Democratic proposals to cut payroll tax rates for Social Security, perhaps making up the lost dollars by raising the level of eligible income.

Some Democrats are eager to send another civil rights bill up to the White House for a veto that was obviously painful for a president who has tried to expand his party in the black community.

The White House assessment was that the 1990 bill put so much of the burden of proof on employers in discrimination cases that it would force business to adopt de facto racial quota systems.

Supporters of the bill – many of whom are opposed to quota systems – scoffed at the White House view.

But from a political viewpoint, Republican operatives are more than happy for Democrats to keep raising the issue. Resentment against affirmative action is thought to run strong among working-class whites – a traditional Democratic constituency ripe for Republican conversion.

In his two short weeks as incoming chairman of the Republican National Committee in December, William Bennett made numerous public statements defending racial quotas as a legitimate source of debate.

"What we have now is the worst of both possible worlds," says Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute, a think tank run by moderate and conservative Democrats. "Democratic policies seem to drive a wedge between minorities and the most insecure whites in the economy."

The Republicans must also be careful. If the debate appears to play too deliberately on white racism, it could bring a backlash.

Some of the less sensational agenda items of running government may be as significant. The

(continued)

next big economic step the Bush administration plans to take is unveiling its energy policy – which will include major policy statements on oil independence, clean air, global warming, and alternative fuels. The national drug strategy faces a review, and possible shift in emphasis, by the end of January. The time for some hard decisions is approaching on how to apply the Bush policy of no-net-loss of wetlands. A detailed array of regulations must be drawn up to implement last year's Clean Air Act. Banking regulations are being redrawn to avoid the escalation of failures that swamped the savings and loan industry..

On the balance-of-power front, Congress may choose to push a confrontation over the War Powers Act in defense of its constitutional right to declare war. And President Bush has already chosen to push for maximum-term limits for Congress as a way of forcing turnover.

IN the White House, these decisions are geared around two events in January, the release of the president's proposed 1992 budget and the State of the Union address at the end of the month. These two events – the budget in particular – set the framework of most national policy debates in the coming year.

The White House is arguing lately that it can better afford to stand its ground and confront Congress this year because it has already won the most important battles on its domestic agenda.

"The issue is that in the last session we had legislation the nation absolutely needed," says Mr. Sununu. "In this coming session, we have a lot of legislation the president wants."

As another staff aide puts it: "There is not a whole lot this administration is burning to have or would give a whole lot for."

Some White House aides and Cabinet figures, led by Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, have been arguing for an aggressively conservative antipoverty agenda that seeks to empower the poor themselves – rather than social-service agencies – with vouchers, ownership, and market-style choices.

The stress Bush gives to the Kemp program of enterprise zones, phasing out capital-gains taxes entirely, and higher tax credits for children will indicate how aggressively he is willing to seek domestic initiative this year.

CRS Report for Congress

CRS Major Issues

for the

102nd Congress
First Session

December 14, 1990

Congressional Research Service • The Library of Congress

The Congressional Research Service works exclusively for the Congress, conducting research, analyzing legislation, and providing information at the request of committees, Members, and their staffs.

The Service makes such research available, without partisan bias, in many forms including studies, reports, compilations, digests, and background briefings. Upon request, CRS assists committees in analyzing legislative proposals and issues, and in assessing the possible effects of these proposals and their alternatives. The Service's senior specialists and subject analysts are also available for personal consultations in their respective fields of expertise.

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Summary

The 102nd Congress convenes with prospects of an unusually challenging session, particularly in foreign, defense, and economic affairs. As an integral part of its research planning and budgeting, the Congressional Research Service has identified 19 major issues confronting the new Congress. This report consists of summaries of these issues, which are considered by CRS to (1) be national in scope, (2) receive widespread public attention, (3) involve significant impacts on the budget, economy, or social fabric of the Nation, and (4) likely lead to legislative action. (Obviously, many important issues are not included in the major issue program and while special attention is directed at the 19 issues discussed below, CRS analysts and researchers will be available, as always, to provide assistance to the Congress on the complete range of issues.)

CRS believes at this early date that the 19 issues selected for the major issues program will engage the 102nd Congress in important ways during 1991 -- holding hearings, formulating legislative solutions, debating and voting on specific bills or treaties, and informing constituent groups. As the year proceeds and other issues bid for attention on the congressional agenda, CRS will add these to its group of major issues -- dropping resolved or less pressing issues from the initial listing.

By highlighting these 19 issues, and by forming interdisciplinary teams to analyze them, CRS hopes to provide the Congress with more forward-looking and integrative analysis. The major issue teams will work closely with appropriate committees and other Members and staff to identify the best way for CRS to support congressional response to the issues. As problems become more complex and interrelated they often require legislative solutions that are referred to multiple committees and many issues are dealt with in omnibus bills. Through its identification of major issues and formation of interdisciplinary analytic teams, CRS hopes to be able to respond better to these legislative realities.

Banks and Thrifts in Transition

F. Jean Wells*

Problems of savings and loan associations (S&Ls) and their Federal deposit insurance fund and the problems of some banks have been well-publicized. These examples bring into question a range of issues for strengthening the Nation's banking system. They primarily concern institutional characteristics of the system -- the regulatory structure, the deposit insurance mechanism, and the powers and services of commercial banking institutions. Greater-than-expected losses projected this year for the Bank Insurance Fund (BIF), the Federal deposit insurance fund for banks, raise the immediate question of how to recapitalize it. Progress of the S&L recovery and funding needs of its "clean-up crew," the Resolution Trust Corporation (RTC), are of continuing interest.

Congressional Context

Congressional attention to banking issues stems from the system's importance to the well-being of the Nation's financial system and, hence, the economy. The use of Government funds to support deposits backed by Federal deposit insurance at troubled savings institutions has reinforced Congressional interest in banks and thrifts.

An important part of banking legislation enacted in 1989 was provision for closing down insolvent S&Ls and disposing of their assets. Funding associated with that includes Government financing. Thus, Congress continues to watch the thrift situation both from an oversight and a funding perspective. The law called for a number of studies addressing issues affecting depository institutions to be delivered to Congress early in 1991. The Administration has announced that in connection with the Treasury Department's study on deposit insurance, it will propose broad-ranging legislation. These situations, combined with the financial condition of BIF, suggest that Congress may engage in in-depth examination of possible changes in the operation and regulation of the Nation's system of depository institutions.

Elements of the Issue

Topics to be examined may include further funding for the RTC, consideration of new funding arrangements for the BIF, deposit insurance reform, and financial restructuring.

The funding needs of the RTC and current state of S&L resolutions are of immediate interest. The RTC, which has been primarily responsible for the

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cleanup, has spent between $50 billion to $60 billion net. Further costs will depend on economic circumstances and the pace of the cleanup. Ultimate cost estimates vary dramatically. The most recent estimates of future costs discounted to present value range between $100 billion and $250 billion.

At the end of the 101st Congress, a stopgap measure to provide new Government funding for dealing with the savings and loan situation through the RTC was stalled, so debate on the question is likely to continue at the beginning of the new Congress. Related to this is the question of how the sale of assets acquired by the RTC in the process of resolving problem-institution cases is likely to proceed. The speed with which the RTC can dispose of acquired assets also affects its funding situation.

The BIF is in need of recapitalization both because of likely future losses and because the fund does not now have the minimum reserves required by law. Numerous alternatives for industry support of the fund are being proposed. New monies from the banking industry would give it new permanent financing.

Recapitalization of the BIF may be considered either separately or as part of the broad issue of deposit insurance reform. Options for controlling the costs of deposit insurance have also been proposed. They range from allowing the Federal authorities to intervene earlier in troubled institution cases, to scaling back deposit insurance from its current limits, to new premium arrangements that would take into account the risk characteristics of individual institutions.

Financial restructuring can also be linked to deposit insurance reform. Diversification would permit institutions to engage in a wider array of services that might increase profit-making opportunities. Proposed changes in the regulatory apparatus recognize that the possibility of entering new lines of business can lead to increased risks as well. Regulatory changes could include attention to such approaches as capital requirements for banking organizations, since capital provides a first line of defense against losses, or to the way banking and nonbanking businesses are structured within a banking organization to ensure that deposit-based aspects of the business are protected.

Budget Enforcement in 1991

Robert A. Keith*

On September 30, 1990, President Bush and congressional leaders reached agreement on a five-year budget accord aimed at reducing the deficit by about $40 billion in FY91 and $500 billion through FY95. The House and Senate adopted the accord in early October in the form of a budget resolution for FY91 (H. Con. Res. 310), retaining the overall deficit-reduction goals but modifying some of the underlying programmatic assumptions.

Before adjourning on October 28, the 101st Congress implemented much of the budget accord by enacting the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act (OBRA) of 1990 (Public Law 101-508), which included multiyear revenue increases and reductions in entitlement spending, and all thirteen of the regular appropriations acts for FY91. The President and congressional leaders agreed that new budgetary procedures would be needed to ensure that the full amount of targeted savings are achieved and maintained over FY91-FY95. These special procedures are included in OBRA of 1990 as Title XIII and are referred to as the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990.

Congressional Context

During 1991 Congress will consider a wide array of budgetary issues. Congressional action on these issues is expected to be taken within the procedural framework established by the Budget Enforcement Act. Following the presentation of the President's budget by early February, the House and Senate will work toward agreement on a budget resolution for FY92 by April 15 (in the past, final agreement on a budget resolution usually has missed this deadline).

Once the budget plan is in place, Congress must consider the regular appropriations acts, entitlement and other spending measures from the legislative committees, and any revenue legislation that may be required (the public debt limit should not need to be increased in 1991). Congress will have to decide whether it is necessary to invoke the reconciliation process -- a procedure in which committees are instructed in a budget resolution to conform existing law to budget resolution spending and revenue levels -- with regard to the development of entitlement and revenue legislation. Congress is also likely to consider proposals to modify the budget for FY91, especially with respect to supplemental appropriations for Operation Desert Shield and other urgent matters.

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Elements of the Issue

The Budget Enforcement Act establishes three principal mechanisms for enforcing budget decisions covering FY91 through FY95 as amendments to the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, commonly referred to as the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act.

First, limits have been set for discretionary spending provided through the annual appropriations process. Limits are set for both new budget authority and outlays and, for FY91 through FY93, the spending limits are divided into three categories -- defense, international, and domestic. Second, legislation affecting revenues and entitlements and other "direct spending" must adhere to new "pay-as-you-go" requirements, under which legislation proposing new direct spending, or legislation decreasing revenues, must be offset by the end of the session so that the deficit is not increased. Finally, the deficit targets have been revised and extended (the previous targets covered FY86 through FY93).

The spending limits and deficit targets are not fixed. Instead, the limits and targets may be increased at different times during the year to take into account various factors specified in the Budget Enforcement Act, such as changes in inflation and budgetary concepts. Breaching the discretionary spending limits, violating the "pay-as-you-go" requirements, or exceeding the deficit targets will automatically trigger across-the-board reductions (referred to as "sequestration") in the applicable programs. The principal sequestration reductions, if required, would occur within 15 days after Congress adjourns to end a session. The spending and deficit estimates that may activate sequestration are made by the Office of Management and Budget. (In the House, the Democratic majority is proposing to change the rules so that the estimates would be made by the Congressional Budget Office.)

If the President and Congress abide by the spending limit and the "pay-as-you-go" mechanisms, sequestration tied to the deficit targets should not occur, at least through FY93. Any sequestration that occurs tied to these mechanisms likely would eliminate the full deficit excess. The enforcement procedures under the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 were revised to complement these mechanisms. Therefore, if Congress enacts legislation consistent with the Budget Act procedures, no sequester of any type should be necessary.

Campaign Financing

Joseph E. Cantor*

Rising costs of campaigns for Congress and the prominent role played in their financing by political action committees (PACs) have resulted in increasing calls for reform of the Federal campaign finance system. At issue is whether the amount of money required to get elected to office and the need to rely on funding sources with clear but narrow agendas undermine such basic democratic principles as equal access to public office for all citizens and equal opportunities for all segments of society to be heard by those making public policy.

The implications of recent political funding developments are not clear. Observers disagree about whether rising campaign costs and reliance on PACs are destructive to the political system. Many believe that there is nothing inherently alarming about these trends, but that the uneven distribution of resources -- particularly the disparity between incumbents and challengers -- does pose serious problems.

Congressional Context

After years of seeming stalemate on these problems, the House and Senate passed separate reform bills in the 101st Congress. While they differed significantly, both sought voluntary spending limits in exchange for cost-reduction benefits, and restrictions (or a prohibition) on PAC contributions. These measures passed largely with Democratic support. A conference committee was appointed but never met, faced with the difficulty of reconciling the two bills, the likelihood of a Presidential veto, and the lukewarm support among some for any change in the current system.

Elements of the Issue

All efforts to regulate the flow of money in elections must take into account the Supreme Court's 1976 ruling in *Buckley* v. *Valeo*. In it, the Court upheld contribution limits but declared limits on expenditures to constitute an unconstitutional restriction on the candidate's First Amendment right of free speech. Only when limits were voluntarily agreed to, such as in exchange for some form of public funding, has the Court sanctioned their use.

The idea of congressional campaign spending limits is the most controversial initiative. While most observers favor reducing expenditures, the principal difference lies in whether to do so by a limitation -- either mandatory, through

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constitutional amendment, or voluntary, through a public finance or benefits package -- or by lowering the costs of campaign services. Many insist spending limits are the key to "leveling the playing field;" yet opponents view limits as inherently unfair, working to the advantage of better-known candidates (often incumbents), and problematic in applying to different races and districts.

Because of the *Buckley* ruling, spending limit proposals have often been linked to a public financing system or to public benefits, such as lower broadcast and postal rates. Many who oppose any spending limits favor these cost-reduction benefits.

The issue of restricting the role of PACs has advanced much farther than the spending limits idea. Whereas PAC limitation proposals have long been proposed, with an aggregate PAC receipts limit the most popular form, an outright ban on PAC spending in Federal elections was part of the Senate-passed bill in the 101st Congress. Such a proposal raises constitutional concerns, while in general, PAC restriction proposals raise questions of how to replace PAC money with more desirable sources of funding. Proposals to encourage individual contributions through tax incentives or to raise party limits have abounded.

The debate over the many component issues of campaign reform is driven by both strategic partisan factors and by basic philosophical differences over the appropriateness and effectiveness of government regulation in this area. Questions regarding regulation are fueled by the large sums of money involved in independent expenditures, bundling, and "soft" money operations -- all legal methods usable to circumvent the purposes of current restrictions under Federal election law. Many legislative proposals, including those passed in the 101st Congress, attempt to restrict these perceived "loopholes" in existing law.

Several tests appear critical to both enactment of any comprehensive campaign finance reform legislation and to ultimate success in promoting meaningful change: constitutionality, in light of the Supreme Court's *Buckley* and other rulings; bipartisan support; fairness to all candidates and contests; and promotion of (or, at least, no impediments to) competition in elections. New restrictions on the flow of campaign money will need to be realistic and reasonable, lest they encourage new loopholes to develop.

Child Welfare and Foster Care Reform

Karen Spar*

The public child welfare system is widely considered in a state of crisis. Societal problems that contribute to increased child maltreatment -- abuse or neglect -- affect the child welfare system by increasing the number of vulnerable children in at-risk situations for whom foster care is sought. An estimated 360,000 children were in foster care at the end of 1989, up from 280,000 at the end of 1986. Drug abuse and AIDS have contributed to the phenomenon of "boarder babies," children who are abandoned at birth and require foster care. In addition, the increasing presence of women in the work force has reduced the number of traditional families that might previously have been considered the ideal foster family type, further challenging caseworkers to find homes for growing numbers of children in need of care.

Congressional Context

Major reform of the child welfare system was enacted in 1980, with passage of the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act (P.L. 96-272). Ten years later, Congress again is looking at child welfare and foster care to evaluate the effectiveness of the 1980 legislation and to determine what pressures are affecting the system that were not anticipated or addressed in the 1980 law. The 101st Congress held numerous hearings on the child welfare system itself and on external issues affecting the child welfare system, such as substance abuse, child maltreatment, homelessness, and poverty. Minor provisions affecting child welfare were contained in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 (P.L. 101-508), but the 102nd Congress likely will consider more comprehensive legislation addressing current concerns in the child welfare community.

Elements of the Issue

Child welfare services include a range of activities designed to protect at-risk children -- investigation of abuse and neglect reports, preventive and supportive services, removal of children from home if necessary, financial support for children in foster care, services to reunite children with their natural families if possible, and adoption assistance or other permanency planning services for children if family reunification is not feasible. Services are provided through State, local, and private agencies, with support from Federal programs and from State, local, and private funding sources. These programs are distinguished

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from the broader programs ("welfare") for the poor, such as AFDC, food stamps, and Medicaid.

The primary Federal programs in this area are authorized by Titles IV-B (child welfare services) and IV-E (foster care and adoption assistance) of the Social Security Act. The Social Services Block Grant under Title XX of the Social Security Act also provides financial assistance. It is estimated that the Federal Government supports about 40 percent of the costs of the child welfare system. Federal and nonfederal spending for child welfare activities in FY90 totaled about $3.5 billion.

Many of the external pressures that affect the child welfare system by increasing the number of children in need of care are beyond the scope of child welfare legislation. Nonetheless, it is likely that legislation will be considered to test ways to improve the ability of child welfare agencies to handle the impact of drug abuse on families with young children and to expedite the transition into permanent homes for the growing number of "boarder babies." More comprehensive legislative issues likely to be discussed include the structure of the Federal legislation that finances preventive child welfare services through a limited authorization, and foster care maintenance payments through an open-ended entitlement. While incentives exist in the law for States to limit spending for foster care and to encourage spending for preventive services, these incentives have been largely ineffective. At issue is how to increase the availability of preventive services and improve the quality of services for vulnerable families, while improving foster care and protecting the rights of children who must be placed in substitute care. Fiscal issues include the feasibility of increased Federal spending, particularly for new initiatives, during a time of fiscal restraint, and the sharing of costs between the Federal Government and States.

Civil Rights

Charles Dale*

Not since the turbulent 1960s have civil rights issues so dominated public debate in this country or gained so prominent a position on the national policymaking agenda of Congress and the executive branch. Concerns about overt discrimination and exclusion of racial or ethnic minorities and women from important educational and economic opportunities in society shaped the civil rights "movement" of the earlier era. By contrast, a civil rights renaissance with less singular public policy focus may now be emerging. One apparent emphasis has been the extension of Federal civil rights protection to certain groups -- such as disabled people -- not covered by the earlier law. Also before Congress is legislation to restore rights eroded by judicial interpretations of existing law. Finally, Federal policy continues to evolve regarding affirmative action, abortion, and other long-standing issues that defy facile legislative or administrative solution.

Setting much of the contemporary civil rights agenda of Congress are Supreme Court decisions that have reshaped the judicial landscape for enforcement of Federal civil and constitutional rights. The most recent focal point has been a spate of rulings by the Court on race-based affirmative action and minority-business set-asides, burden-of-proof issues in Federal equal employment opportunity litigation, and the scope and application of the Reconstruction-era civil rights statutes that could dramatically alter the future course of Federal civil rights enforcement. The Civil Rights Act of 1990 (S. 2104), which addressed several of these rulings, passed both Houses of Congress but was vetoed by the President.

Congressional Context

Recent legislative activity in Congress may substantially influence the future development of Federal civil rights law. In 1987 Congress enacted the Civil Rights Restoration Act (P.L. 100-259) to reverse the Supreme Court decision in the *Grove City College* case and restore "institution-wide" coverage of various Federal laws barring discrimination in federally assisted programs. This was followed by passage, a year later, of the Fair Housing Amendments Act (P.L. 100-430), a law that not only expanded protections of the landmark 1968 Civil Rights Act (P.L. 101-284) to include "handicap" and "family status" discrimination but also strengthened administrative enforcement of Federal Fair Housing Act guarantees. Last year the Americans with Disabilities Act (P.L. 101-336) extended Federal civil rights protection to the disabled in employment, public accommodations and transportation, and telecommunications services.

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Another measure, revising the 1967 Age Discrimination in Employment Act (P.L. 90-202) to prevent age discrimination in employee benefits, also became law.

Elements of the Issue

A recurrent concern increasingly evident in the public debate on civil rights relates to judicial and legislative use of preferential remedies, including "goals," "quotas," and "set-asides," as tools for enhancing participation of minorities and women in education, employment, government contracting, and governmentally assisted programs. A driving factor behind failure of the Civil Rights Act of 1990 to become law was Administration objections that the legislation would lead to quota hiring by employers. Greater ambivalence is apparent, however, in the recent Administration retreat from the announced policy change of the Department of Education prohibiting race exclusive scholarship programs by federally funded educational institutions. Another aspect of this policy debate has centered on set-asides of government contracts to assist small businesses owned by women and minorities. All these issues will undoubtedly remain on the agenda of the 102nd Congress.

Other civil rights issues will also confront the returning Congress. Cases to be decided by the Supreme Court this term may well factor into the congressional legislative agenda. First, congressional proponents have vowed to reintroduce the failed 1990 Civil Rights Act to reverse earlier Court rulings deemed hostile to civil rights enforcement and to provide for damages and jury trials in employment discrimination lawsuits. In addition, the Court this term has agreed to decide whether an employer's policy excluding all fertile female workers from hazardous positions in the workplace is illegal under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (P.L. 88-352). Another case considers whether Title VII covers American companies and their employees working abroad. The Court also will revisit the constitutional standards defining a "unitary school system" and their significance for school systems under racial desegregation court orders.

Defense Goals in the 1990s

Robert L. Goldich* and Stephen Daggett**

U.S. military strategy and force structure stand at a crossroads as the 1990s begin. The U.S.-Soviet military confrontation in Europe that shaped U.S. defense policy since the end of World War II is dramatically diminishing in scope and intensity. The United States may be beginning its most significant strategic reorientation since the Nation entered World War I in 1917 and first began participating fully in world politics.

Congressional Context

The 102nd Congress faces a radically changed international environment that raises fundamental questions about the basic principles that guided U.S. defense policy in the cold war era. As a result, the Congress will encounter a number of difficult choices as it debates the President's defense budget request, acts on emergency funding for military operations in the Persian Gulf, and, in the Senate especially, decides whether to approve a treaty limiting conventional armed forces in Europe and, possibly, a strategic arms reduction treaty. The Congress will be challenged in 1991 to provide funding for a military force structure and weapons mix that supports evolving U.S. national military strategy in a period of transition, while the possibility of war in the Persian Gulf demands major attention. Simultaneously, the Congress will be under pressure to meet FY92 deficit reduction targets while representing local constituencies facing both the positive and negative economic consequences of declining defense spending.

Elements of the Issue

The ability of the Soviet Union to launch a military offensive against NATO has virtually evaporated due to the collapse of communism in Eastern European, the effective demise of the Warsaw Pact, and the apparent inability of the Soviet government to control events within its own borders. Yet it appears that the United States will still be required to maintain substantial military power -- as a means of dealing with continuing, if diminished, Soviet power; as a hedge against a resurgent Soviet threat (including one that might result from internal instability in the Soviet Union); and as a means of

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responding to challenges to U.S. interests that do not derive from the Soviet Union (a mission dramatized by the massive deployment of U.S. forces to the Arabian Peninsula area in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait).

A military force built primarily to confront the Soviet Union in Europe may not be appropriate for the new international environment, however. The need to decide how to reshape U.S. defense policy and redesign military forces is made urgent by the prospect that the defense budget is facing a substantial decline. In shaping U.S. defense policy for the 1990s, the 102nd Congress will face a number of uncertainties and dilemmas. For example, to what extent, and how, should U.S. military force structure, weapons procurement, and planning still be directed toward European security? With the decline of the Soviet threat, but with other dangers remaining, should a greater priority be given to short-term military readiness or to longer-term weapons modernization? Should basic research be given a higher priority than weapons procurement in light of diminished threats? If so, how can the United States ensure an adequate defense industrial base? How does change in Europe affect U.S. strategic nuclear doctrine? Should deployments of troops overseas be reduced as the overall size of the force declines and burden-sharing arrangements with allies are revised? If so, how can the United States ensure access to bases abroad when needed? Does the deployment of more than 400,000 U.S. troops to the Middle East, and the strategic rationale for that deployment, suggest a need to reconsider the nature and extent of force reductions planned for the early and mid-1990s?

Drug Control

Harry Hogan*

How to prevent the misuse of narcotics and other dangerous drugs has been a public policy concern in the United States for over a century, and a large part of the responsibility has gradually been assumed by the Federal Government. Historically based on a decision to restrict availability through a system of strict regulation, including selective prohibition, the current Federal antidrug strategy relies on activities and programs in five major areas: (1) regulation, interdiction, policing, and other "enforcement" efforts; (2) international activities, both multilateral and bilateral; (3) education and other prevention efforts; (4) treatment and rehabilitation of drug-dependent persons; and (5) research on drugs, drug ependency, and treatment and prevention methods.

Although the basic policy of restriction has been criticized, it seems to enjoy general national support. A renewed discussion of the merits of legalization has not yet been reflected to significant degree in congressional debate over drug matters. Instead, today's broad policy questions in Congress are more likely to concern the priority ranking assigned to the problem, the level of resources devoted, the emphasis given to each of the major components of the antidrug strategy, and the effectiveness of policy implementation.

Current estimates of the retail dollar value of the three principal illicit drugs consumed annually in the United States -- cocaine, marihuana, and heroin -- range from $50 billion to $150 billion. Although various indicators point to a significant decline in drug abuse within some population groups during the past decade, there is also evidence of a sharp increase in chronic use, especially of "crack" cocaine, among other groups. There also are indications that the influx of heroin may again be on the rise. However, it is worth noting that statistical data in this area are far less reliable than in most public policy fields.

Congressional Context

Federal antidrug spending has risen from $82 million in FY69 to an estimated $9.5 billion in FY91. A preliminary estimate of total appropriations for FY91 is $10.4 billion. The increases have resulted from both congressional and executive branch initiatives.

During the 101st Congress a continuing interest in budget levels and general oversight was augmented by the development and enactment of a new omnibus crime and drug control bill, S. 3266 (P.L. 101-647). This 1990 measure

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follows passage of similar omnibus bills in 1984, 1986, and 1988, the latter two of which authorized large increases in appropriations.

Elements of the Issue

As enacted, the Crime Control Act of 1990 contained provisions concerning such drug-related problems and efforts as regulation of precursor chemicals, curbing of money laundering, Federal antidrug manpower, funding of alternative correctional approaches such as boot camps, and forfeiture of trafficker assets. Among significant provisions dropped were a number concerning application of the Federal death penalty, revision of *habeas corpus* procedures in capital cases, modification of the Fourth Amendment exclusionary rule, and further restrictions on the sale and possession of semiautomatic military-style firearms. Some of these issues will probably arise again during the 102nd Congress.

Another issue Congress may reconsider concerns Federal grants to localities for enforcing drug laws. Municipal leaders, particularly of the larger cities, have continually lobbied for direct funding in lieu of receiving it through State governments, as under existing law.

International subjects that might be taken up include: (1) restrictions on the use of the armed services in cocaine-producing countries as part of the "Andean Strategy," (2) further encouragement of international cooperation to reduce the demand for drugs, and (3) more support for the development of regional drug control programs.

In relation to treatment, the question of additional assistance for drug-dependent pregnant and post-partum women and their children may receive attention.

Finally, the departure of William Bennett as director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) is expected to generate a number of oversight hearings in which key congressional players will have an opportunity to question his replacement, former governor of Florida Bob Martinez.

Economic Conditions and Outlook

Gail E. Makinen*

Maintaining the economic health of the United States is both implicit and explicit in the congressional agenda. An important part of economic health is to ensure a growth in gross national product (GNP) consistent with continuous full employment of labor and capital at a stable rate of inflation. Achieving these ideal economic conditions has proven elusive: the United States has experienced eight economic downturns since the end of World War II.

The prospect of a ninth downturn looms large after an unprecedented peacetime expansion under way since December 1982. Should a downturn materialize and become a persisting recession, Federal revenues and expenditures and the budget deficit could be deleteriously affected, possibly leading to a suspension of the targeting and enforcement procedures of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings (GRH) legislation and the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 (OBRA).

Congressional Context

Congress seldom enacts explicit macroeconomic legislation with the express intent of securing the macroeconomic health of the Nation. The net cumulative effects of its numerous individual expenditure and revenue decisions, however, constitute broad fiscal policy. Major changes in fiscal policy not only have significant short-run effects on aggregate demand, but by influencing the incentives to work, save, and invest, such effects extend into the longer run by affecting the growth of aggregate supply.

Such long-term effects also result from the net Federal budget position, since budget deficits can reduce the resources that are available for private capital formation. Congressional attention to major shifts in fiscal policy as well as the overall fiscal agenda usually begins with the release of the Economic Report of the President and the State of the Union Address in January and the presentation of the Federal budget in early February. The budget and the Economic Report initiate the congressional budget cycle and serve as the basis for hearings before the Joint Economic Committees and the Budget Committees.

Elements of the Issue

Analysis of the sources of change in the economic health of the Nation is important to the formulation of possible remedial legislation. These changes can

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arise from a variety of factors such as domestic monetary policy and the state of consumer and business confidence as well as similar changes in foreign countries. Since these changes can affect U.S. economic health, GNP, unemployment, interest rates, and inflation, they can significantly alter Federal Government expenditures as well as revenues.

Significant deficit reduction would almost certainly be contractionary under current economic conditions. Congress, however, is also clearly concerned with the size of the Federal budget deficit, and has enacted legislation intended to provide remedies against the growth of the deficit and national debt. This legislation attempts to distinguish between budget deficits that result from purposeful action by Congress and those that result from the operation of economic forces. In particular, OBRA provides for a suspension of the targeting and enforcement procedures of GRH if two successive quarters of actual real GNP growth is less than 1 percent or if either the Congressional Budget Office or the Office of Management and Budget forecasts two consecutive quarters of negative GNP growth. With the prospect of a significant economic downturn or recession, the possibility of suspending provisions of GRH rises.

During past economic downturns the Congress has demonstrated an interest in problems associated with rising unemployment by enacting special countercyclical programs often targeted on areas of high unemployment, on groups with high unemployment rates, or both. A renewed interest in unemployment problems and the adequacy of the coverage of the existing unemployment compensation system could generate additional legislative activity.

When the focus of policy is shifted to the longer run, the Federal budget deficit can be seen as a net absorber of the Nation's savings that would otherwise flow into private capital formation or be available for lending abroad. Since the private capital stock is a source of GNP growth and productivity, and foreign lending directly influences the size of the U.S. trade deficit, the continued economic health and long-run growth in material well-being in the United States requires constant vigilance by Congress over the long-run magnitude of the Federal budget deficit.

Energy Policy

Robert L. Bamberger*

In the aftermath of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, U.S. dependence on imported oil looms again as a major national concern. The current Gulf crisis is the third time in less than 20 years that the domestic and global economy have suffered temporary supply interruptions and dramatic price swings. Not surprisingly, demands are again heard for a new and effective energy policy. The challenge to Congress, as in the past, is to help shape an energy policy that is politically palatable, environmentally acceptable, and economically effective.

Congressional Context

Before the invasion of Kuwait, environmental concerns were influencing U.S. energy policy more than national security and the Nation's dependence on imported oil. For example, the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990 will introduce important changes in how the economy uses certain fuels. Refiners will produce cleaner-burning gasoline; utilities will shift fuel sources and install equipment to reduce acid rain.

Environmental priorities in general add to the difficulties of diversifying the fuel mix upon which the U.S. economy depends. These considerations diminish the likelihood of greater use of coal in the future, but increase the prospects for natural gas and for a reexamination of the nuclear option. Protecting unique land areas and coastal resources is a growing imperative for some.

To address the oil dimension of the energy problem, the 101st Congress enacted a production credit for enhanced oil recovery, boosted the Federal gasoline tax by a nickel a gallon, and doubled taxes on gas-guzzling cars. The developments in the Persian Gulf also prompted Congress to enact legislation increasing the size of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve to one billion barrels.

Elements of the Issue

Several beliefs persist that complicate national energy policy. Among these are that oil is running out, and that the era of cheap energy is over. The experience of the 1970s and 1980s belies this conventional wisdom. Oil prices declined dramatically in real terms in the years after both the disruptions of

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1973 and 1979-80, owing to plentiful oil reserves. Unfortunately, most of those reserves are concentrated in one of the most contentious regions of the globe, the Persian Gulf. Until the mid-1980s, policymakers were preoccupied with the power of producing nations to drive prices higher. However, the collapse of oil prices in the mid-1980s demonstrated that oversupply from the producing nations can drive prices down as well as up.

A related belief is that conservation and improving the efficiency of energy use can dramatically reduce dependence on imported oil in the near decades; indeed, some argue that had we pursued conservation aggressively from the mid-1970s on, we would not need to import oil now. But the ability of foreign producers to profit when prices are down as well as up suggests that policies promoting conservation and diversification from oil would require an enormously expensive commitment to technologies that could not otherwise compete with much cheaper oil.

This may seem an unencouraging outlook; there seems to be, after all, no apparent policy that will broadly reduce the Nation's need for Persian Gulf oil. But it underscores the importance of finding practical policy options, probably more incremental than sweeping, that would diversify and secure energy sources and improve energy efficiency without unacceptably narrowing consumer choice, disregarding the environment, or imposing an onerous burden on the economy.

The specific energy agenda in the 102nd Congress foreseeably will be shaped by two developments. One is the denouement in the Persian Gulf--whether a negotiated settlement, a prolonged stalemate, or armed conflict. The other is the National Energy Strategy, a set of options presented to the President in December 1990 from which the Administration is likely to develop legislative recommendations. Among these are development of domestic oil resources, including possibly the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR), research and development in energy efficient technologies, and electric utility reform. Congress, with or without Administration sanction, also will likely renew the debate over raising corporate average fuel economy standards and seek alternative means of financing to accelerate development of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.

Foreign Policy Budget Priorities

Larry Q. Nowels*

Dramatic international events and fundamental changes to the global landscape pose a significant challenge to the formulation of new directions for American foreign policy and spending patterns in support of that policy. Many believe that traditional foreign policy budget allocations, largely framed in a cold war context, no longer reflect current needs or support emerging American national interests abroad. Issues such as economic competitiveness, democratization, environmental protection, international narcotics, debt, support for the United Nations, and international financial burden-sharing have taken on new importance in foreign policy decision-making. The current Persian Gulf crisis raises additional uncertainties regarding future foreign policy spending priorities.

Many in Congress have called on the President to reformulate the international affairs budget to take into account world changes. Given the highly constrained budget environment and newly enacted deficit reduction plan, spending on foreign policy programs is not expected to grow beyond levels of inflation. Consequently, any shifts in resource allocations within the international affairs budget will represent trade-offs among a wide range of competing interests.

Congressional Context

While Congress has asked the President to submit a significantly modified foreign policy budget for FY92, legislators may move ahead with their own plan, particularly if executive branch proposals are judged unsatisfactory. During the 100th Congress several congressional recommendations emerged to rewrite foreign aid legislation, develop a framework to assist East European governments, and establish new foreign policy budget priorities, primarily by shifting resources from security programs to economic activities. Congressional consideration of foreign policy reform initiatives will likely begin early in the 102nd Congress when committees start their review of four major foreign policy authorization and appropriation bills dealing with foreign assistance and the State Department.

Elements of the Issue

Congressional attention to new U.S. foreign policy budget priorities has focused primarily on overhauling the American foreign assistance program,

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which accounts for about three-quarters of the roughly $20 billion international affairs budget. While consensus for change exists, wide disagreement remains over how a new aid program should be structured. Some believe that significant portions of security assistance could be shifted to international development efforts. Others assert that foreign aid should more directly serve U.S. economic interests by combining international development goals with American commercial objectives and integrating the activities of foreign aid agencies with U.S. programs designed to advance American exports.

A growing theme is the perceived need for the United States to help countries that are undertaking significant political reform. Efforts to promote democracy are expanding through a number of U.S. programs, including foreign aid, and public diplomacy activities of the U.S. Information Agency, the National Endowment for Democracy, and international exchanges.

Some perceive new threats to U.S. national security interests in a post-cold-war era that deserve greater emphasis within foreign policy budget allocations. Depletion of the ozone layer has elevated public awareness that protection of the environment requires international cooperation in countermeasures and national strategies to conserve or develop new sources of energy. Reducing the supply of drugs through international narcotics control programs also has become a high priority of U.S. foreign policy.

The rising prominence of the United Nations as an effective organization to catalyze international cooperation, manage crises, and assist in regional conflict resolution has convinced many observers that the U.N. can play an important role in advancing American foreign policy interests. Nonetheless, U.S. payments are seriously in arrears.

Because the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 sets a cap on international affairs spending for FY91-FY93 disallowing increases in real terms, there is concern that the United States will have difficulty in meeting new priorities and will be more constrained in responding to new, rapidly developing international events. Consequently, attention may focus on ways in which the United States can share the financial burden of such international obligations, as in the case of the Persian Gulf crisis, and on new initiatives that do not require budgeted resources but nevertheless respond to pressing foreign policy needs.

Global Climate Change

John R. Justus*

There is a growing concern that human activities such as the burning of fossil fuels and deforestation are increasing atmospheric concentrations of carbon dioxide (CO_2), which, along with increasing concentrations of other trace gases (chlorofluorocarbons, methane, nitrous oxide), could affect global climate. If these gases continue to accumulate in the atmosphere, a globally averaged warming of 3 to 8 degrees fahrenheit *could* occur over the next 100 years through enhancement of Earth's naturally occurring "greenhouse effect." Such a warming could have far-reaching impacts, negative as well as positive, on natural resources; biodiversity; food and fiber production; energy supply, use, and distribution; transportation; land use; water supply and control; and human health and welfare. To the extent such impacts occur, their consideration would need to be incorporated into fiscal and budgetary planning at the Federal, State, and municipal levels and in the private sector.

Recently there have been controversial claims that a global warming signal has been detected. Natural variability of climate is large enough, however, that even the record-setting warmth of the 1980s or a singular event such as the severe U.S. drought of summer 1988 does not allow the vast majority of knowledgeable scientists to state that a global warming signal attributable to human pollution has been identified, at least at the present time. Although causal relationships between long-range trends and present-day severe weather events have not been firmly established, such events do focus attention on possible climate change and the need for better understanding of global and regional climate and improved climate prediction models.

Congressional Context

The prospect of global warming from an increase in greenhouse gases became a major political issue during the past decade. Seeking answers to a number of questions -- "How much warming? How soon? Should we worry? -- a growing number of policymakers are debating the merits and disadvantages of an active governmental role in forging policies to deal with prospective climate change.

How real is the human-induced global warming threat? Another ten to twenty years of continued warming would impart an improved degree of certainty to the scientific projections, but waiting for this added assurance might put society at risk for a larger dose of climate change than if actions to curb or slow the buildup of greenhouse gases were implemented now. But actions on

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what scale? Moreover, in times of fiscal restraint and deficit reduction, many policymakers are counseling caution, lest their actions commit the Government and private sectors to the expenditure of major resources in support of remedial, perhaps expedient, courses of action to avoid consequences we cannot foresee with certainty.

Given uncertainties about the timing and magnitude of the global warming projections, what policy responses, if any, are appropriate now or in the future? Such options range from engineering countermeasures, to passive adaptation, to prevention, to an international law of the atmosphere. One approach that has been widely discussed, the so-called "no regrets" approach, is to implement those policies now that would effectively reduce emissions of greenhouse gases but also are justified by clear additional benefits to society as well. Policy options that stress energy efficiency and conservation, renewable energy, CFC reduction, and fuel substitution are important examples. Whether the uncertainties are sufficiently large to suggest delaying policy responses is not only a scientific question per se, but a value judgment.

Elements of the Issue

In the 102nd Congress, Members and committees of relevant jurisdiction will doubtless continue their efforts to acquire information from all sides of the scientific debate about possible climate change. Work will continue to evaluate potential economic and strategic impacts of a warmer climate and to further the negotiations, under United Nations auspices, for achieving a framework convention on global climate protection to limit or avert global warming or mitigate its impacts, should it occur. Those negotiations formally begin in February 1991 at a session to be hosted by the United States in Washington, D.C. A variety of approaches to formulating response strategies will be embodied in legislative measures introduced in the 102nd Congress.

Health Insurance

Janet Kline*

Rising health care costs have created increasing pressures on public and private health care financing programs in a time of limited resources. Over the past ten years, health care spending has grown faster than spending in the general economy. National health expenditures were $540 billion in 1988, more than 11 percent of the gross national product. While payments by public and private health insurance programs account for a majority (approximately three-fourths) of payments for health care services, gaps in coverage and in the availability of insurance leave many people at risk. Between 31 million and 37 million people were uninsured in 1988. Generally, the uninsured are young (under age 24); they are poor; and they have ties to the work force (primarily in small firms, in industries with seasonal or temporary employment, and in firms with a lower skilled or less unionized work force). In the past decade, there was growth in the number and proportion of the uninsured population. Insurance status has implications for access to health services: the uninsured use fewer health care services and generally have poorer health status than the insured.

Even people with health insurance can face substantial health care costs if their insurance does not adequately cover their medical expenses. In 1986 the Department of Health and Human Services estimated that about 10 million persons had insurance that was inadequate to protect them from risk of catastrophic illness expense. Private sector health plans and public programs (Medicare and Medicaid) all, to some degree, leave their enrollees underinsured because of cost-sharing requirements, limits on payments to providers, or uncovered services. Most health care plans (except Medicaid) either do not cover, or have only limited benefits for, long-term care services, including both nursing home care and home and community-based care.

Congressional Context

The 101st Congress addressed the issue of the uninsured in a number of ways. The U.S. Bipartisan Commission on Comprehensive Health Care (known as the Pepper Commission) developed recommendations for universal coverage for health care and long-term care, and numerous bills were introduced expanding access to coverage. S. 768, which mandates employer coverage, was reported by the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. In addition, attempts to expand availability were addressed through proposals and legislation was introduced for private insurance market reforms. Under the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 (P.L. 101-508), Medicaid eligibility was

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expanded for pregnant women, children, and other groups; refundable tax credits were provided for health insurance premiums for qualified children; and States were authorized to purchase continuation coverage (COBRA coverage) for certain low-income workers. Also in the 101st Congress, numerous bills were introduced to expand long-term care coverage.

Elements of the Issue

Several issues will continue to affect the numbers of uninsured and underinsured individuals. Rising costs will put increasing pressures on public budgets, employer costs, and out-of-pocket expenses of individuals for medical care. An ongoing focus of our public and private health care systems will be attempts to control those costs. Expansion of limited coverage for long-term care services will continue to be an issue. The future of employer-provided retiree health benefits is also at issue. These and other issues, including the Pepper Commission recommendations for improving access to care, expansion of Medicaid coverage, Federal mandates for private coverage, private insurance market reforms, long-term care coverage, and managed-care approaches to controlling health care costs, will be a concern of the 102nd Congress. Legislation to implement some of these proposals will be introduced during the early months of the 102nd Congress.

Higher Education

Margot A. Schenet*

The Federal effort to assist low- and moderate-income students attain a postsecondary education was initiated in the Higher Education Act of 1965 (HEA) and continues to be sustained through subsequent amendments to HEA. Title IV, the heart of the Act, includes four types of aid, primarily for students who are financially needy: grants (Pell Grants, Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants), loans (Guaranteed Student Loans, Perkins Loans), work-study programs, and fellowships. In academic year 1990-91, U.S. Department of Education programs will provide more than $18 billion in student aid to help nearly 6 million students meet the costs of postsecondary education. Such aid can be used for attendance at over 8,000 federally eligible institutions, public and private, profit and nonprofit, including traditional colleges and universities, community or junior colleges, and vocational-technical career schools.

Congressional Context

Three underlying trends that developed in the 1980s are likely to continue to have an impact on the Federal role in postsecondary education, and particularly on student aid. These are the continuing increases in college costs; the growing predominance of loans rather than grants in the type of aid available to students, at the same time that loan eligibility was restricted to lower-income students; and the growth in the participation of students attending proprietary (for-profit) vocational schools. The HEA expires during the 102nd Congress and these trends are likely to lead to specific Title IV reauthorization issues: student loan defaults and their impact on the integrity of the Guaranteed Student Loan program, the appropriate balance between grant and loan assistance, and efforts to increase the access to and the success of minority students in postsecondary institutions.

Elements of the Issue

Defaults on guaranteed student loans constitute a growing percentage of limited aid dollars, and default control, which has preoccupied Congress and the Administration over the past few years, is likely to occupy a place on the reauthorization agenda. Related to the default issue is controversy over the participation of students attending proprietary vocational schools in student aid programs. Proprietary school students have relatively high default rates, and they constitute a growing proportion of student aid recipients. New restrictions on the participation of schools with high default rates, imposed by the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1990, may do much to reduce the default problem.

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However, the broader question of restoring the general stability of the student loan program is likely to be raised during reauthorization.

Imbalance between loan and grant assistance is another likely issue. Loans have replaced grants as the major source of student aid during the recent period of tight Federal budgets and spiraling college costs. As a result, students incur considerable debt to attend college and suffer significant consequences if they cannot repay their loans. Loan default costs to the Federal Government also continue to grow. Policymakers may consider different ways to improve the balance between grant and loan aid. Options might include making Pell Grants an entitlement; or changing the "mix" of aid to grant awards only for the first and second year of postsecondary education, where most aid recipients are concentrated, with loans provided to students in later years of school.

The Federal Government has traditionally sought to facilitate minority access to postsecondary education, a role reflected in various HEA programs. Many observers have expressed concern about the recent trends in the postsecondary enrollment and completion rates of minorities, particularly blacks, which are considerably lower than the comparable rates for whites. During the reauthorization of the HEA, the Federal role in fostering minority access and success is likely to be debated. In particular, the effectiveness of current programs of financial assistance for minority students, and the TRIO programs (Special Programs for the Disadvantaged) will likely be reviewed, as well as the possibility of new programs or approaches to improve minority access and success in postsecondary education.

Iraq-Kuwait Crisis

Raymond W. Copson*

Iraq's August 1990 invasion of Kuwait confronted the United States with a prolonged and unexpected crisis. At a time when Americans had been anticipating a relaxation in international tensions and a post-cold-war "peace dividend," the prospect of major war suddenly loomed. In November 1990 the United Nations Security Council set a January 15, 1991, deadline for an Iraqi withdrawal, after which use of force was authorized. U.S. troop commitments in the Gulf are growing beyond 400,000 as January 15 approaches. Many observers anticipated that Iraq would refuse to withdraw, precipitating a war at some point early in the New Year.

A few encouraging events occurred at the end of 1990, including Iraq's release of all Western hostages. High-level meetings between Iraqi and American officials were anticipated. Nonetheless, as 1991 opens, the prospect of U.S. military involvement in a Persian Gulf conflict appears more probably than any alternative. Even if war can be avoided, the crisis seems certain to have lasting consequences for the U.S. role in the Middle East and the wider international system. A long-term U.S. military presence in the Middle East seems a distinct possibility, although some analysts are concerned that this will prove costly and provoke anti-American sentiment in the Arab world.

Congressional Context

For Congress the crisis raises pressing questions involving foreign policy, the respective powers of Congress and the executive branch, and the budget. Members expressed concern about Iraq's human rights conduct and military buildup before the crisis, and both Houses voted economic sanctions against Iraq. After the invasion and the initial U.S. diplomatic and military response, both Houses passed resolutions supporting U.S. objectives and the United Nations role in the crisis. Leaders stressed, however, that these resolutions were not a blanket authorization for a future war.

In view of the January 15 U.N. deadline, Congress will be concerned about the possibility of war in early 1991. The congressional role in authorizing U.S. involvement in a Persian Gulf war, and the form of any authorization, could be intensely debated. Congress will also confront decisions related to the costs of the crisis, particularly since new projections are raising questions about the impact of Gulf operations on the budget deficit. Some Members suggest that a tax surcharge may have to be considered, but others are ruling out this option on economic and political grounds.

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Elements of the issue

U.S. objectives in the crisis, as outlined by President Bush, are the unconditional withdrawal of Iraq, restoration of Kuwait's government, assurance of Saudi Arabia's security, and protection of the safety of Americans abroad. Promoting Middle East stability and preventing Iraq from acquiring nuclear weapons and military comity in the Gulf are sometimes mentioned as important considerations. Officials also maintain that U.S. policy is defining the American role in the post-cold-war world, while protecting the economy and assuring continued competition in world oil markets. Although these goals have drawn broad support, debate has recently intensified. Among the questions are whether U.S. objectives may be too ambitious or too costly, and whether access to cheap oil is playing too prominent a role in U.S. policy. The means of achieving U.S. goals are another issue. Some favor allowing international economic sanctions a year or more to force Iraq to withdraw, arguing that this approach will save lives and minimize negative popular reactions to U.S. policy in the Middle East. Others doubt that sanctions will work and advocate early military action lest the anti-Iraq coalition deteriorate.

Even if war does not occur, direct costs of Persian Gulf operations in FY91 are projected to be $30 billion or more. Indirect costs may include the possible need to assist poor countries that are supporting the U.S. role in the Gulf or suffering from the crisis. Israel, meanwhile, will certainly seek increased U.S. military aid to compensate for the large quantities of arms being sold to Saudi Arabia. If war does occur, direct and indirect costs will be sharply higher. Many nations are helping to offset these costs, and more than 25 have sent or promised military aid. Nonetheless, a continuing debate over the adequacy of this "burden-sharing" seems certain.

Japan-U.S. Relations

Richard P. Cronin*

Japan-U.S. relations, which are complicated by dual aspects of partnership and competition, will continue to be a major focus of public and congressional attention during the 102nd Congress. The close relationship has played a key role in the rapid postwar growth of the Pacific Rim economies and provided the main linchpin of U.S. military power in the Pacific. The relationship has come under increasing stress as a result of the end of the cold war, which has tended to put lower value on Japan's role as a military ally, and increasing U.S. concerns about whether Japan is meeting the international obligations of an economic superpower.

Congressional Context

Congress has exercised great influence over issues that dominate the U.S.-Japan relationship, especially in the area of trade policy. Members of Congress are under pressure from industries, labor unions, and communities affected by imports or barriers to access to the Japanese market, or by Japanese purchases of local companies and real estate properties. Major legislative enactments such as expansion of Section 301 in the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 (P.L. 100-418) clearly were aimed at reducing the imbalance of U.S. trade with Japan. Likewise, Congress played a critical role in causing the Bush Administration to gain additional accommodations on co-development of the FSX fighter.

Elements of the Issue

In the face of a U.S. economic slowdown and continued budgetary stringencies, Congress will be concerned about the adequacy of Japan's contributions to burden sharing, both military and economic assistance. Especially in the case of U.S. militry involvement in the Gulf, which Americans tend to perceive as at least partly aimed at protecting the interests of industrial democracies, including Japan, Congress can be expected to weigh the extent and quality of Japan's support for U.S. policy. This includes its contributions to support the U.S.-led United Nations effort, including aid to regional "front line" states that have suffered economically for their stance against Iraq. In action on the defense budget Congress can also be expected to pay close attention to Japan's response to U.S. pressure to assume all costs, apart from salaries, for supporting U.S. forces based in Japan.

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An expected significant decrease in the trade deficit with Japan for 1990 likely will not deflect continued calls for greater market openness. Congress can be expected to look carefully at how well Japan carries out commitments made in 1989 under the Super 301 negotiations and the Administration's Structural Impediments Initiative and to consider whether to renew the Super 301 provision, which expires at the end of 1990.

Japan may be the target of new unilateralist measures as a consequence of the apparent breakdown of the GATT negotiations, which aimed at reducing agricultural protectionism and liberalizing trade in services. The United States likely will renew pressure on Japan to open up its rice market to imports and allow greater foreign participation in its construction industries.

Growing economic interdependence between the United States and Japan has been reflected in rising Japanese real estate and business investment in the United States, including purchases of U.S. firms with leading-edge proprietary technology and acquisition of entertainment industry giants. These developments have led to new debates about the need for more reciprocity concerning U.S. investments in Japan. Questions about what constitutes an "American" company have become important in the context of efforts to form consortia to promote greater U.S. technological competitiveness. Also of concern is alleged "asymmetry" in scientific cooperation, with U.S. complaints of a largely one-sided flow of research results to Japan.

Finally, as a result of long-standing concern with lobbying by representatives of foreign interests, and the wide publicity given Pat Choate's book, *Agents of Influence*, Congress may consider legislation making changes in the Foreign Agents Registration Act and perhaps putting additional restrictions on the ability of U.S. trade officials to work for Japanese and other foreign interests after leaving government service.

A New Europe and U.S. Interests

Stanley R. Sloan*

The revolution in Eastern Europe and the process of German unification have raised fundamental questions about European security affiliations and institutions. The Warsaw Pact is disintegrating, and NATO's future role is open for debate. The November 1990 Paris summit meeting of the 34 participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe proclaimed the end of the cold war and began building a more cooperative European security system.

Meanwhile, the European Community is approaching its deadline of achieving a common internal market by the end of 1992 and considering further steps toward monetary and political union. U.S.-West European relations may be troubled by continuing differences over the EC's agricultural subsidies. The reordering of European relationships now under way will have profound implications for U.S. interests.

Congressional Context

Early in the 102nd Congress the Senate will be asked to consider an important arms control treaty that marks the transition from bloc-to-bloc confrontation to a new post-cold-war era. The Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, signed in Paris on November 19, 1990, by 22 NATO and Warsaw Pact nations, is designed to create a stable military balance in Europe. The treaty ratification process will be an element of congressional participation in shaping post-cold-war European security relationships.

The Congress also faces important decisions concerning the extent to which the United States should, along with other Western countries, facilitate recovery and reform in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union with economic assistance, political support, transfers of information and technology, and other available means. The outcome of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations may stimulate legislative proposals affecting U.S.-European relations.

Elements of the Issue

The process of change in Europe raises a series of important issues for U.S. foreign and defense policy. President Bush has stated his resolve to see that the United States remains an active participant in Europe. However, a Europe in which the two alliances are less important would also make dealing with our

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allies more complex, and might require creating new venues for dealing with members, or former members, of the Warsaw Pact.

It appears certain now that the United States will be able to reduce its military involvement in Europe substantially below current levels. Increasingly, Washington observers expect U.S. force levels in Europe to drop below 100,000 by the mid-1990s. As the prominence of the U.S. military role in Europe recedes, it is possible that U.S. political influence will recede as well. On the other hand, as the importance of military instruments of power diminishes in relations among European countries, future U.S. influence in Europe may depend much more on the political and economic roles that it plays than on the strength of its military presence.

Perhaps the key argument for the United States remaining actively involved in European security arrangements is that twice in this century the United States has had to send soldiers into combat in Europe. The post-World War II U.S. investment in European security arrangements has paid large dividends in terms of war avoidance, and has been important politically in supporting democratic forces and ideas on the European continent.

Members of Congress and the Administration will necessarily confront a number of difficult questions as they attempt to establish new defense spending, arms control, and foreign aid priorities in the coming months and years. Already the desire to provide assistance to emerging democracies in Eastern Europe has come into conflict with competing foreign aid priorities and the desire to reduce the U.S. budget deficit. The Persian Gulf crisis has raised new issues about how to allocate the costs and responsibilities for defending Western interests in this region. Differences over trade policy also threaten to disturb allied relationships.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Francis T. Miko*

U.S.-Soviet relations reached a new positive level in 1990, when leaders of both countries declared an end to the cold war. Dramatic changes in Soviet policy and thinking have brought major progress in arms control, regional cooperation (including unprecedented mutual support in the Persian Gulf crisis), and other areas of bilateral relations. Today, developments inside the Soviet Union, rather than any bilateral differences, pose the greatest uncertainties for future U.S.-Soviet relations. Worsening economic conditions, including shortages of food and basic goods in major cities, are exacerbating efforts to implement economic reform. Competition for power between the central government and republics seeking autonomy threatens the cohesion of the Soviet Union.

The progress achieved in bilateral relations may clear the way to major new U.S.-Soviet agreements in 1991. President Bush has announced plans to assist Soviet efforts to implement *perestroika*. As the two countries prepare for the next summit, scheduled for February 1991 in Moscow, the United States must decide to what extent, how, and under what conditions to help the Soviet Union.

Congressional Context

Congress will be directly involved in the further development of U.S.-Soviet relations. Conventional and strategic arms control agreements will require congressional approval. Early in 1991 Congress is likely to consider the issues involved through extensive hearings. In the sphere of economic relations and assistance, Congress has yet to consider the U.S.-Soviet trade agreement signed in 1990, although the President will submit this accord to Congress only after the Soviet Union has adopted liberalized emigration laws. Legislative restrictions limiting economic relations and assistance beyond the emergency food aid and credits now envisioned can only be removed with congressional consent. Congress continues to take a strong interest in human rights and emigration issues, as well as the status of the Baltic Republics.

Elements of the Issue

The United States and Soviet Union signed the multilateral agreement on Conventional Forces in Europe on November 19, 1990. The President is expected to submit the agreement for congressional approval in January or February 1991. U.S. and Soviet officials have announced that they hope to have a START

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treaty ready to sign at the February 1991 Moscow Summit. The bilateral chemical weapons agreement must also be approved by Congress.

U.S.-Soviet regional initiatives have moved increasingly from competition to cooperation. The United States will seek continued Soviet support in military and other efforts to reverse the Iraqi annexation of Kuwait, and negotiations will proceed to end the conflicts in Afghanistan, Angola, and Cambodia. Both countries are supporting a much greater U.N. role in settling these disputes. In Europe, hopes are high for an unprecedented era of cooperation, following the Soviet withdrawal from Eastern Europe, the unification of Germany, and the movement throughout much of the region toward democracy. A search is under way for new security structures through the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and other institutions, now that the Warsaw Pact has lost its military role.

The Administration has decided to seek improved economic relations and provide some short-term assistance to the Soviet Union. The President has taken initial steps with the waiver of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Act of 1974, so that he can provide Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) credits to the Soviet Union for agricultural purchases. Before the United States can grant most-favored-nation status and the full range of economic benefits or aid to the Soviet Union, Congress must approve the bilateral trade agreement signed in 1990 and continue the President's authority to waive the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. Even if these actions are taken, U.S. credits to the Soviet Union are limited to $300 million without specific congressional approval under the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945, as amended. The United States and its allies have eased restrictions on technology transfer to the Soviet Union, but Moscow is likely to seek a further relaxation of controls.

Bilateral cooperation in science, space, medicine, education, and culture, as well as global problems such as the environment, terrorism, and drugs, is likely to be expanded in the coming years, assuming that the Soviet nation can avoid chaotic disorder without a return to totalitarian rule.

Trade

George Holliday* and William H. Cooper**

The failure of the ministerial meeting in December 1990 to reach a successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations signaled the beginning of comprehensive review of U.S. trade policy in the 1990s. Trade negotiators had intended to reach agreements in principle on a wide range of trade issues that they had considered in the four-year negotiations -- the eighth round of trade negotiations under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The failure of the December meeting, largely because of the inability to reach agreement on reduction of trade-distorting agricultural subsidies, adds an element of uncertainty to the trade agenda of the 102nd Congress.

Congressional Context

Negotiators have effectively only until March 1, 1991, to complete the work of the Uruguay Round. The President must formally notify Congress by that date of his intent to enter into agreements to ensure that Congress considers implementing legislation under fast-track procedures. (Under fast-track procedures, Congress considers the legislation expeditiously and without amendments.) To meet their deadline, negotiators must not only achieve an effective compromise on the difficult issues of agricultural trade; they must also resolve outstanding questions about trade in textiles, GATT rules for dumping and subsidies, trade in services, tariffs, and other issues.

Elements of the Issue

If agreements are signed in the Uruguay Round, Congress will consider complex and comprehensive implementing legislation. Since such legislation would amend statutes relating to domestic as well as trade policy, it would require extensive review by a number of committees. If the negotiators are unsuccessful, Congress is likely to consider more actively other approaches -- unilateral measures, such as enactment of strengthened laws to remedy unfair or injurious trade practices, or bilateral agreements with important trade partners. Continuing large U.S. trade deficits could provide additional incentive for a more activist, unilateral, or bilateral approach to trade policy.

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Congress may, for example, consider toughening Section 301 and related trade laws, which authorize the executive branch to retaliate against countries that do not open their markets to U.S. exports. The so-called Super 301 authority, enacted as part of the 1988 Omnibus Trade Act, expired after May 1990. This provision required the Administration to name "priority" countries that practiced unfair trade and authorized retaliatory measures if they failed to cease their unfair practices. The 102nd Congress may study the option of renewing Super 301.

The U.S. Government has successfully negotiated market-opening agreements covering commodities ranging from agricultural goods to satellites with Japan and other countries. Yet new issues with major trade partners are emerging and some old ones probably will be revisited. The United States has also been forging special bilateral trading relationships -- free trade arrangements (FTA). In 1988 it formed an FTA with Canada, and in 1990, the Bush Administration announced its intention to pursue FTA negotiations with Mexico. Congress will have a major role to play during the negotiations and in approving any agreement that the two countries may reach.

The potential North American free trade area, the European Community's efforts to become more closely united by 1992, and Japan's emergence as a economic power in East Asia have fostered speculation that the international trading system is breaking up into regional trading blocs. Such trade and economic regional blocs would have major implications for the multilateral trade system and for U.S. trade laws.

The United States also is forming new trading relationships with East and Central European countries as they grapple with forming market-driven economies. The United States has normalized trade relations with Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. A pending trade agreement with the U.S.S.R. granting most-favored-nation (MFN) treatment to that country will require congressional approval for implementation upon submission by the President. Agreements with other East Central European countries requiring congressional action may follow.

The 102d Congress will also consider extension and amendment of the Export Administration Act of 1979, the primary authority for controlling exports, which expired when President Bush vetoed a bill passed by the Congress in November 1990.

Unemployment Compensation

Gene Falk*

The recent slowdown in economic growth and the resulting increase in unemployment have heightened congressional interest in unemployment compensation (UC), which provides temporary cash payments to replace some of the wages lost when a worker becomes involuntarily unemployed. It also helps stabilize the economy by providing unemployed workers with some purchasing power. Federal law establishes the framework for the Federal-State UC system, and all UC tax receipts, benefit payments, and funds for program administration flow through the U.S. Treasury. States determine eligibility and benefit rules, levy taxes to support benefit payments, and administer the program.

Congressional Context

In recent years, congressional interest in UC has centered on changes in its financing and assistance to those unemployed because of long-term changes in the structure of the economy. A prolonged slump in economic growth or a recession would likely change the focus of legislative interest. To respond to a cyclical rise in unemployment, Congress probably would concentrate on issues such as extending the duration of assistance and financing the potential insolvencies of some State programs.

Under the pay-as-you-go rules enacted in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990, any increase in the deficit caused by new UC legislation would require offsetting tax increases or spending cuts. The President and Congress could suspend this requirement if the economy is in recession and could exempt a bill that responds to an "emergency."

Elements of the Issue

The recent slowdown in economic growth was reflected in a jump in UC spending. FY90 UC outlays were 20 percent higher than FY89 outlays ($20.2 billion compared with $16.8 billion). Conversely, UC tax receipts declined as employment and payroll growth subsided.

UC can act as an *automatic stabilizer*. Its spending increases during economic slumps without action by Congress or States when more people receive benefits. This cyclically induced increase in spending combines with lower UC tax receipts to increase the Federal budget deficit. Some have questioned

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whether a further increase in the already large budget deficit would aid an economic recovery. However, the UC system's automatic response to a slump or recession may be attenuated by: (1) the low rate of benefit receipt among the unemployed; (2) difficulty in activating extended benefits (additional weeks of assistance for those who exhaust their regular benefits) in States with high unemployment; and (3) potential cutbacks in benefits or tax increases by States facing UC insolvency.

Many unemployed workers do not receive UC. Some are ineligible for benefits, for reasons such as too little recent work experience, voluntary quits, or dismissal with cause. In the midst of the 1981-82 recession the rate of *insured* unemployment (unemployed and receiving UC) compared to total unemployment declined, and it has remained at low levels through 1990. Research shows that many unemployed who do not receive UC had little recent work experience. However, the low rate of UC receipt has not been fully explained.

Typically, higher levels of unemployment are accompanied by an increase in the length of time people remain unemployed because it is more difficult to find jobs. Since regular State UC programs limit benefit durations (most to 26 weeks), more people exhaust their regular UC benefits before finding work during recessions. The permanent Federal-State extended benefits (EB) program provides additional weeks of assistance in States with high rates of insured unemployment. However, because the rate of insured unemployment compared with total unemployment is at a low level, it is unlikely that EB will be activated under present law in many States, even those with relatively high total unemployment rates. During some past recessions, Congress has enacted temporary assistance programs to aid the long-term unemployed.

A recession could jeopardize the financial health of some State UC programs. Lower tax revenues and higher benefit payments would deplete reserves in State accounts. In recent years, some have questioned whether many State accounts could withstand a recession. States facing insolvency would be faced with the choice of either raising taxes, cutting benefits, or receiving loans from a Federal UC account. These loans must be repaid with interest, implying future UC tax increases or benefit cuts.

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CRS Report for Congress

The Congressional Scene: Selected Publications Covering the Congress

Pamela M. Dragovich
Reference Specialist
Congressional Reference Division

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THE CONGRESSIONAL SCENE: SELECTED PUBLICATIONS COVERING THE CONGRESS

SUMMARY

The activities of Congress in legislative and policymaking matters are reported in various periodicals, newsletters, and other periodical publications that may be of interest to those who follow congressional activities. A representative list of such publications is included in this report.

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How a Bill Becomes Law

Introduction of Bills

A House member (including the resident commissioner of Puerto Rico and non-voting delegates of the District of Columbia, Guam, the Virgin Islands and American Samoa) may introduce any one of several types of bills and resolutions by handing it to the clerk of the House or placing it in a box called the hopper. A senator first gains recognition of the presiding officer to announce the introduction of a bill. If objection is offered by any senator, the introduction of the bill is postponed until the following day.

As the next step in either the House or Senate, the bill is numbered, referred to the appropriate committee, labeled with the sponsor's name, and sent to the Government Printing Office so that copies can be made for subsequent study and action. Senate bills may be jointly sponsored and carry several senators' names. Until 1978, the House limited the number of members who could cosponsor any one bill; the ceiling was eliminated at the beginning of the 96th Congress. A bill written in the executive branch and proposed as an administration measure usually is introduced by the chairman of the congressional committee that has jurisdiction.

Bills—Prefixed with "HR" in the House, "S" in the Senate, followed by a number. Used as the form for most legislation, whether general or special, public or private.

Joint Resolutions—Designated H J Res or S J Res. Subject to the same procedure as bills, with the exception of a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution. The latter must be approved by two-thirds of both houses and is thereupon sent directly to the administrator of general services for submission to the states for ratification rather than being presented to the president for his approval.

Concurrent Resolutions—Designated H Con Res or S Con Res. Used for matters affecting the operations of both houses. These resolutions do not become law.

Resolutions—Designated H Res or S Res. Used for a matter concerning the operation of either house alone and adopted only by the chamber in which it originates.

Committee Action

A bill is referred to the appropriate committee by a House parliamentarian in the Speaker's order, or by the Senate president. Sponsors may indicate their preferences for referral, although custom and chamber rule generally govern. An exception is the referral of private bills, which are sent to whatever group is designated by their sponsors. Bills are technically considered "read for the first time" when referred to House committees.

When a bill reaches a committee it is placed on the group's calendar. At that time it comes under the sharpest congressional focus. Its chances for passage are quickly determined — and the great majority of bills falls by the legislative roadside. Failure of a committee to act on a bill is equivalent to killing it; the measure can be withdrawn from the group's purview only by a discharge petition signed by a majority of the House membership on House bills, or by adoption of a special resolution in the Senate. Discharge attempts rarely succeed.

The first committee action taken on a bill usually is a request for comment on it by interested agencies of the government. The committee chairman may assign the bill to a subcommittee for study and hearings, or it may be considered by the full committee. Hearings may be public, closed (executive session), or both. A subcommittee, after considering a bill, reports to the full committee its recommendations for action and any proposed amendments.

The full committee then votes on its recommendation to the House or Senate. This procedure is called "ordering a bill reported." Occasionally a committee may order a bill reported unfavorably; most of the time a report, submitted by the chairman of the committee to the House or Senate, calls for favorable action on the measure since the committee can effectively "kill" a bill by simply failing to take any action.

When a committee sends a bill to the chamber floor, it explains its reasons in a written statement, called a report, which accompanies the bill. Often committee members opposing a measure issue dissenting minority statements that are included in the report.

Usually, the committee "marks up" or proposes amendments to the bill. If they are substantial and the measure is complicated, the committee may order a "clean bill" introduced, which will embody the proposed amendments. The original bill then is put aside and the "clean bill," with a new number, is reported to the floor.

The chamber must approve, alter, or reject the committee amendments before the bill itself can be put to a vote.

Floor Action

After a bill is reported back to the house where it originated, it is placed on the calendar.

There are five legislative calendars in the House, issued in one cumulative calendar titled *Calendars of the United States House of Representatives and History of Legislation.* The House calendars are:

The Union Calendar to which are referred bills raising revenues, general appropriations bills and any measures directly or indirectly appropriating money or property. It is the Calendar of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

The House Calendar to which are referred bills of public character not raising revenue or appropriating money or property.

The Consent Calendar to which are referred bills of a non-controversial nature that are passed without debate when the Consent Calendar is called on the first and third Mondays of each month.

The Private Calendar to which are referred bills for relief in the nature of claims against the United States or private immigration bills that are passed without debate when the Private Calendar is called the first and third Tuesdays of each month.

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The Discharge Calendar to which are referred motions to discharge committees when the necessary signatures are signed to a discharge petition.

There is only one legislative calendar in the Senate and one "executive calendar" for treaties and nominations submitted to the Senate. When the Senate Calendar is called, each senator is limited to five minutes' debate on each bill.

Debate. A bill is brought to debate by varying procedures. If a routine measure, it may await the call of the calendar. If it is urgent or important, it can be taken up in the Senate either by unanimous consent or by a majority vote. The policy committee of the majority party in the Senate schedules the bills that it wants taken up for debate.

In the House, precedence is granted if a special rule is obtained from the Rules Committee. A request for a special rule is usually made by the chairman of the committee that favorably reported the bill, supported by the bill's sponsor and other committee members. The request, considered by the Rules Committee in the same fashion that other committees consider legislative measures, is in the form of a resolution providing for immediate consideration of the bill. The Rules Committee reports the resolution to the House where it is debated and voted upon in the same fashion as regular bills. If the Rules Committee should fail to report a rule requested by a committee, there are several ways to bring the bill to the House floor — under suspension of the rules, on Calendar Wednesday or by a discharge motion.

The resolutions providing special rules are important because they specify how long the bill may be debated and whether it may be amended from the floor. If floor amendments are banned, the bill is considered under a "closed rule," which permits only members of the committee that first reported the measure to the House to alter its language, subject to chamber acceptance.

When a bill is debated under an "open rule," amendments may be offered from the floor. Committee amendments are always taken up first, but may be changed, as may all amendments up to the second degree; i.e., an amendment to an amendment to an amendment is not in order.

Duration of debate in the House depends on whether the bill is under discussion by the House proper or before the House when it is sitting as the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union. In the former, the amount of time for debate is determined either by special rule or is allocated with an hour for each member if the measure is under consideration without a rule. In the Committee of the Whole the amount of time agreed on for general debate is equally divided between proponents and opponents. At the end of general discussion, the bill is read section by section for amendment. Debate on an amendment is limited to five minutes for each side.

Senate debate is usually unlimited. It can be halted only by unanimous consent by "cloture," which requires a three-fifths majority of the entire Senate except for proposed changes in the Senate rules. The latter requires a two-thirds vote.

The House sits as the Committee of the Whole when it considers any tax measure or bill dealing with public appropriations. It can also resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole if a member moves to do so and the motion is carried. The Speaker appoints a member to serve as the chairman. The rules of the House permit the Committee of the Whole to meet with any 100 members on the floor, and to amend and act on bills with a quorum of the 100, within the time limitations mentioned previously. When the Committee of the Whole has acted, it "rises," the Speaker returns as the presiding officer of the House and the member appointed chairman of the Committee of the Whole reports the action of the committee and its recommendations (amendments adopted).

Votes. Voting on bills may occur repeatedly before they are finally approved or rejected. The House votes on the rule for the bill and on various amendments to the bill. Voting on amendments often is a more illuminating test of a bill's support than is the final tally. Sometimes members approve final passage of bills after vigorously supporting amendments that, if adopted, would have scuttled the legislation.

The Senate has three different methods of voting: an untabulated voice, a standing vote (called a division) and a recorded roll call to which members answer "yea" or "nay" when their names are called. The House also employs voice and standing votes, but since January 1973 yeas and nays have been recorded by an electronic voting device, eliminating the need for time-consuming roll calls.

Another method of voting, used in the House only, is the teller vote. Traditionally, members filed up the center aisle past counters; only vote totals were announced. Since 1971, one-fifth of a quorum can demand that the votes of individual members be recorded, thereby forcing them to take a public position on amendments to key bills. Electronic voting now is commonly used for this purpose.

After amendments to a bill have been voted upon, a vote may be taken on a motion to recommit the bill to committee. If carried, this vote removes the bill from the chamber's calendar. If the motion is unsuccessful, the bill then is "read for the third time." An actual reading usually is dispensed with. Until 1965, an opponent of a bill could delay this move by objecting and asking for a full reading of an engrossed (certified in final form) copy of the bill. After the "third reading," the vote on final passage is taken.

The final vote may be followed by a motion to reconsider, and this motion itself may be followed by a move to lay the motion on the table. Usually, those voting for the bill's passage vote for the tabling motion, thus safeguarding the final passage action. With that, the bill has been formally passed by the chamber. While a motion to reconsider a Senate vote is pending on a bill, the measure cannot be sent to the House.

Action in Second House

After a bill is passed it is sent to the other chamber. This body may then take one of several steps. It may pass the bill as is — accepting the other chamber's language. It may send the bill to committee for scrutiny or alteration, or reject the entire bill, advising the other house of its actions. Or it may simply ignore the bill submitted while it continues work on its own version of the proposed legislation. Frequently, one chamber may approve a version of a bill that is greatly at variance with the version already passed by the other house, and then substitute its amendments for the language of the other, retaining only the latter's bill designation.

A provision of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 permits a separate House vote on any non-germane amendment added by the Senate to a House-passed bill and requires a majority vote to retain the amendment.

Previously the House was forced to act on the bill as a whole; the only way to defeat the non-germane amendment was to reject the entire bill.

Often the second chamber makes only minor changes. If these are readily agreed to by the other house, the bill then is routed to the White House for signing. However, if the opposite chamber basically alters the bill submitted to it, the measure usually is "sent to conference." The chamber that has possession of the "papers" (engrossed bill, engrossed amendments, messages of transmittal) requests a conference and the other chamber must agree to it. If the second house does not agree, the bill dies.

Conference, Final Action

Conference. A conference undertakes to harmonize conficting House and Senate versions of a legislative bill. The conference is usually staffed by senior members (conferees), appointed by the presiding officers of the two houses, from the committees that managed the bills. Under this arrangement the conferees of one house have the duty of trying to maintain their chamber's position in the face of amending actions by the conferees (also referred to as "managers") of the other house.

The number of conferees from each chamber may vary, the range usually being from three to nine members in each group, depending upon the length or complexity of the bill involved. There may be five representatives and three senators on the conference committee, or the reverse. But a majority vote controls the action of each group so that a large representation does not give one chamber a voting advantage over the other chamber's conferees.

Theoretically, conferees are not allowed to write new legislation in reconciling the two versions before them, but this curb sometimes is bypassed. Many bills have been put into acceptable compromise form only after new language was provided by the conferees. The 1970 Reorganization Act attempted to tighten restrictions on conferees by forbidding them to introduce any language on a topic that neither chamber sent to conference or to modify any topic beyond the scope of the different House and Senate versions.

Frequently the ironing out of difficulties takes days or even weeks. Conferences on involved appropriations bills sometimes are particularly drawn out.

As a conference proceeds, conferees reconcile differences between the versions, but generally they grant concessions only insofar as they remain sure that the chamber they represent will accept the compromises. Occasionally, uncertainty over how either house will react, or the positive refusal of a chamber to back down on a disputed amendment, results in an impasse, and the bills die in conference even though each was approved by its sponsoring chamber.

Conferees sometimes go back to their respective chambers for further instructions, when they report certain portions in disagreement. Then the chamber concerned can either "recede and concur" in the amendment of the other house, or "insist on its amendment."

When the conferees have reached agreement, they prepare a conference report embodying their recommendations (compromises). The reports, in document form, must be submitted to each house.

The conference report must be approved by each house. Consequently, approval of the report is approval of the compromise bill. In the order of voting on conference reports, the chamber which asked for a conference yields to the other chamber the opportunity to vote first.

Final Steps. After a bill has been passed by both the House and Senate in identical form, all of the original papers are sent to the enrolling clerk of the chamber in which the bill originated. He then prepares an enrolled bill, which is printed on parchment paper. When this bill has been certified as correct by the secretary of the Senate or the clerk of the House, depending on which chamber originated the bill, it is signed first (no matter whether it originated in the Senate or House) by the Speaker of the House and then by the president of the Senate. It is next sent to the White House to await action.

If the president approves the bill, he signs it, dates it and usually writes the word "approved" on the document. If he does not sign it within 10 days (Sundays excepted) and Congress is in session, the bill becomes law without his signature.

However, should Congress adjourn before the 10 days expire, and the president has failed to sign the measure, it does not become law. This procedure is called the pocket veto.

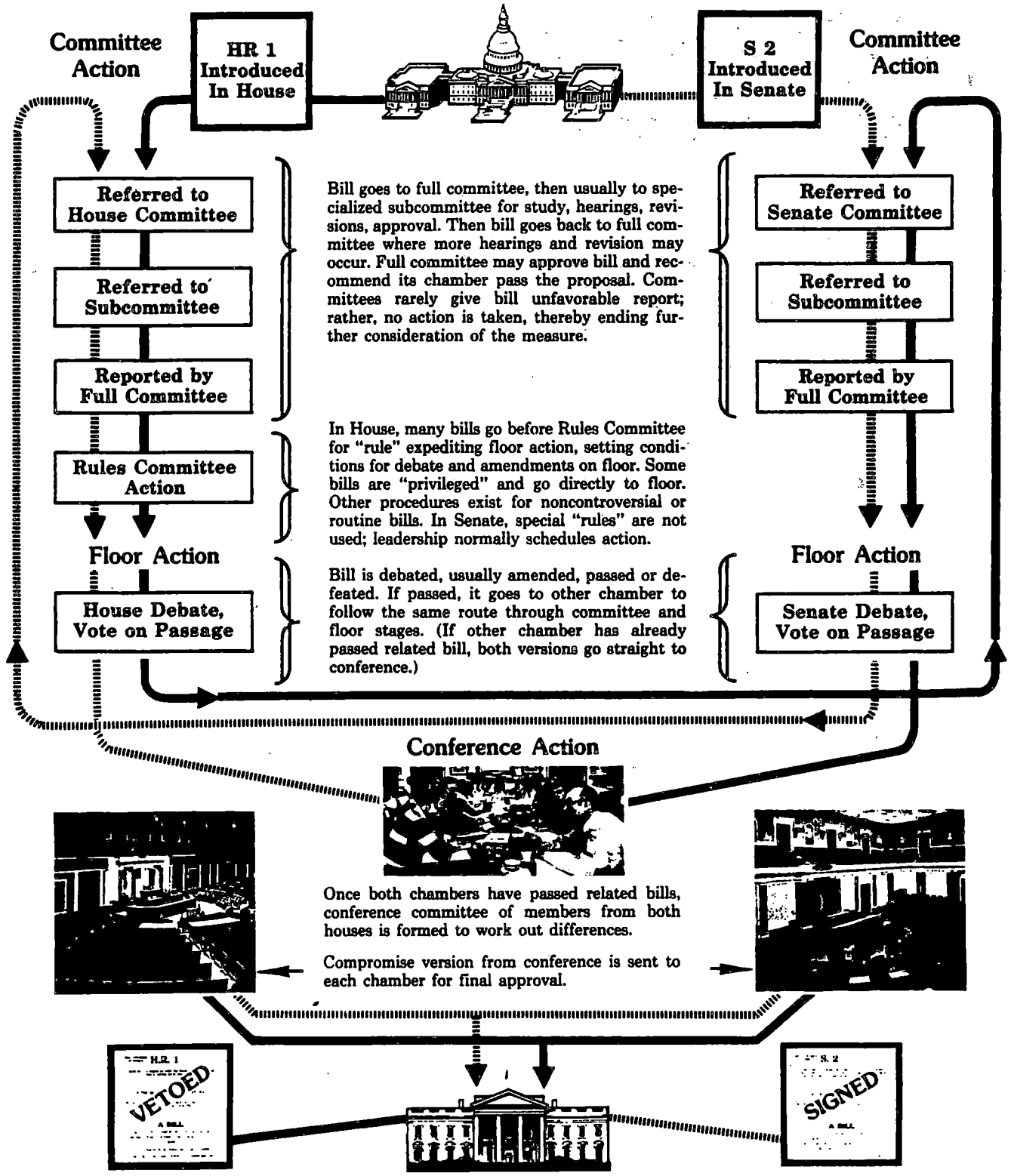
A president vetoes a bill by refusing to sign it and before the 10-day period expires, returning it to Congress with a message stating his reasons. The message is sent to the chamber that originated the bill. If no action is taken there on the message, the bill dies. Congress, however, can attempt to override the president's veto and enact the bill, "the objections of the president to the contrary notwithstanding." Overriding of a veto requires a two-thirds vote of those present, who must number a quorum and vote by roll call.

Debate can precede this vote, with motions permitted to lay the message on the table, postpone action on it, or refer it to committee. If the president's veto is overridden by a two-thirds vote in both houses, the bill becomes law. Otherwise it is dead.

When bills are passed finally and signed, or passed over a veto, they are given law numbers in numerical order as they become law. There are two series of numbers, one for public and one for private laws, starting at the number "1" for each two-year term of Congress. They are then identified by law number and by Congress — i.e., Private Law 21, 97th Congress; Public Law 250, 97th Congress (or PL 97-250).

How a Bill Becomes Law

This graphic shows the most typical way in which proposed legislation is enacted into law. There are more complicated, as well as simpler, routes, and most bills never become law. The process is illustrated with two hypothetical bills, House bill No. 1 (HR 1) and Senate bill No. 2 (S 2). Bills must be passed by both houses in identical form before they can be sent to the president. The path of HR 1 is traced by a solid line, that of S 2 by a broken line. In practice most bills begins as similar proposals in both houses.



Compromise bill approved by both houses is sent to the president, who can sign it into law or veto it and return it to Congress. Congress may override veto by a two-thirds majority vote in both houses; bill then becomes law without president's signature.

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The Congress of the United States
IP 22C

In response to numerous inquiries about the Congress, we have compiled this packet which we believe will provide useful information on the subject. It includes materials on the organization and procedures of the Congress, the committee system, and the legislative process.

Members of Congress who want further information on this topic may contact CRS at 7-5700. Additional CRS reports may be identified by looking in the current *Guide to CRS Products* (for congressional use only) under "Congress" and in the latest *Update* under "Government and Politics."

Constituents may find additional information on this topic in a local library through the use of *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, Public Affairs Information Service *Bulletin* (PAIS), and various newspaper indexes. Books on this subject may be identified through the library's catalog or the most recent edition of *Subject Guide to Books in Print.*

We hope this information will be helpful.

Congressional Reference
Division

1/91

102d CONGRESS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

REPRESENTATIVES

(Democrats in roman; Republicans in *italic*; Independent in SMALL CAPS; Resident Commissioner and Delegates in **boldface**)
Members who have died or resigned in bold brackets **[]**

[Room numbers with 3 digits are in the Cannon HOB, 4 digits beginning with 1 are in the Longworth HOB, 4 digits beginning with 2 are in the Rayburn HOB, digits beginning with H1 are in the O'Neill HOB, digits beginning with H2 are in the Ford HOB]

[Capitol room numbers begin with SB, ST, HB, HT with 2 digits and begin with H or S with 3 digits]

[Washington, D.C. 20515]

Compiled by
DONNALD K. ANDERSON, Clerk of the House

Name	Phone	Room
Abercrombie, Neil (HI)	52726	1440
Ackerman, Gary L. (NY)	52601	238
Alexander, Bill (AR)	54076	233
Allard, Wayne (CO)	54676	513
Anderson, Glenn M. (CA)	56676	2329
Andrews, Michael A. (TX)	57508	303
Andrews, Robert E. (NJ)	56501	1005
Andrews, Thomas H. (ME)	56116	1724
Annunzio, Frank (IL)	56661	2303
Anthony, Beryl, Jr. (AR)	53772	1212
Applegate, Douglas (OH)	56265	2183
Archer, Bill (TX)	52571	1236
Armey, Richard K. (TX)	57772	130
Aspin, Les (WI)	53031	2336
Atkins, Chester G. (MA)	53411	123
AuCoin, Les (OR)	50855	2159
Bacchus, Jim (FL)	53671	431
Baker, Richard H. (LA)	53901	404
Ballenger, Cass (NC)	52576	328
Barnard, Doug, Jr. (GA)	54101	2227
Barrett, Bill (NE)	56435	1607
Bartlett, Steve (TX)	54201	1113
Barton, Joe (TX)	52002	1225
Bateman, Herbert H. (VA)	54261	1030
Beilenson, Anthony C. (CA)	55911	1025
Bennett, Charles E. (FL)	52501	2107
Bentley, Helen Delich (MD)	53061	1610
Bereuter, Doug (NE)	54806	2348
Berman, Howard L. (CA)	54695	137
Bevill, Tom (AL)	54876	2302
Bilbray, James H. (NV)	55965	319
Bilirakis, Michael (FL)	55755	2432
Blaz, Ben Garrido (GU)	51188	1130
Bliley, Thomas J., Jr. (VA)	52815	2241
Boehlert, Sherwood L. (NY)	53665	1127
Boehner, John A. (OH)	56205	1020
Bonior, David E. (MI)	52106	2242
Borski, Robert A. (PA)	58251	407
Boucher, Rick (VA)	53861	405
Boxer, Barbara (CA)	55161	307
Brewster, Bill K. (OK)	54565	1407
Brooks, Jack (TX)	56565	2449
Broomfield, Wm. S. (MI)	56135	2306
Browder, Glen (AL)	53261	1221
Brown, George E., Jr. (CA)	56161	2188
Bruce, Terry L. (IL)	55001	419
Bryant, John (TX)	52231	208
Bunning, Jim (KY)	53465	116
Burton, Dan (IN)	52276	120
Bustamante, Albert G. (TX)	54511	1116
Byron, Beverly B. (MD)	52721	2430
Callahan, Sonny (AL)	54931	1330
Camp, Dave (MI)	53561	511
Campbell, Ben Nighthorse (CO)	54761	1530
Campbell, Tom (CA)	55411	313
Cardin, Benjamin L. (MD)	54016	117
Carper, Thomas R. (DE)	54165	131
Carr, Bob (MI)	54872	2439
Chandler, Rod (WA)	57761	223
Chapman, Jim (TX)	53035	236
Clay, William (Bill) (MO)	52406	2470
Clement, Bob (TN)	54311	325
Clinger, William F., Jr. (PA)	55121	2160
Coble, Howard (NC)	53065	430
Coleman, E. Thomas (MO)	57041	2468
Coleman, Ronald D. (TX)	54831	440
Collins, Barbara-Rose (MI)	52261	1541
Collins, Cardiss (IL)	55006	2264

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REPRESENTATIVES

Name	Phone	Room
Combest, Larry (TX)	54005	1527
Condit, Gary (CA)	56131	1529
Conte, Silvio O. (MA)	55335	2300
Conyers, John, Jr. (MI)	55126	2426
Cooper, Jim (TN)	56831	125
Costello, Jerry F. (IL)	55661	119
Coughlin, Lawrence (PA)	56111	2309
Cox, C. Christopher (CA)	55611	412
Cox, John W., Jr. (IL)	55676	501
Coyne, William J. (PA)	52301	2455
Cramer, Robert E. (Bud), Jr. (AL)	54801	1431
Crane, Philip M. (IL)	53711	1035
Cunningham, Randy "Duke" (CA)	55452	1017
Dannemeyer, William E. (CA)	54111	2351
Darden, George (Buddy) (GA)	52931	228
Davis, Robert W. (MI)	54735	2417
DeFazio, Peter A. (OR)	56416	1233
de la Garza, E (TX)	52531	1401
DeLauro, Rosa L. (CT)	53661	327
DeLay, Tom (TX)	55951	308
Dellums, Ronald V. (CA)	52661	2136
de Lugo, Ron (VI)	51790	2238
Derrick, Butler (SC)	55301	201
Dickinson, William L. (AL)	52901	2406
Dicks, Norman D. (WA)	55916	2429
Dingell, John D. (MI)	54071	2328
Dixon, Julian C. (CA)	57084	2400
Donnelly, Brian J. (MA)	53215	2229
Dooley, Calvin M. (CA)	53341	1022
Doolittle, John T. (CA)	52511	1223
Dorgan, Byron L. (ND)	52611	203
Dornan, Robert K. (CA)	52965	301
Downey, Thomas J. (NY)	53335	2232
Dreier, David (CA)	52305	411
Duncan, John J., Jr. (TN)	55435	115
Durbin, Richard J. (IL)	55271	129
Dwyer, Bernard J. (NJ)	56301	2428
Dymally, Mervyn M. (CA)	55425	1717
Early, Joseph D. (MA)	56101	2349
Eckart, Dennis E. (OH)	56331	1111
Edwards, Chet (TX)	56105	425
Edwards, Don (CA)	53072	2307
Edwards, Mickey (OK)	52132	2330
Emerson, Bill (MO)	54404	438
Engel, Eliot L. (NY)	52464	1213
English, Glenn (OK)	55565	2206
Erdreich, Ben (AL)	54921	439
Espy, Mike (MS)	55876	216
Evans, Lane (IL)	55905	1121
Faleomavaega, Eni F. H. (AS)	58577	413
Fascell, Dante B. (FL)	54506	2354
Fawell, Harris W. (IL)	53515	435
Fazio, Vic (CA)	55716	2113
Feighan, Edward F. (OH)	55731	1124
Fields, Jack (TX)	54901	108
Fish, Hamilton, Jr. (NY)	55441	2269
Flake, Floyd H. (NY)	53461	1034
Foglietta, Thomas M. (PA)	54731	231
Foley, Thomas S. (WA)	52006	1201
Ford, Harold E. (TN)	53265	2305
Ford, William D. (MI)	56261	2371
Frank, Barney (MA)	55931	2404
Franks, Gary A. (CT)	53822	1609
Frost, Martin (TX)	53605	2459
Fuster, Jaime B. (PR)	52615	427
Gallegly, Elton (CA)	55811	107
Gallo, Dean A. (NJ)	55034	1318
Gaydos, Joseph M. (PA)	54631	2186
Gejdenson, Sam (CT)	52076	2416
Gekas, George W. (PA)	54315	1519
Gephardt, Richard A. (MO)	52671	1432
Geren, Pete (TX)	55071	1730
Gibbons, Sam (FL)	53376	2204
Gilchrest, Wayne T. (MD)	55311	502
Gillmor, Paul E. (OH)	56405	1203
Gilman, Benjamin A. (NY)	53776	2185
Gingrich, Newt (GA)	54501	2438
Glickman, Dan (KS)	56216	2311
Gonzalez, Henry B. (TX)	53236	2413
Goodling, William F. (PA)	55836	2263
Gordon, Bart (TN)	54231	103
Goss, Porter J. (FL)	52536	224
Gradison, Willis D., Jr. (OH)	53164	1125
Grandy, Fred (IA)	55476	418
Gray, William H., III (PA)	54001	2454
Green, Bill (NY)	52436	2301
Guarini, Frank J. (NJ)	52765	2458
Gunderson, Steve (WI)	55506	2235
Hall, Ralph M. (TX)	56673	2236
Hall, Tony P. (OH)	56465	2162
Hamilton, Lee H. (IN)	55315	2187
Hammerschmidt, John Paul (AR)	54301	2110
Hancock, Mel (MO)	56536	318
Hansen, James V. (UT)	50453	2421
Harris, Claude (AL)	52665	1009
Hastert, J. Dennis (IL)	52976	515
Hatcher, Charles (GA)	53631	2434
Hayes, Charles A. (IL)	54372	1131
Hayes, James A. (LA)	52031	503
Hefley, Joel (CO)	54422	222
Hefner, W. G. (Bill) (NC)	53715	2161
Henry, Paul B. (MI)	53831	215

REPRESENTATIVES

Name	Phone	Room
Herger, Wally (CA)	53076	1108
Hertel, Dennis M. (MI)	56276	2442
Hoagland, Peter (NE)	54155	1710
Hobson, David L. (OH)	54324	1338
Hochbrueckner, George J. (NY)	53826	124
Holloway, Clyde C. (LA)	54926	1206
Hopkins, Larry J. (KY)	54706	2437
Horn, Joan Kelly (MO)	52561	1008
Horton, Frank (NY)	54916	2108
Houghton, Amo (NY)	53161	1217
Hoyer, Steny H. (MD)	54131	1214
Hubbard, Carroll, Jr. (KY)	53115	2267
Huckaby, Jerry (LA)	52376	2182
Hughes, William J. (NJ)	56572	341
Hunter, Duncan (CA)	55672	133
Hutto, Earl (FL)	54136	2435
Hyde, Henry J. (IL)	54561	2262
Inhofe, James M. (OK)	52211	408
Ireland, Andy (FL)	55015	2466
Jacobs, Andrew, Jr. (IN)	54011	2313
James, Craig T. (FL)	54035	1408
Jefferson, William J. (LA)	56636	506
Jenkins, Ed (GA)	55211	2427
Johnson, Nancy L. (CT)	54476	227
Johnson, Tim (SD)	52801	428
Johnston, Harry (FL)	53001	1028
Jones, Ben (GA)	54272	514
Jones, Walter B. (NC)	53101	241
Jontz, Jim (IN)	55037	1317
Kanjorski, Paul E. (PA)	56511	424
Kaptur, Marcy (OH)	54146	1228
Kasich, John R. (OH)	55355	1133
Kennedy, Joseph P., II (MA)	55111	1208
Kennelly, Barbara B. (CT)	52265	204
Kildee, Dale E. (MI)	53611	2239
Kleczka, Gerald D. (WI)	54572	226
Klug, Scott L. (WI)	52906	1224
Kolbe, Jim (AZ)	52542	410
Kolter, Joe (PA)	52565	212
Kopetski, Michael J. (OR)	55711	1520
Kostmayer, Peter H. (PA)	54276	2436
Kyl, Jon L. (AZ)	53361	336
LaFalce, John J. (NY)	53231	2367
Lagomarsino, Robert J. (CA)	53601	2332
Lancaster, H. Martin (NC)	53415	1417
Lantos, Tom (CA)	53531	1526
LaRocco, Larry (ID)	56611	1117
Laughlin, Greg (TX)	52831	218
Leach, Jim (IA)	56576	1514
Lehman, Richard H. (CA)	54540	1319
Lehman, William (FL)	54211	2347
Lent, Norman F. (NY)	57896	2408
Levin, Sander M. (MI)	54961	323
Levine, Mel (CA)	56451	2443
Lewis, Jerry (CA)	55861	2312
Lewis, John (GA)	53801	329
Lewis, Tom (FL)	55792	1216
Lightfoot, Jim (IA)	53806	1222
Lipinski, William O. (IL)	55701	1501
Livingston, Bob (LA)	53015	2368
Lloyd, Marilyn (TN)	53271	2266
Long, Jill L. (IN)	54436	1513
Lowery, Bill (CA)	53201	2433
Lowey, Nita M. (NY)	56506	1313
Luken, Charles J. (OH)	52216	1632
McCandless, Alfred A. (Al) (CA)	55330	2422
McCloskey, Frank (IN)	54636	127
McCollum, Bill (FL)	52176	2453
McCrery, Jim (LA)	52777	429
McCurdy, Dave (OK)	56165	2344
McDade, Joseph M. (PA)	53731	2370
McDermott, Jim (WA)	53106	1707
McEwen, Bob (OH)	55705	2431
McGrath, Raymond J. (NY)	55516	205
McHugh, Matthew F. (NY)	56335	2335
McMillan, J. Alex (NC)	51976	401
McMillen, C. Thomas (MD)	58090	420
McNulty, Michael R. (NY)	55076	414
Machtley, Ronald K. (RI)	54911	132
Madigan, Edward R. (IL)	52371	2109
Manton, Thomas J. (NY)	53965	331
Markey, Edward J. (MA)	52836	2133
Marlenee, Ron (MT)	51555	2465
Martin, David O'B. (NY)	54611	442
Martinez, Matthew G. (CA)	55464	2446
Matsui, Robert T. (CA)	57163	2353
Mavroules, Nicholas (MA)	58020	2334
Mazzoli, Romano L. (KY)	55401	2246
Meyers, Jan (KS)	52865	1230
Mfume, Kweisi (MD)	54741	217
Michel, Robert H. (IL)	56201	2112
Miller, Clarence E. (OH)	55131	2308
Miller, George (CA)	52095	2228
Miller, John (WA)	56311	322
Mineta, Norman Y. (CA)	52631	2350
Mink, Patsy T. (HI)	54906	2135
Moakley, John Joseph (MA)	58273	221
Molinari, Susan (NY)	53371	315
Mollohan, Alan B. (WV)	54172	229
Montgomery, G. V. (Sonny) (MS)	55031	2184
Moody, Jim (WI)	53571	1019
Moorhead, Carlos J. (CA)	54176	2346

REPRESENTATIVES

Name	Phone	Room
Moran, James P. (VA)	54376	1523
Morella, Constance A. (MD)	55341	1024
Morrison, Sid (WA)	55816	1434
Mrazek, Robert J. (NY)	55956	306
Murphy, Austin J. (PA)	54665	2210
Murtha, John P. (PA)	52065	2423
Myers, John T. (IN)	55805	2372
Nagle, David R. (IA)	53301	214
Natcher, William H. (KY)	53501	2333
Neal, Richard E. (MA)	55601	437
Neal, Stephen L. (NC)	52071	2463
Nichols, Dick (KS)	53911	1605
Norton, Eleanor Holmes (DC)	58050	1631
Nowak, Henry J. (NY)	53306	2240
Nussle, Jim (IA)	52911	507
Oakar, Mary Rose (OH)	55871	2231
Oberstar, James L. (MN)	56211	2209
Obey, David R. (WI)	53365	2462
Olin, Jim (VA)	55431	1410
Ortiz, Solomon P. (TX)	57742	1524
Orton, Bill (UT)	57751	1723
Owens, Major R. (NY)	56231	114
Owens, Wayne (UT)	53011	1728
Oxley, Michael G. (OH)	52676	2448
Packard, Ron (CA)	53906	434
Pallone, Frank, Jr. (NJ)	54671	213
Panetta, Leon E. (CA)	52861	339
Parker, Mike (MS)	55865	1504
Patterson, Elizabeth J. (SC)	56030	1641
Paxon, Bill (NY)	55265	1314
Payne, Donald M. (NJ)	53436	417
Payne, Lewis F., Jr. (VA)	54711	1118
Pease, Donald J. (OH)	53401	2410
Pelosi, Nancy (CA)	54965	109
Penny, Timothy J. (MN)	52472	436
Perkins, Carl C. (KY)	54935	1004
Peterson, Collin C. (MN)	52165	1725
Peterson, Douglas "Pete" (FL)	55235	1415
Petri, Thomas E. (WI)	52476	2245
Pickett, Owen B. (VA)	54215	1204
Pickle, J. J. (TX)	54865	242
Porter, John Edward (IL)	54835	1026
Poshard, Glenn (IL)	55201	314
Price, David E. (NC)	51784	1406
Pursell, Carl D. (MI)	54401	1414
Quillen, James H. (Jimmy) (TN)	56356	102
Rahall, Nick Joe, II (WV)	53452	2104
Ramstad, Jim (MN)	52871	504
Rangel, Charles B. (NY)	54365	2252
Ravenel, Arthur, Jr. (SC)	53176	508
Ray, Richard (GA)	55901	225
Reed, John F. (RI)	52735	1229
Regula, Ralph (OH)	53876	2207
Rhodes, John J., III (AZ)	52635	326
Richardson, Bill (NM)	56190	332
Ridge, Thomas J. (PA)	55406	1714
Riggs, Frank D. (CA)	53311	1517
Rinaldo, Matthew J. (NJ)	55361	2469
Ritter, Don (PA)	56411	2202
Roberts, Pat (KS)	52715	1110
Roe, Robert A. (NJ)	55751	2243
Roemer, Tim (IN)	53915	415
Rogers, Harold (KY)	54601	343
Rohrabacher, Dana (CA)	52415	1039
Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana (FL)	53931	416
Rose, Charles (NC)	52731	2230
Rostenkowski, Dan (IL)	54061	2111
Roth, Toby (WI)	55665	2352
Roukema, Marge (NJ)	54465	2244
Rowland, J. Roy (GA)	56531	423
Roybal, Edward R. (CA)	56235	2211
Russo, Marty (IL)	55736	2233
Sabo, Martin Olav (MN)	54755	2201
SANDERS, BERNARD (VT)	54115	509
Sangmeister, George E. (IL)	53635	1032
Santorum, Richard John (PA)	52135	1708
Sarpalius, Bill (TX)	53706	126
Savage, Gus (IL)	50773	2419
Sawyer, Thomas C. (OH)	55231	1518
Saxton, Jim (NJ)	54765	324
Schaefer, Dan (CO)	57882	1007
Scheuer, James H. (NY)	55471	2221
Schiff, Steven (NM)	56316	1427
Schroeder, Patricia (CO)	54431	2208
Schulze, Richard T. (PA)	55761	2369
Schumer, Charles E. (NY)	56616	2412
Sensenbrenner, F. James, Jr. (WI)	55101	2444
Serrano, José E. (NY)	54361	1107
Sharp, Philip R. (IN)	53021	2217
Shaw, E. Clay, Jr. (FL)	53026	2338
Shays, Christopher (CT)	55541	1531
Shuster, Bud (PA)	52431	2268
Sikorski, Gerry (MN)	52271	403
Sisisky, Norman (VA)	56365	426
Skaggs, David E. (CO)	52161	1507
Skeen, Joe (NM)	52365	2447
Skelton, Ike (MO)	52876	2134
Slattery, Jim (KS)	56601	1512
Slaughter, D. French, Jr. (VA)	56561	1404
Slaughter, Louise McIntosh (NY)	53615	1424
Smith, Christopher H. (NJ)	53765	2440
Smith, Lamar S. (TX)	54236	422

REPRESENTATIVES

Name	Phone	Room
Smith, Lawrence J. (FL)	57931	113
Smith, Neal (IA)	54426	2373
Smith, Robert F. (Bob) (OR)	56730	118
Snowe, Olympia J. (ME)	56306	2464
Solarz, Stephen J. (NY)	52361	1536
Solomon, Gerald B. H. (NY)	55614	2265
Spence, Floyd (SC)	52452	2405
Spratt, John M., Jr. (SC)	55501	1533
Staggers, Harley O., Jr. (WV)	54331	1323
Stallings, Richard H. (ID)	55531	1122
Stark, Fortney Pete (CA)	55065	239
Stearns, Cliff (FL)	55744	1123
Stenholm, Charles W. (TX)	56605	1226
Stokes, Louis (OH)	57032	2365
Studds, Gerry E. (MA)	53111	237
Stump, Bob (AZ)	54576	211
Sundquist, Don (TN)	52811	230
Swett, Dick (NH)	55206	128
Swift, Al (WA)	52605	1502
Synar, Mike (OK)	52701	2441
Tallon, Robin (SC)	53315	432
Tanner, John S. (TN)	54714	1232
Tauzin, W. J. (Billy) (LA)	54031	2342
Taylor, Charles H. (NC)	56401	516
Taylor, Gene (MS)	55772	1429
Thomas, Craig (WY)	52311	1721
Thomas, Lindsay (GA)	55831	240
Thomas, William M. (CA)	52915	2402
Thornton, Ray (AR)	52506	1705
Torres, Esteban Edward (CA)	55256	1740
Torricelli, Robert G. (NJ)	55061	317
Towns, Edolphus (NY)	55936	1726
Traficant, James A., Jr. (OH)	55261	312
Traxler, Bob (MI)	52806	2366
Udall, Morris K. (AZ)	54065	235
Unsoeld, Jolene (WA)	53536	1508
Upton, Frederick S. (MI)	53761	1713
Valentine, Tim (NC)	54531	1510
Vander Jagt, Guy (MI)	53511	2409
Vento, Bruce F. (MN)	56631	2304
Visclosky, Peter J. (IN)	52461	330
Volkmer, Harold L. (MO)	52956	2411
Vucanovich, Barbara F. (NV)	56155	206
Walker, Robert S. (PA)	52411	2445
Walsh, James T. (NY)	53701	1238
Washington, Craig A. (TX)	53816	1711
Waters, Maxine (CA)	52201	1207
Waxman, Henry A. (CA)	53976	2418
Weber, Vin (MN)	52331	106
Weiss, Ted (NY)	55635	2467
Weldon, Curt (PA)	52011	316
Wheat, Alan (MO)	54535	1210
Whitten, Jamie L. (MS)	54306	2314
Williams, Pat (MT)	53211	2457
Wilson, Charles (TX)	52401	2256
Wise, Robert E., Jr. (WV)	52711	1421
Wolf, Frank R. (VA)	55136	104
Wolpe, Howard (MI)	55011	1535
Wyden, Ron (OR)	54811	2452
Wylie, Chalmers P. (OH)	52015	2310
Yates, Sidney R. (IL)	52111	2234
Yatron, Gus (PA)	55546	2205
Young, C. W. Bill (FL)	55961	2407
Young, Don (AK)	55765	2331
Zeliff, William H., Jr. (NH)	55456	512
Zimmer, Dick (NJ)	55801	510

UNITED STATES SENATE

SENATORS

(Democrats in roman; Republicans in *italic*)

[Room numbers beginning with SD are in the Dirksen Building, SH are in the Hart Building, and SR are in the Russell Building. Capitol numbers begin with S]

[Washington, D.C. 20510]

Name	Phone	Room
Vice Pres. *Quayle, Dan* (IN)	42424	
Adams, Brock (WA)	42621	SH-513
Akaka, Daniel K. (HI)	46361	SH-109
Baucus, Max (MT)	42651	SH-706
Bentsen, Lloyd (TX)	45922	SH-703
Biden, Joseph R., Jr. (DE)	45042	SR-221
Bingaman, Jeff (NM)	45521	SH-524
Bond, Christopher S. (MO)	45721	SR-293
Boren, David L. (OK)	44721	SR-453
Bradley, Bill (NJ)	43224	SH-731
Breaux, John B. (LA)	44623	SH-516
Brown, Hank (CO)	45941	SH-902A
Bryan, Richard H. (NV)	46244	SR-364
Bumpers, Dale (AR)	44843	SD-229
Burdick, Quentin N. (ND)	42551	SH-511
Burns, Conrad R. (MT)	42644	SD-183
Byrd, Robert C. (WV)	43954	SH-311
Chafee, John H. (RI)	42921	SD-567
Coats, Dan (IN)	45623	SR-407
Cochran, Thad (MS)	45054	SR-326
Cohen, William S. (ME)	42523	SH-322
Conrad, Kent (ND)	42043	SD-361
Craig, Larry E. (ID)	42752	SH-708
Cranston, Alan (CA)	43553	SH-112
D'Amato, Alfonse (NY)	46542	SH-520
Danforth, John C. (MO)	46154	SR-249
Daschle, Thomas A. (SD)	42321	SH-317
DeConcini, Dennis (AZ)	44521	SH-328
Dixon, Alan J. (IL)	42854	SH-331
Dodd, Christopher J. (CT)	42823	SR-444
Dole, Bob (KS)	46521	SH-141
Domenici, Pete V. (NM)	46621	SD-434
Durenberger, Dave (MN)	43244	SR-154
Exon, J. James (NE)	44224	SH-330
Ford, Wendell H. (KY)	44343	SR173A
Fowler, Wyche, Jr. (GA)	43643	SR-204
Garn, Jake (UT)	45444	SD-505
Glenn, John (OH)	43353	SH-503
Gore, Albert, Jr. (TN)	44944	SR-393
Gorton, Slade (WA)	43441	SH-730
Graham, Bob (FL)	43041	SD-241
Gramm, Phil (TX)	42934	SR-370
Grassley, Chuck (IA)	43744	SH-135
Harkin, Tom (IA)	43254	SH-316
Hatch, Orrin G. (UT)	45251	SR-135
Hatfield, Mark O. (OR)	43753	SH-711
Heflin, Howell (AL)	44124	SH-728
Heinz, John (PA)	46324	SR-277
Helms, Jesse (NC)	46342	SD-403
Hollings, Ernest F. (SC)	46121	SR-125
Inouye, Daniel K. (HI)	43934	SH-722
Jeffords, James M. (VT)	45141	SD-530
Johnston, J. Bennett (LA)	45824	SH-136
Kassebaum, Nancy Landon (KS)	44774	SR-302
Kasten, Robert W., Jr. (WI)	45323	SH-110
Kennedy, Edward M. (MA)	44543	SR-315
Kerrey, J. Robert (NE)	46551	SH-302
Kerry, John F. (MA)	42742	SR-421
Kohl, Herbert (WI)	45653	SH-702
Lautenberg, Frank R. (NJ)	44744	SH-717
Leahy, Patrick J. (VT)	44242	SR-433
Levin, Carl (MI)	46221	SR-459
Lieberman, Joseph I. (CT)	44041	SH-502
Lott, Trent (MS)	46253	SR-487
Lugar, Richard G. (IN)	44814	SH-306
McCain, John (AZ)	42235	SR-111
McConnell, Mitch (KY)	42541	SR-120
Mack, Connie (FL)	45274	SH-517
Metzenbaum, Howard M. (OH)	42315	SR-140
Mikulski, Barbara A. (MD)	44654	SH-320
Mitchell, George J. (ME)	45344	SR-176
Moynihan, Daniel Patrick (NY)	44451	SR-464
Murkowski, Frank H. (AK)	46665	SH-709
Nickles, Don (OK)	45754	SH-713
Nunn, Sam (GA)	43521	SD-303
Packwood, Bob (OR)	45244	SR-259
Pell, Claiborne (RI)	44642	SR-335
Pressler, Larry (SD)	45842	SH-133
Pryor, David H. (AR)	42353	SR-267
Reid, Harry (NV)	43542	SH-324
Riegle, Donald W., Jr. (MI)	44822	SD-105
Robb, Charles S. (VA)	44024	SR-493

SENATORS

Name	Phone	Room
Rockefeller, John D., IV (WV)	46472	SH-724
Roth, William V., Jr. (DE)	42441	SH-104
Rudman, Warren B. (NH)	43324	SH-530
Sanford, Terry (NC)	43154	SH-716
Sarbanes, Paul S. (MD)	44524	SD-332
Sasser, Jim (TN)	43344	SR-363
Seymour, John (CA)	43841	SH-720
Shelby, Richard C. (AL)	45744	SH-313
Simon, Paul (IL)	42152	SD-462
Simpson, Alan K. (WY)	43424	SD-261
Smith, Robert C. (NH)	42841	SH-825A
Specter, Arlen (PA)	44254	SH-303
Stevens, Ted (AK)	43004	SH-522
Symms, Steve (ID)	46142	SH-509
Thurmond, Strom (SC)	45972	SR-217
Wallop, Malcolm (WY)	46441	SR-237
Warner, John (VA)	42023	SR-225
Wellstone, Paul David (MN)	45641	SH-123
Wirth, Timothy E. (CO)	45852	SR-380

COMMITTEES

HOUSE COMMITTEES

	Phone	Room
Agriculture	52171	1301
Appropriations	52771	H 218
Armed Services	54151	2120
Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs	54247	2129
Budget (O'HOB)	67200	H1-A214
District of Columbia	54457	1310
Education and Labor	54527	2181
Energy and Commerce	52927	2125
Foreign Affairs	55021	2170
Government Operations	55051	2157
House Administration	52061	H 326
Interior and Insular Affairs	52761	1324
Judiciary	53951	2138
Merchant Marine and Fisheries	54047	1334
Post Office and Civil Service	54054	309
Franking Commission	50436	305
Public Works and Transportation	54472	2165
Rules	59486	H 312
Minority	56991	H 305
Science, Space, and Technology	56371	2321
Small Business	55821	2361
Standards of Official Conduct	57103	HT-2
Advice and Education	53787	HT-2
Veterans' Affairs	53527	335
Ways and Means	53625	1102

SELECT COMMITTEES

Aging (O'HOB)	63375	H1-A712
Children, Youth, and Families (FHOB)	67660	H2-385
Hunger (FHOB)	65470	H2-507
Intelligence, Permanent	54121	H 405
Narcotics Abuse and Control (FHOB)	63040	H2-234

SENATE COMMITTEES

	Phone	Room
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry	42035	SR328A
Appropriations	43471	SD-136
Armed Services	43871	SR-222
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs	47391	SD-534
Budget	40642	SD-621
Commerce, Science, and Transportation	45115	SD-358
Energy and Natural Resources	44971	SD-364
Environment and Public Works	46176	SD-410
Finance	44515	SD-205
Foreign Relations	44651	SD-440
Governmental Affairs	44751	SD-340
Judiciary	45225	SD-224
Labor and Human Resources	45375	SD-428
Rules and Administration	46352	SR-305
Small Business	45175	SR428A
Veterans' Affairs	49126	SR-414

SELECT COMMITTEES

Ethics	42981	SH-220
Indian Affairs	42251	SH-838
Intelligence	41700	SH-211

SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Aging	45364	SH-628

COMMITTEES

JOINT COMMITTEES

	Phone	Room
Economic	45171	SD-G01
Library (O'HOB)	67633	A103
Printing	45241	SH-818
Taxation		
(LHOB)	53621	1015
(DSOB)	45561	SD-204

LIAISON OFFICES

	Phone	Room
Air Force (RHOB)	56656	B 322
Army (RHOB)	53853	B 325
Coast Guard (RHOB)	54775	B 320
Marine Corps (RHOB)	57124	B 324A
Navy (RHOB)	57124	B 324A
Office of Personnel Management (RHOB)	54955	B 332
Veterans' Administration (RHOB)	52280	B 328

Characteristics of Congress

Following is a compilation of information about individual members of the 102nd Congress — their birth dates, occupations, religion and seniority.

Senate and House seniority lists begin on page 127.

The average age of members of the new Congress is 54, slightly higher than in the two previous Congresses.

As in other years, the biggest single occupational group in Congress is lawyers. Nearly half the members — 244 — listed law as their profession. Businessmen and bankers make up the next-largest category, with 191 members falling into those groups.

Roman Catholic members make up the largest religious group, followed by members of the Methodist, Episcopal and Baptist faiths.

Data below, and the composition of Senate and House committees, reflect information as of Dec. 21, 1990.

Senate — Birth Dates, Occupations, Religions, Seniority

(Seniority rank is within the member's party.)

ALABAMA

Heflin (D)—June 19, 1921. Occupation: lawyer, judge, government and political science lecturer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 26.

Shelby (D)—May 6, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 45.

ALASKA

Stevens (R)—Nov. 18, 1923. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority 3.

Murkowski (R)—March 28, 1933. Occupation: banker. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 27.

ARIZONA

DeConcini (D)—May 8, 1937. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 19.

McCain (R)—Aug. 29, 1936. Occupation: naval officer, beer distributor. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 33.

ARKANSAS

Bumpers (D)—Aug. 12, 1925. Occupation: farmer, hardware company executive, lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 14.

Pryor (D)—Aug. 29, 1934. Occupation: newspaper publisher, lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 23.

CALIFORNIA

Cranston (D)—June 19, 1914. Occupation: author, journalist, real estate executive. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 7.

Seymour (R)—Dec. 3, 1937. Occupation: president; real estate broker. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 44.

COLORADO

Wirth (D)—Sept. 22, 1939. Occupation: education official. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 41.

Brown (R)—Feb. 12, 1940. Occupation: tax accountant, meatpacking company executive, lawyer. Religion: United Church of Christ. Seniority: 42.

CONNECTICUT

Dodd (D)—May 27, 1944. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 30.

Lieberman (D)—Feb. 24, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 53.

DELAWARE

Roth (R)—July 22, 1921. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 6.

Biden (D)—Nov. 20, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 11.

FLORIDA

Graham (D)—Nov. 9, 1936. Occupation: developer, cattleman. Religion: United Church of Christ. Seniority: 48.

Mack (R)—Oct. 29, 1940. Occupation: banker. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 39.

GEORGIA

Nunn (D)—Sept. 8, 1938. Occupation: farmer, lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 9.

Fowler (D)—Oct. 6, 1940. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 43.

HAWAII

Inouye (D)—Sept. 7, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 5.

Akaka (D)—Sept. 11, 1924. Occupation: elementary school teacher, principal, state program administrator. Religion: Congregationalist. Seniority: 55.

IDAHO

Symms (R)—April 23, 1938. Occupation: fruit grower, fitness club owner. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 24.

Craig (R)—July 20, 1945. Occupation: farmer, real estate salesman. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 42.

ILLINOIS

Dixon (D)—July 7, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 31.

Simon (D)—Nov. 29, 1928. Occupation: author, newspaper publisher. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 35.

INDIANA

Lugar (R)—April 4, 1932. Occupation: agricultural industries executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 13.

Coats (R)—May 16, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 38.

IOWA

Grassley (R)—Sept. 17, 1933. Occupation: farmer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 25.

Harkin (D)—Nov. 19, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 35.

KANSAS

Dole (R)—July 22, 1923. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 4.

Kassebaum (R)—July 29, 1932. Occupation: broadcasting executive. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 17.

KENTUCKY

Ford (D)—Sept. 8, 1924. Occupation: insurance executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 13.

McConnell (R)—Feb. 20, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 32.

LOUISIANA

Johnston (D)—June 10, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 10.

Breaux (D)—March 1, 1944. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 40.

MAINE

Cohen (R)—Aug. 28, 1940. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 21.

Mitchell (D)—Aug. 20, 1933. Occupation: lawyer, judge. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 29.

MARYLAND

Sarbanes (D)—Feb. 3, 1933. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Greek Orthodox. Seniority: 18.

Mikulski (D)—July 20, 1936. Occupation: social worker. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 43.

MASSACHUSETTS

Kennedy (D)—Feb. 22, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 4.

Kerry (D)—Dec. 22, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 34.

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MICHIGAN

Riegle (D)—Feb. 4, 1938. Occupation: business executive, professor. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 17.

Levin (D)—June 28, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 26.

MINNESOTA

Durenberger (R)—Aug. 19, 1934. Occupation: adhesives manufacturing executive, lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 16.

Wellstone (D)—July 21, 1944. Occupation: college professor. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 56.

MISSISSIPPI

Cochran (R)—Dec. 7, 1937. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 18.

Lott (R)—Oct. 9, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 36.

MISSOURI

Danforth (R)—Sept. 5, 1936. Occupation: lawyer, clergyman. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 10.

Bond (R)—March 6, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 34.

MONTANA

Baucus (D)—Dec. 11, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: United Church of Christ. Seniority: 22.

Burns (R)—Jan. 25, 1935. Occupation: radio and television broadcaster. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 40.

NEBRASKA

Exon (D)—Aug. 9, 1921. Occupation: office equipment dealer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 24.

Kerrey (D) Aug 27, 1943. Occupation: restaurateur. Religion: Congregationalist. Seniority: 50.

NEVADA

Reid (D)—Dec. 2, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Mormon. Seniority: 47.

Bryan (D) July 16, 1937. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 50.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Rudman (R)—May 18, 1930. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 23.

Smith (R)—March 30, 1941. Occupation: real estate broker, teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 41.

NEW JERSEY

Bradley (D)—July 28, 1943. Occupation: professional basketball player. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 26.

Lautenberg (D)—Jan. 23, 1924. Occupation: computer firm executive. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 32.

NEW MEXICO

Domenici (R)—May 7, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 7.

Bingaman (D)—Oct. 3, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 33.

NEW YORK

Moynihan (D)—March 16, 1927. Occupation: author, government professor. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 19.

D'Amato (R)—Aug. 1, 1937. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 27.

NORTH CAROLINA

Helms (R)—Oct. 18, 1921. Occupation: journalist, broadcasting executive, bank executive, congressional aide. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 7.

Sanford (D)—Aug. 20, 1917. Occupation: FBI agent, lawyer, university president. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 39.

NORTH DAKOTA

Burdick (D)—June 19, 1908. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: United Church of Christ. Seniority: 2.

Conrad (D)—March 12, 1948. Occupation: management and personnel director. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 49.

OHIO

Glenn (D)—July 18, 1921. Occupation: astronaut, soft drink company executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 12.

Metzenbaum (D)—June 4, 1917. Occupation: newspaper publisher, parking lot executive, lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 16.

OKLAHOMA

Boren (D)—April 21, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 24.

Nickles (R)—Dec. 6, 1948. Occupation: machine company executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 27.

OREGON

Hatfield (R)—July 12, 1922. Occupation: political science professor, governor. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 2.

Packwood (R)—Sept. 11, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 5.

PENNSYLVANIA

Heinz (R)—Oct. 23, 1938. Occupation: food industry executive. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 12.

Specter (R)—Feb. 12, 1930. Occupation: lawyer, law professor. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 27.

RHODE ISLAND

Pell (D)—Nov. 22, 1918. Occupation: investment executive. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 3.

Chafee (R)—Oct. 22, 1922. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 11.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Thurmond (R)—Dec. 5, 1902. Occupation: lawyer, teacher, coach, education administration. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 1.

Hollings (D)—Jan. 1, 1922. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 6.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Pressler (R)—March 29, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 22.

Daschle (D)—Dec. 9, 1947. Occupation: congressional aide. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 45.

TENNESSEE

Sasser (D)—Sept. 30, 1936. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 19.

Gore (D)—March 31, 1948. Occupation: journalist, home builder. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 37.

TEXAS

Bentsen (D)—Feb. 11, 1921. Occupation: financial executive, lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 8.

Gramm (R)—July 8, 1942. Occupation: economics professor. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 31.

UTAH

Garn (R)—Oct. 12, 1932. Occupation: insurance executive. Religion: Mormon. Seniority: 9.

Hatch (R)—March 22, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Mormon. Seniority: 13.

VERMONT

Leahy (D)—March 31, 1940. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 15.

Jeffords (R)—May 11, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Congregationalist. Seniority: 37.

VIRGINIA

Warner (R)—Feb. 18, 1927. Occupation: farmer, lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 20.

Robb (D)—June 26, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 50.

WASHINGTON

Adams (D)—Jan. 13, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 41.

Gorton (R) Jan. 8, 1928. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 35.

WEST VIRGINIA

Byrd (D)—Nov. 20, 1917. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 1.

Rockefeller (D)—June 18, 1937. Occupation: public official. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 38.

WISCONSIN

Kasten (R)—June 19, 1942. Occupation: shoe company executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 26.

Kohl (D) Feb. 7, 1935. Occupation: businessman; professional basketball team owner. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 53.

WYOMING

Wallop (R)—Feb. 27, 1933. Occupation: rancher, meatpacking executive. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 13.

Simpson (R)—Sept. 2, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 19.

House — Birth Dates, Occupations, Religions, Seniority

(Seniority rank is within the member's party.)

ALABAMA

1 **Callahan (R)**—Sept. 11, 1932. Occupation: moving and storage company executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 98.
2 **Dickinson (R)**—June 5, 1925. Occupation: railroad executive, lawyer, judge. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 7.
3 **Browder (D)**—Jan. 15, 1943. Occupation: professor. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 236.
4 **Bevill (D)**—March 27, 1921. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 23.
5 **Cramer (D)**—Aug. 22, 1947. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 246.
6 **Erdreich (D)**—Dec. 9, 1938. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 131.
7 **Harris (D)**—June 29, 1940. Occupation: lawyer, judge. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 191.

ALASKA

AL **Young (R)**—June 9, 1933. Occupation: elementary school teacher, riverboat captain. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 26.

ARIZONA

1 **Rhodes (R)**—Sept. 8, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 115.
2 **Udall (D)**—June 15, 1922. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Mormon. Seniority: 9.
3 **Stump (R)**—April 4, 1927. Occupation: cotton farmer. Religion: Seventh-day Adventist. Seniority: 33.
4 **Kyl (R)**—April 25, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 115.
5 **Kolbe (R)**—June 28, 1942. Occupation: real estate consultant. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 98.

ARKANSAS

1 **Alexander (D)**—Jan. 16, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 26.
2 **Thornton (D)**—July 26, 1928. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Church of Christ. Seniority: 244.
3 **Hammerschmidt (R)**—May 4, 1922. Occupation: lumber company executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 9.
4 **Anthony (D)**—Feb. 21, 1938. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 91.

CALIFORNIA

1 **Riggs (R)**—Sept. 5, 1950. Occupation: real estate developer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 150.
2 **Herger (R)**—May 20, 1945. Occupation: rancher, gas company president. Religion: Mormon. Seniority: 115.
3 **Matsui (D)**—Sept. 17, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 91.
4 **Fazio (D)**—Oct. 11, 1942. Occupation: journalist. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 91.
5 **Pelosi (D)**—March 26, 1940. Occupation: public relations consultant. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 214.
6 **Boxer (D)**—Nov. 11, 1940. Occupation: stockbroker, journalist. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 131.
7 **Miller (D)**—May 17, 1945. Occupation: lawyer, legislative aide. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.
8 **Dellums (D)**—Nov. 24, 1935. Occupation: psychiatric social worker. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 33.
9 **Stark (D)**—Nov. 11, 1931. Occupation: banker. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 38.
10 **Edwards (D)**—Jan. 6, 1915. Occupation: title company executive, lawyer, FBI agent. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 11.
11 **Lantos (D)**—Feb. 1, 1928. Occupation: economics professor. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 110.
12 **Campbell (R)**—Aug. 14, 1952. Occupation: Professor, economist. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 135.
13 **Mineta (D)**—Nov. 12, 1931. Occupation: insurance executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 50.
14 **Doolittle (R)**—Oct. 30, 1950. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Mormon. Seniority: 150.
15 **Condit (D)**—April 21, 1948. Occupation: public official. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 237.
16 **Panetta (D)**—June 28, 1938. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 72.
17 **Dooley (D)**—Jan. 11, 1954. Occupation: farmer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 246.
18 **Lehman (D)**—July 20, 1948. Occupation: legislative aide. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 131.
19 **Lagomarsino (R)**—Sept. 4, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 27.
20 **Thomas (R)**—Dec. 6, 1941. Occupation: political science professor. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 42.
21 **Gallegly (R)**—March 7, 1944. Occupation: real estate broker. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 115.
22 **Moorhead (R)**—May 6, 1922. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 20.
23 **Beilenson (D)**—Oct. 26, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 72.
24 **Waxman (D)**—Sept. 12, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 50.
25 **Roybal (D)**—Feb. 10, 1916. Occupation: social worker, public health educator. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 11.
26 **Berman (D)**—April 15, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 131.
27 **Levine (D)**—June 7, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 131.
28 **Dixon (D)**—Aug. 8, 1934. Occupation: legislative aide, lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 91.
29 **Waters (D)**—Aug. 31, 1938. Occupation: Head Start official. Religion: Christian. Seniority: 246.
30 **Martinez (D)**—Feb. 14, 1929. Occupation: upholstery company owner. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 128.
31 **Dymally (D)**—May 12, 1926. Occupation: special education teacher. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 110.
32 **Anderson (D)**—Feb. 21, 1913. Occupation: banker, home builder. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 26.
33 **Dreier (R)**—July 5, 1952. Occupation: real-estate developer. Religion: Christian Scientist. Seniority: 57.
34 **Torres (D)**—Jan. 27, 1930. Occupation: auto worker, labor official, international trade executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 131.
35 **Lewis (R)**—Oct. 21, 1934. Occupation: insurance executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 42.
36 **Brown (D)**—March 6, 1920. Occupation: physicist, management consultant. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 37.
37 **McCandless (R)**—July 23, 1927. Occupation: automobile dealer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 79.
38 **Dornan (R)**—April 3, 1933. Occupation: broadcast journalist and producer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 97.
39 **Dannemeyer (R)**—Sept. 22, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 42.
40 **Cox (R)**—Oct. 16, 1952. Occupation: White House counsel. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 135.
41 **Lowery (R)**—May 2, 1947. Occupation: public relations executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 57.
42 **Rohrabacher (R)**—June 21, 1947. Occupation: White House

speechwriter, journalist. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 135.

43 Packard (R)—Jan. 19, 1931. Occupation: dentist. Religion: Mormon. Seniority: 79.

44 Cunningham (R)—Jan. 8. 1941. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 150.

45 Hunter (R)—May 31, 1948. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 57.

COLORADO

1 Schroeder (D)—July 30, 1940. Occupation: lawyer, law instructor. Religion: United Church of Christ. Seniority: 38.

2 Skaggs (D)—Feb. 22, 1943. Occupation: lawyer, congressional aide. Religion: Congregationalist. Seniority: 191.

3 Campbell (D)—April 13, 1933. Occupation: rancher, jewelry designer, horse trainer, teacher. Religion: unspecified. Seniority: 191.

4 Allard (R)—Dec. 2, 1943. Occupation: veterinarian. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 150.

5 Hefley (R)—April 18, 1935. Occupation: community planner. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 115.

6 Schaefer (R)—Jan. 25, 1936. Occupation: public relations consultant. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 95.

CONNECTICUT

1 Kennelly (D)—July 10, 1936. Occupation: public official. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 127.

2 Gejdenson (D)—May 20, 1948. Occupation: dairy farmer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 110.

3 DeLauro (D)—March 2, 1943. Occupation: political activist. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 246.

4 Shays (R)—Oct. 18, 1945. Occupation: real estate broker. Religion: Christian Scientist. Seniority: 132.

5 Franks (R)—Feb. 9, 1953. Occupation: real estate investor. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 150.

6 Johnson (R)—Jan. 5, 1935. Occupation: civic leader. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 79.

DELAWARE

AL Carper (D)—Jan. 23, 1947. Occupation: public official. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 131.

FLORIDA

1 Hutto (D)—May 12, 1926. Occupation: high school English teacher, advertising and broadcast executive, sportscaster. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 91.

2 Peterson (D)—June 26, 1935. Occupation: educational administrator. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 246.

3 Bennett (D)—Dec. 2, 1910. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Disciples of Christ. Seniority: 2.

4 James (R)—May 5, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 135.

5 McCollum (R)—July 12, 1944. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 57.

6 Stearns (R)—April 16, 1941. Occupation: motel company executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 135.

7 Gibbons (D)—Jan. 20, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 11.

8 Young (R)—Dec. 16, 1930. Occupation: insurance executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 16.

9 Bilirakis (R)—July 16, 1930. Occupation: lawyer, restaurant owner. Religion: Greek Orthodox. Seniority: 79.

10 Ireland (R)—Aug. 23, 1930. Occupation: banker. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 33.

11 Bacchus (D)—June 21, 1949. Occupation: lawyer, journalist. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 246.

12 Lewis (R)—Oct. 26, 1924. Occupation: real estate broker, aircraft testing specialist. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 79.

13 Goss (R)—Nov. 26, 1938. Occupation: small businessman, newspaper founder, CIA agent. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 135.

14 Johnston (D)—Dec. 2, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 219.

15 Shaw (R)—April 19, 1939. Occupation: nurseryman, lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 57.

16 Smith (D)—April 25, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 131.

17 Lehman (D)—Oct. 5, 1913. Occupation: high school English teacher, automobile dealer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 38.

18 Ros-Lehtinen (R)—July 15, 1952. Occupation: teacher, private school administrator. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 148.

19 Fascell (D)—March 9, 1917. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 5.

GEORGIA

1 Thomas (D)—Nov. 20, 1943. Occupation: farmer, investment banker. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 131.

2 Hatcher (D)—July 1, 1939. Occupation: lawyer, teacher. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 110.

3 Ray (D)—Feb. 2, 1927. Occupation: exterminator, Senate aide. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 131.

4 Jones (D)—Aug. 30, 1941. Occupation: actor. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 219.

5 Lewis (D)—Feb. 21, 1940. Occupation: civil rights activist. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 191.

6 Gingrich (R)—June 17, 1943. Occupation: history professor. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 42.

7 Darden (D)—Nov. 22, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 177.

8 Rowland (D)—Feb. 3, 1926. Occupation: physician. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 131.

9 Jenkins (D)—Jan. 4, 1933. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 72.

10 Barnard (D)—March 20, 1922. Occupation: banker. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 72.

HAWAII

1 Abercrombie (D)—June 26, 1938. Occupation: community activist. Religion: unspecified. Seniority: 245.

2 Mink (D)—Dec. 6, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 242.

IDAHO

1 LaRocco (D)—Aug. 25, 1946. Occupation: stockbroker. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 246.

2 Stallings (D)—Oct. 7, 1940. Occupation: history professor. Religion: Mormon. Seniority: 180.

ILLINOIS

1 Hayes (D)—Feb. 17, 1918. Occupation: labor official, packinghouse worker. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 191.

2 Savage (D)—Oct. 30, 1925. Occupation: newspaper publisher. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 110.

3 Russo (D)—Jan. 23, 1944. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.

4 Sangmeister (D) Feb. 16, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 219.

5 Lipinski (D)—Dec. 22, 1937. Occupation: parks supervisor. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 131.

6 Hyde (R)—April 18, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 28.

7 Collins (D)—Sept. 24, 1931. Occupation: auditor. Religion: National Baptist. Seniority: 45.

8 Rostenkowski (D)—Jan. 2, 1928. Occupation: insurance executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 7.

9 Yates (D)—Aug. 27, 1909. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 15.

10 Porter (R)—June 1, 1935. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 56.

11 Annunzio (D)—Jan. 12, 1915. Occupation: high school teacher, labor official. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 16.

12 Crane (R)—Nov. 3, 1930. Occupation: history professor, author. Religion:

Protestant. Seniority: 15.

13 Fawell (R)—March 25, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 98.

14 Hastert (R)—Jan. 2, 1942. Occupation: teacher, restaurateur. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 115.

15 Madigan (R)—Jan. 13, 1936. Occupation: automobile leasing executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 20.

16 Cox (D)—July 10, 1947. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 246.

17 Evans (D)—Aug. 4, 1951. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 131.

18 Michel (R)—March 2, 1923. Occupation: congressional aide. Religion: Apostolic Christian. Seniority: 1.

19 Bruce (D)—March 25, 1944. Occupation: farmer, lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 180.

20 Durbin (D)—Nov. 21, 1944. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 131.

21 Costello (D)—Sept. 25, 1949. Occupation: law enforcement administrator. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 217.

22 Poshard (D)—Oct. 30, 1945. Occupation: educator. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 219.

INDIANA

1 Visclosky (D)—Aug. 13, 1949. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 180.

2 Sharp (D)—July 15, 1942. Occupation: political science professor. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 50.

3 Roemer (D)—Oct. 30, 1956. Occupation: congressional aide, former college instructor. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 246.

4 Long (D)—July 15, 1952. Occupation: professor. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 235.

5 Jontz (D)—Dec. 18, 1951. Occupation: public official. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 191.

6 Burton (R)—June 21, 1938. Occupation: insurance and real estate agent. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 79.

7 Myers (R)—Feb. 8, 1927. Occupation: banker, farmer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 9.

8 McCloskey (D)—June 12, 1939. Occupation: lawyer, journalist. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 131.

9 Hamilton (D)—April 20, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 16.

10 Jacobs (D)—Feb. 24, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 48.

IOWA

1 Leach (R)—Oct. 15, 1942. Occupation: foreign service officer, congressional aide, propane gas company executive. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 33.

2 Nussle (R)—June 27, 1960. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 150.

3 Nagle (D)—April 15, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 191.

4 Smith (D)—March 23, 1920. Occupation: farmer, lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 7.

5 Lightfoot (R)—Sept. 27, 1938. Occupation: radio broadcaster, store owner, police officer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 98.

6 Grandy (R)—June 29, 1948. Occupation: actor. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 115.

KANSAS

1 Roberts (R)—April 20, 1936. Occupation: journalist, congressional aide. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 57.

2 Slattery (D)—Aug. 4, 1948. Occupation: realtor. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 131.

3 Meyers (R)—July 20, 1928. Occupation: homemaker, community volunteer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 98.

4 Glickman (D)—Nov. 24, 1944. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 72.

5 Nichols (R)—April 29, 1926. Occupation: banker. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 150.

KENTUCKY

1 Hubbard (D)—July 7, 1937. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 50.

2 Natcher (D)—Sept. 11, 1909. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 4.

3 Mazzoli (D)—Nov. 2, 1932. Occupation: lawyer, law professor. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 33.

4 Bunning (R)—Oct. 23, 1931. Occupation: investment broker, professional baseball player. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 115.

5 Rogers (R)—Dec. 31, 1937. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 57.

6 Hopkins (R)—Oct. 25, 1933. Occupation: stockbroker. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 42.

7 Perkins (D)—Aug. 6, 1954. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 179.

LOUISIANA

1 Livingston (R)—April 30, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 40.

2 Jefferson (D)—March 14, 1947. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 246.

3 Tauzin (D)—June 14, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 109.

4 McCrery (R)—Sept. 18, 1949. Occupation: lawyer, corporate government affairs executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 133.

5 Huckaby (D)—July 19, 1941. Occupation: farmer, engineer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 72.

6 Baker (R)—May 22, 1948. Occupation: real estate broker. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 115.

7 Hayes (D)—Dec. 21, 1946. Occupation: lawyer, real estate developer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 176.

8 Holloway (R)—Nov. 28, 1943. Occupation: nursery owner. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 115.

MAINE

1 Andrews (D)—March 27, 1953. Occupation: association director, political activist. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 246.

2 Snowe (R)—Feb. 21, 1947. Occupation: concrete company executive, public official. Religion: Greek Orthodox. Seniority: 42.

MARYLAND

1 Gilchrest (R)—April 15, 1946. Occupation: high school history and government teacher. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 150.

2 Bentley (R)—Nov. 28, 1923. Occupation: journalist, international trade consultant. Religion: Greek Orthodox. Seniority: 98.

3 Cardin (D)—Oct. 5, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 191.

4 McMillen (D)—May 26, 1952. Occupation: communications equipment distributor, professional basketball player. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 191.

5 Hoyer (D)—June 14, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 126.

6 Byron (D)—July 27, 1932. Occupation: civic leader. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 91.

7 Mfume (D)—Oct. 24, 1948. Occupation: radio station program director, talk show host, assistant professor of political science and communications. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 191.

8 Morella (R)—Feb. 12, 1931. Occupation: English literature professor. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 115.

MASSACHUSETTS

1 Conte (R)—Nov. 9, 1921. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 3.

2 Neal (D)—Feb. 14, 1949. Occupation: public official. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 219.

3 Early (D)—Jan. 31, 1933. Occupation:

teacher, basketball coach. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.

4 Frank (D)—March 31, 1940. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 110.

5 Atkins (D)—April 14, 1948. Occupation: public official. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 180.

6 Mavroules (D)—Nov. 1, 1929. Occupation: personnel supervisor. Religion: Greek Orthodox. Seniority: 91.

7 Markey (D)—July 11, 1946. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 71.

8 Kennedy (D)—Sept. 24, 1952. Occupation: energy company executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 191.

9 Moakley (D)—April 27, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 38.

10 Studds (D)—May 12, 1937. Occupation: high school teacher. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 38.

11 Donnelly (D)—March 2, 1946. Occupation: high school teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 91.

MICHIGAN

1 Conyers (D)—May 16, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 16.

2 Pursell (R)—Dec. 19, 1932. Occupation: high school teacher, real estate salesman, office supply business owner. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 33.

3 Wolpe (D)—Nov. 2, 1939. Occupation: political science professor. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 91.

4 Upton (R)—April 23, 1953. Occupation: congressional aide; budget analyst. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 115.

5 Henry (R)—July 9, 1942. Occupation: political science professor. Religion: Christian Reformed. Seniority: 98.

6 Carr (D)—March 27, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 129.

7 Kildee (D)—Sept. 16, 1929. Occupation: teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 72.

8 Traxler (D)—July 21, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 47.

9 Vander Jagt (R)—Aug. 26, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 8.

10 Camp (R)—July 9, 1953. Occupation: lawyer, congressional aide. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 150.

11 Davis (R)—July 31, 1932. Occupation: funeral director. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 42.

12 Bonior (D)—June 6, 1945. Occupation: probation officer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 72.

13 Collins (D)—April 13, 1939. Occupation: public official. Religion: Shrine of the Black Madonna (Pan-African Orthodox Christian). Seniority: 246.

14 Hertel (D)—Dec. 7, 1948. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 110.

15 Ford (D)—Aug. 6, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: United Church of Christ. Seniority: 16.

16 Dingell (D)—July 8, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 6.

17 Levin (D)—Sept. 6, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 131.

18 Broomfield (R)—April 28, 1922. Occupation: insurance executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 1.

MINNESOTA

1 Penny (D)—Nov. 19, 1951. Occupation: sales representative. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 131.

2 Weber (R)—July 24, 1952. Occupation: congressional aide, publisher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 57.

3 Ramstad (R)—May 6, 1946. Occupation: legislative aide, lawyer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 150.

4 Vento (D)—Oct. 7, 1940. Occupation: science teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 72.

5 Sabo (D)—Feb. 28, 1938. Occupation: public official. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 91.

6 Sikorski (D)—April 26, 1948. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 131.

7 Peterson (D)—June 29, 1944. Occupation: accountant. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 246.

8 Oberstar (D)—Sept. 10, 1934. Occupation: language teacher, congressional aide. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.

MISSISSIPPI

1 Whitten (D)—April 18, 1910. Occupation: author, lawyer, grammar school teacher and principal. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 1.

2 Espy (D)—Nov. 30, 1953. Occupation: lawyer, businessman. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 191.

3 Montgomery (D)—Aug. 5, 1920. Occupation: insurance executive. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 23.

4 Parker (D)—Oct. 31, 1949. Occupation: funeral director. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 219.

5 Taylor (D)—Sept. 17, 1953. Occupation: sales representative. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 239.

MISSOURI

1 Clay (D)—April 30, 1931. Occupation: real estate salesman, insurance executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 26.

2 Horn (D)—Oct. 18, 1936. Occupation: political research and consulting firm president. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 246.

3 Gephardt (D)—Jan. 31, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 72.

4 Skelton (D)—Dec. 20, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Christian Church. Seniority: 72.

5 Wheat (D)—Oct. 16, 1951. Occupation: public official. Religion: Church of Christ. Seniority: 131.

6 Coleman (R)—May 29, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 32.

7 Hancock (R)—Sept. 14, 1929. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Church of Christ. Seniority: 135.

8 Emerson (R)—Jan. 1, 1938. Occupation: government relations executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 57.

9 Volkmer (D)—April 4, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 72.

MONTANA

1 Williams (D)—Oct. 30, 1937. Occupation: elementary and secondary school teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 91.

2 Marlenee (R)—Aug. 8, 1935. Occupation: rancher. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 33.

NEBRASKA

1 Bereuter (R)—Oct. 6, 1939. Occupation: city planner. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 42.

2 Hoagland (D)—Nov. 17, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 219.

3 Barrett (R)—Feb. 9, 1929. Occupation: insurance and real estate company owner. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 150.

NEVADA

1 Bilbray (D)—May 19, 1938. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 191.

2 Vucanovich (R)—June 22, 1921. Occupation: travel agent, franchise owner, congressional aide. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 79.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1 Zeliff (R)—June 12, 1936. Occupation: hotel owner. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 150.

2 Swett (D)—May 1, 1957. Occupation: architect. Religion: Mormon. Seniority: 246.

NEW JERSEY

1 Andrews (D)—Aug. 4, 1957. Occupation: law professor. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 243.

2 Hughes (D)—Oct. 17, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 50.

3 Pallone (D)—Oct. 30, 1951. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 218.
4 Smith (R)—March 4, 1953. Occupation: sporting goods wholesaler. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 57.
5 Roukema (R)—Sept. 19, 1929. Occupation: high school history and government teacher. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 57.
6 Dwyer (D)—Jan. 24, 1921. Occupation: insurance salesman and executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 110.
7 Rinaldo (R)—Sept. 1, 1931. Occupation: management consultant lecturer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 20.
8 Roe (D)—Feb. 28, 1924. Occupation: construction company owner, engineer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 32.
9 Torricelli (D)—Aug. 26, 1951. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 131.
10 Payne (D)—July 16, 1934. Occupation: community development executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 216.
11 Gallo (R)—Nov. 23, 1935. Occupation: real estate broker. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 98.
12 Zimmer (R)—Aug. 16, 1944. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 150.
13 Saxton (R)—Jan. 22, 1943. Occupation: real estate broker, elementary school teacher. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 96.
14 Guarini (D)—Aug. 20, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 91.

NEW MEXICO

1 Schiff (R)—March 18, 1947. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 135.
2 Skeen (R)—June 30, 1927. Occupation: rancher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 57.
3 Richardson (D)—Nov. 15, 1947. Occupation: business consultant. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 131.

NEW YORK

1 Hochbrueckner (D)—Sept. 20, 1938. Occupation: aerospace engineer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 191.
2 Downey (D)—Jan. 28, 1949. Occupation: personnel manager. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 50.
3 Mrazek (D)—Nov. 6, 1945. Occupation: congressional aide. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 131.
4 Lent (R)—March 23, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 16.
5 McGrath (R)—March 27, 1942. Occupation: physical education teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 57.
6 Flake (D)—Jan. 30, 1945. Occupation: minister. Religion: African Methodist Episcopal. Seniority: 191.
7 Ackerman (D)—Nov. 19, 1942. Occupation: advertising executive; publisher and editor; social studies teacher. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 175.
8 Scheuer (D)—Feb. 6, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 48.
9 Manton (D)—Nov. 3, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 180.
10 Schumer (D)—Nov. 23, 1950. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 110.
11 Towns (D)—July 21, 1934. Occupation: social worker, teacher. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 131.
12 Owens (D)—June 28, 1936. Occupation: librarian. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 131.
13 Solarz (D)—Sept. 12, 1940. Occupation: public official. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 50.
14 Molinari (R)—March 27, 1958. Occupation: public official. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 149.
15 Green (R)—Oct. 16, 1929. Occupation: state government lawyer, federal housing official. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 41.
16 Rangel (D)—June 11, 1930. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 33.
17 Weiss (D)—Sept. 17, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 72.
18 Serrano (D)—Oct. 24, 1943. Occupation: public official. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 241.
19 Engel (D)—Feb 18, 1947. Occupation: public official, teacher. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 219.
20 Lowey (D)—July 5, 1937. Occupation: public official. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 219.
21 Fish (R)—June 3, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 13.
22 Gilman (R)—Dec. 6, 1922. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 20.
23 McNulty (D)—Sept. 16, 1947. Occupation: public official. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 219.
24 Solomon (R)—Aug. 14, 1930. Occupation: insurance salesman. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 42.
25 Boehlert (R)—Sept. 28, 1936. Occupation: congressional aide, public relations manager. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 79.
26 Martin (R)—April 26, 1944. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 57.
27 Walsh (R)—June 19, 1947. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 135.
28 McHugh (D)—Dec. 6, 1938. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.
29 Horton (R)—Dec. 12, 1919. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 4.
30 Slaughter (D)—Aug. 14, 1929. Occupation: market researcher. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 191.
31 Paxon (R)—April 29, 1954. Occupation: public official. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 135.
32 LaFalce (D)—Oct. 6, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.
33 Nowak (D)—Feb. 21, 1935. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.
34 Houghton (R)—Aug. 7, 1926. Occupation: glassworks company executive. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 115.

NORTH CAROLINA

1 Jones (D)—Aug. 19, 1913. Occupation: office supply company owner. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 22.
2 Valentine (D)—March 15, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 131.
3 Lancaster (D)—March 24, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 191.
4 Price (D)—Aug. 17, 1940. Occupation: political science and public policy professor. Religion: American Baptist. Seniority: 191.
5 Neal (D)—Nov. 7, 1934. Occupation: newspaper publisher, mortgage banker. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 50.
6 Coble (R)—March 18, 1931. Occupation: lawyer, insurance agent. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 98.
7 Rose (D)—Aug. 10, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 38.
8 Hefner (D)—April 11, 1930. Occupation: broadcasting executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 50.
9 McMillan (R)—May 9, 1932. Occupation: food store executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 98.
10 Ballenger (R)—Dec. 6, 1926. Occupation: president of plastics packaging company. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 114.
11 Taylor (R)—Jan. 23, 1941. Occupation: tree farmer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 150.

NORTH DAKOTA

AL Dorgan (D)—May 14, 1942. Occupation: public official. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 110.

OHIO

1 Luken (D)—July 16, 1951. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 246.
2 Gradison (R)—Dec. 28, 1928. Occupation: investment broker, federal worker. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 28.
3 Hall (D)—Jan. 16, 1942. Occupation: real estate salesman. Religion: Christian. Seniority: 91.

4 **Oxley (R)**—Feb. 11, 1944. Occupation: FBI agent, lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 78.
5 **Gillmor (R)**—Feb. 1, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 135.
6 **McEwen (R)**—Jan. 12, 1950. Occupation: real estate developer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 57.
7 **Hobson (R)**—Oct. 17, 1936. Occupation: real estate and mortgage executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 150.
8 **Boehner (R)**—Nov. 17, 1949. Occupation: plastics and packaging sales company president. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 150.
9 **Kaptur (D)**—June 17, 1946. Occupation: urban planner, White House staff member. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 131.
10 **Miller (R)**—Nov. 1, 1917. Occupation: electrical engineer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 9.
11 **Eckart (D)**—April 6, 1950. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 110.
12 **Kasich (R)**—May 13, 1952. Occupation: legislative aide. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 79.
13 **Pease (D)**—Sept. 26, 1931. Occupation: newspaper editor. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 72.
14 **Sawyer (D)**—Aug. 15, 1945. Occupation: teacher. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 191.
15 **Wylie (R)**—Nov. 23, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 9.
16 **Regula (R)**—Dec. 3, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 20.
17 **Traficant (D)**—May 8, 1941. Occupation: county drug program director, sheriff. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 180.
18 **Applegate (D)**—March 27, 1928. Occupation: real estate broker. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 72.
19 **Feighan (D)**—Oct. 22, 1947. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 131.
20 **Oakar (D)**—March 5, 1940. Occupation: high school English and speech teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 72.
21 **Stokes (D)**—Feb. 23, 1925. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: African Methodist Episcopal. Seniority: 26.

OKLAHOMA

1 **Inhofe (R)**—Nov. 11, 1934. Occupation: real estate developer, insurance executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 115.
2 **Synar (D)**—Oct. 17, 1950. Occupation: lawyer, rancher, real estate broker. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 91.
3 **Brewster (D)**—Nov. 8, 1941. Occupation: pharmacist, rancher, real estate company owner. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 246.
4 **McCurdy (D)**—March 30, 1950. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 110.
5 **Edwards (R)**—July 12, 1937. Occupation: journalist, lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 33.
6 **English (D)**—Nov. 30, 1940. Occupation: petroleum landman. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 50.

OREGON

1 **AuCoin (D)**—Oct. 21, 1942. Occupation: journalist, public relations executive. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 50.
2 **Smith, Robert F. (R)**—June 16, 1931. Occupation: cattle rancher. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 79.
3 **Wyden (D)**—May 3, 1949. Occupation: public interest lawyer, professor of gerontology, public interest group executive, campaign aide. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 110.
4 **DeFazio (D)**—May 27, 1947. Occupation: congressional aide. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 191.
5 **Kopetski (D)**—Oct. 27. 1949. Occupation: advertising executive. Religion: unspecified. Seniority: 246.

PENNSYLVANIA

1 **Foglietta (D)**—Dec. 3, 1928. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 110.
2 **Gray (D)**—Aug. 20, 1941. Occupation: clergyman. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 91.
3 **Borski (D)**—Oct. 20, 1948. Occupation: stockbroker. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 131.
4 **Kolter (D)**—Sept. 3, 1926. Occupation: accountant. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 131.
5 **Schulze (R)**—Aug. 7, 1929. Occupation: household appliance dealer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 28.
6 **Yatron (D)**—Oct. 16, 1927. Occupation: professional boxer, ice cream manufacturer. Religion: Greek Orthodox. Seniority: 26.
7 **Weldon (R)**—July 22, 1947. Occupation: teacher. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 115.
8 **Kostmayer (D)**—Sept. 27, 1946. Occupation: public relations consultant. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 130.
9 **Shuster (R)**—Jan. 23, 1932. Occupation: computer industry executive. Religion: United Church of Christ. Seniority: 20.
10 **McDade (R)**—Sept. 29, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 4.
11 **Kanjorski (D)**—April 2, 1937. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 180.
12 **Murtha (D)**—June 17, 1932. Occupation: car wash operator. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 46.
13 **Coughlin (R)**—April 11, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 13.
14 **Coyne (D)**—Aug. 24, 1936. Occupation: accountant. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 110.
15 **Ritter (R)**—Oct. 21, 1940. Occupation: engineering consultant, professor. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 42.
16 **Walker (R)**—Dec. 23, 1942. Occupation: high school teacher, congressional aide. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 33.
17 **Gekas (R)**—April 14, 1930. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Greek Orthodox. Seniority: 79.
18 **Santorum (R)**—May 10, 1958. Occupation: lawyer, legislative aide. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 150.
19 **Goodling (R)**—Dec. 5, 1927. Occupation: public school superintendent. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 28.
20 **Gaydos (D)**—July 3, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 25.
21 **Ridge (R)**—Aug. 26, 1945. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 79.
22 **Murphy (D)**—June 17, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 72.
23 **Clinger (R)**—April 4, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 42.

RHODE ISLAND

1 **Machtley (R)**—July 13, 1948. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 135.
2 **Reed (D)**—Nov. 12. 1949. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 246.

SOUTH CAROLINA

1 **Ravenel (R)**—March 29, 1927. Occupation: businessman. Religion: French Huguenot. Seniority: 115.
2 **Spence (R)**—April 9, 1928. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 16.
3 **Derrick (D)**—Sept. 30, 1936. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 50.
4 **Patterson (D)**—Nov. 18, 1939. Occupation: legislative aide, Peace Corps recruiting officer, Head Start official. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 191.
5 **Spratt (D)**—Nov. 1, 1942. Occupation: lawyer, insurance agency owner. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 131.
6 **Tallon (D)**—Aug. 8, 1946. Occupation: clothing store owner. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 131.

SOUTH DAKOTA

AL **Johnson (D)**—Dec. 28, 1946. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 191.

TENNESSEE

1 **Quillen (R)**—Jan. 11, 1916. Occupation:

newspaper publisher, real estate and insurance salesman, banker. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 4.

2 **Duncan (R)**—July 21, 1947. Occupation: lawyer, judge. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 134.

3 **Lloyd (D)**—Jan. 3, 1929. Occupation: radio station owner and manager. Religion: Church of Christ. Seniority: 50.

4 **Cooper (D)**—June 19, 1954. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 131.

5 **Clement (D)**—Sept. 23, 1943. Occupation: college president. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 215.

6 **Gordon (D)**—Jan. 24, 1949. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 180.

7 **Sundquist (R)**—March 15, 1936. Occupation: printing, advertising and marketing firm owner. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 79.

8 **Tanner (D)**—Sept. 22, 1944. Occupation: lawyer, businessman. Religion: Disciples of Christ. Seniority: 219.

9 **Ford (D)**—May 20, 1945. Occupation: mortician. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 50.

TEXAS

1 **Chapman (D)**—March 8, 1945. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 189.

2 **Wilson (D)**—June 1, 1933. Occupation: lumberyard manager. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 38.

3 **Bartlett (R)**—Sept. 19, 1947. Occupation: tool and plastics company owner. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 79.

4 **Hall (D)**—May 3, 1923. Occupation: businessman, lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 110.

5 **Bryant (D)**—Feb. 22, 1947. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 131.

6 **Barton (R)**—Sept. 15, 1949. Occupation: engineering consultant. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 98.

7 **Archer (R)**—March 22, 1928. Occupation: lawyer, feed company executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 16.

8 **Fields (R)**—Feb. 3, 1952. Occupation: lawyer, cemetery executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 57.

9 **Brooks (D)**—Dec. 18, 1922. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 3.

10 **Pickle (D)**—Oct. 11, 1913. Occupation: public relations and advertising executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 14.

11 **Edwards (D)**—Nov. 24, 1951. Occupation: radio station owner. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 246.

12 **Geren (D)**—Jan. 29, 1952. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 237.

13 **Sarpalius (D)**—Jan. 10, 1948. Occupation: agricultural consultant. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 219.

14 **Laughlin (D)**—Jan. 21, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 219.

15 **de la Garza (D)**—Sept. 22, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 16.

16 **Coleman (D)**—Nov. 29, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 131.

17 **Stenholm (D)**—Oct. 26, 1938. Occupation: cotton grower. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 91.

18 **Washington (D)**—Oct. 12, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 240.

19 **Combest (R)**—March 20, 1945. Occupation: congressional aide, electronics wholesaler, farmer, stockman, agricultural specialist. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 98.

20 **Gonzalez (D)**—May 3, 1916. Occupation: lawyer, business consultant, translator. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 10.

21 **Smith (R)**—Nov. 19, 1947. Occupation: rancher, lawyer. Religion: Christian Scientist. Seniority: 115.

22 **DeLay (R)**—April 8, 1947. Occupation: pest control company owner. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 98.

23 **Bustamante (D)**—April 8, 1935. Occupation: teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 180.

24 **Frost (D)**—Jan. 1, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 91.

25 **Andrews (D)**—Feb. 7, 1944. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 131.

26 **Armey (R)**—July 7, 1940. Occupation: economist. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 98.

27 **Ortiz (D)**—June 3, 1937. Occupation: law enforcement official. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 131.

UTAH

1 **Hansen (R)**—Aug. 14, 1932. Occupation: insurance executive, land developer. Religion: Mormon. Seniority: 57.

2 **Owens (D)**—May 2, 1937. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Mormon. Seniority: 190.

3 **Orton (D)**—Sept. 22, 1949. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Mormon. Seniority: 246.

VERMONT

AL **Sanders (I)**—Sept. 8, 1941. Occupation: free-lance writer, college professor. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: none.

VIRGINIA

1 **Bateman (R)**—Aug. 7, 1928. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 79.

2 **Pickett (D)**—Aug. 31, 1930. Occupation: lawyer, accountant. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 191.

3 **Bliley (R)**—Jan. 28, 1932. Occupation: funeral director. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 57.

4 **Sisisky (D)**—June 9, 1927. Occupation: beer and soft drink distributor. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 131.

5 **Payne (D)**—July 9, 1945. Occupation: developer, businessman. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 216.

6 **Olin (D)**—Feb. 28, 1920. Occupation: electronics company executive. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 131.

7 **Slaughter (R)**—May 20, 1925. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 98.

8 **Moran (D)**—May 14, 1945. Occupation: investment banker. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 246.

9 **Boucher (D)**—Aug. 1, 1946. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 131.

10 **Wolf (R)**—Jan. 30, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 57.

WASHINGTON

1 **Miller (R)**—May 23, 1938. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 98.

2 **Swift (D)**—Sept. 12, 1935. Occupation: broadcaster. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 91.

3 **Unsoeld (D)**—Dec. 3, 1931. Occupation: public official. Religion: Theist. Seniority: 219.

4 **Morrison (R)**—May 13, 1933. Occupation: fruit grower, nurseryman. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 57.

5 **Foley (D)**—March 6, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 16.

6 **Dicks (D)**—Dec. 16, 1940. Occupation: lawyer, congressional aide. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 72.

7 **McDermott (D)**—Dec. 28, 1936. Occupation: psychiatrist. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 219.

8 **Chandler (R)**—July 13, 1942. Occupation: public relations consultant, newscaster, banker. Religion: unspecified. Seniority: 79.

WEST VIRGINIA

1 **Mollohan (D)**—May 14, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 131.

2 **Staggers (D)**—Feb. 22, 1951. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 131.

3 **Wise (D)**—Jan. 6, 1948. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 131.

4 **Rahall (D)**—May 20, 1949. Occupation: broadcasting executive, travel agent. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 72.

WISCONSIN

1 **Aspin (D)**—July 21, 1938. Occupation: economics professor. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 33.

2 **Klug (R)**—Jan. 16, 1953. Occupation: business development firm vice president. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 150.

3 **Gunderson (R)**—May 10, 1951. Occupation: public official. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 57.

4 **Kleczka (D)**—Nov. 26, 1943. Occupation: accountant. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 178.

5 **Moody (D)**—Sept. 2, 1935. Occupation: economist. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 131.

6 **Petri (R)**—May 28, 1940. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 55.

7 **Obey (D)**—Oct. 3, 1938. Occupation: real estate broker. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 31.

8 **Roth (R)**—Oct. 10, 1938. Occupation: real estate broker. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 42.

9 **Sensenbrenner (R)**—June 14, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 42.

WYOMING

AL **Thomas (R)**—Feb. 17, 1933. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 147. ■

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April 4, 1991

CHANGES IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE 102d CONGRESS

California (Senate):
Seymour, John (R). Birth date: December 3, 1937. Occupation: real estate broker. Religion: Protestant. (Replaced Pete Wilson, who resigned to become Governor of California.)

Illinois (15th District):
Vacant. Representative Edward R. Madigan (R) resigned on March 8, 1991, to become Secretary of Agriculture.

Massachusetts (1st District):
Vacant. Representative Silvio O. Conte (R) died on February 9, 1991.

Pennsylvania (Senate):
Vacant. Senator John Heinz (R) died on April 4, 1991.

Texas (3rd District):
Vacant. Representative Steve Bartlett (R) resigned on March 11, 1991, to run for the office of mayor of Dallas.

CURRENT PARTY ALIGNMENT IN THE 102d CONGRESS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:
Democrats - 267
Republicans - 164
Independent - 1
Vacancy - 3

SENATE:
Democrats - 56
Republicans - 43
Vacancy - 1

Sources: Clerk of the House of Representatives
Secretary of the Senate

91-86 GOV

CRS Report for Congress

Membership of the 102d Congress: A Profile

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MEMBERSHIP OF THE 102d CONGRESS: A PROFILE

SUMMARY

For Members of the 102d Congress, this report provides data on age, occupation, religion, education, length of service, sex and race.

The average age in the House is 52.8; the Senate, 57.2; for both chambers 53.6.

The dominant self-ascribed profession of Members continues to be the law (244 of 535, 46%), followed by business or banking (189 of 535, 35%), and education (67 of 535, 13%). Of note is that Members frequently list more than one occupation.

Protestants collectively constitute the majority religious affiliation of Members (346), but Roman Catholics account for the dominant, single religious denomination (142). Other affiliations (Greek Orthodox, Jewish, or unspecified) make up the balance (53).

An overwhelming majority of Members have had a college education.

The average length of service in the House is 10.35 years; in the Senate, 11.17.

A record 31 women (the same number as in the 101st) are Members, 29 in the House, 2 in the Senate. The racial and ethnic makeup of the Congress including Delegates is: a record 26 black Members (all in House); 12 Hispanics, also all in the House; and 7 of Asian/Pacific ethnicity (including a Senator, who is one of the 2 Native Americans in Congress).

MEMBERSHIP OF THE 102d CONGRESS: A PROFILE

The Congress is composed of 540 individuals from our 50 States, as well as the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa, including any vacancies. The following is a profile of the 102d Congress, which commenced on January 3, 1991.[1]

AGE

At an average age of 53.6, the 102d Congress will be the oldest since the 85th Congress (1957-1959), when the average age was 53.8. The average age of Senators is now 57.2 and of Representatives, 52.8.

Representatives must be at least 25 when they take office. The youngest Representative and Member of Congress is Jim Nussle, Republican of Iowa, who is 30. The oldest Representative is Sidney Yates, Democrat of Illinois, who is 81 and 15 days older than William Natcher, Democrat of Kentucky.

Senators must be at least 30 when they take office. The youngest Senator is Don Nickels, Republican of Oklahoma, who is 42 and several months younger than Albert Gore, Democrat of Tennessee, and Kent Conrad, Democrat of North Dakota, both of whom were also born in 1948. The oldest Senator and Member of Congress is Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, who is 88.

The average ages of each Chamber are shown in table 1.

TABLE 1. Average Age, 102d Congress
(Ages as of November 9, 1990)

	All members	Senate	House
Both Parties	53.6	57.2	52.8
Democrats	53.4	57.5	52.6
Republicans	53.9	56.8	53.2

Source: Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, v. 48, Nov. 10, 1990. p. 3835.

[1] Information on the five Delegates is included only where indicated.

OCCUPATIONS

As has been true in previous Congresses, law is the dominant profession in the 102d Congress. There are presently 244 Members (45.6 percent) who have listed law as their profession. The distribution of other occupations, compiled by Congressional Quarterly, is shown in table 2.

TABLE 2. Members' Occupations*

	House			Senate			Congress
	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	Total
Actor/Entertainer	1	1	2	0	0	0	2
Aeronautics	0	1	1	1	0	1	2
Agriculture	11	9	20	3	5	8	28
Business or Banking	77	80	157	15	17	32	189
Clergy	2	0	2	0	1	1	3
Education	37	19	57†	6	4	10	67†
Engineering	4	3	7	0	0	0	7
Journalism	14	10	25†	8	2	10	35†
Labor Officials	3	0	3	0	0	0	3
Law	126	57	183	35	26	61	244
Law Enforcement	4	1	5	0	0	0	5
Medicine	3	2	5	0	0	0	5
Military	0	1	1	0	1	1	2
Professional Sports	2	1	3	1	0	1	4
Public Service/ Politics	41	20	61	4	0	4	65

† Includes one Independent Member.

* Because some Members list more than one occupation, totals are higher than total membership.

Source: Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, v. 48, Nov. 10, 1990. p. 3837, supplemented by CRS.

Moreover, among other prior occupations of Members of the 102d Congress are: 16 former Governors, some 80 former congressional staffers (including pages), 3 former FBI agents, 3 morticians, 2 pharmacists, an astronaut, a psychiatrist, a dentist, a veterinarian, an architect, a former volunteer fireman, and a Delegate who is a retired U.S. Marine Corps General.

RELIGION

Most of the Members of the 102d Congress cite a specific religious affiliation. Table 3 presents information, compiled by Congressional Quarterly, on the religious affiliations of Members of the 102d Congress.

TABLE 3. Members' Religious Affiliations

	House			Senate			Congress
	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	Total
African Methodist Episcopal	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
Apostolic Christian	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
Baptist	35	12	47	4	8	12	59
Christian Church	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Christian Reformed Church	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
Christian Science	0	2	2	0	0	0	2
Church of Christ	3	1	4	0	0	0	4
Disciples of Christ	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Episcopalian	24	17	41	6	12	18	59
French Huguenot	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
Greek Orthodox	2	4	6	1	0	1	7
Jewish	26	6	33†	6	2	8	41†
Lutheran	10	9	19	2	1	3	22
Methodist	38	24	62	9	4	13	75
Mormon	6	4	10	1	2	3	13
Presbyterian	15	27	42	7	2	9	51
Roman Catholic	85	37	122	12	8	20	142
Seventh-day Adventist	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
Unitarian	5	2	7	1	2	3	10
United Church of Christ and Congregationalist	3	2	5	5	2	7	12
Unspecified Protestant	10	17	27	1	3	4	31
Unspecified	5	0	5	0	0	0	5

† Includes one Independent Member.

Source: Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, v. 48, Nov. 10, 1990. p. 3837, supplemented by CRS.

EDUCATION[2]

In terms of education level, there are at least 370 Representatives and 94 Senators with bachelor's degrees, 101 Representatives and 20 Senators with master's degrees, 190 Representatives and 60 Senators with law degrees, 19 Representatives and 4 Senators with doctoral degrees, and 4 Representatives with medical degrees. Former Rhodes Scholars include 5 Senators and 2 Representatives.

CONGRESSIONAL SERVICE

The average length of service of Representatives in the 102d Congress is 10.35 years, slightly over five terms.[3] Representatives are elected for two-year terms. Representative Jamie Whitten, Democrat of Mississippi, has served longer (more than 49 years) in the House than any other Member of the 102d Congress and is the Dean of the House. His service began on November 4, 1941.

The average length of service of Senators in the 102d Congress is 11.17 years, almost two terms.[4] Senators are elected for six-year terms. Senator Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, has served longer (more than 35 years) in the Senate than any other Member of the 102d Congress. His current service began on November 7, 1956. Previously, he had served in the Senate from December 24, 1954, to April 4, 1956.

WOMEN AND MINORITY MEMBERS

There are 31 women serving in the 102d Congress-2 Senators and 29 Representatives. This is the same number as the last Congress which had the largest number of women to serve in any Congress.

There are 26 black Members of the 102d Congress (including a Delegate), all serving in the House of Representatives.[5] This is the largest number of black Members ever to serve in any Congress.

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[2] Educational Degrees Attained by Members of Congress, 94th through 101st Congresses. CRS Report 89-92 GOV, Jan. 25, 1989, by Mildred Amer. Washington, 1989, updated.

[3] Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Mills, Mike. Voter Elect Record Number of Women and Blacks. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, v. 48, Nov. 10, 1990. p. 3835-3836.

There are also 12 Hispanic Members of the 102d Congress (including 2 Delegates), 7 Members (including 2 Delegates) who are of Asian/Pacific Island ancestry, and 2 Native Americans (including a Senator who is also of Asian/Pacific Island ancestry).[6]

MLA/ds

[6] Ibid.