



National
Council for
Universal and
Unconditional
Amnesty

235 East 49th Street
New York City 10017
(212) 688 8097
Eleventh Floor

April 3, 1975

MEMO TO: Key Contact, Amnesty Organizers, Families

FROM: Irma Ziges *Irma*

SUBJECT: 1. Congressional Briefing 2. Response to "Restoration
of the Clemency Program"

1. On April 15, 1975, the National Council for Universal Unconditional Amnesty (NCUUA) has been invited to run a Congressional briefing on universal unconditional amnesty for members of the 94th Congress. The briefing will be held in Room 1302 of the Longworth Building at 3:30 P.M. Congressmen Tom Harkins of Iowa and five other freshmen Congressmen have co-signed a Dear Colleague letter which was sent to the 91 newly elected Representatives, inviting them to attend the briefing.

ACTION: Enclosed is a list of the 94th Congress, a dot next to a name denotes freshmen member. Write, phone, wire or visit immediately and urge your Congressperson to attend this briefing. Whether or not your Congressperson is newly elected, he or she should be urged to attend. This briefing is not exclusively for new members, but every member of Congress. The important fact is that the freshmen members have initiated it. This is an opportunity for us to put forth our position and to provide materials and information.

This action is especially important since the Clemency Program has expired. Congressman Robert Kastenmeier plans to hold hearings, the week of April 14th, to review the Clemency Program. Chairman Charles Goodell is busy trying to restore the program. Enclosed is a newsclipping from the April 1st edition of the N. Y. Post. It is self explanatory.

CONTACT YOUR CONGRESSPERSON IMMEDIATELY AND MAKE SURE THEY ARE AWARE THAT THE BRIEFING IS BEING HELD. INFORM THEM AS TO TIME AND PLACE.

2. Senators Gaylord Nelson and Jacob Javits have introduced "A Bill to Reorganize the Clemency Board" S1290. Sen. Nelson in his introduction to the Bill, acknowledges broad disagreements over the merits of the Ford program. In fact, Sen. Nelson said he fully supports Sen. Philip Hart's bill for unconditional amnesty. But Sen. Nelson states that thousands of young men should not become "the unintended victims of our disagreements. Time is running out for them". The fallacy of this approach needs to be exposed. This bill would in effect extend the Clemency Program indefinitely and if passed, would have Congress legislating the continuation of a program which is punitive, requiring forced work, degrading and insulting-demanding that recipients affirm their allegiance to the U. S. Further, passage of this bill would reinforce the assumption that the Vietnam war was and is right and that those who resisted it or were victimized by it are guilty. Passage of a bill to extend the Clemency Program would only serve to deflect support for total amnesty. This bill must be opposed!

S1290 has been referred to the Senate Committee on Government Operations. The members of the G.O. Committee are: Abraham Ribicoff, Conn.-John McClellan, Ark.-Henry Jackson, Wash.-Edmund Muskie, Me.-Lee Metcalf, Mont.-James Allen, Ala.-Lawton Chiles, Fla.-Sam Nunn, Fla.-John Glenn, Ohio-Charles Percy, Ill.-Jacob Javits, N.Y.-William Roth Jr., Del.-Bill Brock, Tenn.-Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. Conn.

ACTION: Write, call, visit or wire the above listed Senators and tell them to vote NO on S1290, and not report this bill out of their Committee. Urge them to oppose this bill.

A suggestion for local action: Organize a meeting with a family of someone who would be the recipient of total amnesty. Invite the local media and arrange interviews with the families as to their reaction to the Nelson-Javits bill. If you need the name and address of a family in your area call or write Americans for Amnesty, 235 E. 49th Street, NYC 10017 (212) 371-7080.

NCUUA has developed a National Speakers Bureau, lists of speakers, their pictures and bios will be sent out in the next issue of Amnesty Update, due back from the printers next week.

Mary McGrory

DEATH OF A DOVE

WASHINGTON.

It is now five years since the late Cardinal Cushing of Boston asked his Easter question:

"Would it be too much to suggest that we empty our jails of all the protesters . . . without judging them; that we call back from over the border and around the world the young men who are called deserters?"

Yes, it still is too much. President Ford is observing this Easter by closing the shutters on his trifling "leniency" display. That exercise in strained and cosmetic mercy ends on Monday.

Charles E. Goodell, New York's former antiwar Senator and present chairman of the Clemency Board, held a press conference to tell his resisting clientele that he will be waiting by the phone until midnight, March 31, and will process every application received.

Goodell has been the only drummer for the program. His customers are those who have already paid the price for resisting or deserting during the war years. Despite his sales promotion campaign, and the fact that his applicants have nothing to lose, a majority has decided that they have little to gain either. Eighty-four per cent have been able to refuse his offer of a clemency discharge, possible presidential pardons, and a chance to do alternate jobs, which are increasingly unavailable.

The Dept. of Defense, which is the least enthusiastic of the three agencies involved, has had the greatest success.

Half of its potential constituency, some 55% of 12,000, deserters and AWOLs, have gone through the mill back into society.

The Dept. of Justice has the worst record, with 550 processed out of a pool of 4400 fugitives who are under or subject to indictment.

Goodell's press conference was the only observance of the passing of a government program which has failed because it was both hard-hearted and half-hearted.

The Goodell press conference not only marked the expiration of an idea but the death of a dove—himself.

As an appointed Senator who hoped to be elected to Robert Kennedy's seat, Goodell led several efforts to cut off funds for the war. But Goodell, the loyal Ford appointee, favors the President's emergency military aid for Cambodia and Vietnam.

Senator Goodell branded the war "a moral disgrace . . . to maintain the role of a corrupt and dictatorial regime, committed . . . to endless war over an unwilling populace, that above all other things, wants peace."

Chairman Goodell, however, believes we should send arms to "a nation that is ready to fight for itself," and sees nothing inconsistent with his previous position, which he said blandly was opposition to sending Americans to fight.

This turning of his coat was pointed out to him by Gerry Condon, a 26-year-old ex-Green Beret, who was sentenced by court-martial to two years at hard labor and a dishonorable discharge for

refusing a Vietnam assignment in 1967. He identified himself to Goodell as one of the organizers of the exiled war-resisters' successful boycott against the clemency program.

They began shouting at each other in a manner appropriate to the subject. Condon, who has been baiting the authorities by touring the country for seven weeks campaigning for unconditional amnesty, asked Goodell when Ford would grant real amnesty for "people like me who need it, who can be arrested."

Goodell retorted, "You are subject to that happening to you. I hope you are aware of your rights."

They had several other heated exchanges, until reporters, wanting to end the sour occasion began calling to Condon to sit down.

His equanimity regained, Goodell observed that, while he and the President are opposed to unconditional amnesty, he thought the country would have survived it—"after all we survived Watergate," it was a limp jest which suggested that amnesty would also be a scandal.

The scandal, of course, is what is happening in Vietnam, where refugees are choking the roads and provincial capitals are falling like dominoes. But the disposition, at least in the government, to forget that young men broke the law to oppose that folly, once so eloquently defined by Goodell, remains firm.

After the press conference, reporters shuffled between Goodell and Condon.

Condon was asked why the authorities had not picked him up. He replied, "The whole thrust of this thing is p. r., and I guess they thought they couldn't afford to move in on a highly visible example of punishment."

Goodell: Restore Clemency

By JOHN S. LANG
N. Y. Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON—Clemency Board chief Charles Goodell plans to ask Congress to restore the clemency program for Vietnam war deserters and draft evaders who want to seek pardons and alternate service.

Because of an upsurge of appeals in the last two months, Goodell says he is convinced that many of those eligible for clemency did not get word of President Ford's program in time.

When the deadline passed at midnight last night, only 18,000 had filed appeals out of an estimated 123,000 potentially eligible.

The exact totals probably will not be known before Friday because the Clemency Board will accept applications by mail postmarked before the deadline. And the military is accepting those who applied before the deadline at U. S. military posts or embassies around the world.

Jean Vinson, speaking for the Clemency Board, said the total probably would exceed 20,000 by Friday.

Goodell, who is scheduled to testify on the program before a house committee April 14, says, "my personal feeling is this should be extended, but I don't know if this will be official policy. I think the President feels it is up to the Congress."

Although there has been a big response from deserters, Goodell acknowledges that the clemency program for draft evaders has been largely unsuccessful.

Out of 4400 estimated by the Justice Department to be eligible, only about 600 applied to the board. In these cases the board has generally recommended 24 months of alternate service, says Goodell.

"Most of the guys who went to Canada understand the program and have made a conscious decision," he says.

"We did not receive applications from the stereotyped war resister. Most of the people eligible end up being people from lower income and lower educational levels.

Thus far the Clemency Board has considered 78 civilian cases and has recommended 30 outright pardons. It has recommended 52 outright pardons of the 193 military cases it had handled.

Goodell says the board's record to date has been to recommend pardons in roughly one-third of the cases, three months of alternate service in another one-third and to reject appeals or demand longer service in the remainder.

Last night's deadline was necessary, Goodell says, because President Ford had authority to fund such a program for only one year before seeking Congressional authorization.

The Clemency Board's year of activity will be up next September and Goodell says the remaining time must be used to rule on the petitions now in hand.

(OVER)

House of Representatives

(DOT) DENOTES NEW MEMBERS

Alabama

DISTRICT

- 1 **Jack Edwards** (R) Mobile
2439 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 **William L. Dickinson** (R) Montgomery
2436 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 **William Nichols** (D) Sylacauga
2417 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 **Tom Bevill** (D) Jasper
1126 Longworth House Office Building
- 5 **Robert E. Jones** (D) Scottsboro
2426 Rayburn House Office Building
- 6 **John H. Buchanan, Jr.** (R) Birmingham
2159 Rayburn House Office Building
- 7 **Walter Flowers** (D) Tuscaloosa
401 Cannon House Office Building

Alaska

AT-LARGE

- Don Young** (R) Fort Yukon
1210 Longworth House Office Building

Arizona

DISTRICT

- 1 **John J. Rhodes** (R) Mesa
2310 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 **Morris K. Udall** (D) Tucson
1424 Longworth House Office Building
- 3 **Sam Steiger** (R) Prescott
2432 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 **John B. Conlan** (R) Phoenix
131 Cannon House Office Building

Arkansas

DISTRICT

- 1 **William V. Alexander, Jr.** (D) Osceola
227 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 **Wilbur D. Mills** (D) Kensett
1136 Longworth House Office Building
- 3 **John P. Hammerschmidt** (R) Harrison
2453 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 **Ray Thornton, Jr.** (D) Sheridan
1109 Longworth House Office Building

California

DISTRICT

- 1 **Harold Johnson** (D) Roseville
2347 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 **Don H. Clausen** (R) Crescent City
2433 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 **John E. Moss** (D) Sacramento
2354 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 **Robert L. Leggett** (D) Vallejo
2263 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 **John Burton** (D) San Francisco
1513 Longworth House Office Building
- 6 **Phillip Burton** (D) San Francisco
2454 Rayburn House Office Building
- 7 **George Miller** (D) Martinez
1532 Longworth House Office Building
- 8 **Ronald Dellums** (D) Berkeley
1417 Longworth House Office Building
- 9 **Fortney H. Stark, Jr.** (D) Oakland
1034 Longworth House Office Building
- 10 **Don Edwards** (D) San Jose
2240 Rayburn House Office Building
- 11 **Leo J. Ryan** (D) San Francisco
119 Cannon House Office Building
- 12 **Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.** (R) Portola Valley
205 Cannon House Office Building
- 13 **Norman Mineta** (D) San Jose
510 Cannon House Office Building
- 14 **John J. McFall** (D) Manteca
2346 Rayburn House Office Building
- 15 **B. F. Sisk** (D) Fresno
2217 Rayburn House Office Building
- 16 **Burt Talcott** (R) Salinas
1536 Longworth House Office Building
- 17 **John Krebs** (D) Fresno
435 Cannon House Office Building
- 18 **William Ketchum** (R) Paso Robles
413 Cannon House Office Building
- 19 **Robert Lagomarsino** (R) Ventura
1319 Longworth House Office Building
- 20 **Barry Goldwater, Jr.** (R) Los Angeles
1421 Longworth House Office Building
- 21 **James Corman** (D) Van Nuys
2252 Rayburn House Office Building
- 22 **Carlos Moorhead** (R) Glendale
1208 Longworth House Office Building
- 23 **Thomas Rees** (D) Los Angeles
1112 Longworth House Office Building
- 24 **Henry Waxman** (D) Los Angeles
1039 Longworth House Office Building
- 25 **Edward Roybal** (D) Los Angeles
2404 Rayburn House Office Building
- 26 **John Roussetot** (R) San Marino
1706 Longworth House Office Building

- 27 **Alphonzo Bell** (R) Los Angeles
2329 Rayburn House Office Building
- 28 **Yvonne Burke** (D) Los Angeles
336 Cannon House Office Building
- 29 **Augustus Hawkins** (D) Los Angeles
2350 Rayburn House Office Building
- 30 **George Danielson** (D) Los Angeles
312 Cannon House Office Building
- 31 **Charles H. Wilson** (D) Los Angeles
2335 Rayburn House Office Building
- 32 **Glenn Anderson** (D) Harbor City
1230 Longworth House Office Building
- 33 **Del Clawson** (R) Downey
2349 Rayburn House Office Building
- 34 **Mark Hannaford** (D) Lakewood
315 Cannon House Office Building
- 35 **James Lloyd** (D) West Covina
222 Cannon House Office Building
- 36 **George Brown, Jr.** (D) Colton
2342 Rayburn House Office Building
- 37 **Jerry Pettis** (R) Loma Linda
341 Cannon House Office Building
- 38 **Jerry Patterson** (D) Santa Ana
507 Cannon House Office Building
- 39 **Charles Wiggins** (R) West Covina
2445 Rayburn House Office Building
- 40 **Andrew Hinshaw** (R) Newport Beach
1128 Longworth House Office Building
- 41 **Bob Wilson** (R) San Diego
2307 Rayburn House Office Building
- 42 **Lionel Van Deerlin** (D) San Diego
2427 Rayburn House Office Building
- 43 **Clair Burgener** (R) Rancho Santa Fe
316 Cannon House Office Building

Colorado

DISTRICT

- 1 **Patricia Schroeder** (D) Denver
1131 Longworth House Office Building
- 2 **Timothy Wirth** (D) Denver
516 Cannon House Office Building
- 3 **Frank E. Evans** (D) Pueblo
2443 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 **James P. Johnson** (R) Ft. Collins
129 Cannon House Office Building
- 5 **William L. Armstrong** (R) Aurora
223 Cannon House Office Building

Connecticut

DISTRICT

- 1 **William R. Cotto** (D) Hartford
213 Cannon House Office Building

- 2 **Christopher Dodd** (D) North Stonington
429 Cannon House Office Building
- 3 **Robert N. Giallomo** (D) North Haven
2265 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 **Stewart B. McKinney** (R) Fairfield
504 Cannon House Office Building
- 5 **Ronald A. Sarasin** (R) Beacon Falls
229 Cannon House Office Building
- 6 **Anthony Moffett** (D) Unionville
1008 Longworth House Office Building

Delaware

AT-LARGE

- Pierre S. duPont IV** (R) Rockland
127 Cannon House Office Building

Florida

DISTRICT

- 1 **Robert L. F. Sikes** (D) Crestview
2269 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 **Don Fuqua** (D) Altha
2266 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 **Charles E. Bennett** (D) Jacksonville
2113 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 **William V. Chappell, Jr.** (D) Ocala
1124 Longworth House Office Building
- 5 **Richard Kelly** (R) Holiday
1130 Longworth House Office Building
- 6 **C. W. Bill Young** (R) Seminole
426 Cannon House Office Building
- 7 **Sam M. Gibbons** (D) Tampa
2161 Rayburn House Office Building
- 8 **James A. Haley** (D) Sarasota
1236 Longworth House Office Building
- 9 **Louis Frey, Jr.** (R) Winter Park
214 Cannon House Office Building
- 10 **Louis A. Bafalis** (R) Fort Myers Beach
408 Cannon House Office Building
- 11 **Paul G. Rogers** (D) West Palm Beach
2407 Rayburn House Office Building
- 12 **J. Herbert Burke** (R) Hollywood
2442 Rayburn House Office Building
- 13 **William Lehman** (D) N. Miami
424 Cannon House Office Building
- 14 **Claude D. Pepper** (D) Miami
2239 Rayburn House Office Building
- 15 **Dante B. Fascell** (D) Miami
2160 Rayburn House Office Building

DISTRICT Georgia

- 1 Ronald B. Ginn (D) Millen
508 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 M. Dawson Mathis (D) Albany
236 Cannon House Office Building
- 3 Jack T. Brinkley (D) Columbus
2412 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 Elliott Levitas (D) Atlanta
506 Cannon House Office Building
- 5 Andrew Young (D) Atlanta
332 Cannon House Office Building
- 6 John J. Flynt, Jr. (D) Griffin
2110 Rayburn House Office Building
- 7 Larry McDonald (D) Marietta
1641 Longworth House Office Building
- 8 Williamson S. Stuckey, Jr. (D) Eastman
2243 Rayburn House Office Building
- 9 Phillip M. Landrum (D) Jasper
2308 Rayburn House Office Building
- 10 Robert G. Stephens, Jr. (D) Athens
2410 Rayburn House Office Building

DISTRICT Hawaii

- 1 Spark M. Matsunaga (D) Honolulu
442 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 Patsy T. Mink (D) Waipahu
2338 Rayburn House Office Building

DISTRICT Idaho

- 1 Steven D. Symms (R) Caldwell
1410 Longworth House Office Building
- 2 George Hansen (R) Pocatello
1125 Longworth House Office Building

DISTRICT Illinois

- 1 Ralph H. Metcalfe (D) Chicago
322 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 Morgan F. Murphy (D) Chicago
137 Cannon House Office Building
- 3 Martin Russo (D) Calumet Park
128 Cannon House Office Building
- 4 Edward J. Derwinski (R) Flossmoor
1401 Longworth House Office Building
- 5 John C. Kluczynski (D) Chicago
2302 Rayburn House Office Building
- 6 Henry J. Hyde (R) Park Ridge
1206 Longworth House Office Building
- 7 Cardiss Collins (D) Chicago
1123 Longworth House Office Building
- 8 Daniel Rostenkowski (D) Chicago
2185 Rayburn House Office Building

- 9 Sidney R. Yates (D) Chicago
2234 Rayburn House Office Building
- 10 Abner Mikva (D) Evanston
432 Cannon House Office Building
- 11 Frank Annunzio (D) Chicago
2303 Rayburn House Office Building
- 12 Philip M. Crane (R) Mt. Prospect
1406 Longworth House Office Building
- 13 Robert McClory (R) Lake Bluff
2452 Rayburn House Office Building
- 14 John N. Erlenborn (R) Elmhurst
2236 Rayburn House Office Building
- 15 Tim Hall (D) Dwight
1221 Longworth House Office Building
- 16 John B. Anderson (R) Rockford
1101 Longworth House Office Building
- 17 George M. O'Brien (R) Joliet
422 Cannon House Office Building
- 18 Robert H. Michel (R) Peoria
2112 Rayburn House Office Building
- 19 Thomas F. Rainsback (R) Moline
2431 Rayburn House Office Building
- 20 Paul Findley (R) Pittsfield
2133 Rayburn House Office Building
- 21 Edward R. Madigan (R) Lincoln
1728 Longworth House Office Building
- 22 George E. Shibley (D) Olney
237 Cannon House Office Building
- 23 C. Melvin Price (D) E. St. Louis
2468 Rayburn House Office Building
- 24 Paul Simon (D) Carbondale
1724 Longworth House Office Building

DISTRICT Indiana

- 1 Ray J. Madden (D) Gary
2409 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 Floyd J. Fithian (D) Lafayette
1205 Longworth House Office Building
- 3 John Brademas (D) South Bend
2134 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 J. Edward Roush (D) Huntington
2400 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 Elwood H. Hillis (R) Kokomo
1721 Longworth House Office Building
- 6 David W. Evans (D) Indianapolis
513 Cannon House Office Building
- 7 John T. Myers (R) Covington
103 Cannon House Office Building
- 8 Philip H. Hayes (D) Evansville
1132 Longworth House Office Building
- 9 Lee H. Hamilton (D) Columbus
2344 Rayburn House Office Building
- 10 Philip R. Sharp (D) Muncie
1234 Longworth House Office Building
- 11 Andrew Jacobs, Jr. (D) Indianapolis
1501 Longworth House Office Building

DISTRICT Iowa

- 1 Edward Mezvinsky (D) Iowa City
1404 Longworth House Office Building
- 2 Michael T. Blouin (D) Dubuque
1118 Longworth House Office Building
- 3 Charles E. Grassley (R) New Hartford
1213 Longworth House Office Building
- 4 Neal Smith (D) Altoona
2373 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 Thomas R. Harkin (D) Ames
514 Cannon House Office Building
- 6 Berkley Bedell (D) Spirit Lake
503 Cannon House Office Building

DISTRICT Kansas

- 1 Keith G. Sebelius (R) Norton
1211 Longworth House Office Building
- 2 Martha E. Keys (D) Manhattan
1207 Longworth House Office Building
- 3 Larry Winn, Jr. (R) Overland Park
2430 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 Garner E. Shriver (R) Wichita
2209 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 Joe Skubitz (R) Pittsburg
2211 Rayburn House Office Building

DISTRICT Kentucky

- 1 Carroll Hubbard, Jr. (D) Mayfield
423 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 William H. Natcher (D) Bowling Green
2333 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 Romano L. Mazzoli (D) Louisville
1212 Longworth House Office Building
- 4 M. Gene Snyder (R) Jeffersonton
2330 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 Tim L. Carter (R) Tompkinsville
2441 Rayburn House Office Building
- 6 John B. Breckinridge (D) Lexington
125 Cannon House Office Building
- 7 Carl D. Perkins (D) Hindman
2365 Rayburn House Office Building

DISTRICT Louisiana

- 1 F. Edward Hébert (D) New Orleans
2340 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 Corinne C. Boggs (D) New Orleans
1519 Longworth House Office Building
- 3 David C. Treen (R) Metairie
404 Cannon House Office Building
- 4 Joe D. Waggonner, Jr. (D) Plain Dealing
221 Cannon House Office Building
- 5 Otto E. Passman (D) Monroe
2108 Rayburn House Office Building
- 6 W. Henson Moore III (R) Baton Rouge
427 Cannon House Office Building

- 7 John B. Breaux (D) Crowley
204 Cannon House Office Building
- 8 Gills W. Long (D) Alexandria
215 Cannon House Office Building

DISTRICT Maine

- 1 David F. Emery (R) Rockland
425 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 William S. Cohen (R) Bangor
412 Cannon House Office Building

DISTRICT Maryland

- 1 Robert E. Bauman (R) Easton
118 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 Clarence D. Long (D) Ruxton
2421 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 Paul S. Sarbanes (D) Baltimore
317 Cannon House Office Building
- 4 Marjorie S. Holt (R) Severna Park
1510 Longworth House Office Building
- 5 Gladys N. Spellman (D) Laurel
1117 Longworth House Office Building
- 6 Goodloe E. Byron (D) Frederick
1730 Longworth House Office Building
- 7 Parren J. Mitchell (D) Baltimore
414 Cannon House Office Building
- 8 Gilbert Gude (R) Bethesda
104 Cannon House Office Building

DISTRICT Massachusetts

- 1 Silvio O. Conte (R) Pittsfield
239 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 Edward P. Boland (D) Springfield
2111 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 Joseph D. Early (D) Worcester
1033 Longworth House Office Building
- 4 Robert F. Drinan, S.J. (D) Newton
224 Cannon House Office Building
- 5 Paul E. Tsongas (D) Lowell
419 Cannon House Office Building
- 6 Michael J. Harrington (D) Beverly
405 Cannon House Office Building
- 7 Torbert H. Macdonald (D) Malden
2470 Rayburn House Office Building
- 8 Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (D) Cambridge
2231 Rayburn House Office Building
- 9 John J. Moakley (D) Boston
238 Cannon House Office Building
- 10 Margaret M. Heckler (R) Wellesley
343 Cannon House Office Building

- 11 James A. Burke (D) Milton
241 Cannon House Office Building
- 12 Gerry E. Studds (D) Cohasset
1511 Longworth House Office Building

DISTRICT Michigan

- 1 John Conyers, Jr. (D) Detroit
2444 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 Marvin L. Esch (R) Ann Arbor
2353 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 Garry Brown (R) Schoolcraft
2446 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 Edward Hutchinson (R) St. Joseph
2336 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 Richard F. Vander Veen (D) Grand Rapids
1232 Longworth House Office Building
- 6 M. Robert Carr (D) East Lansing
1608 Longworth House Office Building
- 7 Donald W. Riegle, Jr. (D) Flint
438 Cannon House Office Building
- 8 Bob Traxler (D) Bay City
1526 Longworth House Office Building
- 9 Guy Vander Jagt (R) Cadillac
1203 Longworth House Office Building
- 10 Elford A. Cederberg (R) Midland
2306 Rayburn House Office Building
- 11 Philip E. Ruppe (R) Houghton
203 Cannon House Office Building
- 12 James G. O'Hara (D) Utica
2262 Rayburn House Office Building
- 13 Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D) Detroit
2208 Rayburn House Office Building
- 14 Leon R. Nedzi (D) Detroit
2418 Rayburn House Office Building
- 15 William D. Ford (D) Taylor
2238 Rayburn House Office Building
- 16 John D. Dingell (D) Trenton
2210 Rayburn House Office Building
- 17 William Brodhead (D) Detroit
411 Cannon House Office Building
- 18 James J. Blanchard (D) Pleasant Ridge
515 Cannon House Office Building
- 19 William S. Broomfield (R) Birmingham
2435 Rayburn House Office Building

Minnesota

- DISTRICT
- 1 Albert I. Quie (R) Dennison
2182 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 Thomas M. Hagedorn (R) Truman
325 Cannon House Office Building
- 3 Bill Frenzel (R) Golden Valley
1026 Longworth House Office Building

- 4 Joseph E. Karth (D) St. Paul
2408 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 Donald M. Fraser (D) Minneapolis
1111 Longworth House Office Building
- 6 Richard M. Nolan (D) Waite Park
1019 Longworth House Office Building
- 7 Bob S. Bergland (D) Roseau
1414 Longworth House Office Building
- 8 James L. Oberstar (D) Chisholm
323 Cannon House Office Building

DISTRICT Mississippi

- 1 Jamie L. Whitten (D) Charleston
2413 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 David R. Bowen (D) Cleveland
116 Cannon House Office Building
- 3 Gillespie V. Montgomery (D) Meridian
2367 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 William T. Cochran (R) Jackson
212 Cannon House Office Building
- 5 Trent Lott (R) Pascagoula
308 Cannon House Office Building

DISTRICT Missouri

- 1 William L. Clay (D) St. Louis
328 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 James W. Symington (D) Clayton
307 Cannon House Office Building
- 3 Leonor K. Sullivan (D) St. Louis
2421 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 William J. Farnell (D) Independence
2460 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 Richard Bolling (D) Kansas City
2465 Rayburn House Office Building
- 6 Jerry L. Litter (D) Chillicothe
1502 Longworth House Office Building
- 7 Gene Taylor (R) Sarcoux
1114 Longworth House Office Building
- 8 Richard H. Ichord (D) Houston
2402 Rayburn House Office Building
- 9 William L. Hungate (D) Troy
2437 Rayburn House Office Building
- 10 Bill D. Burlison (D) Cape Girardeau
1238 Longworth House Office Building

DISTRICT Montana

- 1 Max S. Baucus (D) Missoula
226 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 John M. Mather (D) Forsyth
1224 Longworth House Office Building

DISTRICT Nebraska

- 1 Charles Thone (R) Lincoln
1524 Longworth House Office Building
- 2 John Y. McCollister (R) Omaha
217 Cannon House Office Building
- 3 Virginia Smith (R) Chappell
1005 Longworth House Office Building

AT-LARGE Nevada

- James Santini (D) Las Vegas
1408 Longworth House Office Building

DISTRICT New Hampshire

- 1 Norman D'Amours (D) Manchester
1330 Longworth House Office Building
- 2 James C. Cleveland (R) New London
2246 Rayburn House Office Building

DISTRICT New Jersey

- 1 James Florio (D) Camden
1725 Longworth House Office Building
- 2 William Hughes (D) Ocean City
327 Cannon House Office Building
- 3 James J. Howard (D) Wall Township
2245 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 Frank Thompson, Jr. (D) Trenton
2109 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 Millicent Fenwick (R) Bernardsville
1610 Longworth House Office Building
- 6 Edwin D. Forsythe (R) Moorestown
331 Cannon House Office Building
- 7 Andrew Maguire (D) Ridgewood
1314 Longworth House Office Building
- 8 Robert A. Roe (D) Wayne
1007 Longworth House Office Building
- 9 Henry Helstoski (D) East Rutherford
2331 Rayburn House Office Building
- 10 Peter W. Rodino (D) Newark
2462 Rayburn House Office Building
- 11 Joseph G. Minish (D) West Orange
2162 Rayburn House Office Building
- 12 Matthew J. Rinaldo (R) Union
314 Cannon House Office Building
- 13 Helen S. Meyner (D) Phillipsburg
126 Cannon House Office Building
- 14 Dominick V. Daniels (D) Jersey City
2370 Rayburn House Office Building
- 15 Edward J. Patten (D) Perth Amboy
2332 Rayburn House Office Building

DISTRICT New Mexico

- 1 Manuel Lujan, Jr. (R) Albuquerque
1323 Longworth House Office Building
- 2 Harold Runnels (D) Lovington
1535 Longworth House Office Building

New York

DISTRICT

- 1 Otis Pike (D) Riverhead, L.I.
2428 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 Thomas Downey (D) W. Islip
1116 Longworth House Office Building
- 3 Jerome Amodeo, Jr. (D) East Northport
1313 Longworth House Office Building
- 4 Norman F. Lent (R) East Rockaway
428 Cannon House Office Building
- 5 John W. Wyder (R) Garden City, L.I.
2334 Rayburn House Office Building
- 6 Lester L. Wolff (D) Great Neck
2463 Rayburn House Office Building
- 7 Joseph P. Addabbo (D) Ozone Park
2440 Rayburn House Office Building
- 8 Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D) Elmhurst, L.I.
2372 Rayburn House Office Building
- 9 James J. Delaney (D) Long Island City
2267 Rayburn House Office Building
- 10 Mario Biaggi (D) Bronx
211 Cannon House Office Building
- 11 James Scheuer (D) Floral Park
2439 Rayburn House Office Building
- 12 Shirley A. Chisholm (D) Brooklyn
123 Cannon House Office Building
- 13 Stephen S. Schacht (D) Brooklyn
1228 Longworth House Office Building
- 14 Frederick Richmond (D) Brooklyn
1533 Longworth House Office Building
- 15 Leo Zeiter (D) Brooklyn
1726 Longworth House Office Building
- 16 Elizabeth Holtzman (D) Brooklyn
1727 Longworth House Office Building
- 17 John M. Murphy (D) Staten Island
2187 Rayburn House Office Building
- 18 Edward I. Koch (D) Manhattan
1134 Longworth House Office Building
- 19 Charles B. Rangel (D) New York City
107 Cannon House Office Building
- 20 Bella S. Abzug (D) New York City
1507 Longworth House Office Building
- 21 Herman Badillo (D) Bronx
319 Cannon House Office Building
- 22 Jonathan B. Bingham (D) Bronx
2241 Rayburn House Office Building

- 23 **Peter A. Peyser** (R) Irvington
1133 Longworth House Office Building
- 24 **Richard L. Ottinger** (D) Pleasantville
240 Cannon House Office Building
- 25 **Hamilton Fish, Jr.** (R) Millbrook
409 Cannon House Office Building
- 26 **Benjamin A. Gilman** (R) Middletown
1226 Longworth House Office Building
- 27 **Matthew McHugh** (D) Ithaca
1204 Longworth House Office Building
- 28 **Samuel S. Stratton** (D) Amsterdam
2466 Rayburn House Office Building
- 29 **Edward Paltison** (D) Troy
1127 Longworth House Office Building
- 30 **Robert C. McEwen** (R) Ogdensburg
2464 Rayburn House Office Building
- 31 **Donald J. Mitchell** (R) Herkimer
1527 Longworth House Office Building
- 32 **James M. Hanley** (D) Syracuse
106 Cannon House Office Building
- 33 **William F. Walsh** (R) Syracuse
206 Cannon House Office Building
- 34 **Frank Horton** (R) Rochester
2229 Rayburn House Office Building
- 35 **Barber B. Conable, Jr.** (R) Alexander
2228 Rayburn House Office Building
- 36 **John LaFalce** (D) Kenmore
417 Cannon House Office Building
- 37 **Henry Nowak** (D) Buffalo
1223 Longworth House Office Building
- 38 **Jack Kemp** (R) Hamburg
132 Cannon House Office Building
- 39 **James F. Hastings** (R) Canandaigua
113 Cannon House Office Building

North Carolina

DISTRICT

- 1 **Walter B. Jones** (D) Farmville
201 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 **L. H. Fountain** (D) Tarboro
2188 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 **David N. Henderson** (D) Wallace
235 Cannon House Office Building
- 4 **Ike F. Andrews** (D) Siler City
228 Cannon House Office Building
- 5 **Stephen Neal** (D) Winston-Salem
502 Cannon House Office Building
- 6 **L. Richardson Preyer** (D) Greensboro
403 Cannon House Office Building
- 7 **Charles Rose** (D) Fayetteville
218 Cannon House Office Building
- 8 **W. G. (Bill) Hefner** (D) Concord
1004 Longworth House Office Building
- 9 **James G. Martin** (R) Davidson
115 Cannon House Office Building

- 10 **James T. Broyhill** (R) Lenoir
2227 Rayburn House Office Building
- 11 **Roy A. Taylor** (D) Black Mountain
2268 Rayburn House Office Building

North Dakota

AT-LARGE

- Merk Andrews** (R) Mapleton
2411 Rayburn House Office Building

Ohio

- 1 **Willis Gradison, Jr.** (R) Cincinnati
1331 Longworth House Office Building
- 2 **Donald D. Clancy** (R) Cincinnati
2313 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 **Charles W. Whalen, Jr.** (R) Dayton
1035 Longworth House Office Building
- 4 **Tennyson Guyer** (R) Findlay
114 Cannon House Office Building
- 5 **Delbert L. Latta** (R) Bowling Green
2309 Rayburn House Office Building
- 6 **William H. Harsha** (R) Portsmouth
2457 Rayburn House Office Building
- 7 **Clarence J. Brown** (R) Urbana
2242 Rayburn House Office Building
- 8 **Thomas Kindness** (R) Hamilton
1440 Longworth House Office Building
- 9 **Thomas L. Ashley** (D) Maumee
2406 Rayburn House Office Building
- 10 **Clarence E. Miller** (R) Lancaster
434 Cannon House Office Building
- 11 **John W. Stanton** (R) Painesville
2448 Rayburn House Office Building
- 12 **Samuel L. Devine** (R) Columbus
2206 Rayburn House Office Building
- 13 **Charles A. Mosher** (R) Oberlin
2368 Rayburn House Office Building
- 14 **John F. Selberling** (D) Akron
1225 Longworth House Office Building
- 15 **Chalmers P. Wylie** (R) Columbus
2447 Rayburn House Office Building
- 16 **Ralph S. Regula** (R) Navarre
1729 Longworth House Office Building
- 17 **John M. Ashbrook** (R) Johnstown
1436 Longworth House Office Building
- 18 **Wayne L. Hays** (D) Flushing
2264 Rayburn House Office Building
- 19 **Charles J. Carney** (D) Youngstown
1714 Longworth House Office Building
- 20 **James V. Stanton** (D) Cleveland
1107 Longworth House Office Building
- 21 **Louis Stokes** (D) Cleveland
303 Cannon House Office Building

- 22 **Charles A. Vanik** (D) Euclid
2371 Rayburn House Office Building
- 23 **Ronald Mottl** (D) Parma
1233 Longworth House Office Building

Oklahoma

DISTRICT

- 1 **James R. Jones** (D) Tulsa
225 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 **Theodore Risenhoover** (D) Tahlequah
1407 Longworth House Office Building
- 3 **Carl B. Albert** (D) McAlester
2205 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 **Tom Steed** (D) Shawnee
2405 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 **John Jarman** (D) Oklahoma City
2416 Rayburn House Office Building
- 6 **Glenn English, Jr.** (D) Cordell
1108 Longworth House Office Building

Oregon

DISTRICT

- 1 **Les AuCoin** (D) Forest Grove
329 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 **Al Ullman** (D) Baker
2207 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 **Robert Duncan** (D) Gresham
330 Cannon House Office Building
- 4 **James Weaver** (D) Eugene
1723 Longworth House Office Building

Pennsylvania

DISTRICT

- 1 **William Barrett** (D) Philadelphia
2304 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 **Robert N. C. Nix** (D) Philadelphia
2201 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 **William J. Green** (D) Philadelphia
2434 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 **Joshua Eilberg** (D) Philadelphia
2429 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 **Richard Schulze** (R) Malvern
1009 Longworth House Office Building
- 6 **Gus Yatron** (D) Reading
313 Cannon House Office Building
- 7 **Robert W. Edgar** (D) Broomall
117 Cannon House Office Building
- 8 **Edward G. Biesler, Jr.** (R) Furlong
2351 Rayburn House Office Building
- 9 **E. G. Shuster** (R) West Providence Twp.
1110 Longworth House Office Building
- 10 **Joseph M. McDade** (R) Scranton
2202 Rayburn House Office Building

- 11 **Daniel J. Flood** (D) Wilkes-Barre
108 Cannon House Office Building
- 12 **John P. Murtha** (D) Johnstown
431 Cannon House Office Building
- 13 **Lawrence Coughlin** (R) Villanova
306 Cannon House Office Building
- 14 **William S. Moorhead** (D) Pittsburgh
2467 Rayburn House Office Building
- 15 **Fred B. Rooney** (D) Bethlehem
2301 Rayburn House Office Building
- 16 **Edwin D. Eshleman** (R) Lancaster
2244 Rayburn House Office Building
- 17 **Herman T. Schneebeli** (R) Williamsport
1336 Longworth House Office Building
- 18 **Henry J. Heinz III** (R) Pittsburgh
324 Cannon House Office Building
- 19 **William F. Goodling** (R) Jacobus
1713 Longworth House Office Building
- 20 **Joseph M. Gaydos** (D) McKeesport
301 Cannon House Office Building
- 21 **John H. Dent** (D) Ligonier
2104 Rayburn House Office Building
- 22 **Thomas E. Morgan** (D) Fredericktown
2183 Rayburn House Office Building
- 23 **Albert W. Johnson** (R) Smethport
2233 Rayburn House Office Building
- 24 **Joseph P. Vigorito** (D) Erie
440 Cannon House Office Building
- 25 **Gary Myers** (R) Butler
1712 Longworth House Office Building

Rhode Island

DISTRICT

- 1 **Fernand J. St. Germain** (D) Woonsocket
2136 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 **Edward Beard** (D) Cranston
130 Cannon House Office Building

South Carolina

DISTRICT

- 1 **Mendel J. Davis** (D) North Charleston
230 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 **Floyd D. Spence** (R) Lexington
120 Cannon House Office Building
- 3 **Butler Derrick, Jr.** (D) Edgefield
415 Cannon House Office Building
- 4 **James R. Mann** (D) Greenville
1217 Longworth House Office Building
- 5 **Kenneth Holland** (D) Camden
511 Cannon House Office Building
- 6 **John Jenrette, Jr.** (D) North Myrtle Beach
1021 Longworth House Office Building

DISTRICT South Dakota

- 1 Larry Pressler (R) Humboldt
1238 Longworth House Office Building
- 2 James Abdnor (R) Kennebec
1227 Longworth House Office Building

DISTRICT Tennessee

- 1 James H. Ouillen (R) Kingsport
102 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 John J. Duncan (R) Knoxville
2458 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 Marilyn Lloyd (D) Chattanooga
1017 Longworth House Office Building
- 4 Joseph L. Evins (D) Smithville
2300 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 Richard H. Fulton (D) Nashville
2305 Rayburn House Office Building
- 6 Robin L. Beard, Jr. (R) Brentwood
124 Cannon House Office Building
- 7 Edward Jones (D) Yorkville
407 Cannon House Office Building
- 8 Harold E. Ford (D) Memphis
1609 Longworth House Office Building

DISTRICT Texas

- 1 Wright Patman (D) Texarkana
2328 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 Charles Wilson (D) Lufkin
1504 Longworth House Office Building
- 3 James M. Collins (R) Irving
2419 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 Ray Roberts (D) McKinney
2455 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 Alan W. Steelman (R) Dallas
437 Cannon House Office Building
- 6 Olin E. Teague (D) College Station
2311 Rayburn House Office Building
- 7 Bill Archer (R) Houston
1024 Longworth House Office Building
- 8 Bob Eckhardt (D) Houston
1741 Longworth House Office Building
- 9 Jack Brooks (D) Beaumont
2449 Rayburn House Office Building
- 10 J. J. (Jake) Pickle (D) Austin
231 Cannon House Office Building
- 11 William R. Poage (D) Waco
2107 Rayburn House Office Building
- 12 James C. Wright, Jr. (D) Fort Worth
2459 Rayburn House Office Building

- 13 Jack Hightower (D) Vernon
1315 Longworth House Office Building
- 14 John Young (D) Corpus Christi
2204 Rayburn House Office Building
- 15 E. (Kika) de la Garza (D) Mission
1434 Longworth House Office Building
- 16 Richard C. White (D) El Paso
2423 Rayburn House Office Building
- 17 Omar Burleson (D) Anson
2369 Rayburn House Office Building
- 18 Barbara C. Jordan (D) Houston
1534 Longworth House Office Building
- 19 George H. Mahon (D) Lubbock
2314 Rayburn House Office Building
- 20 Henry B. Gonzalez (D) San Antonio
2312 Rayburn House Office Building
- 21 Robert C. Krueger (D) New Braunfels
512 Cannon House Office Building
- 22 Robert R. Casey (D) Houston
2256 Rayburn House Office Building
- 23 Abraham Kazen, Jr. (D) Laredo
1514 Longworth House Office Building
- 24 Dale Milford (D) Grand Prairie
430 Cannon House Office Building

DISTRICT Utah

- 1 Gunn McKay (D) Huntsville
1427 Longworth House Office Building
- 2 Allan T. Howe (D) Salt Lake City
1525 Longworth House Office Building

AT-LARGE Vermont

- James M. Jeffords (R) Montpelier
501 Cannon House Office Building

DISTRICT Virginia

- 1 Thomas N. Downing (D) Newport News
2135 Rayburn House Office Building
- 2 G. William Whitehurst (R) Norfolk
436 Cannon House Office Building
- 3 David E. Satterfield III (D) Richmond
2348 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 Robert W. Daniel, Jr. (R) Spring Grove
410 Cannon House Office Building
- 5 W. C. (Dan) Daniel (D) Danville
1705 Longworth House Office Building
- 6 M. Caldwell Butler (R) Roanoke
109 Cannon House Office Building
- 7 J. Kenneth Robinson (R) Winchester
418 Cannon House Office Building
- 8 Herbert E. Harris II (D) Alexandria
1229 Longworth House Office Building

- 9 William C. Wampler (R) Bristol
2422 Rayburn House Office Building
- 10 Joseph L. Fisher (D) Arlington
318 Cannon House Office Building

DISTRICT Washington

- 1 Joel M. Pritchard (R) Seattle
133 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 Lloyd Meeds (D) Everett
2352 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 Don Bonker (D) Ridgefield
1531 Longworth House Office Building
- 4 Mike McCormack (D) Richland
1503 Longworth House Office Building
- 5 Thomas Stephen Foley (D) Spokane
1201 Longworth House Office Building
- 6 Floyd V. Hicks (D) Tacoma
1202 Longworth House Office Building
- 7 Brock Adams (D) Seattle
2235 Rayburn House Office Building

DISTRICT West Virginia

- 1 Robert H. Mollohan (D) Fairmont
339 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 Harley O. Staggers (D) Keyser
2366 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 John Stack (D) Charleston
2230 Rayburn House Office Building
- 4 Ken Hechler (D) Huntington
242 Cannon House Office Building

DISTRICT Wisconsin

- 1 Les Aspin (D) Racine
439 Cannon House Office Building
- 2 Robert W. Kastenmeier (D) Sun Prairie
2232 Rayburn House Office Building
- 3 Alvin J. Baldus (D) Menomonie
509 Cannon House Office Building
- 4 Clement J. Zablocki (D) Milwaukee
2184 Rayburn House Office Building
- 5 Henry S. Reuss (D) Milwaukee
2186 Rayburn House Office Building
- 6 William A. Steiger (R) Oshkosh
1025 Longworth House Office Building
- 7 David R. Obey (D) Wausau
208 Cannon House Office Building
- 8 Robert Cornell (D) DePere
1512 Longworth House Office Building
- 9 Robert W. Kasten, Jr. (R) Brown Deer
1113 Longworth House Office Building

AT-LARGE Wyoming

Teno Roncallo (D) Cheyenne
1529 Longworth House Office Building