

RIPON FORUM

**RIPON
RATINGS**

OCTOBER 1, 1976

VOL. XII, No. 19

50 CENTS

RIPON RATINGS: 1975-76

THE EMERGING REPUBLICAN COALITION

The prominence of the Far Right at the Kansas City Republican National Convention prompted numerous political commentators to compose obituaries for progressive Republicanism. The cacophony of Reaganite horns during Sen. Jacob Javits' speech seemed to some observers to epitomize the decline of progressive and moderate Republicans within the Grand Old Party. (Although the "progressive" and "moderate" terminology has been in use for years, it suddenly became the vogue to expostulate on the eclipse of the term "liberal" Republicans.)

An analysis of the Ripon Ratings for the 94th Congress (1975-76) suggests that the pop obituaries at Kansas City were not only premature, but that they also tended to obscure a much more important trend within the Republican Party. During the Ford Administration, a remarkable cohesion has developed on important congressional issues between progressive Republicans and many of their more conservative colleagues. The increasing partisan divergence on the 18 House votes and 17 Senate votes selected for the Ripon Ratings seems to reflect a growing Republican consensus quite distinct from that of congressional Democrats. This change within the Republican Party is occurring concurrently with a narrowing of the differences between congressional Democrats. The change is not the right-left party realignment long advocated by ideologues on both extremes, but instead it is a far more subtle development of different party thrusts.

Congressional Republicans have increasingly championed fairness in the electoral process and the administration of Congress, perhaps making a virtue of the necessity arising from their distinct minority status. The Ripon test votes on such issues in both the Senate and the House showed a marked partisan divergence. These votes included attempts to settle the New Hampshire Senate contest on other than a party-line basis, votes on

the independence of the Federal Election Commission, the gutting proposed by the Democratic Caucus of the House reforms, and the vote for a bipartisan audit of House accounts. A surprising number of normally conscientious Democrats seemed to abandon their independence of judgment on these issues to vote in lockstep with their party leadership or caucus. The party solidarity developed by congressional Republicans on these fairness issues appears to have carried over into other areas.

Under the Ford Administration, with the lessening of the social value passions of the early 1970s, political cleavages seem to be occurring more on economic issues. On such issues as economic deregulation, preservation of a free market in foreign and domestic commerce, reduction of costly producer subsidies, and restrictions on environmentally-damaging pork barrel funding, Republicans of diverse persuasions seem to be drawing together. In an historic turnabout, the Republican Party has become the party of free trade while congressional Democrats have increasingly drifted toward protectionism. This change was clearly illustrated on a 1976 House vote (Congressional Record Vote No. 490). On this free trade-protectionism vote involving stainless steel flatware, a solid majority of both northern and southern Democrats voted for the protectionist position. This change perhaps reflects the responsiveness of northern Democrats to the increasingly protectionist stance of the AFL-CIO and a persistence of an economic nativism among southern Democrats. More attuned to the economic potential of export markets, Republicans from industrial and farm state areas have increasingly favored the lowering of barriers to international trade.

Progressive Republicans have been at the forefront of Congressional efforts to eliminate subsidies to producers. Here, they have been supported by the majority of their con-

servative party colleagues Southern Democrats, whose farm economy from peanuts to cotton has historically been dependent on federal subsidies, have unsurprisingly fought to maintain these advantages. In order to hold together an alliance with their southern colleagues, northern Democrats have voted for farm subsidy legislation quite contrary to the economic interests of their own constituents. Republicans, whose environmental records have occasionally left something to be desired, nevertheless have been far more wary than their Democratic colleagues of environmentally costly pork barrel projects. This tendency was particularly evident in a 1975 House vote (Congressional Record Vote No. 348) concerning one of the choicest pieces of congressional pork in a generation, the Trinity River Project. This project would involve huge federal funding to make Dallas an inland seaport. An overwhelming majority of northern and southern Democrats opposed the anti-Trinity Project amendment advanced by U.S.Rep. Alan Steelman (R-Texas) while a similarly lopsided majority of Republicans voted for the amendment.

Votes concerning energy deregulation and elimination of other uneconomic forms of regulation produced strong party cleavages. On some of these votes, a significant minority of progressive Republicans, responding perhaps to organized labor or to intense constituent opposition to energy deregulation, voted with the bulk of the northern Democrats. Meanwhile, many southern Democrats broke from their northern party colleagues on these issues to vote with the great majority of House Republicans.

While the division between Republican progressives and conservatives remains great on such symbolic issues as Panama Canal Treaty negotiations, a woman's right of choice concerning abortion, and the boycott of chrome from Southern Rhodesia, a strong consensus seems to have developed among congressional Republicans concerning economic policy. Not only is the Republican position far more rational from an economic standpoint, it is also more inclined toward risk-taking. The alternative approach is defensive, seeking to protect jobs by screening out foreign competition, to prop up inefficient industries through federal subsidies, and to fight unemployment through federal funding of short-term public service jobs.

The top ranks in the Ripon Ratings for the 94th Congress were earned by Republicans. The average rating of House Republicans was 68 percent compared to 47 percent for House Democrats. The average Ripon Rating for Senate Republicans was 72 percent while their Democratic colleagues averaged 48 percent.

U.S.Reps. Barber Conable of New York and Pierre du Pont of Delaware each received ratings of 100 percent. Ranking second at 94 percent were J.W. Stanton and Clarence Brown, Jr. of Ohio, Paul McCloskey of California, Stewart McKinney of Connecticut, and John Anderson of Illinois. Edwin Forsythe of New Jersey, William Frezel of Minnesota and Charles Mosher of Ohio each scored 93 percent. Joel Pritchard of Washington and William Cohen of Maine registered 89 percent ratings. Shirley Pettis and Bob Wilson of California; John Erlenborn, Robert Michel and Paul Findley of Illinois; Guy Vander Jagt and William Broomfield of Michigan; Norman Lent and Frank Horton of New York; Herman Schneebeli of Pennsylvania; and Willis Gradison of Ohio each received ratings of 88 percent. Millicent Fenwick of New Jersey and Edward Madigan of Illinois both scored 87 percent. Edwin Eshleman of Pennsylvania received an 85 percent rating. The top finishers in the Ripon House Ratings included not only a number of Republican progressives, but also several moderate conservatives.

Four senators---Lowell Weicker of Connecticut, Charles Percy of Illinois, Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland, and Robert Packwood of Oregon---received ratings of 100 percent. Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania scored 94 percent while Hiram Fong of Hawaii registered 93 percent. J. Glenn Beall Jr., of Maryland and Clifford Case of New Jersey scored 88 percent. James Pearson of Kansas, Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, and Jacob Javits of New York received identical 87 percent ratings. Ted Stevens of Alaska and Robert Taft, Jr. of Ohio both scored 85 percent.

Some Republican conservatives scored surprisingly high in the Ripon Ratings. Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona, for example, scored 69 percent. Republican Vice Presidential nominee Robert Dole received a rating of 67 percent. Two of the five times when Dole voted against the position favored by Ripon, the Kansas senator was breaking from the Ford Administration and siding with the majority of Democrats. These occasions included a vote on a farm bill and the vote on the override of a Presidential veto of a military construction authorization bill. Trailing Dole by 20 points was Democratic Vice Presidential nominee Walter Mondale with a 47 percent rating. Mondale's voting record shows a strong bias in favor of producer subsidies and extensive government intervention in the marketplace.

In Senate races involving senators and House members there are some striking differences in the scores of the contestants. J.



Glenn Beall, Jr., the incumbent Republican senator from Maryland scored a particularly high rating of 88 percent. His Democratic challenger, U.S.Rep. Paul Sarbanes, scored only 56 percent. In Texas, incumbent Sen. Lloyd Bentsen(D) scored only 36 percent, compared to 77 percent registered by Republican challenger, U.S.Rep. Alan Steelman. Two hotly-contested Senate races match congressmen competing for vacancies created by the retirement of Sens. Hugh Scott and Philip Hart. In Pennsylvania, H. John Heinz III, the Republican nominee, scored a rating of 79 percent, as compared to 50 percent for U.S.Rep. William Green, the Democratic candidate. Marvin Esch, the Republican senatorial nominee in Michigan, registered an 83 percent rating, as compared to the 44 percent scored by his Democratic opponent, Donald Riegle.

The Ripon Ratings for the 94th Congress appear to underscore the growing consensus among Republicans capable of being elected to office. In the long-term, it is these individuals, rather than a shrill minority of ideologues disproportionately represented at national conventions, who are likely to shape the Republican Party of the future. The 1976 Senate elections seem likely to swell the ranks of Republicans progressives and moderate conservatives. Regardless of the outcome of the Presidential race, these senators are likely to have considerable political leverage. Perhaps they can begin to fashion an aggressive, free market, decentralist, and libertarian strategy rather than permitting Congress to remain in the grip of bureaucratically-oriented liberal nostrums. ■

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC. is a Republican research and policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in District of Columbia, chapters in fifteen cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work.

THE RIPON FORUM is published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, Inc., 1609 Conn. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Second class postage rates paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. Contents are copyrighted © 1976 by the Ripon Society, Inc. Correspondence addressed to the editor is welcomed. (Ripon FORUM, Box 226, Charlestown, Mass. 02129.)

In publishing this magazine the Ripon Society seeks to provide a forum for fresh ideas, well-researched proposals and for a spirit of criticism, innovation, and independent thinking within the Republican Party. Articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of the National Governing Board or the Editorial Board of the

Ripon Society, unless they are explicitly so labelled.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES are \$15 a year, \$7.50 for students, servicemen, and for Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers. Overseas air mail, \$6 extra. Advertising rates on request. Please allow five weeks for address changes.

Editor: Dick Behn

Editorial Board:

Robert D. Behn, Chairman
Clifford Brown
Robert H. Donaldson

Tanya Melich
Robert G. Stewart
Ralph Thayer

Contributing Editors: Clifford Brown, Glenn Gerstell, William A. Koelsch, Daniel J. Swillinger, Josiah Lee Auspitz, Richard W. Rahn, John A. Rehfuss, Thomas A. Sargent, Richard Cleveland, Mark Frazier, Peter Berg, Martin Sours, and William K. Woods.

Technical Editor: Brian J. McCarthy

RIPON HOUSE TEST VOTES

1975

4. O'Neill motion to order the previous question on the House rules proposed by the Democratic Caucus. The effect of this "gag rule" was to prevent the Republicans from trying to amend the rules. The Democratic Caucus had voted to undo a number of earlier House reforms. Proxy voting in Committee was to be reinstated under the rules proposed by the Democratic Caucus. (Vote NAY.) R: 143-right, 0-wrong; D: 29-right, 247-wrong.

201. Vote on the override of the President's veto of HR 4296 which would raise target prices and loan rates for 1975 crops of wheat, cotton, corn and other feed grains and set dairy price supports at 90 percent of parity with quarterly adjustments. (Vote NAY.) R: 111-right, 33-wrong; D: 71-right, 212-wrong.

263. Passage of HR 6219, a bill to extend the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended, through August 1985, and to expand the voting protections of the act to citizens of language minority groups, including citizens of Spanish heritage, Alaskan natives, Asian Americans, and American Indians. (Vote YEA.) R: 94-right, 43-wrong; D-247 right, 27-wrong.

348. Steelman amendment to prohibit use of funds in the Fiscal 1976 Public Works Energy Appropriations bill for any study of navigational alternatives with respect to the Trinity River Project in Texas. (Vote YEA.) R: 102-right, 37-wrong; D: 76-right, 191-wrong.

384. Conte amendment to the Fiscal 1976 Agriculture Appropriations bill to delete \$3 million in government subsidies for Cotton, Inc. (Vote YEA.) R: 88-right, 39-wrong; D-108 right, 160-wrong.

541. Bauman motion to recommit the conference report on the bill appropriating Fiscal 1976 funds for operations of the Departments of State, Justice and Commerce and related agencies to the conference committee with instructions that the House conferees insist on House-passed language relating to negotiations on a Panama Canal Treaty. (Vote NAY.) R: 43-right, 91-wrong; D: 157-right, 102-wrong.

549. Passage of the bill to amend the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 and bring the United States into compliance with the U.N.-sponsored economic boycott of Rhodesia, thus halting the further importation of Rhodesian chrome. (Vote YEA.) R: 22-right; 108-wrong; D-165-right; 101-wrong. Rarely is there justification for governmentally-fashioned impediments to international trade. In this instance, however, the foreign policy considerations of strengthening the U.S. position in Black Africa made it very advisable to join the boycott against the white minority government in Southern Rhodesia. Critics of the boycott of Southern Rhodesia have pointed out that the principal alternative source of chrome is the Soviet Union. Any Soviet move to exploit its position as a supplier of chrome could, however, be readily countered by an easing of this boycott.

1976

32. Adoption of the resolution providing for House floor consideration of the bill to permit interstate natural gas pipeline companies to avert emergency shortages by buying unregulated intrastate gas. The rule permitted consideration of a substitute by Robert Krueger (D-Texas) to end federal regulation of interstate gas prices. (Vote YEA.) R: 128-right, 9-wrong; D: 102-right, 175-wrong.

78. Passage of the bill to grant black lung benefits to any miner who had worked in an underground bituminous coal mine for 30 years or who had worked in an underground anthracite coal mine for 25 years and to establish an industry-financed trust fund to pay black lung benefits. (Vote NAY.) R: 112-right, 21-wrong; D: 71-right, 189-wrong. Under this bill miners would receive black lung benefits even when they showed no signs of suffering from the disease. The bill sets a precedent for some unusually imaginative legislation, e.g., automobile insurance payments for accidents that didn't happen and death benefits for deaths that didn't occur.

119. Passage of the bill to authorize \$81 million in Fiscal 1977 for programs and administrative expenses of the Peace Corps. (Vote YEA.) R: 78-right, 41-wrong; D: 196-right, 34-wrong.

129. Passage of the joint resolution to amend the Constitution to provide for voting representation for the District of Columbia in Congress. (Vote YEA.) R: 36-right, 100-wrong; D: 193-right, 81-wrong.

147. Frenzel amendment to strike the section of HR 12406 providing that Federal Election Commission advisory opinions be issued as regulations to give Congress the opportunity to disapprove them. (Vote YEA.) R: 113-right, 25-wrong; D-21 right, 244 wrong. The effect of giving Congress a right of disapproval on such commission decisions would be to circumscribe severely the FEC's ability to regulate congressional election activity.

357. O'Hara amendment to the Revenue Sharing Extension legislation to apply the Davis-Bacon Act prevailing wage requirements to all state and local government construction projects rather than only to those involving 25 percent or more of revenue sharing funds. (Vote NAY.) R: 119-right, 11-wrong; D-99 right, 163-wrong.

447. Skubitz amendment to the Fiscal 1977 Labor-HEW Appropriations bill to exempt farming operations in which 10 or fewer persons were employed from Occupational Safety and Health Administration regulations. (Vote YEA.) R: 125-right, 11 wrong; D-148-right, 113-wrong.

452. Hyde amendment to the Fiscal 1977 Labor-HEW Appropriations bill to prohibit use of funds in the bill to pay for or to promote abortions. (Vote NAY.) R: 34-right, 94-wrong; D: 133-right, 113-wrong.

490. Steed motion to agree to a Senate amendment to the Fiscal 1977 Treasury-Postal Service Appropriations bill, reported in technical disagreement by House-Senate conferees, prohibiting the purchase by the General Services Administration of imported stainless steel flatware. (Vote NAY.) R: 91-right, 44-wrong; D: 110-right; 162-wrong.

498. Latta motion to recommit the resolution to create a 15-member commission to study House payroll and administrative procedures to the House Rules Com-

mittee with instructions to amend it to create a bipartisan select committee to audit all House accounts. (Vote YEA.) R: 135-right, 3-wrong; D: 8-right, 266-wrong.

632. Passage of the bill to designate a 26.5-mile stretch of the New River in North Carolina as part of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System, thus invalidating a Federal Power Commission license for the construction of an hydroelectric power project. (Vote YEA.) R: 92-right, 31-wrong; D: 219-right, 42-wrong.

RIPON SENATE TEST VOTES

1975

3. Weicker motion declaring the New Hampshire Senate seat vacant and subject to the call of a special election. (Vote YEA.) R: 34-right, 0-wrong; D: 5-right, 53-wrong. If it had been approved on January 28, 1975, this motion would have averted the six months of partisan bickering which consumed much of the first session of the 94th Congress and denied the people of New Hampshire full Senate representation during this controversy. The Senate six months later, after a thoroughly unedifying spectacle, finally chose the course provided for the Weicker motion.

110. Long motion to table the Mathias amendment to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to revise federal income tax withholding tables to reduce over-withholding from employee paychecks. (Vote NAY.) R: 26-right, 5 wrong; D: 10-right, 47-wrong.

116. Passage of HR 4296 to provide three-year increases in target prices and loan levels for wheat, feed grains, soybeans, and cotton, and one-year increase in price support levels for dairy products and tobacco. (Vote NAY.) R: 16-right, 15-wrong; D: 9-right, 42-wrong.

233. Stevens amendment to recount all ballots case in the New Hampshire Senate election of 1974, the recount to be conducted by a panel of three attorneys approved by the American Arbitration Association and the two contestant (Vote YEA.) R: 33-right, 0-wrong; D: 1-right, 49-wrong. This was essential the proposal recommended by the Ripon Society to break the impasse existing after months of partisan wrangling.

303. Byrd (D-W.Va.) motion to invoke cloture and vote on Mansfield motion that the Senate consider the Voting Rights Act extension bill. (Vote YEA.) R: 2-right, 12-wrong; D: 49-right, 6-wrong.

329. Passage of HR 6219 extending the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for seven years and expanding its protections to Spanish-speaking Americans and other language minorities. (Vote YEA.) R: 28-right, 6-wrong; D: 49-right, 6-wrong.

382. Passage of S 1281, a Redlining Disclosure bill requiring lenders in 265 metropolitan areas to disclose the amount of mortgage money they lend for a three-year period after enactment within each zip code area in a city. (Vote YEA.) R: 11-right; 24-wrong; D: 34-right, 13 wrong.

452. Passage of S 2310 providing for emergency 180-day exemptions for federal price regulations on natural gas for high-priority, curtailed customers and providing for eventual deregulation of new natural gas prices. (Vote YEA.) R: 33-right, 4-wrong; D: 25-right, 28-wrong.

577. Passage of S 1267, the Financial Institutions Act, removing federal regulatory restrictions on services offered by commercial banks and by thrift institutions. (Vote YEA.) R: 28-right, 8-wrong; D: 51-right, 6-wrong. A primary purpose of this bill was to permit increased competition among financial institutions.

581. Kennedy-Weicker amendment to S 2711, to permit states and localities to use non-Interstate Highway System moneys from the Highway Trust Fund for mass transit. (Vote YEA.) R: 9-right, 21-wrong; D: 17-right, 41-wrong.

1976

27. Vote on the override of the President's veto of a bill to provide quarterly adjustments in the support price of milk until March 31, 1978, and increase the support price to a minimum of 85 percent of parity. (Vote NAY.) R: 32-right, 3-wrong; D: 19-right, 34-wrong.

71. Byrd (D-W.Va.) motion to table the Mathias motion to reconsider the vote which the Griffin substitute to S 3065 was rejected. The Griffin amendment would have reconstituted the Federal Election Commission along lines that would meet the constitutional requirements outlined by the U.S. Supreme Court's January 30, 1976 decision ruling the commission unconstitutional as constituted by Congress. (Vote NAY.) R: 35-right, 1 wrong; D: 10-right, 48-wrong.

110. Burdick motion to table the Scott (R-Va.) amendment to S 287, the Omnibus District Judgeships legislation, to provide that no federal court shall have jurisdiction to hear or decide cases or controversies involving public schools. (Vote YEA.) R: 23-right, 13-wrong; D: 39-right, 16-wrong.

156. Bayh motion to table the Helms motion to proceed to floor consideration of the resolution to amend the Constitution to outlaw abortion under any circumstances. (Vote YEA.) R: 15-right, 20-wrong; D: 32-right, 20-wrong.

350. Bartlett motion to table the Packwood amendment to delete from the Labor-HEW Fiscal 1977 Appropriations bill a section barring the use of funds to pay for or to promote abortions. (Vote NAY.) R: 22-right, 12-wrong; D: 33-right, 15-wrong.

406. Vote on the override of the President's veto of HR 12384, the Military Construction Authorization bill providing a \$3.3 billion authorization for military construction projects in Fiscal 1977 and requiring a year's advance notice of Pentagon plans to close or greatly reduce any major military base in the United States. (Vote NAY.) R: 26-right, 8-wrong; D: 16-right, 43-wrong.

543. Scott (R-Va.) amendment to designate a 26.5-mile stretch of the New River in North Carolina as part of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System, while upholding the validity of any Federal Power Commission license for construction on that stretch of the river. (Vote NAY.) R: 25-right, 8-wrong; D: 47-right, 5-wrong.

HOUSE AND SENATE TEST VOTES

ted in agreement with Ripon position on test vote.

ted against Ripon position on test vote.

d not vote on test vote or voted present.

ied, February 14, 1975.

fter winning April 29, 1974 special election, sworn in May 6, 1975.

ied in April 1975,

fter winning July 8, 1975 special election, sworn in July 15, 1975.

ied May 21, 1976.

igned effective at the close of business, January 20, 1976.

(7) After winning March 2, 1976 special election, sworn in March 8, 1976.

(8) Died April 12, 1976.

(9) Died March 7, 1976.

(10) After winning June 19, 1976 special election, sworn in April 7, 1976.

(11) Resigned effective January 22, 1976.

(12) After winning April 3, 1976 special election, sworn in April 7, 1976.

(13) After vacancy declared, sworn in September 3, 1975 to serve until end of special election sworn in.

(14) After winning September 1975 special election, sworn in September 1975.

* Switched from Democrat to Republican early in 1975 in protest of Democratic Caucus actions.

HOUSE VOTES

	2	2	3	3	5	5	1	1	1	3	4	4	4	4	6	R	A	S			
	0	6	4	8	4	4	3	7	1	2	4	5	4	5	9	3	O	C			
SENTATIVES	4	1	3	8	4	1	9	2	8	9	9	7	7	7	2	0	8	2			
MA																					
ards (63)	V	V	X	X	V	0	0	V	X	X	X	V	V	V	X	V	V	10/16	63		
kinson(47)	V	V	X	X	X	0	0	V	X	X	X	V	V	V	X	0	V	0	7/15	47	
hols(34)	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	V			4/17	24	
ill(29)	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	0	X	X	V	V	X	X	X	V			5/17	29	
es(27)	X	X	V	X	X	X	V	0	V	X	X	V	0	X	0	X			4/15	27	
hanan(83)	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	V	X	V				15/18	83	
wers(38)	X	X	V	X	0	X	X	V	0	X	X	V	X	X	V				6/16	38	
A																					
ung(44)	V	V	V	X	X	X	X	V	X	0	X	V	V	V	X	0	X			7/16	44
ONA																					
des(67)	V	V	V	X	X	V	X	V	X	V	V	V	X	V	V					12/13	67
ill(43)	X	X	V	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	V	X			3/7	43
iger(40)	V	V	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	X	V	0	0	0	V	X				6/15	40
Lan(45)	V	V	0	X	X	0	V	X	0	X	V	0	0	0	V	0				5/11	45
SAS																					
xander(43)	X	X	0	X	X	0	0	V	X	V	X	0	V	V	V	X	V			6/14	43
ls(56)	O	X	V	0	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	X	X	V			9/16	56
merschmidt(56)	V	V	V	X	X	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	X	X	V				10/18	56
orton(33)	X	X	V	X	X	S	V	X	V	X	V	V	V	X	X	V				6/18	33
FORNIA																					
nson(33)	X	X	V	X	X	V	V	X	V	V	X	X	X	V	X	X				6/18	33
usen(75)	V	V	0	X	V	0	0	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V					12/16	75
ss(44)	X	X	V	X	V	0	X	X	0	V	X	X	V	V	V					7/16	44
ggett(41)	X	X	V	0	V	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	X	V	X					7/17	41
nton, J.(50)	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	X					9/18	50
nton, P.(50)	X	X	V	V	0	0	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	X					8/16	50
ler(56)	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	X					10/18	56
lums(56)	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	X					10/18	56
rk(56)	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	X					10/18	56
wards(59)	X	X	V	V	V	V	0	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	X					10/17	59
van(47)	X	X	V	V	V	V	0	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	0					8/17	47
loskey(94)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	0	V	V	V	V	V	V	V					16/17	94
lneta(44)	X	X	V	V	V	0	X	0	V	X	X	X	V	0	X					7/16	44
Fall(44)	X	X	V	V	V	0	V	V	X	X	X	V	X	X	X					8/18	44
sk(38)	X	X	V	V	0	0	V	0	V	X	0	V	0	X	X					5/13	38
alcott(76)	V	V	X	V	X	0	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V					13/17	76
rebs(56)	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	V					10/18	56
stchum(56)	V	V	X	X	V	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	X					10/18	56
ggamarsino(72)	V	V	X	V	X	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V					13/18	72
oldwater(67)	V	V	X	V	0	X	V	0	V	0	0	0	0	V	V					8/12	67
orman(39)	X	X	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	X	X					7/18	39
orthead(61)	V	V	X	V	X	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	X	V					11/18	61
ees(62)	X	X	V	V	0	V	0	V	X	0	V	0	0	V	0					8/13	62
zman(56)	0	X	V	V	V	V	X	0	V	X	X	V	V	X	V					9/16	56
hybal(39)	X	V	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	X	X	V	X	X	X					7/18	39
usselot(56)	V	V	X	V	X	0	V	X	X	0	V	X	V	X	V					9/16	56
ill(79)	V	V	V	X	0	X	V	0	0	0	V	V	V	V	V					11/14	79
urke(47)	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	0	V	X	X	X	X	X	V					8/17	47
rkins(33)	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	V	0	X	X	X	X	X	X					6/17	35
melson(41)	X	X	V	0	V	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	V					7/17	41
lison(53)	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	X	V	X	0					9/17	53
nderson(29)	X	V	V	X	V	V	X	C	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					5/17	29
awson(53)	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	0	V	X	V	V					9/17	53
annaFord(56)	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	X	V	V	V	V	V					10/18	56
oyd(50)	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	X	V	V	V	V	V					9/18	50
own(59)	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	X	V	V	X	0	X	V	V					10/17	59
ttis, J.(100)	V	(1)																		1/1	100
ttis, S.(88)	(2)	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	0	V	V	V	V	V	V					14/16	88
tterson(41)	X	X	V	X	X	V	X	X	V	X	V	0	V	X	V					7/17	41
gins(77)	V	V	0	0	0	V	V	X	V	V	V	0	V	0	0					10/13	77
nshaw(50)	V	0	X	V	V	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					3/6	50
lison(88)	V	V	V	V	0	0	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V					14/16	88
n Deerlin(40)	X	V	V	0	V	0	V	X	0	V	X	V	X	V	V					8/16	50
rgener(53)	V	V	X	X	X	X	V	V	V	X	V	0	V	X	V					9/17	53

	2	2	3	3	5	5	1	1	1	3	4	4	4	4	6	R	A	S			
	0	6	4	8	4	4	3	7	1	2	4	5	4	5	9	3	O	C			
REPRESENTATIVES	4	1	3	8	4	1	9	2	8	9	9	7	7	7	2	0	8	2			
COLORADO																					
1 Schroeder(72)	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V			13/18	72
2 Wirth(65)	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	0	X	V			11/17	65
3 Evans(56)	X	X	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V			10/18	56
4 Johnson(71)	V	V	V	V	X	X	X	V	X	V	V	X	0	V	V	V	V			12/17	71
5 Armstrong(71)	V	V	X	V	V	X	X	V	0	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V			12/17	71
CONNECTICUT																					
1 Cotter(39)	X	X	V	V</																	

REPRESENTATIVES	4	1	3	8	4	1	9	2	8	9	9	7	7	7	2	0	8	2	S	A	T	R
ARK Continued																						
Ber (64)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	O	O	X	X	O	O	O	O	0	7/11	64		
Binger (61)	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	11/18	61		
Blair (83)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	15/18	83		
Bran (72)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	13/18	72		
Bright (50)	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	9/18	50		
Brown (63)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/16	63		
Brown (59)	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/17	59		
Brown (78)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/18	56		
Chell (78)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	14/18	78		
Chey (33)	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	6/18	33		
Chick (72)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	13/18	72		
Conner (88)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	15/17	88		
Coble (100)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	17/17	100		
Coble (53)	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	9/17	53		
Coble (44)	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	8/18	44		
Coble (63)	O	V	V	X	O	X	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/16	63		
Coble (83)	V	V	V	O	V	V	X	(6)	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	5/6	83		
Coble (56)	V	V	V	O	V	V	X	(7)	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	5/9	56		
CAROLINA																						
Coble (47)	V	X	V	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	O	8/17	47			
Coble (41)	V	X	V	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	O	7/17	41			
Coble (44)	V	X	V	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	O	7/16	44			
Coble (44)	V	X	V	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	O	7/16	44			
Coble (56)	X	X	V	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	O	10/18	56			
Coble (50)	X	X	V	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	O	9/18	50			
Coble (47)	X	X	V	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	O	7/15	47			
Coble (44)	V	X	V	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	O	8/18	44			
Coble (78)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	O	14/18	78			
Coble (72)	V	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	O	13/18	72			
Coble (56)	V	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	O	10/18	56			
DAKOTA																						
Coble (88)	V	X	V	X	X	V	X	V	V	O	X	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	11/17	65		
Coble (56)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	15/17	88		
Coble (72)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/18	56		
Coble (64)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	9/14	64		
Coble (56)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/18	56		
Coble (47)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	7/15	47		
Coble (94)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	16/17	94		
Coble (71)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	12/17	71		
Coble (47)	X	X	V	X	O	V	X	X	V	X	X	O	V	X	X	V	7/15	47				
Coble (50)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	9/18	50		
Coble (94)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	17/18	94		
Coble (56)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	9/16	56		
Coble (93)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	14/15	93		
Coble (56)	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/18	56		
Coble (78)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	14/18	78		
Coble (78)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	14/18	78		
Coble (53)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	9/17	53		
Coble (20)	X	X	V	X	O	X	O	X	O	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	2/10	20		
Coble (28)	X	X	V	X	V	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	5/18	28		
Coble (29)	X	X	V	X	V	V	X	O	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	5/17	29		
Coble (39)	X	X	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7/18	39		
Coble (56)	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	10/18	56		
Coble (50)	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9/18	50		
MA																						
Coble (39)	V	X	V	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	7/18	39		
Coble (27)	O	X	V	X	X	O	V	X	X	V	X	X	V	O	X	X	X	V	4/15	27		
Coble (24)	V	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	X	X	V	4/17	24			
Coble (50)	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	9/18	50				
Coble (33)	V	X	X	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	X	X	V	6/18	33				
Coble (65)	X	X	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	O	V	V	V	11/17	65			
Coble (63)	X	X	O	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/16	63		
Coble (47)	X	X	V	X	V	V	X	O	V	X	V	V	V	V	X	X	8/17	47				
Coble (53)	X	X	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	X	O	9/17	53					
VANIA																						
Coble (14)	X	X	V	X	X	O	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	1/7	14		
Coble (13)	X	X	V	X	X	V	X	O	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	2/15	13		
Coble (50)	X	X	V	V	O	V	X	X	V	X	O	O	X	X	X	V	O	7/14	50			
Coble (33)	X	X	V	V	X	V	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	6/18	33		
Coble (78)	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	14/18	78		
Coble (39)	O	X	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	7/18	39		
Coble (59)	O	X	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/17	59		
Coble (67)	V	V	V	V	V	V	O	X	O	O	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	8/12	67		
Coble (50)	V	V	V	V	O	X	V	X	O	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	8/16	50		
Coble (63)	X	X	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/16	63		
Coble (28)	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	5/18	28		
Coble (41)	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	7/17	41		
Coble (78)	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	14/18	78		
Coble (53)	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	X												

