

ALASKA LEGISLATURE COMMITTEE FILES 1903-1904 80/2

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COMMITTEE REPORT
SENATE

FURTHER:

1/21/83

Date: 1/23/83

Mr. President:

The Committee on JUDICIARY has had STR 4

Ratifying an amendment to the United States Constitution to provide for representation of the District of Columbia in the Congress

under consideration and (a majority of the committee) (the committee) reports it back with the following recommendations:

- do pass do not pass
- do pass with attached amendments(s)
- replace with CS for _____ same title
 new title
- and recommends _____
- AND attaches a "Letter of Intent" New Fiscal Note
- reports it back without recommendation
- referred to the _____ Committee

MEMBERS SIGNING
DO PASS

MEMBERS HAVING
OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS:

CHAIRMAN

State shouldn't ignore voting rights of others

Anchorage
Daily News
Nov. 27, 1983

WASHINGTON — In the next session of the state legislature, Alaskans will have the opportunity to demand that the residents of a distant, lightly populated, and often politically ignored part of this country must have the same fundamental democratic rights and ability to influence insensitive federal decision-makers as do the citizens of this country's most populous and powerful states.

These are familiar issues for Alaskans, who fought an uphill battle for statehood, and who struggle even today to be effective in a federal environment which is often unresponsive.

But this time, those deprived of basic rights are not downtrodden Alaskans, but the nearly three-quarters of a million residents in the District of Columbia who are as disenfranchised today as Alaskans were in territorial days.

For these citizens, the main hope for democratic equity is the ratification of a constitutional amendment providing voting rights.

Amazingly, Alaska is not among the 13 states that already have ratified the amendment. Amazing because Alaskans have established a tradition of vigorously supporting constitutional amendments guaranteeing the basic rights of democracy to Americans.

Alaska has been in the forefront on the Equal Rights Amendment, the 26th Amendment guaranteeing the vote to



guy martin

18-year-olds, and the 24th Amendment striking down poll taxes. Now, with approximately two years remaining in which to obtain the goal of ratification in 38 states, there exists no conceivable reason for the Alaska Legislature to avoid the ratification of the D.C. voting rights amendment during this session.

The debate on the issue rages hot and heavy, but it fundamentally comes down to the issue of political fear: how D.C. voters, or their representatives in the House and Senate, might vote if only they had the right. Some have summarized it as a fear that the District of Columbia is "too urban, too liberal, too black, and too Democratic." Alaskans who now enjoy sending two senators and a representative to the Congress might ponder briefly whether they should have been denied representation in 1958 because Alaska was "too rural, too poor, too Native and too Democratic" to be trusted with the vote.

The simple fact is that nearly 650,000 people in the District of Columbia do not

have the right to vote for representatives in the Senate or House of Representatives.

In addition to the purely democratic values of voting for all Americans, these citizens have important reasons to vote.

The total federal tax burden for D.C. in 1982 was heavier than 12 states, and the per capita federal tax burden (\$4,274) was higher than that of the citizens of every state in the United States except one — Alaska. Ten states had fewer of their children die in the Vietnam War than did the District of Columbia.

For those Alaskans who remember territorial days as a time of federal domination, they would feel right at home in the district, where Congress establishes the budget and imposes its will when necessary on most things that matter.

The D.C. situation doesn't set an example of international democracy either. Of 115 nations in the world with elected national legislatures, only two — the United States and Brazil — deny representation in the national legislatures for citizens of their capitals. This includes many nations which, like the United States, have created special capital districts.

The fallacies about D.C. voting rights are many and varied, and virtually all false. These include the perception that Senate representation can only be based on statehood; that Senate representa-

tion for D.C. would be a precedent for other territories; that the district should be returned to Maryland; or that statehood is a preferable or attainable alternative to bestowing voting rights.

Support for the amendment at the national level is strong, diverse and bipartisan, including Senators Strom Thurmond, Edward Kennedy, Howard Baker, Robert Byrd and Barry Goldwater, along with others too numerous to mention.

Would the amendment hurt Alaska? Detailed political analysis might result in the conclusion that Alaska's 1/50th share of influence in the Senate or 1/435th share of the House might be diluted by adding new representation for the hundreds of thousands of people in D.C. But it is certain that such a calculation 25 years ago would have doomed Alaska's statehood as well.

The Constitution, if it guarantees anything, guarantees the right to participation in our governmental system and representation for all citizens whose interests are affected by federal activities.

It is an embarrassment for Alaska to be among those states which are associated with denial of these voting rights. 1984 is an ideal time to set the record straight.

|| Guy Martin is a former Alaska commissioner of natural resources who now practices law in Washington, D.C., and Alaska.

JAMES CLARK JR.
PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE



BENJAMIN L. CARDIN
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

MARYLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY
STATE HOUSE
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND 21401

May 11, 1982

The Honorable Ramona L. Barnes
Alaska House of Representatives
Pouch V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Dear Representative Barnes:

Retrocession to Maryland has been suggested in several states as an alternative method to provide representation in Congress to the American citizens living in the District of Columbia.

In 1846 the Virginia legislature consented to the retrocession of that portion of the District of Columbia originally belonging to Virginia. Since this precedent was set, the preponderance of legal opinion indicated that retrocession of the District of Columbia to Maryland would require the Maryland legislature's approval. Further, Article IV, Section 3 of the Constitution states that boundaries of a state cannot be changed without the consent of the legislature of that state.

Although neither of us can speak for the entire legislature without their vote, if retrocession to Maryland requires the consent of the Maryland legislature, it is most improbable that it would be approved. We are not aware of a single elected official in the state who is on record, or is likely to support, a retrocession proposal.

In the floor debate on the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment, and in subsequent discussions with other legislators, there has been a great deal of stated opposition to the proposal. Most Maryland officials are not only adamantly opposed to changing our boundaries, but are also concerned about the many legal and technical problems raised by retrocession.

On March 19, 1980, the Maryland legislature ratified the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment. This was a clear statement of the sentiment of the Maryland legislature about the method which they felt best

FLOOR DEBATE PAPERS

The floor debate papers should be given to supportive legislators for use during the floor debate. Each subject is printed on one page, so, for example, you or the sponsor can ask another legislator, "Would you be responsible for speaking about retrocession?" Then give the legislator the retrocession paper.

Distribution of the papers serves two purposes. The papers will help prepare a legislator for a subject that might be raised by an opponent. It also encourages legislators to speak in support of the Amendment. (It is much better to have the sponsor and other legislators speak, to give the impression of wide support and an organized campaign.)

The effort spent for this final strategy is well worth the time.

FLOOR DEBATE PAPERS
D.C. VOTING RIGHTS AMENDMENT

June 1983

CONTENTS

	<u>Page Number</u>
Opening and Closing Statements	1 - 3
Federal Payment) Federal Impact } Federal Control)	4
Federal Employees Only	5
Equal Suffrage for States	6
Conflict of Interest	7
House Representation Sufficient	8
Retrocession	9
D.C. Has No State Responsibilities	10
Other Territories Would Want Same	11
Comparison with Other Countries	12
Would Make D.C. A State	13
Constitutional Provisions	14
Political Aspects	15
Non-Voting Delegate	16
Taxes	2-3, 4, 9, 17
D.C. Residents Can Vote "At Home"	18
All Members of Congress Serve D.C.	19
Home Rule	20
Cost	21
Creation of District of Columbia	22
What the Amendment Grants	23
Quotations	24-25

Opening and/or Closing Statements

"Government derived from the consent of the governed" is a cherished American tradition--stated in the Declaration of Independence.

American democracy was not founded on the principle that some citizens should have the vote--and some, because of geography, should be denied it.

Whatever argument may be used against this amendment, there is no refuting the fact that the status quo is a case of democracy denied. Justice--our ideal of equality before the law--demands that all U.S. citizens have a voice and a vote in their government. We, as Americans, cannot on any basis justifiably deny fellow citizens a right that we ourselves already possess--the right to representation.

How would you like it if you couldn't vote?

Think about it.

It's a concept we almost can't grasp.

In a nation founded on the right to representation, is it possible that we still--after two centuries--need to talk about this fundamental principle? Indeed it is.

Last January, United States representatives and senators began their work in the nation's capital.

How would you like it if you had no one representing you in these deliberations and decisions?

When we _____ (e.g. Iowans) have a problem with government--an opinion or a question--we can write to Senators _____ or _____ or to our representative and expect a reply. These members of Congress vote in our names on every law of the land. We elect them and they are accountable to us.

We take this right for granted. But the 640,000 U.S. citizens residing in the District of Columbia--a population larger than that of four states--have no voting representation in Congress; no one to turn to for help or information; no channel for input on governmental decisions; no candidate to support or oppose on federal issues; no voice and no vote in the government that rules their lives.

Washington, D.C. is the only geographical area in the country denied the fundamental right upon which our country was founded--the right to elect representation.

-2-

Moreover, of the 115 nations in the world with legislative bodies, only two-- the United States and the military dictatorship of Brazil--deny representation to the citizens of their capital cities.

This is a strange position for our country with its traditional devotion to human and voting rights.

To make the picture even murkier . . . residents of Brazil's capital city did in the past (when the capital was Rio de Janeiro) have representation; and they will again, once the newly created capital city of Brasilia becomes large enough to qualify as a voting district.

Then the United States will stand alone as the one country seeming to believe that the residents of its capital do not deserve--should not be allowed--a voice in their federal government.

* * *

D.C. residents have been trying to have this injustice corrected. In August 1978 Congress approved and sent to the states an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would give residents of the District the same representation the rest of us take for granted.

13 states have approved the amendment.

When ratified by a total of 38 states, it will enable the District to have two senators, representation in the House according to population, the right to ratify constitutional amendments, and the number of electors that it is entitled to.

* * *

The Constitution does not now and never did forbid representation for the District. It's silent on the matter. However, the District often is treated as though it were a state.

The Constitution says that direct taxes will be apportioned among the several states; and, in 1820, the Supreme Court ruled that for the purpose of taxation the District would be treated "as though it were a state."

In 1982, D.C. residents paid \$4,274 per capita in federal taxes. This was \$1,691 over the national average--and more per capita than in any state except Alaska.

D.C. residents pay more local and state taxes per capita than do the residents of all but one state (Alaska).

Thus the District comes close to being the most heavily taxed area in the country. If taxation without representation was an outrage in 1776, now--over 200 years later--it is an even greater outrage.

The Constitution says that commerce will be regulated across the borders of states. Since 1889, commerce has been regulated across District borders--as though it were a state.

All recent legislation that applies to states includes the phrase, "for the purpose of this legislation, the term 'state' shall include the District of Columbia."

Moreover, District residents--just like those of the 50 states--have fought and died in all the nation's wars. Their casualty rate in Viet Nam was greater than that of ten states.

D.C. residents have accepted all the responsibilities of citizenship: federal regulation, taxation, conscription and military service.

* * *

Washington, D.C. is not an area of federal employees only--any more than _____ (state capital) is a city of state employees.

28.5% of District residents are federal employees.

39% of the federal jobs in the District are held by D.C. residents; the rest of the federal workers (61%) drive to the suburbs in Maryland or Virginia every night. By crossing an imaginary line, these federal employees gain the right to elect members of Congress.

The District has fewer federally employed residents than each of three states, Virginia, Texas and California.

* * *

D.C. is federally subsidized and dependent

The "federal payment" is an annual appropriation intended to compensate the District for costs deriving from the federal presence and for the loss of certain revenues.

In most of the states, federal land averages about 4% of the total. In _____ (name of state) only ___% of the land is removed from the tax base because of federal control. But in the District, directly or indirectly because of the federal presence, almost 50% of the land is occupied by tax-exempt installations. As a consequence, the tax base is severely eroded and at the same time responsibilities for service and maintenance are greatly expanded.

D.C. residents pick up the tab for policing the seat of government and for providing other services (water, sanitation, road maintenance, street lighting, fire protection) to foreign embassies, private organizations, museums and other government buildings that are tax exempt.

Thus, in making the "federal payment," Congress attempts to balance the difference between costs generated by the federal presence and any benefits that may accrue to the District through tourism and construction.

There are several ways in which Congress restricts the revenue sources available to the District. Some examples:

It prohibits the District from enacting a commuter tax. Over 300,000 commuters work in the District, use its services, and return each night to Maryland and Virginia suburbs, taking the great bulk of their earned income with them.

It restricts the height of buildings within the District.

It has been estimated that for FY 1982 the total District revenue lost because of the federal presence was \$759 million. For that same fiscal year Congress appropriated \$336 million--a "federal payment" about half of full reimbursement and far below the "subsidization" or "dependent" level.

D.C. paid \$2,697 billion in federal taxes in FY 1982, more than 12 states. On a per capita basis, D.C. residents paid \$4,274--or \$1,691 over the national average. This was more per capita than in any state except Alaska. And only in Alaska did per capita state and local taxes exceed those paid by D.C. residents.

Everyone in D.C. works for the federal government

Only 28.5% of the District's work force are federal employees. The remaining 71.5% represent diverse interests; they are teachers, shopowners, child-care workers, doctors, lawyers, nurses, construction workers, sales people, bankers, librarians, laborers, etc. All people, regardless of who their employer is, deserve a voice in our government through their own elected representatives.

Only about 3% of the entire country's federal employees live in D.C.

All federal employees except those who do live in the District are represented by members of Congress elected from the states in which they live. Federal employees working in the District but living in the suburbs of Virginia and Maryland far outnumber those who reside in D.C. (61% versus 39%). By driving across that imaginary line every evening into adjoining states, they are able to vote for Congressional representation. This right should be extended to those federal employees who live within the District boundaries and who likewise bear the full responsibilities of citizenship.

Denying all D.C. citizens civil rights because some of them work for the federal government is just as abhorrent to American political traditions as would be the denial of representation in state governments to the people living in their capital cities.

Members of Congress from the District would represent the interests of small business, construction, banks, veterans, teachers, the elderly, the poor and virtually all other groups, just as the present members of Congress do.

* * *

- 6 -

D.C. Senators would deprive _____ and other
_____ states of "equal suffrage."

The intention of Article V of the Constitution was to ensure that the Great Compromise (between large and small states) would not be undone and that representation in the Senate would not be put on the basis of population.

Since ratification of the Constitution by the original 13 states, 37 additional states have been admitted to the Union. As a result, the suffrage of the original 13 in the Senate has already been "diluted" nearly four-fold, from 2/26ths to 2/100ths. Yet no one seriously argues that any of the older states has been deprived of "equal suffrage" by the admission of new ones.

With voting representation for D.C., each state would still be co-equal with the others.

The number of Senators would be increased to 102 so that each state still would have two votes in the Senate.

And, in the House, each state would continue to have the same proportionate vote as every other state.

Since 1913, when the 17th Amendment established popular election of Senators (replacing their appointment by state legislatures), Senators have represented the people of a state--not the state itself.

The House is reapportioned every ten years after the census. In the intervals between the census, the House has the power to add seats and has traditionally done so when new representatives were added. The House also has the statutory power to add seats permanently.

* * *

-7-

D.C. residents would have a "conflict of interest" . . .
would vote to increase the federal bureaucracy

The presumption that members of Congress from D.C. would vote to enlarge the federal government because it is located within the District ignores the fact that D.C. residents pay above the national average in federal taxes. The District paid more in federal income taxes in 1982 than did 12 states. On a per capita basis, D.C. residents paid \$1,691 over the national average--surpassed only by Alaska. Any expansion of federal government would necessarily mean increased federal taxes for District residents as well.

Who would argue that West Virginia representatives should not vote on strip-mining legislation?

Or that New Jersey should not vote on federal subsidies to industries?

Or South Carolina not vote on tobacco subsidies?

Or Iowa not vote on farm legislation?

The conflict-of-interest claim opposes the tradition that representative government was intended to bring together the interests of all areas for responsible legislative decisions. D.C. residents are Americans who obey federal laws even though they have no voice in enacting them--who have fought and died in all American wars--and who are taxed and regulated as every other American is.

* * *

Could support Representatives--but not Senators . . .

Each chamber in the United States Congress has unique rights, responsibilities and privileges besides the functions they hold in common.

Representation only in the House would not fully enfranchise District voters. House representation only would mean:

No voice in the ratification of treaties;

No voice in confirmation of presidential appointees and federal judges;

No voice in the trial of an impeached President.

It would also mean only half-way participation in the enactment of the laws of our country.

As long as D.C. is represented equally with all states, no state would be denied equal treatment.

Since 1913, when the 17th Amendment established popular election of senators (replacing their appointment by state legislatures), senators have represented the people of a state -- not the state itself.

D.C. should be combined with adjoining state . . .

Retrocession to Maryland is an alternative less equitable and realistic than full voting rights. The Constitution (Article IV) requires the consent of the state legislature; and representatives from Maryland have indicated that they would oppose retrocession. (See letter from Maryland legislator attached.)

Partial retrocession creates more problems than it solves. Legal and constitutional questions would have to be resolved. Senators and Representatives are to be chosen by the peoples of the states. D.C. residents are not "people of Maryland." They do not vote in state elections and would have no voice in the setting of election districts or in filling congressional vacancies. Questions raised: Would D.C. residents be numbered as Maryland citizens for apportionment? Would D.C. residents vote on state representatives for the Maryland legislature and on other state officers?

Full retrocession would defeat the idea of a separate federal enclave and would subject the federal government to the powers of the state of Maryland-- and would oppose the founding fathers' intent of the constitutional provision creating the District.

Congress looked at each of these proposed alternatives over and over again in the years it considered the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment and considered them carefully. They had expert testimony on the problems created and solved by each one. In approving the Amendment as presented to the states for ratification, Congress affirmed that this was the best solution to the question of simple justice for the residents of D.C.

Ratification of the 23rd Amendment in 1961 gave the District an independent voice in Presidential elections through the electoral college. It did not route voters through Maryland elections to achieve this goal and is therefore a strong precedent against efforts to tie the District to Maryland for voting purposes.

JAMES CLARK JR.
PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE



BENJAMIN L. CARDIN,
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

MARYLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY
STATE HOUSE
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND 21401

May 11, 1982

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Alaska House of Representatives
Pouch V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

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On March 19, 1980, the Maryland legislature ratified the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment. This was a clear statement of the sentiment of the Maryland legislature about the method which they felt best

D.C. does not accept the responsibilities of a state

Article I, Sec. 2, of the U.S. Constitution states: ". . . direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union." In 1820, the Supreme Court considered whether Congress had authority to tax directly the residents of D.C. and ruled that Congress could indeed do this.

D.C. residents have always borne the same federal tax responsibility as citizens of the states.

In fact, the District is one of the most heavily taxed populations in the country. (See sheet on taxes, page 17.) And, yet, it is the only political and geographical entity within the U.S. whose citizens bear the responsibilities of government without sharing in the appropriate privileges of citizenship.

In 1889, the Supreme Court upheld a ruling that Congress had the authority to regulate commerce across District borders even though Article I, Sec. 8, of the Constitution says that Congress has the power to regulate "commerce . . . among the several states."

All recent federal legislation that applies to states includes this phrase: "for the purpose of this legislation the term 'state' shall include the District of Columbia."

District residents have always been subject to conscription. Its citizens have fought and died in every war since the War for Independence. During the Viet Nam war, D.C. casualties ranked fourth on a proportionate basis out of the 50 states.

The District is more than a city. Its government carries out city, county and state functions. One estimate by District officials indicates that 63% of local government functions are non-municipal.

* * *

Other cities, commonwealths, territories,
possessions would expect the same

All other cities are political subdivisions of states and as such participate in elections for representation in Congress.

D.C. was part of the original 13 colonies, and D.C. residents are full U.S. citizens--lacking, however, the right to elect representatives to Congress. Only D.C. possesses the unique constitutional status as a federally controlled seat of government. Residents of commonwealths, territories and possessions do not bear the full burdens that states and the District bear in terms of federal taxation.

Commonwealths, territories and possessions may request and be granted independence (Philippines), or they may become a state (Hawaii). Neither of these options is practical for D.C. The Philippines chose not to have all the rights of citizenship in return for not bearing the responsibilities.

The 23rd Amendment gave D.C. residents the right to vote in Presidential elections--a constitutional distinction from commonwealths and territories.

* * *

The Nation's capital is different

Of the 115 nations in the world with elected national legislatures, only the U.S. and the military dictatorship of Brazil deny representation in their legislatures to the citizens of their capital cities.

Brazil has been waiting for the latest census to determine if the population of its newly established capital, Brasilia, is sufficient to warrant representation. Rio de Janeiro, the former federal capital district, was fully represented in Brazil's national legislature for over 100 years.

17 nations in the world community are federations (having a federal constitution and a federal system of government). Again, only Brazil and the U.S. deny representation to capital-city residents. Strange that our country--so strongly espousing human and civil rights and the democratic form of government--is the only country seeming to believe that the citizens of its capital city cannot be trusted with representation.

Canberra, Australia, like D.C., was a planned city built on land that was largely uninhabited. Canberra was given full representation in the Australian Parliament in 1967 after it was determined that the capital had a significant resident population.

Of the 17 federations, six have actually adopted the U.S. constitutional concept of a separate federal capital city under national jurisdiction:

Argentina	(Buenos Aires)	India	(New Delhi)
Australia	(Canberra)	Mexico	(Mexico City)
Brazil	(Brasilia)	Venezuela	(Caracas)

Of these six, only Brazil also denies voting representation to the residents of its capital--and they will have the vote when population there warrants it.

* * *

It would make Washington, D.C. (a city) into a state

The District is neither a city or a state. It is a federal enclave, provided for in the Constitution.

Its government carries out city, county and state functions.

The proposed amendment would not change the relationship between the federal government and the District. It simply provides that D.C. citizens will have some voice in the actions of Congress and the right to ratify constitutional amendments--the same rights already possessed by other Americans. It will leave final legislative authority over D.C. in the hands of Congress.

Obviously, as political subdivisions of states, all other cities already have representation. Enfranchised now, they would have no reason to request something they already have.

* * *

What does the Constitution say?

When the Constitution was written, only free, white males over the age of 21 who owned property could vote. Within a year of state ratification of the Constitution, our forefathers submitted the first 10 Constitutional Amendments, which became the Bill of Rights.

Since that time six of the last 12 Constitutional Amendments have had to do with the right to vote:

15th Amendment -- race, color, and creed illegal in denying the right to vote;

17th Amendment -- senators are to be elected by the people of the state, not state legislators (states are represented by people);

19th Amendment -- women gained the right to vote;

23rd Amendment -- D.C. residents gained the right to vote for President and Vice President;

24th Amendment -- abolition of poll tax;

25th Amendment -- 18 year olds gained the right to vote.

The part of the Constitution creating the District of Columbia:Article I, Section 8, Clause 17. Seat of government

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States...

Approval of the DCVRA follows as the most feasible way to grant Congressional representation to D.C. citizens.

* * *

We don't need any more urban/
Democratic/you-name-it votes in Congress

Oregon's admission to the Union was hindered by Republican fears that it would be Democratic. Admitted in 1859, it voted for Lincoln in 1860.

When Hawaii and Alaska were petitioning for statehood (1959), Hawaii was perceived as Republican and Alaska as Democratic. Hawaii now has a Democratic majority in its state legislature, and Alaska a Republican majority.

Who would have predicted 20 years ago that Iowa would ever have a Democratic Congressional delegation?

The assumption that Senators and Representatives from the District would automatically vote against agricultural programs is a myth. The District has a delegate (non-voting) in the House. He co-sponsored the Emergency Farm Act of 1978 but, of course, couldn't vote for it.

Charles Conrad, Affiliate coordinator of Rural America, Inc: "The record clearly shows that members of Congress from metropolitan areas vote just as often for programs to help rural and farm people as members from rural areas. I wouldn't be for this amendment if I thought it would hurt the people in my home state of North Dakota."

Partisan and discriminatory factors have no place in a decision to admit citizens to the benefit of full participation in government.

For example, it is unknown whether District Congress people would represent the interests of Detroit auto workers, or Wisconsin farmers, or Oregon environmentalists, but these and other states have seen beyond their parochial interests to the interests of the greater good -- democracy.

* * *

D.C. already has a representative in Congress

Since 1971, D.C. has been represented in the House of Representatives by one popularly elected Delegate, who may vote in committee but not on the floor. This situation provides little more than a pro forma voice in legislative matters.

In effect, this gives each D.C. resident about 1/4th representation in Congress and that non-voting.

The D.C. Delegate represents almost twice as many people as any one of the 435 Representatives in the House.

And the number of people he represents in the District is more than the number represented by almost one-fifth of the Senators.

The net effect is that the D.C. Delegate represents--without a vote--more than five times as many persons as any other representative.

District residents bear all the burdens of citizenship but do not share the most cherished right of citizenship--full representation in Congress.

* * *

D.C. residents don't pay taxes

Federal: According to Library of Congress research, D.C. residents paid \$2,697 billion in federal taxes in fiscal year 1982--more than in 12 states. On a per capita basis, D.C. residents paid \$4,274--\$1,691 over the national average. This was more per capita than any state except Alaska.

Local: The Bureau of the Census found that only one state (Alaska) paid more per capita in state and local taxes than did the residents of D.C. Combined local taxes paid per capita by D.C. residents averaged \$1,771 in 1981; the national average (combined local and state taxes) was \$1,079.

D.C. is one of the most heavily taxed localities in the country. District residents bear the burden of taxation without the right of representation.

* * *

-18-

D.C. residents can vote in the state from which they came

Many D.C. residents did not come from "somewhere else." They have lived all their lives in Washington, as have several generations of their families. According to the 1980 census, 38.4% of D.C. residents were born there.

Maintaining an absentee residents in one of the states disenfranchises D.C. residents in local elections. They cannot claim residence in a state in order to vote for U.S. Senators and House members and also claim residency in D.C. in order to vote for Mayor and members of the D.C. Council.

Residents of D.C. should be able to elect to Congress men and women who live in the District and who can speak for them on all issues of concern. Senators and House members of a particular state are elected to represent the citizens of that state and to address their concerns--not to speak for residents of D.C.

* * *

All members of Congress look after the District's interests

Members of Congress may take an interest in Washington's having adequate police and fire protection, clean and safe streets, good roads and the like--but that does not constitute "representation" as we have historically known it.

Washington, D.C. is much more than buildings and parkways. What we are concerned with is representation of the people of D.C. and, in America, that representation has required the election of men and women by the people who are to be represented.

D.C. has no elected voting representative in Congress. No one has been chosen to speak for D.C. on the many issues that all citizens care about: inflation, employment, foreign affairs, the environment, civil rights, to name a few. This is a case of modern-day "taxation without representation."

When _____ (e.g. Iowans) want to voice their concerns or express their opinion on the policies of the federal government, we can contact Senators _____ or _____ or our own Representative. D.C. residents have no one to turn to, no one to write to, no one to meet with, no one to vote in their behalf.

* * *

-20-

This bill doesn't go far enough;
it should grant full home rule to the District

Home Rule is an issue separate from voting representation in Congress. The Home Rule Act of 1973 granted D.C. citizens the right to elect a Mayor and a Council while continuing, to some extent, the historic limitation on District control over legislative and budgetary matters. Congress, if it chooses, can make changes in Home Rule simply by amending the Home Rule Act.

However, a constitutional amendment is needed in order to ensure full voting representation in Congress for residents of the District--a right that all other taxpaying American citizens have.

* * *

How much would it cost to add representatives for D.C. . . ?

When this Constitutional Amendment is ratified, Senators from the District will be entitled to receive the same compensation and allowances received by other members of the Senate.

No additional costs will be incurred in the House because the present non-voting delegate representing the District currently receives the same allowances as all members of the House.

It should be noted that, through their taxes, citizens of D.C. are currently paying for the salaries of Senators and Representatives for the 50 states even though they are not receiving the full benefits of such representation. The additional cost of two Senatorial offices is a small price to pay for assuring the extension of democratic rights to 640,000 tax-paying U.S. citizens who have been unfairly denied the right to participate fully in the democratic process.

What price is democracy anyway?

* * *

How did District residents lose the right to representation in the first place?

Meeting in Philadelphia, the still capital-less Congress (which also had met in Baltimore, Trenton, Princeton, etc.) was threatened by a band of soldiers, dissatisfied because Congress had failed to pay them for their military services. Congress requested protection from the Pennsylvania militia but was refused, and for two days was held in a state of siege. Congress was outraged.

Four years later, as a direct result of the incident, Congress put into the Constitution the creation of the nation's capital.

Various areas offered land to become the nation's capital. Congress accepted land donated from Virginia and Maryland in 1790. The capital was officially accepted in 1800 and at that time District residents could no longer vote in those two states.

At the time of the cession, the population of the District did not warrant representation. The nearly 4,000 residents was far less than the 50,000 required for statehood or the 30,000 needed for a Congressional district.

It is hard to believe that our forefathers, who fought a revolution for taxation without representation, would endorse the continued disenfranchisement of 640,000 American citizens. In the historical context, the disenfranchisement can be understood for 1800, but it can no longer be rationalized in the present time.

* * *

What the Amendment Grants

The Amendment is very specific in what it grants to District residents:

- 1. Congressional representation -- two senators and number of representatives according to population;
- 2. The right to ratify or not Constitutional amendments;
- 3. The number of electors District residents should have.

The Amendment is not broad reaching -- it grants only the above three things.

Text of the Amendment

Section 1: For the purposes of representation in Congress, election of the President and Vice President, and article V of the Constitution, the District constituting the seat of government of the United States shall be treated as though it were a State.

Section 2: The exercise of the rights and powers conferred under this article shall be by the people of the District constituting the seat of government, and as shall be provided by the Congress.

Section 3: The twenty-third article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 4: This article shall be inoperative, unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

* * *

Declaration of Independence:

". . . governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Taxation without representation is tyranny in 1983, just as it was tyranny in 1776.

U.S. Supreme Court, 1964:

"No right is more precious in a free country than that of having a voice in the election of those who make the laws under which, as good citizens, we must live. Other rights, even the most basic, are illusory if the right to vote is undermined."

Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist (Asst. Attorney General 1970):

"The need for an amendment of that character at this late date in our history is too self-evident for further elaboration; continued denial of voting representation from the District of Columbia can no longer be justified."

Senator Robert Dole (R. Kansas):

"The District of Columbia is not just a plot of land full of big white buildings and people who have come here temporarily to work for the Federal Government. Rather it is home to almost three-quarters of a million people who should be granted congressional representation just as the citizens in all of our states are."

Bill Brock (former Republican National Committee chair):

"I join the Republican Congressmen and Senators who sponsored and supported (this) constitutional amendment in urging Republicans all over the Nation to assist in implementing this plank of our 1976 party platform."

Senator Robert Byrd (D. West Virginia):

"The people of D.C. suffered more lives lost in the Viet Nam War than 10 states. (This is) conscription without representation."

Ramsey Clark (former Attorney General for the U.S.):

"(Representation for the District) recognizes that the right to vote is the last we should ever withhold because it can protect all others."

Senator Barry Goldwater (R. Arizona):

"It has long ago been established by court decrees, as well as by American political tradition, that the right to vote in federal elections is a right that flows directly from the Constitution to each citizen of the United States. This right is one belonging to national citizenship and it arises out of the very nature and existence of the Nation itself. We urge your support for this fundamental principle of justice for the citizens of the nation's capital."

Vice President Walter Mondale, speaking for President Carter, Sept. 1977

"We believe there is no justification for denying citizens equal representation at the federal level because they happen to reside in the District of Columbia."

Senator Ted Kennedy (D. Massachusetts):

"In matters of fundamental justice and human rights involving the citizens of our nation, there is no left or right, no liberal or conservative The issue is one of simple justice. . . . In a nation that was founded on the principle of representative government and that has prided itself for two centuries on the strength and vitality of its democracy, it is a travesty of history that the District of Columbia has no voice in Congress."

Senator Charles Mathias, Jr. (R. Maryland):

"No less precious than the right of free speech, or the right to privacy, or the right to due process under the law, is the right to be represented in the elected bodies which determine the course of this country's future. To be excluded from this process, to have no voice when the votes are cast that may determine peace or war, depression or prosperity, is to be truly deprived."

As a
state legislator,
you now face
a decision on
the future of
640,000
Americans...

A Special Report to State Legislators on the Constitutional Amendment to grant the residents of the District of Columbia full voting representation in the U.S. Congress.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for representation of the District of Columbia in the Congress.

1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled*
3 *(two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the*
4 following article is proposed as an amendment to the Con-
5 stitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all
6 intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified
7 by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States
8 within seven years from the date of its submission by the
9 Congress:

1

"Article—

2 "Section 1. For purposes of representation in the
3 Congress, election of the President and Vice President, and
4 article V of this Constitution, the District constituting the
5 seat of government of the United States shall be treated as
6 though it were a State.

7 "Sec. 2. The exercise of the rights and powers con-
8 ferred under this article shall be by the people of the Dis-
9 trict constituting the seat of government, and as shall be
10 provided by the Congress.

11 "Sec. 3. The twenty-third article of amendment to the
12 Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

13 "Sec. 4. This article shall be inoperative, unless it shall
14 have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by
15 the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within
16 seven years from the date of its submission."

Passed the House of Representatives March 2, 1978.

Passed the Senate August 22, 1978.

You face a decision. . . .

on ratifying the Constitutional amendment granting the men and women of the District of Columbia full voting representation in the U.S. Congress.

In the words of Senator Robert Dole:

The District of Columbia is not just a plot of land full of big white buildings and people who have come here temporarily to work for the Federal Government. Rather, it is home to almost three-quarters of a million people. . . .

This report presents the facts about the amendment and those people and separates the District of Columbia as their home from the myth of the District of Columbia as simply the seat of our national government.

What the Amendment Will Do

The Amendment Will:

- Give American citizens who make their home in the District of Columbia full voting representation in the U.S. Congress—two Senators and the number of Representatives proportionate to the District's population (at least one).

- Give the men and women of the District of Columbia representation in the Electoral College proportionate to the District's population.

- Give the citizens in the District of Columbia a voice in ratifying Constitutional amendments, just like Americans in the 50 states.

- Repeal the 23rd Amend-

ment, which gave residents of the District of Columbia representation in the Electoral College no greater than that of the smallest state.

The Amendment Will Not:

- Make the District of Columbia a state.

- Change the unique status of the District of Columbia envisioned by the framers of the Constitution.

- Provide "home rule"—local self government—for the District of Columbia or in any way alter the control which the U.S. Congress exercises over the District.

Who Supports the Amendment?



Supreme Court Justice William H. Rehnquist (as Assistant Attorney General in 1970)

"The need for an amendment of that character at this late date in our history is too self-evident for further elaboration; continued denial of voting representation from the District of Columbia can no longer be justified."



The Republican Party (National Party Platform, 1976)

"We . . . support giving the District of Columbia voting representation in the United States Senate and House of Representatives."



The Democratic Party (National Party Platform, 1976)

"We support . . . full voting representation in the Congress [for the District of Columbia]."



Bill Brock, Chairman, Republican National Committee

"I join the Republican Congressmen and Senators who sponsored and supported [this] constitutional amendment in urging Republicans all over the Nation to assist in implementing this plank of our 1976 party platform."

Who Supports (cont.)



Senator Robert Dole
(R-Kansas)
(on the Republican Platform)

"The time has come for action, and if this platform means anything it means the Republican Party supports this resolution.

"Republicans rallied to that platform in great numbers. Our most distinguished leaders enthusiastically adopted it as an excellent expression of Republican principles and ideals. By all accounts, it was a platform that conservatives could be proud of.

"The Republican Party supported D.C. voting representation because it was just, and in justice we could do nothing else."



Senator Edward M. Kennedy
(D-Massachusetts)

"In matters of fundamental justice and human rights involving the

citizens of our nation, there is no left or right, liberal or conservative...

"The issue is one of simple justice... In a nation that was founded on the principle of representative government and that has prided itself for two centuries on the strength and vitality of its democracy, it is a travesty of history that the District of Columbia has no voice in Congress."



Senate Minority Leader
Robert Byrd (D-W. Virginia)

"The people of the District... suffered more lives lost in the Vietnam war than 10 states... (This is) conscription without representation."



Senate Majority Leader
Howard Baker
(R-Tennessee)

"...we simply cannot continue to deny 700,000 American

citizens their right to equal representation in the national government... this basic right is a bedrock of our Republic that cannot be overturned."



Senator Strom Thurmond
(R-South Carolina)

"There is more to Washington, D.C. than just tourist attractions. Three-quarters of a million people live and work in the District. These are people who are affected by high taxes, inflation, foreign policy, farm prices, educational issues—issues that affect each and every American. Yet, no one represents their views with a vote in Congress."



Senator Barry Goldwater
(R-Arizona)
(in a "Dear Colleague" letter)

"We urge your support for this fundamental principle of justice for the citizens of the nation's capital..."



Senator Charles McC. Mathias
(R-Maryland)

Certainly, the issue of equal representation for the District arouses all of the unhappy political emotions. Racism plays a part, diffusion of power is involved, the selfish side of human nature—"I've got mine, and I'm going to keep you from getting yours"—is revealed. So the issue is fraught with difficulty.

But, as I lived with the problem as a member of the House and then the Senate District of Columbia Committee, I became acquainted with it in a way that made it impossible for me to avoid some deeper contemplation of what was right. That inevitably led to the conclusion that our ideal of equality before the law for every American citizen could not be achieved without giving the people of the District the same rights, including representation, that citizens of the states enjoyed. . . .

The responsibility to brush aside the cobwebs of selfish interest that blind us to the moral law within is not the unique burden of the politician. It is every man's burden. It falls a little more heavily on a politician than on a private person . . . but we all share this responsibility and we must help each other carry it.

How Will the Amendment Affect Your State?

The amendment will have no detrimental effect on the people of your state, their voice in their national government, or upon any state's rights. Specifically:

In the U.S. Congress

The amendment will not deprive the people of any state of their equal suffrage in the U.S. Congress. The number of U.S. Senators will be increased from 100 to 102, with the people of every state still being represented by two Senators. The people of the District will elect the number of Representatives to the U.S. House proportionate to District population (at least one Representative). U.S. House Districts will be reapportioned after the 1990 census; between now and 1990 the House has the power to add additional seats and has traditionally done so when new Representatives are added. The House also has the statutory power to add additional seats permanently.

In Election of President and Vice President

No state's representation in the Electoral College will be decreased. Presently, the people of the District are entitled to three electors. The amendment simply guarantees that the people of the District will have the number of electors due them by population. If the number of the District's electors increases, the Electoral College will increase in size.

In Ratifying Amendments to the U.S. Constitution

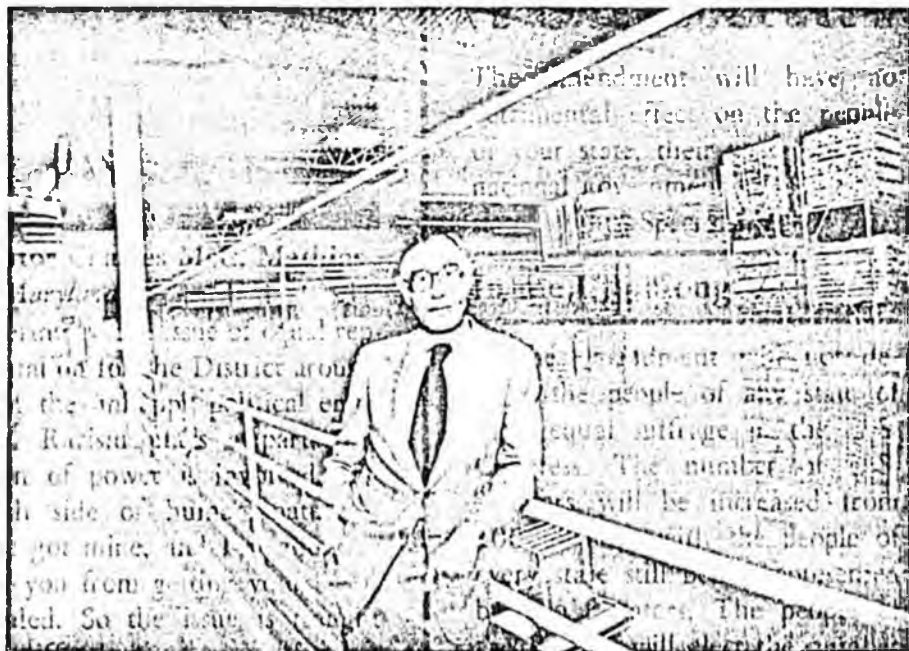
The amendment will not change the method of ratifying Constitutional amendments nor weaken states' rights in ratifying amendments. The proportion needed to ratify an amendment will remain at three-fourths. Presently 38 states must ratify; when the people of the District of Columbia are granted a voice, the number will be 39.

The record clearly shows that members of Congress from metropolitan areas vote just as often for programs to help rural and farm people as members from rural areas. I wouldn't be for this amendment if I thought it would hurt the people in my home state of North Dakota.

Charles Conrad, Affiliate Coordinator
Rural America, Inc.

Why Ratify—

a message from the
men and women of the
District of Columbia



"In World War II, I served in the China-Burma-India and Pacific Theatres for five years and survived," John Hechinger says. "Despite my military service, I was—and still am—denied a say in war or peace for America." John, a fourth-generation Washingtonian, is president of a 73-year-old lumber and hardware firm. He was the first chairman of the District's Council.

We men and women who live in the District of Columbia are no different from the Americans who live in your state. We share your constituents' concerns and face the same problems they face. We are equally worried about inflation, unemployment, wasteful government spending, high taxes, crime. We are equally concerned about the growth of the federal government and its impact on our individual lives. Federal laws, regulations, policies affect us just as they do your constituents.

Like the Americans in your state—and unlike those in U.S. territories such as Puerto Rico and Guam—we bear *all* the responsibilities of citizenship. We

pay our full share of federal, as well as state/local, taxes. Our fathers, sons, and husbands have been subject to military draft and have served in every war since the Revolution.

With a population of 640,000 (1980 census), the District of Columbia has more residents than four states. But, unlike Americans across the country, we bear the responsibilities of citizenship without a voice in our national legislature. While the Americans of your state are guaranteed their fair voice and vote in the U.S. Congress, an equal vote in ratifying Constitutional amendments, and equal representation in the Electoral College which chooses our Presi-

dent, we in the District are not.

Lacking our just voice in our national government, we lack a voice in the matters which concern us and all other Americans. For example:

- **Inflation.** An NBC News poll of voters on November 7, 1978 showed that inflation was the problem which most concerns Americans. Voters also said that the best way to end inflation was to cut federal spending and that they most blamed the U.S. Congress for inflation. We suffer just as much from rampant inflation as the people of your state. But we have no one in the U.S. Congress to vote against inflationary government spending.

- **The Panama Canal Treaty.** During 1978, Senate debate over ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty was long and intense. Citizens all across the country felt strongly about this issue and told their Senators how they felt. Citizens in the District felt just as strongly—for and against—the treaty. But we had no Senators to communicate with.

- **Taxes.** We in the District are just as affected by the federal taxes levied by Congress as the men and women of your state. In 1977 the U.S. Congress passed the social security tax increase—the largest peacetime tax hike ever. Men and women all across the country let their Senators and Representatives know how much the tax bite hurt. It hurt us in the District just as much. But we had no one to complain to, no one to hold accountable for his or her vote.

As explained on the previous pages, this amendment in no way infringes upon the rights of your constituents. It simply extends to us who live in the District of Columbia the full voice in our

federal government which our citizenship demands.

Under the Constitution, the decision to ratify this amendment rests with you, as a state legislator. On Constitutional matters your constituents have entrusted you with the responsibility of casting your vote based on thorough, thoughtful consideration of the merits of each amendment.

By voting to ratify this amendment, you say to those constituents, "I believe that no American should bear the full responsibilities of citizenship without the full rights of citizenship." You say to them, "I realize that denying any Americans their full rights endangers your rights because it endangers the rights of all Americans." You say to them "I will not deny the full rights of citizenship to any group, be they farmers or businessmen; retirees or students; residents of Wheeler County, Nebraska; Helena, Montana; or Washington, D.C."

The people of the District of Columbia are not asking you to rush to judgment on this amendment. Rather we are asking that you study the facts and the merits of the amendment carefully, that you give it full and impartial consideration. We especially ask that you consider the arguments pertaining to the Constitutionality of representation for the people of the District. We direct your attention to the testimony of Constitutional experts such as Charles Allen Wright (University of Texas), Stephen Saltzburg (University of Virginia), Patricia M. Wald (Department of Justice), and others who have studied this issue at great length and who agree that there is no Constitutional bar to granting us representation.

The Case for the Amendment

Population

One of the strongest arguments in favor of this amendment is the simple fact that the District of Columbia is not just a museum collection of Federal monuments and government buildings. It is also the home of hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children—640,000 as of the 1980 census. This population is greater than that of the 1980 census population of four states:

District of Columbia	638,333
Delaware	594,317
Vermont	511,456
Wyoming	469,557
Alaska	401,851

The District of Columbia has a voting population larger than the above four states and North Dakota and South Dakota.

The Americans living in your state and in each of these states have their full voting representation in Congress and full participation in their federal government. Each of your constituents can vote for two Senators and one Representative. But the Americans living in the District of Columbia have no such representation.

Taxes

Since the days of the Revolutionary War, a fundamental principle of our nation has been the rejection of taxation without representation.

The American citizens who live in Washington, D.C. must pay large amounts in taxes each year to the federal government. But they are denied representa-

tion in the U.S. Congress which levies those taxes. In 1982 the people of the District paid out more than \$2.7 billion in taxes to the federal government. That tax burden was heavier than that of 12 states:

There is simply no justification for denying three-quarters of a million people, paying more than \$1 billion in Federal Taxes per year, a vote in deciding how that money is allocated.

Representative
Stewart B. McKinney

	(\$ Billion)
District of Columbia	\$2.697
Nevada	2,591
Rhode Island	2,438
New Hampshire	2,387
Maine	2,224
Idaho	1,981
Montana	1,906
Alaska	1,808
Delaware	1,751
North Dakota	1,684
Wyoming	1,542
South Dakota	1,440
Vermont	1,092

On a per capita basis, people in the District paid more federal taxes in 1982 than residents of 49 states. The average taxpayer in the District of Columbia paid \$4,274 in federal taxes in 1982; that is \$1,691 above the national average of \$2,583. The average taxpayer in only one state—Alaska—paid more in federal taxes that year.

The Case (cont.)

War Casualties

In 1971 a District of Columbia Gold Star mother wrote of her pain and frustration to Senator Thomas Eagleton. She said:

I have lost one son. I may well lose another. Yet I have no voice in voting on how far this war should go, or how long it should go on, . . . I am hopeless, and in that sense I am voiceless.

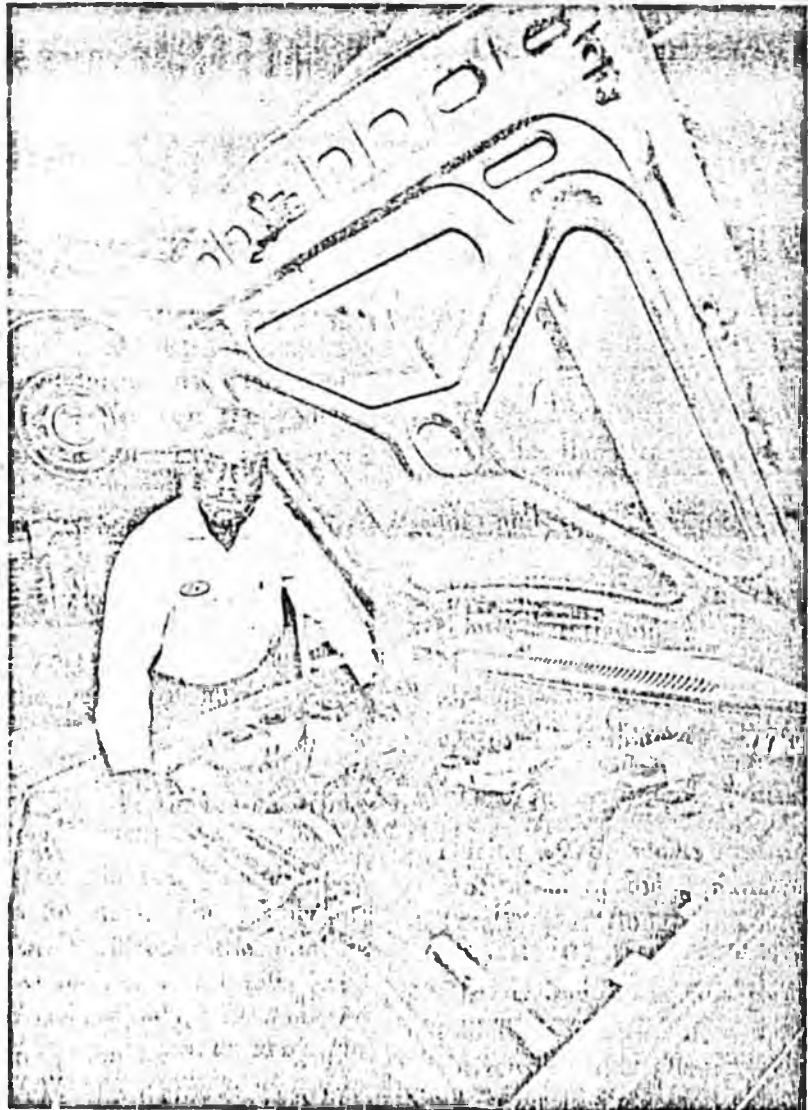
Men from the District of Columbia have served America in every war since the Revolution. In the Vietnam War, 237 District residents lost their lives. That is a loss greater than that of ten states:

District of Columbia	237
New Hampshire	218
Idaho	210
Rhode Island	200
North Dakota	194
South Dakota	187
Nevada	144
Delaware	120
Wyoming	117
Vermont	100
Alaska	55

Like the men in those states, and in all other states, the men of the District were subject to the draft. Like those men, the men of the District fought and died for their country. But unlike the men from your state and other states, the men of the District, and their families, had no voice in the U.S. Congress which sent them to fight for their country.

Federal Control

Americans are becoming more and more concerned about the increasing impact of the federal



"I wish I had someone in Congress to talk to about OSHA," says Bob Smith. Bob has owned his small auto repair shop in the District since 1970. "OSHA requires me to follow the same rules as repair shops in the huge auto dealerships. I'm all for safety, and I follow the rules, but some of them just don't make sense for my shop," Bob adds.

government on their lives. State government officials, too, are increasingly concerned about federal control of states' actions. And yet, this federal control over the states is miniscule compared to Congress' control over the lives of the men and women in the District of Columbia.

Although the people of the District have their own elected representative body—the Council of the District of Columbia—the U.S. Congress has direct and powerful control over the District's people. The Congress reviews and sets the local budget. The Congress imposes many restrictions on

commerce in the District, such as a building height maximum of 160 feet which severely limits commercial tax revenues by limiting density of commercial offices. The Congress must pass on certain plans such as the location of a new convention center.

The framers of the Constitution established this federal capital district because they did not want the nation's capital to be controlled by any single state. This amendment *will not alter* this status. What the amendment *will do* is give the people of the District of Columbia the same fair voice in the federal govern-

ment which controls their lives even more than the lives of your constituents.

World Precedent

Among 115 nations in the world with elected national legislatures, only two—the United States and Brazil—deny representation in the legislature for citizens of their capitals.

The virtually universal practice in nations with elected legislatures—whether democracies or totalitarian systems—is to accord representation to the residents of their capitals equal to that of their other citizens. Significantly, 14 out of 16 nations with federal systems of government like the United States follow this principle of equality:

I say we cannot talk about human rights to others in the world until we here at home can show we are recognizing basic human rights.

Senator Strom Thurmond

• Nine federal nations (Austria, Canada, West Germany, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Switzerland, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia) have capitals which are not special federal districts whose residents have equal representation.

• Seven federal nations (Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Malaysia, Mexico, Venezuela, and the United States) have national capitals which are federal districts with special status similar to the District of Columbia. Residents of five of these special districts—all but the United States' and Brazil's—have voting representation in their national legislature.

History and Intent—

in creation of the District of Columbia

It is clear that the founding fathers, who struggled so hard for liberty and equality, never intended to deprive the people living in the District of Columbia of their full rights of citizenship. In the Federalist papers, written in 1787-88 to explain and present the proposed Constitution to the states, James Madison says that the inhabitants of the District would be willing for the area to be ceded because, "... they will have had their voice in the election of the government which is to exercise authority over them; ..."

The concept of a federal district separate from any state developed as the response to the "Philadelphia Mutiny" of June 21, 1783 during the Continental Congress being held in Philadelphia. On that occasion, angry Revolutionary Army soldiers demanding back pay marched on Independence Hall where the Congress was meeting. The Congress requested protection from the Pennsylvania militia, but the request was refused; the Congress was forced to flee the city.

Largely as a result of that incident, in 1787 the framers of the Constitution approved Article I, Section 8, Clause 17 of the Constitution, giving Congress the power to create as the seat of government a federal district totally independent from any state.

Until the official transfer of the federal government to the District of Columbia in 1800, area residents were subject to Maryland and Virginia laws and voted in federal elections as residents of their respective states.

This practice ended in December of 1800 when Congress took over exclusive jurisdiction of the District without making provisions for voting representation for the residents of the area.

The framers of the Constitution did not need to concern themselves with representation in Congress for residents of the District because at that time the population was simply too small. According to the census of 1800, the population of the entire District of Columbia was 14,000—far fewer than the 50,000 then

Not a man in the District would be represented in the government, whereas every man who contributed to the support of a government ought to be represented in it; ...

Representative Smilie

1800

of territories which wanted to enter the Union and thus have national representation.

Congress at that time was concerned that the people of the District not receive representation until the District's population warranted it. During the 1801 debates on District suffrage there was much discussion of providing representation for the District when its population reached the appropriate size.

This Amendment— Not a Radical Change

The Constitutional amendment to grant the men and women of the District of Columbia full voting representation in Congress and their other full rights of citizenship is not a revolutionary alteration to a document unchanged in 191 years. It is simply one more step in the orderly process of amendment envisioned as necessary by the framers of the Constitution and provided for by them.

Although the amendment is new to many state legislators and other Americans across the country, it is not a sudden "brainstorm" or the product of hasty and ill-considered action. The U.S. Congress has considered how to grant District residents their full rights since 1800. Since then Congress has debated this issue 24 times. Both the 94th and 95th Congresses held extensive hearings, did in-depth research, and spent many hours of debate on this amendment. After this exhaustive deliberation, Congress ruled out other means for granting the District representation—such as statehood or retrocession to Maryland—as unconstitutional, unworkable or politically unfeasible and adopted this proposed Constitutional amendment.

This amendment does not depart from the spirit of the Constitution or the other amendments enacted over the years. Rather, it is a logical extension of the principle of widened suffrage embodied in six other Constitutional amendments. Since ratification of the Constitution in 1788, six amendments have ex-

tended and broadened the right of suffrage. These amendments are:

• *The 15th Amendment—* Universal Male Suffrage (1870). This amendment guaranteed suffrage to male citizens; regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

• *The 17th Amendment—* Popular Election of Senators (1913): This amendment removed the selection of U.S. Senators from the hands of the state legislatures and placed it with the people. As a result, each Senator represents not his or her state or state legislature, but the *individual citizens* in the state.

• *The 19th Amendment—* Woman Suffrage (1920). This amendment guaranteed suffrage to female, as well as male, citizens.

• *The 23rd Amendment—* Presidential Electors for the District of Columbia (1961). This amendment granted Americans in the District of Columbia the right to vote in Presidential elections, giving the District the number of Electoral College members no greater than that of the smallest state.

• *The 24th Amendment—* Qualifications of Electors; Poll Tax. (1964). This amendment made unconstitutional any state's requiring payment of a poll tax or other tax as a qualification for voting.

• *The 26th Amendment—* Right to Vote; Citizens Eighteen Years of Age or Older (1971). This amendment guaranteed suffrage to all citizens 18 years old or older.



"I'm terrified that my income won't cover my medical bills," retiree Edna Crusemire says. Rising costs of housing, medicine, and food worry her. "Medicare helps enormously," she says, "but Congress could cut my benefits." Edna has lived in the District for 45 years.

The Constitution is a living document, an embodiment of America's ideal of equality for all. The six amendments described above have kept the Constitution alive by reflecting in it Americans' growing conviction that all citizens, regardless of race, sex, creed, place of residence, or economic condition, deserve a voice in their national government. The proposed amendment to grant the men and women of the District of Columbia full voting representation is one more step in that process.

Fallacies—

about the Constitution and the Voting Representation Amendment

Fallacy #1

Senate Representation Based on Statehood

The fallacy that the people of the District should not have Senate representation because the Constitution bases such representation on statehood ignores several clear facts:

• Senators do not represent their states; they represent the *people* of their states. A state is a geographic, legal, and governmental entity. Before 1913, Senators could be said to represent their states since they were chosen by the legislatures, a branch of state government. But since ratification of the 17th amendment establishing their popular election, Senators have represented the *people* of their states, not the states themselves.

During Senate debate on this amendment, Senator Barry Goldwater (Arizona) said, "It has long ago been established by court decrees, as well as by American political tradition, that the right to vote in federal elections is a right that flows directly from the Constitution to *each citizen* [emphasis added] of the United States. This right is one belonging to national citizenship and it arises out of the very nature and existence of the nation itself."

• The U.S. Supreme Court, the ultimate arbiter of Constitutionality, has treated the District of Columbia as a state in four decisions:

In 1820 the Court ruled that Congress has the authority directly to tax D.C. residents,

The right to vote in federal elections is a right that flows directly from the Constitution to each citizen of the United States.

Senator Barry Goldwater

even though the Constitution says that taxes are to be apportioned "among the several *states* [emphasis added] . . ."

In 1887 the Court affirmed that District residents had the Sixth Amendment right to trial by jury, even though that amendment refers only to "an impartial jury of the *state* [emphasis added] . . . wherein the crime shall have been committed."

In 1889 the Court ruled that Congress could exercise the power to regulate business across District borders, despite the fact that Article I of the Constitution refers only to "commerce . . . among the several *states* [emphasis added]."

In 1949 the Court upheld a federal law which included the District under a specific jurisdiction in federal courts, along with the *states*.

• The U.S. Congress has regularly treated the District as a state many times. For example, the District has been treated as a state in virtually every major law authorizing federal grants. In program after program, statute after statute, the following words appear: "For the purposes of this legislation, the term 'state' shall

include the District of Columbia."

• The United States has a *bi-cameral* legislature. On most questions of national defense, taxation, spending, etc., passage by both the House and Senate is required. The Senate alone has the power to ratify treaties and to try impeachments.

Fallacy #2

D.C. Senate Representation a Precedent for Territories and Cities

Some people have asked, "If the people of the District of Columbia can have representation in the Senate, why not the people of Puerto Rico, or New York, or Des Moines, or Spokane?" This fallacy ignores the uniqueness of the District and the basic differences between residents of the District and those of American territories and cities.

The District of Columbia is *not* a U.S. Commonwealth like Puerto Rico. The people of Puerto Rico *do not* pay federal income taxes; the people of the District do. The men of Puerto Rico have not been subject to military draft; the men of the District have. The people of Puerto Rico voted for commonwealth status. They chose not to have all of the rights of American citizens in return for not bearing all the responsibilities of American citizens. The people of the District of Columbia can make no such choice; they now bear the responsibilities without the rights.

The people of New York and all U.S. cities, on the other hand, have both the full responsibilities and the full rights of their citizenship. They pay federal taxes and have been subject to the draft. But they *also* are represented in both houses of Con-



"Risking my own safety to protect others is part of my job," says Captain Bernard Johnson. "But I put my life on the line to protect a Congress in which I don't even have a vote. It's just not fair." Bernard, a 20-year veteran in the District fire department, is a third-generation Washingtonian. He has lived all his life here.

gress. They have a large say in the election of the Senators from their states. A Senator Ted Kennedy (Massachusetts) said during Senate debate on this amendment, "I speak for Boston, I speak for Springfield. I speak for Lowell and Lawrence, and New Bedford and Fall River, Mass. I speak for all of them... I challenge anyone... to say that either Senator Javits or Senator Moynihan does not speak for New York or that any other Senators do not speak for any of the other cities."

Fallacy #3

Constitutional Ratification Clause Too General or Unfair to States

Concern has been expressed that the amendment is not specific enough about how District residents would have a voice in ratifying Constitutional amendments or that Congress may have an undue influence over ratification. Some people have asked whether District residents could vote on amendments in a referendum, a process not available to the states under the Constitution. These concerns are readily answered by a close look at the amendment.

Section 1 of the amendment specifically says that "For purposes of... article V of this Constitution [ratifying amendments] the District... shall be treated *as though it were a State* [emphasis added]." There are two methods of ratification open

to states—ratification by the state legislature and by Constitutional convention. The method of ratification is determined by Congress at the time each amendment is submitted to the states. Congress specified, for example, that the repeal of the 18th Amendment be ratified by Constitutional conventions.

Section 2 of the amendment states that "The exercise of the rights and powers conferred under this article shall be by the *people* [emphasis added] of the District... as shall be provided by the Congress." Thus the Congress has the power to specify the *method* of ratifying Constitutional amendments—just as it does for the states—but it *does not* have the power to

influence the vote on ratification or in any way "rig" the process.

Furthermore, these clauses of the amendment were left somewhat general on purpose. Presently the structure of the elected governing body of the District—the Council of the District of Columbia—is dissimilar from that of most state legislatures. For this reason, the members of Congress, who represent the people of states, may decide it is fairer to have a Constitutional convention consider ratification by the District. If the structure of the Council or the District government changes in the future, this wording ensures that the people of the District will have a voice in ratifying Constitutional amendments. It also ensures that that voice will be no greater or less than that of citizens in the 50 states.

Fallacy #4

Other Solutions to the Problem

Over the years, plans other than the amendment now before you have been drawn up to grant residents of the District of Columbia their full rights. The U.S. House and Senate carefully considered each of these solutions and rejected them because of their inherent Constitutional and practical problems. The three most widely proposed plans are:

- *Statehood* The suggestion has been made that if the people of the District of Columbia want representation in the U.S. Congress, then the District should seek statehood. The argument has been heard, "If the District wants all the rights of a state, let it assume all the responsibilities of a state."

This statehood fallacy is based

No less precious than the right of free speech, or the right to privacy, or the right to due process under the law, is the right to be represented in the elected bodies which determine the course of this country's future. To be excluded from this process, to have no voice when the votes are cast that may determine peace or war, depression or prosperity, is to be truly deprived.

Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.

on misconceptions of both the District and our Constitution. First, the District of Columbia *does* now bear all the responsibilities and carry out all the functions of a state. The District government collects and imposes taxes and provides all services for its residents, just as a state does.

Second, and more importantly, making the District a state would destroy the original concept of the seat of national government as independent from any state which the founding fathers so purposefully set forth.

- *Full Retrocession to Maryland* The idea of retrocession (giving back) the District of Columbia to Maryland ignores the fact that retrocession would require the approval of the Maryland legislature, if not the residents of Maryland at large through a referendum. Over the years Maryland elected officials have declared that such a proposal is politically preposterous and would stand virtually no chance of passage.

Most importantly, however, retrocession also would destroy the unique character of the seat of government. As Professor Charles Alan Wright, professor of law at the University of Texas Law School, has said, retrocession

"would completely destroy the unique character of the District, a character that was contemplated by the Framers [of the Constitution] . . ."

- *Partial Retrocession to Maryland* Partial retrocession—simply turning District residents into Maryland residents for the purpose of voting in Senate and House elections—raises complicated, perhaps unsolvable, legal and governmental problems. For example, should not District residents then be entitled to send representatives to Maryland's capital, Annapolis, to participate in drawing new Congressional District boundaries? Should not District residents then have a vote for the Governor of Maryland who has the power to fill vacancies in the Senate delegation? Should not District residents then vote in Maryland's primary elections that determine the political parties' candidates for the U.S. Congress?

Enabling District residents to vote in Maryland's Congressional elections without granting them these further rights would deny them full participation in government. But granting them these rights would seriously infringe upon the political rights of Maryland residents.

Myths about the District of Columbia



"When we moved from North Dakota to the District, we lost our right to representation in Congress. That shouldn't have happened," say Charles and Joyce Conrad. Charles works for Rural America, Inc.; Joyce for the National Farmers Union. They plan to make the District home for the rest of their lives.

Although thousands of Americans visit their nation's capital each year, there are many myths about the District of Columbia which have persisted. Some of these myths are:

The Tax Myth

Many Americans believe that District residents do not pay federal taxes or do not pay local

taxes. District residents pay more federal taxes per capita than residents of 49 of the 50 states. And District residents pay local income, real estate, sales, and other taxes to support their government, just as the people do in the states. In fact, the average per capita state/local tax paid by District residents in 1981 was \$1,771—\$692 above the national average and higher than that paid in 49 states.

The Federal Subsidy Myth

Some Americans believe that because the District receives a special federal payment each year District residents get a "free ride" on the tax dollars paid by the rest of the country. The federal payment is not a "free ride", but a payment by Congress to the District to compensate for the services which the District must provide and the loss in revenue to the District because of the federal presence.

The size of the District's special federal payment often has been exaggerated by lumping with it financial assistance from federal programs which operate in states. Here are the facts:

The District provides innumerable services, such as police and fire protection, building and maintenance of streets and roads, and utilities, to the federal government. Many of these services are of an extraordinary nature. The District police force, for example must be prepared to handle traffic control and other problems caused by marches and demonstrations.

In addition, the District loses enormous amounts of tax revenue because of the federal presence. Federal government offices occupy blocks of what would otherwise be taxable commercial property. For example, the new J. Edgar Hoover FBI building replaced an entire five-acre plot of revenue-generating shops, restaurants, and other businesses. The FBI building and grounds are officially assessed at \$270 million. If the FBI paid taxes, it would owe the District \$5,751,000 a year. The tax value of all the exempt federal property was \$259,965,268 for Fiscal Year 1983.

The District loses other revenue because of the special restrictions on taxes and commerce the federal government imposes. The government restricts the income and sales taxes paid by military and foreign diplomatic personnel. The building height limitation of 160 feet imposed by the federal government severely limits the density of taxable commercial space. The Congress has refused to allow the District to issue tax exempt bonds.

It is true that the District also gains economic benefits such as revenues from tourism from the federal presence. The granting of a special federal payment is recognition that those benefits do not compensate for the economic burdens placed on the District by the federal government.

The amount of the federal payment to the District in Fiscal Year 1982 was \$336 million. Any federal money which the District received in addition to that amount—in revenue sharing, federal grants or loans—was received through the same process of application and award which each state must follow.

Beyond these misconceptions, the idea that the Americans living in the District of Columbia are "well paid" for their lack of representation is abhorrent. The notion that money is a proper compensation for depriving citizens of their full rights contradicts every principle of equality and just representation that our forefathers fought so hard to establish.

The Federal Employee Myth

The myth that the District of Columbia is a "one-interest town" whose residents are all federal government workers dissolves in the light of the facts.



"How do I tell these children that they are 'second class citizens' just because they live in our nation's capital?" asks Verona Meeder, a 4th grade teacher. Verona has taught for 12 years in the D.C. public schools; her husband Andrew is a Methodist minister. "My class knows that decisions in Congress affect their lives; they don't yet know that they can have no say in those decisions."

Over 70% of the District's work force is employed outside the federal government. Virginia, Texas, and California have more federal workers than the District.

The District's population is quite diverse, consisting of businessmen, construction workers, bankers, teachers, the elderly, and virtually all the other occupational groups found in the various states. Many District residents were born and raised here and have never worked for the federal government. Other residents have come across the United States to make the District their permanent home. Accordingly, a wide range of interests and values is reflected in the District's people.

The Federal Bureaucracy Myth

The presumption that Senators and Representatives from the District would vote to enlarge the federal bureaucracy because the federal government is here ignores the fact that District residents pay \$1,691 above the national average in federal taxes. Any expansion of the federal government would necessarily mean increased federal income taxes. Representatives of the District are most unlikely to vote to expand the federal bureaucracy and increase their constituents federal taxes.

Myths (cont.)



"Congress decides how the local taxes I pay are spent," Delano Lewis, a C&P Telephone Co. executive says. "They decide whether my boys will have a park down the street to play in. But there's no one on Capitol Hill to vote for my family when they pass the D.C. budget." Del is on the boards of 16 community associations, including the Red Cross, the Board of Trade, and Friendship House.

The Urban Area Myth

The assumption that Senators and Representatives from the District would automatically vote against rural programs or farm programs also is a myth. Many District residents have family or other strong ties to rural and farm areas.

This myth also is proven false by the record of the District's

present non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives. During the 95th Congress Delegate Walter Fauntroy co-sponsored The Emergency Farm Act of 1978, proposed to aid farmers in their fight against inflation and low market prices. During the farmers' march on Washington in 1978, Del. Fauntroy's office was flooded with farmers thanking him for his support. Unfortunately, under the present system, Del. Fauntroy could not vote for that bill on the floor of the House; he could only sponsor it.

The "Four Toos" Myth

The idea that the men and women of the District of Columbia should not have Congressional representation because their elected representatives might be "too urban, too liberal, too black, and too Democratic" is not only false but also injects into a Constitutional debate questions unworthy of consideration.

As stated above, the fact that the District is an urban area does not mean that its representatives will have no sympathy for rural problems. Sen. Patrick Leahy, during debate on this amendment, said, "I represent the most rural State in the United States, the State of Vermont. We do not have one single urban area, by Federal standard. Yet I am here arguing to give this [representation] to a virtually exclusively urban area."

The issues concerning the elected Council of the District of Columbia belie the idea that the District's representatives will be too liberal. During the 1982 Council and Mayoral election, candidates' platforms concentrated on such issues as crime prevention, reductions in taxes, and efficient management of government. Like Americans in

all other areas of the country, District residents are tired of paying for government waste, tired of paying the high cost of crime, and tired of escalating taxes.

The makeup of the District's Council also refutes the assumptions that District representatives automatically will be black and Democratic. The Council is a racially mixed group of men and women, with Republican and Independent members as well as Democrats.

The District of Columbia Republican Committee supports this amendment. Says Republican Committee Vice-Chairman Mel Burton, "District residents' increasing concern over high taxes and wasteful government spending are the historical concerns of the Republican Party. I think there is a bright future for Republicans in the District, and ratification of this amendment will strengthen our two-party system."

The history of admission of states to the Union shows that the residents of many territories shared the same burden of misconceptions and injustice that the people of the District of Columbia now face. For example:

The admission of Oregon was hindered by Republican fears that it would be a Democratic state. But Oregon now has two Republican Senators.

In that case, the goal was statehood. But statehood is not readily available to the people of the District of Columbia because of the unique character of the District as the nation's capital. In a larger sense, however, the people of the territories and the people of the District of Columbia share the same goal—full and equal participation in our national government.

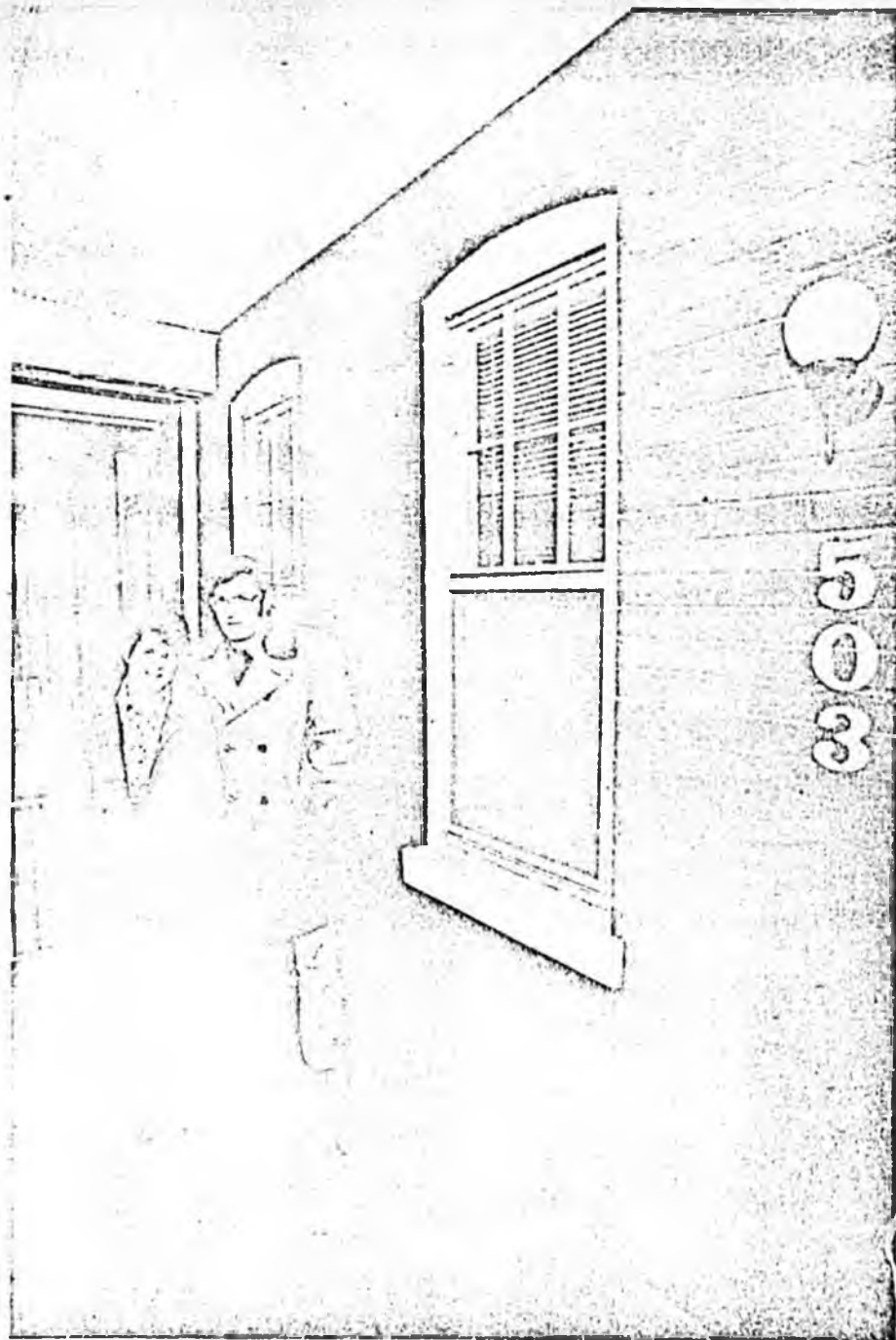
Beyond the Myths

The debunking of these myths about the District of Columbia and its potential representatives is important. But far more important is the fact that these political and social judgments have no place in the consideration of an amendment to the Constitution. Refusing representation to the people of the District because it is an urban area is no different than denying representation to the people of Idaho because they live in a rural area. Denying the Americans who live in the District their full rights because their representatives might be liberal, or black, or Democratic is the same as denying those rights to the Americans who live in Utah because their two Senators are Republican, conservative, and white.

Both conservatives and liberals in the U.S. House and Senate recognized the justice of this amendment and gave it their support. Both the Republican and Democratic 1976 party platforms support full voting representation. Republican and Democratic Presidents since 1915 have supported full voting representation for the men and women of the District.

It is now up to state legislators to examine this amendment and cast their votes.

All the men and women of



"If it weren't for the federal tax deduction for mortgage interest, we couldn't afford to own a home," says Peter Hobbs. The recent tax changes passed by Congress didn't help Peter and his wife Maggie; with the Social Security increase, they are worse off than in 1977. Maggie adds, "I am a seventh-generation Washingtonian. Since we bought our first home, I've seen how much the tax decisions made in Congress affect us. It really hurts to be paying all that income tax and have no one to vote for us."

the District ask is that each legislator give full consideration to the merits of this issue, and that each legislature give this amendment full and just deliberation. Once all the

facts have been considered, the men and women who make the District of Columbia their home are confident that they will be granted their full rights of citizenship.

Index

	<i>Page</i>
Amendment (Full Voting Rights):	
Case for	5-6
Effect on the States	3
Fallacies	9-11
Precedents (foreign)	7
Purpose	1
Supporters	1-3; back cover
Text	Inside front cover
Congress:	
Action by	3, 7
Effect on	3
Representation in	1, 3, 8, 9
Constitution	7, 8, 9
Amendments to	8
Ratification process	3, 10-11
Commonwealth status	4, 9
Democratic Party, platform	1
District of Columbia:	
Federal Control	6, 7
Federal Bureaucracy	13
Federal Employees	13
Federal Subsidy	12
History	7
Home Rule	1
Jury, right to trial by	9
Military service	6
Misconceptions (myths)	12-15
Population	7, 9
Retrocession to Maryland	11
State functions	9
Statehood	1, 9, 11
Taxation	5, 9, 12
Voting	1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11
Electoral College	1, 3
Federalist Papers	7
Foreign Practice	7
Madison, James	7
Maryland	7, 11
Philadelphia Mutiny	7
Population	7, 9
Presidential elections	3
Republican Party, platform	1
Retrocession	11
Supreme Court	9
Taxation	5, 9, 12
Territories	44, 9
Urban Area myth	14
Virginia	7
Voting	1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11
Wright, Charles Alan	11

Supporters of the Amendment to Grant District of Columbia Residents Full Voting Representation in Congress Include:

AFL-CIO

American Association of University Women
American Civil Liberties Union
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
American Federation of Teachers
American Jewish Committee
American Nurses Association
American Veterans Committee
Americans for Democratic Action
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
B'nai B'rith Women
Catholic Archdiocese of Washington
Common Cause
Communications Workers of America
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.
Democratic National Committee
Disciples of Christ (Christian Church)
District of Columbia Bar Association
District of Columbia Chamber of Commerce
District of Columbia Democratic State Committee
District of Columbia NOW
District of Columbia Republicans for Self-Government
The Episcopal Church
Friends Committee on National Legislation
Frontlash
Greater Washington Central Labor Council
Greater Washington Board of Trade
Interfaith Conference of Metropolitan Washington
International Association of Machinists
International Union of Operating Engineers
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
League of United Latin American Citizens
League of Women Voters
National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Counties
National Association of Cuban-American Women
National Association of Ecumenical Staff
National Capital Union Presbytery
National Coalition of American Nuns
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Council of Churches
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of La Raza
National Council of Senior Citizens
National Education Association
National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council
National Urban League
National Women's Political Caucus
The Newspaper Guild
The Ripon Society
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Unitarian Universalist Association of Churches
United Auto Workers
United Church of Christ
United Methodist Church, Board of Church and Society
United Presbyterian Church
United States Jaycees
United States Student Association
United Steelworkers of America

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Originally written
by Laura Lawson

1983

"The District of Columbia is not just a plot of land full of big white buildings and people who have come here temporarily to work for the Federal Government. Rather, it is home to almost three-quarters of a million people who should be granted congressional representation just as the citizens in all of our States are."

Senator Robert Dole

END TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION

Ratify the amendment to the U.S. Constitution which provides representation for D.C. citizens in both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives!

Nearly three-quarters of a million Americans — the residents of the District of Columbia — are being denied a basic right. Because these Americans live in the nation's capital rather than in one of the fifty states, they have no voting representation in either house of Congress.

Congressional representation is something that most Americans take for granted. They take comfort in knowing that there are at least three people in Washington who represent them and their interests. They can direct their opinions and grievances to those senators and representatives accountable to them, plea for legislation they support, and urge against legislation they oppose.

Whatever the issue, most citizens have an ear in Congress to listen to their theories on how government should conduct itself and a voice to speak for them. D.C. citizens have not been so fortunate.

In August 1978, Congress took the first step to rectify this injustice. Joint Resolution 554, a proposed amendment to the federal Constitution to provide voting representation in both houses of Congress to D.C. citizens, was passed with wide bipartisan support. (The resolution appears in its entirety on page 6). Now, the amendment must be ratified by thirty-eight states by 1985 in order to take effect.

What the D. C. Amendment will do

The proposed amendment provides that residents of the District of Columbia will be represented in Congress as though the District were a state. This means that District citizens will elect two senators and the number of representatives proportionate to the District's population (at least one). The amendment gives District residents representation in the Electoral College proportionate to the District's population; it enables D. C. to ratify Constitutional amendments. And it repeals the 23rd amendment (which gave District citizens the opportunity to vote in presidential elections) since the provisions of that amendment are included in the new one.

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR D.C.


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(202) 833-1200

Reprinted courtesy of the New York State League of Women Voters
and the League of Women Voters of the District of Columbia.





The D.C. Amendment will not . . .

alter the relationship between the federal government and the District of Columbia. It does no damage to the constitutional provisions for a federal district and leaves the exclusive legislative authority over the District in the hands of Congress.

History and intent: the creation of the District of Columbia

When the Constitution was written in 1787, framers of the document agreed to give Congress the power to create a seat of government that was totally independent from any state. One reason for this decision was an incident, the "Philadelphia Mutiny," in 1783 while the Continental Congress was meeting in that city. On that occasion, angry Revolutionary Army soldiers, demanding back pay, had marched upon Independence Hall where the Congress was sitting. When a request for protection from the Pennsylvania militia was refused, Congress was forced to flee the city. This "mutiny" was a strong factor in the Founding Fathers' determination that the federal government should neither depend upon nor answer to the government of any state. The federal government, they felt, should be sole master of its own home.

It is unlikely, though, that the framers of the Constitution deliberately set out to deny to thousands of American citizens the right to the democratic representation which they themselves had just fought a revolution to win. When the site of the capital was chosen in 1790, it was only a large swampy tract of land along the Potomac River ceded to the government by Maryland and Virginia. Until 1800, when the federal government officially assumed the land, the approximately 14,000 residents of the area were subject to the laws of Virginia and Maryland and voted as citizens of their respective states.

When these citizens became D.C. residents, they lost their status as citizens of a state and with it their right to Congressional representation. Congress, facing a multitude of issues, neglected to pass legislation to restore this franchise. Although the District has grown from a rural community to a highly populated area over the years (635,000 residents according to the 1980 census), Congress continued to ignore the voting rights of District residents until 1978.

The District now has a larger population than four of the states (Alaska, Delaware, Vermont and Wyoming). Each of these states sends two senators and a representative to Congress, but the District sends only a non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives.

The United States is the only democratically elected government in the free world that denies representation to the residents of its capital city.

"The people of the District . . . suffered more lives lost in the Vietnam war than 10 states . . . (This is) conscription without representation." SENATOR ROBERT BYRD
(D-W. Virginia)

How the District is governed

The structure of government in the District has been changed several times by Congress. Until 1874, District residents elected city officials, and some form of self-government was in effect. An implied fiscal "scandal" caused Congress to take over the administration of the District in that year, and for the next century the President appointed all city administrators and Congress acted as the city's governing council.

In 1973, Congress passed a law which restored a measure of home rule to the District, and, in November 1974, residents elected a Mayor and a thirteen-member City Council. However, Congress retains considerable control over the governing of the District and places a number of constraints on its ability to raise revenue.

Congress must approve the city's annual budget, which is proposed by the Mayor and enacted by the City Council, before it can take effect. In addition, Congress has the right to legislate for the District, and acts passed by the Council and approved by the Mayor are subject to Congressional veto. Home rule for the District has been limited in this manner because of the widely-held feeling that governance of the nation's capital should be shared by all Americans.

"The District of Columbia is not just a plot of land full of big white buildings and people who have come here temporarily to work for the Federal Government. Rather, it is home to almost three-quarters of a million people who should be granted Congressional representation just as the citizens in all of our States are."

SENATOR ROBERT DOLE
(R-Kansas)



D. C. residents are heavily taxed

There is a common misconception that the citizens of the District of Columbia pay no taxes. *The fact is that the District is one of the most heavily taxed localities in the country.*

Federal Taxes: According to Library of Congress research, the residents of the District of Columbia paid \$1.887 billion in taxes in fiscal year 1980, more than those in ten states. On a per capita basis, District residents paid \$2,947 or \$701 above the national average. This was more per capita than in any state except Alaska.

Local Taxes: District residents also pay local taxes which are among the highest in the nation. Comparing the District of Columbia per capita total local tax burden in 1980 with the total per capita state and local tax burden in all states, the Bureau of Census found that residents of only two states, Alaska and New York, paid more than D. C. residents. The per capita D. C. average local tax was \$1,474.71 compared with the national average of \$986.57.

The Federal Payment: Another misconception is that District residents enjoy a "free ride" because Congress appropriates an annual federal payment to the District. The annual payment is not a device to free citizens from local taxes but an amount that Congress feels appropriately compensates for the federal tax-exempt presence in the District. There is a great difference of opinion about how much that payment should be. Congress currently authorizes a \$300 million federal payment but the District of Columbia Department of Finance and Revenue estimated in May 1982 that the revenue loss caused by the federal presence would be \$759 million for fiscal year 1982.

The District's enormous revenue loss is largely due to its high proportion of tax-exempt property. 50.4% of all real estate in the District is not taxable: 42.6% is government property, 7.8% is the property of foreign governments and nonprofit organizations, and the remaining is district schools, libraries, fire and police departments, etc.

In addition, acts of Congress have placed severe limitations on revenue sources for the District. These include restrictions on the height of buildings and a ban on taxation of income earned within the city by non-residents. Every state with an income tax has reciprocal agreements with other states enabling the collection of income taxes from those who live outside the state but work within its borders. *The District cannot tax the incomes of non-residents, who make up 60% of those who work in the District, resulting in a \$416 million loss of revenue. District residents do not enjoy any "free ride" from Congress.*

Equal representation means in both houses of Congress

Many opponents of the amendment accept the principle of D. C. representation in Congress but advocate alternatives to the amendment. Some have argued that the District should be granted representation in the House but not in the Senate because the Constitution says that "no state without its consent shall be deprived of equal suffrage in the Senate." (Article V) However, a wide range of constitutional scholars find no problem with Senate representation for the District of Columbia via a constitutional amendment. Charles Alan Wright, Professor of Law at the University of Texas, testified before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights that "*The clear purpose of the clause was to ensure that the Great Compromise would not be undone, and that representation in the Senate would not be put on the basis of population. That purpose is not compromised by allowing the District to have two Senators any more than it is when a new state is admitted.*"

Two senators for the District would not impinge on the equal treatment of any state vis-a-vis the other states. There were 26 senators when the nation was founded. During the last 200 years, 37 states and 74 senators have been added without disturbing the fabric of government.

Our nation's legislature is composed of two houses. Although they have functions in common, such as enacting legislation, declaring war and conscripting soldiers, the Senate and the House of Representatives also have separate responsibilities. The House originates all revenue measures. The Senate ratifies all treaties and advises and consents to the appointments of all cabinet members, ambassadors, federal judges and local District of Columbia judges. Thus, representation in one house and not the other would not provide equity for District citizens.

Retrocession is not the answer

One argument frequently raised is that the District should be retroceded (given back) to Maryland and thus be represented by Maryland's Congressional delegation. Proponents of retrocession say it could take either of two forms, full or partial retrocession. Full retrocession would mean that the District would be divided into two parts: a federal enclave including key federal installations would

be carved out while the rest including residential property, would become part of Maryland. With partial retrocession, the District would remain as it now exists but its citizens would be allowed to vote for Maryland senators and representatives. Since the Constitution stipulates that state boundaries cannot be changed without "the consent of the legislature of the states concerned as well as the Congress" (Article IV, Sec. 3), full retrocession would require such consent.

District citizens have shown no desire for this solution nor have those of Maryland. (Maryland, in fact, was one of the first states to ratify the proposed D. C. Amendment.) Congress also has shown it is not receptive to the idea. Furthermore, it is doubtful that the people of this country, who feel a proprietary interest in their nation's capital, would support a plan to put a large part of the present federal district under the control of any state.

Partial retrocession would require the same kind of consent as full retrocession. In addition, partial retrocession creates other problems. The Constitution says that senators and representatives shall be elected by the people of the states but District residents are not "people of Maryland." They are District people, residing in and paying taxes to the District of Columbia. Furthermore, District residents could not vote in Maryland state elections and therefore would have no choice in setting election district lines or filling Congressional vacancies. Partial retrocession would create more problems than it solves and still deny equal representation to District citizens.

The question of statehood for the District

Statehood also has been proposed as a way of achieving representation in Congress for District citizens. In November, 1980, an initiative to begin the statehood process was approved by the voters of the District. Approval by a majority of both houses of Congress would admit as a state most of what is now the District of Columbia. Since Congress would be relinquishing the budgetary control and veto power which it now exercises over the District, this process, if successful at all, could be at least as long as it was for Hawaii and Alaska. (Hawaii first petitioned for statehood in 1903 and was finally admitted to the union in 1959, 56 years later; Alaska began a concerted effort for statehood in 1946 and was admitted to the union in 1959, 13 years later.)

Those who sincerely favor statehood have been joined in supporting the idea by some who oppose the amendment and who use statehood as a diversionary tactic.

Thus, some of the support for statehood could evaporate if the amendment is allowed to expire.

Under the proposed amendment, the District of Columbia as the capital of the nation would remain a geographically distinct entity as the Founding Fathers intended. The amendment, therefore, is the most feasible method of achieving equal political rights for District citizens in the foreseeable future.

"The issue is one of simple justice . . . In a nation that was founded on the principle of representative government and that has prided itself for two centuries on the strength and vitality of its democracy, it is a travesty of history that the District of Columbia has no voice in Congress."

SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY
(D-Massachusetts)

The District is now treated as a state for many purposes

All recent federal legislation which applies to states includes the phrase "for the purpose of this legislation the term 'state' shall include the District of Columbia."

There are parts of the Constitution itself which have been interpreted to include the District as though it were a state. For example, Article I, Sec. 2 of the Constitution says that "direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union." In 1820, the Supreme Court ruled that Congress had the authority to tax directly the residents of the District of Columbia. Thus, District residents have always borne the same federal tax responsibilities as residents of the states.

In 1889, the Supreme Court ruled that Congress could exercise the power to regulate business across District borders despite the fact that Article I, Sec. 8 of the Constitution refers only to "commerce . . . among the several states." In 1960, Congress approved the 23rd amendment to the Constitution which gave District citizens the right to vote for President and Vice-President of the United States "as if it were a state." The amendment was ratified in March 1961.

"Three-quarters of a million people live and work in the District. These are people who are affected by high taxes, inflation, foreign policy, farm prices, educational issues—issues that affect each and every American. Yet, no one represents their views with a vote in Congress."

SENATOR STROM THURMOND
(R-South Carolina)

"... we simply cannot continue to deny 700,000 American citizens their right to equal representation in the national government... this basic right is a bedrock of our Republic that cannot be overturned."

SENATOR HOWARD BAKER
(R-Tennessee)

In opposition to ratification

Opposition to the amendment is well funded and well organized. By equating the citizens of the District with big government and over-regulation, the opposition raises fears of "oppressive" influence from District representation in Congress. Speculation by particular special interest groups that the new members of Congress would oppose their particular views often motivates others to be fearful of D. C. representation.

Groups actively opposing the amendment include the American Conservative Union, The Conservative Caucus, Young Americans for Freedom, the American Legislative Exchange Council, Americans for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, Heritage Foundation, the Eagle Forum and the Liberty Foundation.

Opponents admit the justice of full representation for D. C. citizens but argue that the amendment is not the best way to provide it. Congress, however, considered and rejected all alternatives, believing that the amendment is the most acceptable viable way to correct an old injustice.

Opposition arguments are rarely germane to the principle of representation. There is no argument anywhere that can justify the District's present colonial status. For some people to be more equal than others is a violation of the basic principles of democracy.

"We urge your support for this fundamental principle of justice for the citizens of the nation's capital..."

SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER
(R-Arizona)

In favor of ratification

In 1971 many organizations that had long supported self-determination for the District of Columbia formed a coalition to support and advance this cause. There are now more than 60 local and national organizations which are members of the Ratification Campaign Committee working in the unratified states. Among the groups are professional and labor associations, religious organizations and good government groups.

Supporters include:

American Association of University Women
American Civil Liberties Union
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
American Federation of Teachers
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Library Association
American Veterans Committee
Americans for Democratic Action
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
B'nai B'rith Women
Catholic Archdiocese of Washington
Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)
Common Cause
Communication Workers of America
D.C. Republican Committee
Delta Sigma Theta
Democratic National Committee
El Congresso
The Episcopal Church
Friends Committee on National Legislation
Greater Washington Board of Trade
International Union of Operating Engineers
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
League of United Latin-American Citizens
League of Women Voters of the United States
Machinists and Aerospace Workers International Association
National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Black Women Attorneys
National Association of Counties
National Association of Cuban-American Women, Inc.
National Capital Union Presbytery
National Coalition of American Nuns
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Council of Churches
National Council of La Raza
National Education Association
National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council
National Student Association — National Student Lobby
National Urban League
National Women's Political Caucus
The Newspaper Guild
The Ripon Society
Unitarian-Universalist Association
United Auto Workers
United Church of Christ
United Methodist Church, Board of Church and Society
United Presbyterian Church
United States Jaycees
United Steel Workers of America
Washington Bar Association

"We believe there is no justification for denying citizens equal representation at the federal level because they happen to reside in the District of Columbia."

WALTER F. MONDALE
former Vice President

THE D.C. VOTING RIGHTS AMENDMENT WILL GIVE A VOICE TO D.C. RESIDENTS WHO BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITIES BUT NOT THE PRIVILEGES OF U.S. CITIZENSHIP

THE PROBLEM

Two hundred years after the American Revolution, 640,000 Americans are still waging a battle for representative government. For them -- the residents of the District of Columbia -- taxation without representation never ended.

CONSIDER THAT:

- On a per capita basis, D.C. residents pay more federal taxes than the residents of 49 states -- almost two billion dollars per year.
- 237 District residents were killed in the Vietnam war, yet neither they nor their families had a voice in Congressional appropriations for that war.
- The District of Columbia has a greater voting-age population than six states. But each of these states has two Senators and one or two House members in Congress.
- Of 115 countries with national legislatures, only the U.S. and the military dictatorship of Brazil, deny full representation to citizens of their federal districts.
- D.C. residents pay high local, as well as Federal, taxes. But how those taxes are spent is determined by Congress -- without the voting participation of a single District of Columbia representative.

THE SOLUTION

In 1978, Congress passed a constitutional amendment providing full voting representation for the District of Columbia following weeks of testimony by Republicans, Democrats, national organizations and legislators.

If ratified by 38 state legislatures before August 1985, this amendment will give D.C. two Senators, a House member, Presidential electors and the right to participate in ratification of constitutional amendments.

SIMPLY, IT WOULD GIVE D.C. RESIDENTS THE SAME RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP NOW ENJOYED BY THE PEOPLE OF THE 50 STATES.

The following 13 states have ratified the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment:

CONNECTICUT	MINNESOTA
HAWAII	NEW JERSEY
MAINE	OHIO
MARYLAND	OREGON
MASSACHUSETTS	RHODE ISLAND
MICHIGAN	WEST VIRGINIA
	WISCONSIN

SOME OBJECTIONS TO D.C. VOTING RIGHTS

- Most D.C. residents are Federal employees. Their Congressmen would vote to expand the Federal bureaucracy.

ONLY 1/4 OF THE D.C. WORK FORCE IS FEDERALLY EMPLOYED. ONLY 3% OF ALL FEDERAL WORKERS LIVE IN D.C. MORE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY WOULD MEAN HIGHER FEDERAL TAXES FOR D.C. RESIDENTS, TOO.

- The District of Columbia should be given back to the state of Maryland.

CONGRESS DOES NOT WANT THE FEDERAL CITY CONTROLLED BY A STATE. THIS AMENDMENT WILL NOT CHANGE THAT. AND, THE STATE OF MARYLAND DOES NOT WANT THE DISTRICT BACK. IN FACT, MARYLAND WAS ONE OF THE FIRST STATES TO RATIFY THE D.C. VOTING RIGHTS AMENDMENT.

- The Constitution grants states alone the right to representation in the Senate.

EMINENT CONSTITUTIONAL SCHOLARS DENY THAT THE CONSTITUTION INTENDED TO LIMIT DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION. REPRESENTATION OF STATES WOULD NOT BE COMPROMISED BY ALLOWING THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TO HAVE TWO SENATORS ANY MORE THAN IT IS WHEN A NEW STATE IS ADMITTED TO THE UNION.

HOW YOU CAN HELP 640,000 PEOPLE FOR 40c

Most members of state legislatures will vote for the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment if they believe it is supported by their constituents. Letters they receive from the people who vote for them will count heavily in convincing them to support ratification.

The names and addresses of your state Senator and Delegates can be obtained by calling:

- your local public library,
- local or State Chapter of Common Cause, or
- local Chapter of the League of Women Voters.

All legislators can be written to c/o State Capitol Building in the capital city of your state.

Please write to them. Tell them how you feel about U.S. citizens being taxed without representation in our nation's capital. Tell them we need Congressmen just like all other citizens of the U.S.

Share this brochure with others. Urge civic, religious and business groups to discuss and support this amendment and communicate this support to their state legislators. We need your help!

Thank you,

Residents of the
District of Columbia

.....
For more information, contact your
Local Common Cause or League of Women
Voters Chapter.

Contributions may be sent to:
COMMON CAUSE/DC VRA COMMITTEE
2030 M Street, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20036



Let
Washington
Speak ...

Stamp

SAMPLE TESTIMONY

The best testimony is written by a person living in the state in which he/she is going to testify. The following material on the Amendment is both too lengthy and too impersonal for one testimony. We present it as background material for you to use and adapt in any way you wish.

Although everyone's testimony is different and should be, the following main points are usually covered, and can serve as a guideline for constructing testimony:

- I Introduction -- to get attention and personalize your remarks
- II Why the organization you represent supports the Amendment
- III Pertinent facts and statistics about the District
- IV How the District lost its right to representation in the first place
- V Exhortation to your state legislature (or the committee you address) to see beyond the borders of your state to the national injustice that should be rectified
- VI Closing

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE D.C. VOTING RIGHTS AMENDMENT

INTRODUCTION

The residents of the District of Columbia pay over \$2.7 billion of taxes to the federal government, more per capita than any state except Alaska. Yet, today, the citizens in the District are denied representation in the institution that writes the nation's tax laws and declares its wars -- the U.S. Congress.

For decades, District residents, concerned national leaders, and many members of Congress have sought voting representation for District residents. An amendment providing for full Congressional representation for the District of Columbia passed the Senate on August 22, 1978, by a vote of 67-32. (It passed the House earlier on March 2, 1978, by a vote of 289-127.) As of July of 1983, 13 states had ratified the Amendment: Connecticut, Hawaii, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

The Amendment has strong bipartisan support. Prior to becoming a state issue it was supported by both the Democratic and Republican Platforms in 1976. During the Senate debate in 1978, the issue was

actively supported by such ideologically diverse members as Senators Goldwater, Thurmond, Kennedy, Byrd, Baker, Dole, Heinz, and Mathias. And in the House, leaders included Representatives Buchanan, McKinney, Edwards, Mitchell, McClory, Railsback, and Rodino.

NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION

Before there was a Constitution or a United States of America, the American people were united on a fundamental principle -- "no taxation without representation." Yet, 200 years after this principle sparked American independence, citizens of the District of Columbia are forced to pay federal taxes without voting representation in the Congress.

Library of Congress data summarizing federal tax payments from each of the 50 states and the District show the degree to which the District of Columbia bears the burden of taxation without representation. Residents of the District paid \$2.7 billion in taxes to the federal government in fiscal 1982. That amount is greater than that of twelve states.

If the federal tax burden is calculated on a per capita basis, the comparison is even more dramatic. For District of Columbia residents, the per capita tax burden is \$4,274 -- \$1,691 above the national average of \$2,583. Only one other state -- Alaska -- has a higher per capita tax burden.

POPULATION

Population figures released in 1980 by the Census Bureau show that the District Columbia has a population (638,333) greater than that of four states (Alaska, Delaware, Vermont, and Wyoming), and a voting age population of six states (North Dakota and South Dakota, plus the previous four).

The people of these states have two Senators and either one or two Members of the House of Representatives, depending on the state's population, representing them in Congress. Yet the people of the nation's capital have no such voice.

CONSCRIPTION

As U.S. citizens, residents of the District of Columbia have been eligible for conscription into the U.S. Armed Forces. Residents of the District have fought and died in all the nation's wars. In the Vietnam War, 237 citizens from the District were killed -- a casualty level greater than the levels for ten states (Alaska, Delaware, Idaho, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, and Wyoming).

The people of those states were able to influence the decisions of Congress on the war, decisions that affected the lives of thousands

of citizens who served their country in that war. But the citizens of the District of Columbia had no such influence.

OBJECTIONS TO D.C. REPRESENTATION

RETROCESSION

Opponents of the proposed Amendment argue that voting representation for the people of the District should not be achieved by independent representation in Congress, but by alternative methods which would link the District to the state of Maryland. Serious objections to these alternatives -- "full retrocession" (giving the District's territory back to Maryland) or "partial retrocession" (allowing District citizens to vote in Maryland elections) -- have been raised.

The 23rd Amendment, ratified in 1961, recognized that there was no justification for linking the District to Maryland for purposes of voting in Presidential elections. Similarly, there is no justification today for linking the District to Maryland for purposes of voting in Senate and House elections.

Retrocession proposals surfaced during Congressional hearings on the Amendment. But they were discarded, in large part because of the resistance of the Maryland Congressional delegation. In 1980, the Maryland legislature ratified the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment, voicing a strong statement against any retrocession scheme. The President of the Senate and Speaker of the House in Maryland have written a letter which states that they are not aware of even one elected official willing to change the borders of the state.

The retrocession argument raises a number of legal and Constitutional questions. Full retrocession would subject the federal government to the powers of the state of Maryland and contradict the Constitutional provisions which establish the District as a federal entity. Partial retrocession -- turning District citizens into Maryland residents for the purpose of voting in Senate and House elections -- would raise other basic questions. For example, should District residents then be entitled to send representatives to Annapolis to participate in drawing new Congressional district boundaries? Should they vote for the Governor of Maryland who has the power to fill U.S. Senate vacancies?

CREATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Some opponents of full representation claim that the District is a city, not a state, and that only states are entitled to representation in the House and Senate. They argue that there is no more reason for this city to be represented in Congress than there is for any other large city.

In fact, the District is neither a city nor a state, but a unique area set aside for a specific purpose -- to be the home of the federal government.

The concept of a federal district separate from any state was developed in response to the "Philadelphia Mutiny" of 1783. On that occasion, angry Revolutionary Army soldiers demanding back pay marched on

Philadelphia's Independence Hall where the Continental Congress was meeting. The Congress requested protection from the Pennsylvania militia but was refused, and delegates were forced to flee the city.

As a direct result of that incident, in 1787 the framers of the Constitution approved Article I, Section 8, Clause 17, giving Congress the power to create as the seat of government a federal district totally independent from any state. The present site on the Potomac River was selected and ceded by Maryland in 1788 and Virginia in 1789.

In December of 1800, when Congress took over exclusive jurisdiction of the District, it did not provide for voting representation for the residents, citing the small population. According to the Census of 1800, the District's population was 14,000 -- far fewer than the 50,000 required of territories wanting to enter the Union and obtain national representation.

Congress was concerned that the people of the District not receive representation until the District's population warranted it. During the 1801 debates on District suffrage, there was much discussion of providing representation for the District when its population reached the appropriate size.

TWO-HOUSE REPRESENTATION

Some critics of the Amendment are willing to grant the District a vote in the House because population is the basis for representation in that body. But they disagree with Senate representation, arguing that only states can have this right. They fail to recognize that since ratification of the 17th Amendment establishing the election of Senators by popular vote, Senators have represented the people of the states, not the states.

With the bicameral character of the U.S. Congress, passage of legislation by both the House and Senate is required on most questions of national defense, taxation, and spending. The Senate alone has the power to ratify treaties and try impeachments. To deny the people of the District Senate representation would be to refuse them the full rights of American citizenship -- the right to be represented in both Houses of Congress.

STATEHOOD

It took Hawaii and Alaska 40 and 50 years to become a state. Passage of the DCVRA corrects the injustice of no Congressional representation by August 1985. The Amendment does not preclude statehood. The Amendment leaves intact Congressional oversight of the District and maintains a nation's capital, while acknowledging its right to representation in the national legislature.

As a practical matter, the District is treated as a state now in several areas. The U.S. Supreme Court has treated the District of Columbia as a state for the purposes of federal taxation, trial by jury, regulation of commerce, and the court system. The Court ruled that those sections of the Constitution applied to the District even though the Constitution specifically used the word "state."

The U.S. Congress has regularly treated the District as a state in every piece of federal grant legislation. In statute after statute, the following words appear: "For the purposes of this legislation, the term 'state' shall include the District of Columbia." The people of the District bear every responsibility the citizens who live in the states do.

REPRESENTATION FOR U.S. TERRITORIES

"If the people of the District can have representation, why not the people of Puerto Rico?" This is a question often asked by opponents of the Amendment. The question ignores the basic differences between residents of the District and those of American territories.

The District of Columbia is not a U.S. Commonwealth like Puerto Rico. The residents of Puerto Rico, etc., do not pay income taxes into the federal treasury; the people of the District do. The men of Puerto Rico have not been subject to military draft; the men of the District have. The territories have the legitimate avenue of statehood if they wish. District residents bear the responsibilities without the rights of Congressional representation.

MORE REPRESENTATION FOR BUREAUCRATS

Opponents of representation for D.C. often claim that representatives elected from the District would represent only federal employees.

The fact is that more federal employees live in the nearby Virginia and Maryland suburbs than in the District of Columbia. In fact, the District accounts for less than one-fourth of all federal employees in the Washington area:

	<u>Federal Employees</u>
District of Columbia	87,152
Maryland suburbs	151,442
Virginia suburbs	<u>115,139</u>
	353,733

Members of Congress elected from the District would also represent senior citizens, the poor, and taxpayers working in private occupations. It would be as unreasonable to deny representation to the District's residents because of its federal employees as to deny representation to a state because of its large number of farmers.

REPRESENTATION IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL

Another objection to representation for the District rests on the provision in Article V of the Constitution which declares that "no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

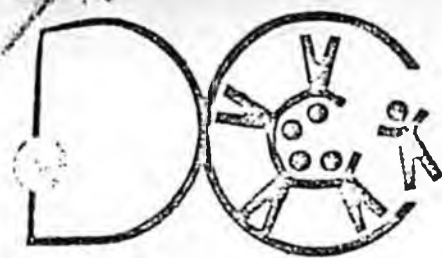
It is unreasonable to argue that granting Congressional representation to the District would deprive any state of its "equal suffrage in the Senate." Since ratification of the Constitution by the original thirteen states, 37 additional states have been admitted to the union. As a result, the suffrage of the original thirteen has already been

"diluted" nearly four-fold from 2/26 to 2/100. Yet no one seriously argues that any of the older states have been deprived of their equal suffrage in the Senate by the admission of the new states. So long as the people of the District of Columbia are represented in the Senate equally with those of each state, representation for the District will not violate the provisions of Article V. The people of each state will continue to have two votes in the Senate.

During Senate debate on the Amendment, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) said, "It has long ago been established by court decrees, as well as by American political tradition, that the right to vote in federal elections is a right that follows directly from the Constitution to each citizen (emphasis added) of the United States. This right is one belonging to national citizenship and it arises out of the very nature and existence of the nation itself."

* * *

The attached "Fact Sheet on the District of Columbia" gives more facts and figures about the District of Columbia. The Blue Book for Legislators is another source of information for testimony. Finally, an encyclopedia can furnish an idea of how to make effective connections between a particular state's history with that of the District of Columbia, i.e. Rhode Island was the 13th state to ratify the Constitution in 1790, and in 1983 became the 13th state to ratify the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment to that Constitution.



FACT SHEET ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

POPULATION

- The District has a greater population than that of four states:

District of Columbia	638,333
Delaware	594,317
Vermont	511,456
Wyoming	469,557
Alaska	401,851
- The District has a greater voting population than the above four states plus North Dakota and South Dakota.
- 38% of District residents were born there.
- The U.S. is the only country, other than Brazil, that denies federal district residents representation in its national legislature.
- 237 District residents were killed in the Vietnam War -- on a proportionate basis a higher total than that of 46 states.

JOBS

- 28%, or 87,152, of District residents are federally employed.
- 3% of all federal jobs in the country are held by District residents.
- The District has fewer federally employed residents than does Virginia, California, or Texas.

TAXES

- District residents paid more federal taxes -- 2.7 billion annually -- than 12 other states in FY 1982.
- District residents paid more federal taxes, per capita, than the residents of 49 other states in FY 1982.
- District residents paid more local taxes, per capita, than the residents of 49 other states in FY 1981.

RATIFICATION OF THE D.C. VOTING RIGHTS AMENDMENT

- 13 states have ratified -- Connecticut, Hawaii, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.
- 25 more states must ratify by the deadline, August 22, 1985.

THE WASHINGTON POST
October 6, 1983

AFL-CIO Backs D.C. Voting Rights

By Peter Perl
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOLLYWOOD, Fla., Oct. 5—The AFL-CIO today pledged its "total support" for the proposed D.C. voting rights constitutional amendment and urged state and local labor organizations to work toward adoption of the measure, which would give the District two senators and two representatives in Congress.

The amendment, passed by Congress in 1978, has been approved by 13 states but must be adopted by 25 more within the two years remaining before the act is scheduled to expire. Thirty-eight states—a two-thirds majority—are needed to approve a constitutional amendment.

"The District of Columbia, a region with a population greater than seven states, continues to be deprived of full political representation in the Congress," said a resolution introduced at this week's AFL-CIO biannual convention in Hollywood by Joelyn N. Williams, president of the AFL-CIO's Metropolitan Washington Council.

Noting that District residents pay more than \$1.5 billion in federal taxes but have no votes in Congress, the resolution said: "... The fundamental issue involves a principle as old as the American Revolution: taxation without representation."

The amendment is given only a slim chance of passage before 1985 when the seven-year ratification period following congressional approval ends. But Williams said he is hopeful the resolution will "light a fire" among state and local AFL-CIO bodies to work for its passage.

"This should be a top priority of labor," Williams said. He said the District, with a heavy Democratic electorate, would be likely to elect congressmen who are supportive of organized labor's goals. "And labor needs all the friends it can get," Williams said.

The resolution contends opponents of D.C. voting rights have not raised any serious political or philosophical objections to the measure. "The specious and spurious arguments of the opposition, we must assume, are merely veils for the racism that lurks behind them," the resolution said. "We are forced to conclude that if potential voters of the District of Columbia were not predominantly black and poor, the arguments against this amendment would evaporate."

Williams said the D.C. AFL-CIO delegation considered asking the national federation to support statehood for the District but decided against it because they did not want to cloud the issue of voting rights.

The resolution passed today is a reaffirmation of the AFL-CIO's 1979 pledge to work for passage of D.C. voting rights. The 1979 resolution noted the U.S. and Brazil are the only nations in the world that deny full voting representation to citizens of its capital city.

Williams said the D.C. Voting Rights Coalition, including the AFL-CIO, Common Cause, the League of Women Voters and other groups, will target many of the 23 states whose legislatures convene in January.

Opposition to the amendment has been strong in some Western states that oppose giving easterners more power in Congress and in several Southern states that fear the prospect of more black congressmen, according to Wilbur Williams, the AFL-CIO representative in the coalition.

D.C. Voting Rights (Cont'd.)

SHOULD RESIDENTS of the District of Columbia be able to elect, as residents of all the 50 states can, their own members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives? The answer is obvious: yes. D.C. residents pay the same taxes as other Americans. They have been drafted to serve in the same military services. Yet for nearly 200 years they have not had the same right to congressional representation as other Americans. At one time this might have made sense. The District was originally a lightly populated enclave with few permanent residents. But today's District is a diverse, economically expansive community where most citizens are not on the government payroll.

So it shouldn't have been all that surprising that Congress in 1978 passed, by a two-thirds vote in each house, a constitutional amendment giving the people of the District full congressional representation. That was five years ago this week. But most of the states have not yet ratified the amendment. The arguments for the amendment are as strong as the arithmetic, currently, is weak. Only 13 states have ratified, out of the 38 needed: 25 more are needed between now and August 1985.

That sounds daunting, but we don't think it's cause for despair. The pace of ratification has picked up in

the last year, and the margins by which the amendment was passed most recently, in Rhode Island (74-6 in the house, 33-7 in the senate), suggest that when the arguments get a full airing, the measure can gather wide support. This is not a partisan measure: many Republicans have supported it, despite the District's Democratic voting preference (although it wouldn't hurt if it got the same enthusiastic support from President Reagan that it has gotten from Sen. Barry Goldwater). The issue shouldn't be which way the District would vote, but whether its 600,000 residents, like the 600,000 residents of North Dakota, should be able to elect the congressman and senators they want.

Unfortunately, the amendment just doesn't seem to be a priority item in many legislatures. Self-Determination for D.C., assisted by Common Cause, has been trying to change that, but these organizations need help. Most state legislatures go back into session next January, and almost every legislature will meet beginning in January 1985—with many new members elected next year. Enthusiastic support from all quarters of the District could help produce a flurry of ratifications next year and make self-determination, finally, a reality for the citizens of the one capital in the free world that cannot choose voting representatives in the national legislature.

8/23/83

Help for America's Last Colony

WE'VE ALWAYS thought that if more people in this country were aware of the plight of the District of Columbia, where taxation without representation still exists in its baldest form, the amendment to change this situation would be ratified by the states. But getting this message out clearly—and countering exaggerations, misconceptions and irrelevancies about the District's people, what they do, how they think or how their elected representatives might vote—has been difficult, to put it mildly. Where coalitions in the states have spread the word well, the amendment has been ratified, though—and on this front, there is encouraging news of more coast-to-coast help.

This help has been pledged by the AFL-CIO—not on grounds that this is a labor issue, but rather that it is a voting rights issue—and this is right. Just as the business leaders in the District have been seeking support from their counterparts around the country, all sorts of other civic, religious and patriotic groups are looking to their national memberships for help in winning the necessary approval of 38 state legislatures. Thirteen states have already approved, and approvals from 25 more are

needed within the two years before the proposed amendment otherwise is scheduled to expire.

The new help of AFL-CIO members could be particularly effective in certain state capitals, where members of the legislatures from both parties—once they think about the denial of voting rights in the District—should sense the justice and importance of the D.C. amendment and work for its ratification.

That's what happened in Congress, where more than two-thirds of the members of the House and of the Senate—Republicans, Democrats, self-described conservatives and liberals, and many others who studied the issue carefully—voted for this amendment proposal. They noticed, among other things, that the United States and Brazil are the only nations in the free world that deny full voting representation to citizens of their capital cities.

People who live here pay taxes—more than \$1.5 billion in federal taxes—and they serve in the armed forces and they have families and neighbors and concerns affected by, and subject to, the laws of the land as enacted by Congress. But they are excluded from the decisions. That is why they are seeking all the help that can be mustered in the states.

10/9/83



NEWBERRY, E.C.,
OBSERVER
TRI., V. 7, 1983

JUL 15 1983

Washington, D. C., Taxation Without Representation

BY
ESTHER PETERSON

I was born and raised in the state of Utah where, like all American schoolchildren, I studied the Boston Tea Party and the Revolutionary War and learned that taxation without representation is a principle repugnant to our country's democratic ideals. I learned that all American citizens are entitled to a voice in Congress — one Representative and two Senators — coupled with their responsibilities as taxpayers.

But when I moved to Washington, D. C. in 1939, I found that this cherished right of citizenship does not apply to the residents of the District of Columbia. Although I have continued to shoulder my responsibilities as a taxpayer for the past 45 years, I have been deprived of congressional representation. No Senators represent the District of Columbia; and, because our one elected Representative is not entitled to vote in Congress, he is powerless to serve the interests of D. C. taxpayers.

This situation is especially distressing to me because my work on behalf of consumers — both within and outside government — has taught me how important and effective citizen action can be. There is a bitter irony to the fact that I have spent most of my life preaching citizen involvement, urging concerned Americans to express their views to their Members of Congress and to press for needed changes, yet I have been denied the right to full participation myself.

And I am not alone. According to the 1980 census, 640,000 Americans — taxpaying American citizens — live within the boundaries of the District of Columbia. We are all denied the right to participate in the representative democracy other Americans won when the British surrendered at Yorktown in 1781.

Who are these 640,000 citizens? Many, like Charles and Joyce Conrad, came to the District from other parts of the United States for professional reasons. "When we moved here from North Dakota, we lost our right to representation in Congress," says the Conrads. "That shouldn't have happened."

Others are native Washingtonians, like Battalion Chief Bernard Johnson, a 25-year veteran in the District's fire department. Says Johnson: "Risking my own safety to protect others is part of my job. But put my life on the line to protect a Congress in which I don't even have a vote. It's just not fair."

And many are schoolchildren. "How do I tell these children that they are 'second class citizens' just because they live in our nation's capital?" asks Verona Meeder, a 4th grade teacher in the District's public schools. "My class knows that decisions in Congress affect their lives; they don't yet know that they can have no say in those decisions."

Consider these facts:

— Washington residents are the only Americans who shoulder all the responsibilities of citizenship without full citizenship rights. D. C. citizens pay more in federal income taxes than residents of 12 other states, and more income tax per capita than every other state except Alaska.

— The young men of Washington are eligible to be drafted into military service. Washington men have fought in all our nation's wars, and more District leaders (237) died in Vietnam than citizens from 10 other states.

— Washington, D. C. is not just another big city — it is a specially created District, that serves city, county and state functions. Supreme Court decisions routinely treat the District as a state. And, in statute after statute, Congress writes: "For the purposes of this legislation, the term 'state' shall include the District of Columbia."

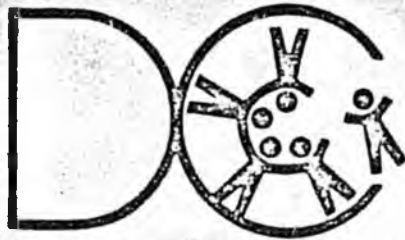
— More people reside in the District than in Alaska, Delaware, Vermont or Wyoming — each of which is represented by two Senators and one Representative in Congress.

In 1978, to correct this injustice, the House and Senate passed the D. C. Voting Rights Amendment to the Constitution with strong bi-partisan support. Members of Congress representing all stripes of the political spectrum — from liberals like Edward Kennedy to conservatives like Barry Goldwater — endorsed this amendment to give District voters two Senators and one or two Representatives (depending on population size).

Since 1978, as legislators have grown to understand the significance of this issue, momentum in support of the voting rights amendment has also grown. By 1982, 10 of the required 28 states had voted for ratification. These include the District's nearest neighbor, Maryland — and Hawaii, the 50th state to join the union.

This year, Self Determination for D. C. — a broad-based coalition of national groups including, among others, Common Cause, the League of Women Voters, United States Jaycees, the AFL-CIO, the Episcopal Church and the National Council of

Senior Citizens — is working to bring new visibility to the need for D. C. Voting Rights. Since January Maine, Rhode Island and West Virginia have joined the effort by ratifying the amendment. In five other state legislatures, it has passed one house and is pending in the other.



self-determination for DC

2030 M Street, N.W., Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 833-1200

STATE STATUS SUMMARY, JANUARY 1984

D.C. Voting Rights Amendment

LEGISLATURES MEETING IN 1984

Alabama
Alaska
Arizona
California
Colorado
Delaware
Florida
Georgia
Idaho
Illinois
Indiana
Kansas
Kentucky
Louisiana
Mississippi
Missouri
Nebraska
New Mexico
New York
Oklahoma
Pennsylvania
South Carolina
South Dakota
Tennessee
Vermont
Virginia
Washington

RATIFIED AS OF JANUARY 12, 1984

Connecticut
Hawaii
Iowa
Maine
Maryland
Massachusetts
Michigan
Minnesota
New Jersey
Ohio
Oregon
Rhode Island
West Virginia
Wisconsin

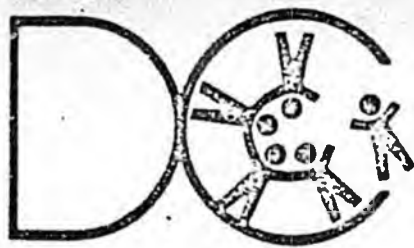
LEGISLATURES MEETING IN 1985

(plus all 1984 states except Kentucky)

Arkansas
Montana
Nevada
New Hampshire
North Carolina
North Dakota
Texas
Utah
Wyoming

For more information, contact:

Mary Jane DeFrank, Executive Director
Erika Landberg, Assistant Director
Self-Determination for D.C.
(202) 833-1200



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2030 M Street, N.W., Suite 300
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ENDING DATES FOR STATE LEGISLATURES CONSIDERING DCVRA IN 1984

MARCH

Georgia -- early March
Indiana -- early March
South Dakota -- March 1
Washington -- March 8
Virginia -- March 10
Idaho -- late March

APRIL

Nebraska -- early April
Kansas -- April 7
Kentucky -- April 15
Iowa -- mid-April
Vermont -- mid-April
Tennessee -- April
Arizona -- April 20

MAY

Mississippi -- May 6
Missouri -- May 15
Alabama -- February 7 - May 25
Alaska -- late May
Colorado -- late May

JUNE

Florida -- April 3 - June 1
South Carolina -- June 7
Illinois -- March - June 30
Delaware -- June 30
New York -- late June
Oklahoma -- June

JULY

Louisiana -- April 16 - July 9

AUGUST

California -- August 31

ALL YEAR

Pennsylvania

	DATES	LIMITS
ALABAMA	Feb. 7 - May 25	30 legislative in 105 calendar days
ALASKA	Jan. 9 - late May	no limit
ARIZONA	Jan. 9 - April 20	no limit
ARKANSAS	No regular session	60 calendar days
CALIFORNIA	Jan. 3 - August 31	no limit
COLORADO	Jan. 4 - late May	no limit
CONNECTICUT	Feb. 8 - May 9	May 9
DELAWARE	Jan. 10 - June 30	June 30
FLORIDA	April 3 - June 1	60 calendar days
GEORGIA	Jan. 9 - early March	40 legislative days
HAWAII	Jan. 18 - late April	60 legislative days
IDAHO	Jan. 9 - late March	no limit
ILLINOIS	Jan. 11 - June 30	no limit
INDIANA	Jan. 9 - early March	30 legislative or March 15
IOWA	Jan. 9 - mid April	*no limit
KANSAS	Jan. 9 - April 7	90 calendar days
KENTUCKY	Jan. 3 - April 15	60 legislative days
LOUISIANA	April 16 - July 9	60 legislative in 85 calendar
MAINE	Jan. 4 - late March	50 legislative
MARYLAND	Jan. 11 - April 9	90 calendar days
MASSACHUSETTS	Jan. 4 - all year	no limit
MICHIGAN	Jan. 4 - all year	no limit
MINNESOTA	Mar. 16 - late April	120 legislative or 1st Mon. after 3rd S
MISSISSIPPI	Jan. 3 - May 6	125 calendar days in Ma
MISSOURI	Jan. 4 - May 15	May 15
MONTANA	No regular session	90 legislative days
NEBRASKA	Jan. 4 - early April	60 legislative days
NEVADA	No regular session	*60 calendar days
NEW HAMPSHIRE	No regular session	*limit on expenses of 90 days or July 15
NEW JERSEY	Jan. 10 - all year	no limit
NEW MEXICO	Jan. 17 - Feb. 15	30 calendar days
NEW YORK	Jan. 4 - late June	no limit
NORTH CAROLINA	June 7 - late June	no limit
NORTH DAKOTA	No regular session	80 legislative days
OHIO	Jan. 3 - all year	no limit
OKLAHOMA	Jan. 3 - June	90 legislative days
OREGON	No regular session	no limit
PENNSYLVANIA	Jan. 3 - all year	no limit
RHODE ISLAND	Jan. 3 - early May	*no limit
SOUTH CAROLINA	Jan. 10 - June 7	1st Thursday in June
SOUTH DAKOTA	Jan. 3 - March 1	35 legislative days
TENNESSEE	Jan. 10 - April	*90 legislative days
TEXAS	No regular session	140 calendar days
UTAH	Jan. 9 - Jan. 28	20 calendar days
VERMONT	Jan. 4 - mid-April	*no limit
VIRGINIA	Jan. 11 - March 10	60 calendar days
WASHINGTON	Jan. 9 - March 8	60 calendar days
WEST VIRGINIA	Jan. 11 - March 10	60 calendar days
WISCONSIN	Jan. 31 - April 6	no limit
WYOMING	Feb. 14 - March 9	20 legislative days

(Session adjournment dates are either constitutionally mandated or are estimates based on recent legislative practice.)

*limit on number of days for which legislators may be paid or receive per diem.



self-determination for DC
a national coalition

21st Century Initiative
Washington, DC
202-333-3333

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

January 25, 1984

- AFL-CIO
- American Association of University Women
- American Civil Liberties Union
- American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
- American Federation of Teachers
- American Jewish Committee
- American Nurses Association
- American Veterans Committee
- Americans for Democratic Action
- Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
- B'nai B'rith Women
- Catholic Archdiocese of Washington
- Common Cause
- Communications Workers of America
- Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.
- Democratic National Committee
- Disciples of Christ (Christian Church)
- District of Columbia Bar Association
- District of Columbia Chamber of Commerce
- District of Columbia Democratic State Committee
- District of Columbia NOW
- District of Columbia Republicans for Self-Government
- The Episcopal Church
- Friends Committee on National Legislation
- Frontlash
- Greater Washington Central Labor Council
- Greater Washington Board of Trade
- Interfaith Conference of Metropolitan Washington
- International Association of Machinists
- International Union of Operating Engineers
- Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
- League of United Latin American Citizens
- League of Women Voters
- National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
- National Association of Counties
- National Association of Cuban-American Women
- National Association of Ecumenical Staff
- National Capital Union Presbytery
- National Coalition of American Nuns
- National Conference of Christians and Jews
- National Council of Churches
- National Council of Jewish Women
- National Council of La Raza
- National Council of Senior Citizens
- National Education Association
- National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council
- National Urban League
- National Women's Political Caucus
- The Newspaper Guild
- The Ripon Society
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference
- Unitarian Universalist Association of Churches
- United Auto Workers
- United Church of Christ
- United Methodist Church, Board of Church and Society
- United Presbyterian Church
- United States Jaycees
- United States Student Association
- United Steelworkers of America

ALABAMA

STATUS: In 1984 the Alabama Education (AEA) and the Alabama Democratic Conference (ADC) will jointly sponsor the Amendment and steer it through the legislature. Sam Ethridge of NEA will be working closely with these two organizations to move the Amendment. Other invaluable assistance will come from Congressman Fauntray's office, and from former U.S. Congressman John Buchanan of Alabama.

STRATEGY: Since session does not begin until February, strategy will be devised after January 1.

COALITION: No formal coalition exists at present, but the organizations Self-Determination has been in contact with over the past year include: AEA, ADC, LWV, AAUW, CC, AFL-CIO, ACLU, and others.

SPONSORS: None at present

SESSION DATES: February 7 - May 25. Senate D/28 R/4; House D/88 R/12.

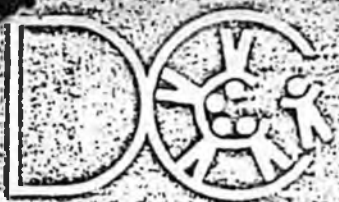
WHAT YOU CAN DO: Contact any of the following people to offer your assistance.

CONTACTS: Paul Hubbert, AEA, 422 Dexter Ave., Box 4177, Montgomery, AL 36195, (205) 834-9790

Joe Reed, ADC, (205) 834-9790

Sam Ethridge, NEA, (202) 833-4000

Erika Landberg, Self-Determination for D.C. (202) 833-1200



self-determination for D.C.
constitutional revolution

2021 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 833-1200

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

January 25, 1984

AFL-CIO

American Association of University Women
American Civil Liberties Union
American Federation of State, County, and
Municipal Employees

American Federation of Teachers
American Jewish Committee
American Nurses Association
American Veterans Committee
Americans for Democratic Action
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
B'nai B'rith Women

Catholic Archdiocese of Washington
Common Cause
Communications Workers of America
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.
Democratic National Committee
Disciples of Christ (Christian Church)
District of Columbia Bar Association
District of Columbia Chamber of Commerce
District of Columbia Democratic State
Committee

District of Columbia NOW
District of Columbia Republicans for
Self-Government

The Episcopal Church
Friends Committee on National Legislation
Frontlash
Greater Washington Central Labor
Council

Greater Washington Board of Trade
Interfaith Conference of
Metropolitan Washington
International Association of
Machinists

International Union of
Operating Engineers
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
League of United Latin American
Citizens

League of Women Voters
National Alliance of Postal and
Federal Employees

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Counties
National Association of Cuban-
American Women

National Association of
Ecumenical Staff
National Capital Union Presbytery
National Coalition of American Nuns
National Conference of

Christians and Jews
National Council of Churches
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of La Raza
National Council of Senior Citizens

National Education Association
National Jewish Community
Relations Advisory Council

National Urban League
National Women's Political Caucus
The Newspaper Guild

The Ripon Society
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
Unitarian Universalist Association
of Churches

United Auto Workers
United Church of Christ
United Methodist Church, Board
of Church and Society

United Presbyterian Church
United States Jaycees
United States Student Association
United Steelworkers of America

ALASKA

STATUS: Supporters have not made a final decision on whether to introduce the Amendment during the 1984 session, or to wait until 1985 when the make-up of the legislature will change, and probably be much more favorable to the Amendment.

STRATEGY: After session begins, introduction will be explored and possible strategy discussed with the sponsors.

COALITION: Organizations that have worked on the Amendment in the past, and would again: LWV, NEA-Alaska, CC, and the Teamsters. Other unions would also be approached.

SPONSORS: Representative Mike Miller (D-Juneau) and Senator Vic Fisher (D-Anchorage).

SESSION DATES: January 9 - late May. Senate D/9 R/10; House D/18 R/19.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: Urge state affiliates to contact Paula Ziegler and offer assistance in planning a campaign in Alaska.

CONTACTS: Paula Ziegler, LWV, Baranof Hotel, Apt. 909, Juneau, AK 99801 (907) 586-2660

Erika Landberg, Self-Determination for D.C.
(202) 833-1200



self-determination for DC
a national coalition

2000 M STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
202-462-2000

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

January 25, 1984

- AFL-CIO
- American Association of University Women
- American Civil Liberties Union
- American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
- American Federation of Teachers
- American Jewish Committee
- American Nurses Association
- American Veterans Committee
- Americans for Democratic Action
- Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
- B'nai B'rith Women
- Catholic Archdiocese of Washington
- Common Cause
- Communications Workers of America
- Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.
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- The Newspaper Guild
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- Southern Christian Leadership Conference
- Unitarian Universalist Association of Churches
- United Auto Workers
- United Church of Christ
- United Methodist Church, Board of Church and Society
- United Presbyterian Church
- United States Jaycees
- United States Student Association
- United Steelworkers of America

ARIZONA

STATUS: The Amendment is scheduled for introduction in the House the week of January 23. Committee hearings are expected in February.

STRATEGY: The general strategy is to run as comprehensive a campaign as possible, by forming a coalition composed of a wide range of local organizations; seeking strong bipartisan sponsorship of the bill; and identifying and working with various special interest blocks in the community and in the legislature. Specific strategy decisions will be made at coalition meeting in February.

COALITION: Members so far: CC, LWV, CWA, Disciples of Christ, Young Democrats, and AAUW; 6-8 other organizations are in the process of obtaining board approval to become involved.

SPONSORS: Prime House sponsors are Rep. Bill English (R), and Rep. Dave Bartlett (D); other sponsors will be added soon.

SESSION DATES: January 9 - April 20. Senate D/12 R/18; House D/21 R/39

WHAT YOU CAN DO: Urge state affiliates to contact coalition convenors to sign on coalition letter and testify at hearings.

Arizona DCVRA coalition meeting
 Wednesday, February 1, 7:00 p.m.
 LWV Headquarters
 3201 No. 16th St., Ste. 3
 Phoenix

CONTACTS: John Anderson, CC/AZ 116 E. Roosevelt St., Phoenix, AZ 85004, (602) 257-0551

Barbara Sherman, LWV, 120 E. McKellips Rd., Tempe, AZ 85282, (602) 947-3194

Frika Landberg, Self-Determination for D.C. (202) 833-1200



self-determination for D.C.
a national coalition

2200 W. ...
Washington, D.C. 20001
202-333-2200

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

January 25, 1984

- AFL-CIO
- American Association of University Women
- American Civil Liberties Union
- American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
- American Federation of Teachers
- American Jewish Committee
- American Nurses Association
- American Veterans Committee
- Americans for Democratic Action
- Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
- B'nai B'rith Women
- Catholic Archdiocese of Washington
- Common Cause
- Communications Workers of America
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- United Presbyterian Church
- United States Jaycees
- United States Student Association
- United Steelworkers of America

*CALIFORNIA

STATUS: Amendment passed Assembly Rules Committee in 1983, and may be called to the Assembly floor at any time.

STRATEGY: CA is one of best possibilities for ratification in 1984. Amendment has passed Assembly three times -- Senate vote will be much closer. Strategy is to bring Amendment up early in session. Speaker of the Assembly Willie Brown has pledged support.

COALITION: Although coalition has not met formally for 1984 session, several CA affiliates have been working on DCVRA for years: CC, LWV, AFL-CIO, UAW, and NAACP.

SPONSORS: Primary sponsor is Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, and 22 co-sponsors; six sponsors in Senate.

SESSION DATES: January 3 - August 31. Senate D/25 R/15; House D/47 R/33.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: Since CA is one of the top priority states for 1984, we hope Amendment will be brought up early. Have state affiliates contact Sandra Simpson in Assemblywoman Maxine Waters' office as soon as possible.

CONTACTS: Sandra Simpson, Assemblywoman Maxine Waters' office, State Capitol, Room 4016, Sacramento, CA 95814, (916) 445-2363

Wally Zelman, CC/CA, 636 So. Hobart Blvd., Suite 226, Los Angeles, CA 90005, (213) 387-2017

Mary Jane DeFrank, Self-Determination for D.C. (202) 833-1200

*Top priority state



self-determination for D.C.

Organization of Government

2400 W. 17th Ave.
Denver, CO 80202
302-733-1200

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

January 25, 1984

- AFL-CIO
- American Association of University Women
- American Civil Liberties Union
- American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
- American Federation of Teachers
- American Jewish Committee
- American Nurses Association
- American Veterans Committee
- Americans for Democratic Action
- Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
- B'nai B'rith Women
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- United Presbyterian Church
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- United States Student Association
- United Steelworkers of America

COLORADO

STATUS: Amendment was introduced by Sen. Regis Groff (D-Denver). A hearing was held in the Senate State Affairs Committee on Tuesday, January 24, 1984. A two-thirds majority is required for passage of Constitutional Amendments in Colorado.

STRATEGY: Amendment vote in Senate Committee will be close. If passed, coalition will begin to work on Senate as a whole.

COALITION: A very active coalition exists. Members include: LWV, CC, CO Senior Lobby, ACLU, AFL-CIO, CO PIRG, Nat'l Council of Jewish Women, CO Council of Churches, CO Women's Bar, YMCA, La Raza, AAUW, CEA, CO Black Women for Political Action.

SPONSORS: Sen. Regis Groff (D-Denver)

SESSION DATES: January 4 - late May. Senate D/14 R/21; House D/25 R/40.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: If your organization is not listed above, please call Mary Moore as soon as possible.

CONTACTS: Mary Moore, 675 Bellaire, Denver, CO 80220 (303) 355-3123

Mary Jane DeFrank, Self-Determination for D.C. (202) 833-1200



self-determination for DC
National Coalition

Washington, D.C.
20001

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

January 25, 1984

- AFL-CIO
- American Association of University Women
- American Civil Liberties Union
- American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
- American Federation of Teachers
- American Jewish Committee
- American Nurses Association
- American Veterans Committee
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- Southern Christian Leadership Conference
- Unitarian Universalist Association of Churches
- United Auto Workers
- United Church of Christ
- United Methodist Church, Board of Church and Society
- United Presbyterian Church
- United States Jaycees
- United States Student Association
- United Stewards of Africa

*DELAWARE

STATUS: The Amendment passed the House in 1983; this vote carries over to 1984. In the Senate, the Amendment is in the Judiciary Committee; Committee Chair Tom Sharp says he will move it in committee if the coalition can show that the 11 floor votes for passage are there, Count looks good; will be complete by Feb. 1.

STRATEGY: A very intense and targeted lobbying campaign is possible in Delaware because of the strong, broad-based coalition, and the small size of the Senate. The coalition members do a great deal of one-on-one lobbying, and also have conducted a lively letter writing campaign for the past year. Whenever a specific issue or concern about the Amendment is raised, the coalition immediately responds with a very specific letter discussing and answering the questions raised. The coalition has also solicited letters from U.S. Congressmen, and from nationally prominent individuals. Lobbying and constituent contact will intensify in February. Plan to raise in March.

COALITION: AFSCME, NOW, Unitarian Church, Kent Co. Labor Coalition, AFL-CIO, UAW, Commission on Civil Rights, DSEA, CC, LWV, and PMA.

SPONSORS: Senators McDowell, Hollaway, and Marshall.

SESSION DATES: January 10 - June 30. Senate D/13 R/8.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: 1) Notify anyone you know to contact Senators to support DCVRA; 2) urge organizations to attend meetings:

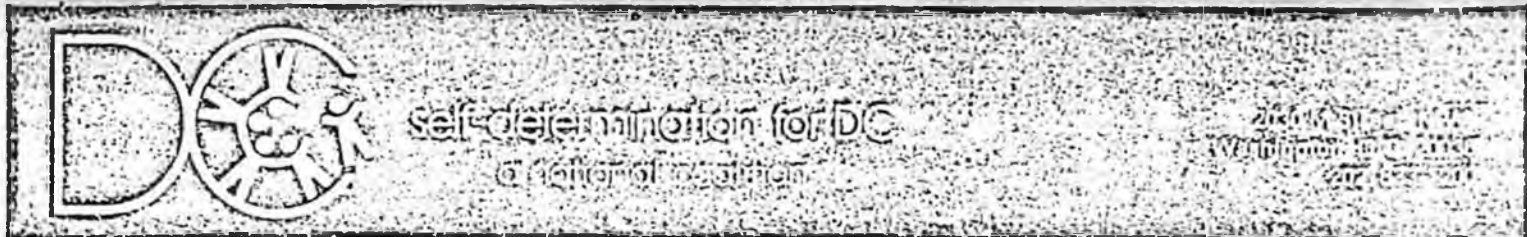
Delaware DCVRA coalition meeting
Early February date to be announced
DSEA Office, 335 Martin St.
Dover, DE 19901
(302) 734-5834, Dennis Crowley

CONTACTS: Vince Croz, UAW, 2150 W. Newport Pike, Stanton, DE 19804, (302) 999-0591

Norma Melendez, CC/DC, (202) 543-0777 (w)

Erika Landberg, Self-Determination for D.C.
(202) 833-1200

*Top priority state -- only Senate passage needed for ratification



January 25, 1984

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

- AFL-CIO
- American Association of University Women
- American Civil Liberties Union
- American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
- American Federation of Teachers
- American Jewish Committee
- American Nurses Association
- American Veterans Committee
- Americans for Democratic Action
- Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
- B'nai B'rith Women
- Catholic Archdiocese of Washington
- Common Cause
- Communications Workers of America
- Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.
- Democratic National Committee
- Disciples of Christ (Christian Church)
- District of Columbia Bar Association
- District of Columbia Chamber of Commerce
- District of Columbia Democratic State Committee
- District of Columbia NOW
- District of Columbia Republicans for Self-Government
- The Episcopal Church
- Friends Committee on National Legislation
- Frontlash
- Greater Washington Central Labor Council
- Greater Washington Board of Trade
- Interfaith Conference of Metropolitan Washington
- International Association of Machinists
- International Union of Operating Engineers
- Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
- League of United Latin American Citizens
- League of Women Voters
- National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
- National Association of Counties
- National Association of Cuban-American Women
- National Association of Ecumenical Staff
- National Capital Union Presbytery
- National Coalition of American Nuns
- National Conference of Christians and Jews
- National Council of Churches
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- United States Student Association
- United Steelworkers of America

FLORIDA

STATUS: Several components augur well for a good campaign in Florida in 1984: the beginnings of a strong coalition, a full-time Common Cause intern to work on the Amendment, and an enthusiastic chief sponsor.

STRATEGY: Since session does not begin until April, strategy will be developed early in 1984.

COALITION: CC, LWV, and Florida Impact are involved now, and will be contacting a wide range of organizations to join the coalition.

SPONSORS: Rep. Jim Burke (D-Miami), is chief sponsor so far; he and the coalition will work together to secure co-sponsors.

SESSION DATES: April 3 - June 1. Senate D/32 R/8; House D/83 R/36.

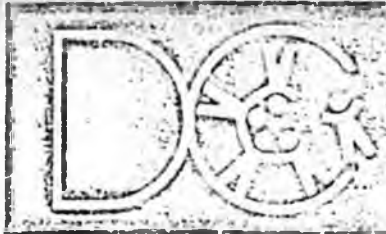
WHAT YOU CAN DO: Urge state affiliates to contact coalition convenors for details about the organizing coalition meeting:

Florida DCVRA coalition meeting
Tuesday, February 7, 8:00 a.m.
At the Capitol -- contact Kevin
Petrich for room location

CONTACTS: Peter Butrin, CC/FL, 222 W. Pensacola St., #126, Tallahassee, FL 32301, (904) 222-3883

Kevin Petrich, CC/intern, 982 W. Brevard, Apt. K-1, Tallahassee, FL 32304, (904) 681-6132

Erika Landberg, Self-Determination for D.C. (202) 833-1200



Self-determination for D.C.
Organizational coalition

Washington, D.C.
20001

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

January 25, 1984

- AFL-CIO
- American Association of University Women
- American Civil Liberties Union
- American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
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- Unitarian Universalist Association of Churches
- United Auto Workers
- United Church of Christ
- United Methodist Church, Board of Church and Society
- United Presbyterian Church
- United States Jaycees
- United States Student Association
- United Steelworkers of America

GEORGIA

STATUS: Amendment has been introduced by Rep. Peggy Childs and is in the House. Rules Committee. Sen. Al Scott will introduce the Amendment in the Senate.

STRATEGY: Strategy will be devised in February with sponsors and representatives from Georgia Education Association, CC, AFL-CIO, SCLC, and LWV. Session is short so supporters will need to work quickly.

COALITION: Core groups listed above; needs to be expanded.

SPONSORS: Rep. Peggy Childs; Sen. Al Scott

SESSION DATES: January 9 - early March. Senate D/49 R/7, House D/156 R/24.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: Have state affiliates contact Roberto Moraes as soon as possible to be involved in strategy session for legislature, in early February!

Georgia DCVRA coalition meeting
Early February -- call for details

CONTACTS: Roberto Moraes, 602 Kelly Drive, Marietta, GA 30066
(404) 221-6961 (w), (404) 422-7349 (h)

Peg Gunter, Self-Determination Georgia Coordinator
(202) 833-1200 (w), (301) 229-6280 (h)

Mary Jane DeFrank, Self-Determination for D.C.
(202) 833-1200



SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

AFL-CIO
American Association of University Women
American Civil Liberties Union
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
American Federation of Teachers
American Jewish Committee
American Nurses Association
American Veterans Committee
Americans for Democratic Action
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United Presbyterian Church
United States Jaycees
United States Student Association
United Steelworkers of America

January 25, 1984

IDAHO

STATUS: After several years of education and lobbying in Idaho, the Amendment will be introduced this year. Local supporters are in the process of coalition building and seeking sponsors for the Amendment.

STRATEGY: It will probably be introduced first in the Senate. Strategy will be planned at forthcoming coalition meeting.

COALITION: CC, AAUW, and LWV are involved at present. Members of a newly formed coalition working on other social issues will be invited to join the coalition, as well as local labor groups.

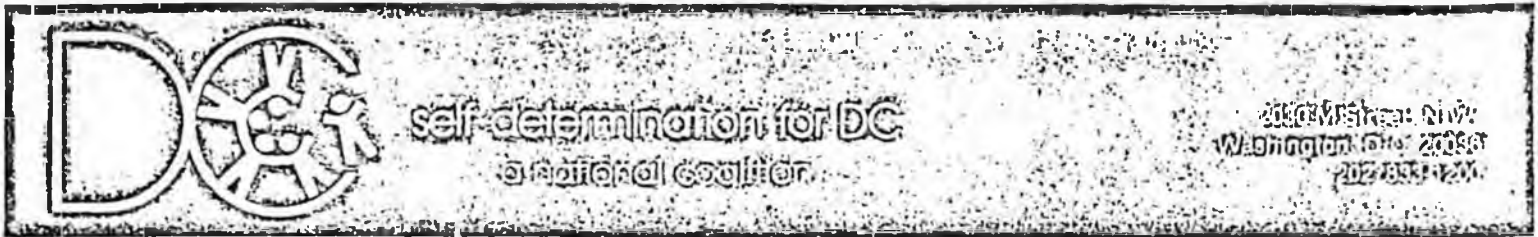
SPONSORS: None at present.

SESSION DATES: January 9 - late March. Senate D/14 R/21; House D/19 R/51

WHAT YOU CAN DO: 1) Urge state affiliates to join coalition;
2) call Jim Hall about next coalition meeting.

CONTACTS: Jim Hall, CC/ID, 1191 Grand Ave., Boise, ID 83702, (208) 345-2820

Erika Landberg, Self-Determination for D.C. (202) 833-1200



2025 Release under
Washington State 2025
2025-12-10

**SUPPORTING
ORGANIZATIONS**

January 25, 1984

AFL-CIO
American Association of University Women
American Civil Liberties Union
American Federation of State, County, and
Municipal Employees
American Federation of Teachers
American Jewish Committee
American Nurses Association
American Veterans Committee
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Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
B'nai B'rith Women
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Unitarian Universalist Association
of Churches
United Auto Workers
United Church of Christ
United Methodist Church, Board
of Church and Society
United Presbyterian Church
United States Jaycees
United States Student Association
United Steelworkers of America

ILLINOIS

STATUS: The stage is set for a successful campaign in Illinois in 1984. HJRCA8 passed out of the Executive Committee of the House on June 10; the legislative session ended before the bill was raised on the floor. The Amendment carries over to the floor calendar for 1984. Please note the attached initial vote count obtained during the October veto session.

STRATEGY: Since regular session does not begin until March, strategy will be planned at the January coalition meeting. The attached vote count gives an indication of the one-on-one lobbying still to be done. A Senate campaign must be mounted in 1984 as well.

COALITION: In 1983 LWV, CC, IEA, AFL-CIO, IL Public Action Council, Democratic State Committee, and the IL Church Consortium all worked on the Amendment. Another 20 organizations will be invited to the January meeting to expand the coalition.

SPONSORS: Representatives Alexander, Braun, Brookins, Bullock, Currie, Madigan, McPike, Mulcahey, Rice, Shaw, Slape, Taylor, White, and Zwick; Senator Emil Jones.

SESSION DATES: January 11 (profunctory sessions until March) - June 30. Senate D/33 R/26; House D/69 R/48.

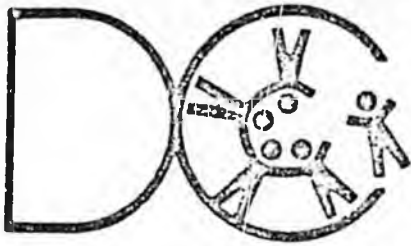
WHAT YOU CAN DO: Urge affiliates to attend the meeting:

Illinois DCVRA coalition meeting
Friday, January 27, 12:00 p.m.
LWV Office, 67 E. Madison
Chicago

CONTACTS: Barbara Fried, LWV, 255 Forest, Glen Ellyn, IL 60137, (312) 236-0315 (LWV office), (312) 858-8606 (h)

Babs Dickerman, LWV, 330 So. 6th, Springfield, IL 62701, (217) 522-3921 (LWV office)

Erika Landberg, Self-Determination for D. C.
(202) 833-1200



self-determination for DC

2030 M Street, N.W., Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 833-1200ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REP. PRELIMINARY VOTE COUNTOCTOBER 1983 VOTE COUNT:RECONFIRMED "for"

Alexander (Sponsor)
Berrios
Bowman
Braun (Sponsor)
Breslin
Brookins (Sponsor)
Brummer
Brunsvold
Bullock (Sponsor)
Caparelli
Cullerton
Curran
Currie (Sponsor)
Deuchler
Domico
Farley
Frederick
Homer
Huff
La Flore
Leverenz
Levin
Madigan (Sponsor)
Marzuki
Matijovich
McPike (Sponsor)
Mulcahey (Sponsor)
Nash
Nelson
Oblinger
Pierce
Preston
Rhem
Rice (Sponsor)
Shaw (Sponsor)
Slape (Sponsor)
Stuffle
Taylor (Sponsor)
Terzick
Turner
White (Sponsor)
Winchester
Wolf
Yorell
Zwick (Sponsor)

UNDECIDED

Cowlishaw
Daniels
Kulas
McGann
Olson
Richmond

NOT SEEN

Barger
Barnes
Birkinbine
Christensen
Churchill
Davis
DeJaegher
Doyle
Dunn, J.
Dunn, R.
Ebbeson
Friedrich
Giglio
Georgi
Greiman
Hannig
Harris
Hawkinson
Hensel
Hicks
Hoffman
Jaffe
Johnson
Keane
Kirkland
Krska
Laurino
Mautino
McAuliffe
McCracken
McMaster
Neff
O'Connell
Panayotovich
Pangle
Peterson
Piel
Rea
Ronan
Saltsman
Steczo
Tate
Topinka
Van Dyne
Vinson
Vitch
Weit
Wojcik
Woodyard
Young

CONTACT: Barbara Fried, 255 Forest,
Glen Ellyn, IL 60137, (312) 236-0315



self-determination for DC
a national coalition

2130 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-834-4200

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

January 1, 1984

- AFL-CIO
- American Association of University Women
- American Civil Liberties Union
- American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
- American Federation of Teachers
- American Jewish Committee
- American Nurses Association
- American Veterans Committee
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- United States Student Association
- United Steelworkers of America

*IOWA

STATUS: Amendment passed House of Representatives 62-32 in 1983. Only Senate passage is needed for ratification in 1984.

STRATEGY: Iowa is one of the best prospects for ratification in 1984. The coalition, which has been excellently led by the League, lobbied legislators while out of session, and has a very promising vote count for 1984. The plan is to bring Amendment up early in session.

COALITION: LWV, IA Federation of Labor, IACLU, Methodist Church, CC, and IWPC.

SPONSORS: Sen. Charles Brunner (D-Ames), Sen. Tom Slater (D-Council Bluffs), and 12 others.

SESSION DATES: January 1 - mid-April Senate D/28 R/22; House D/16 R/44

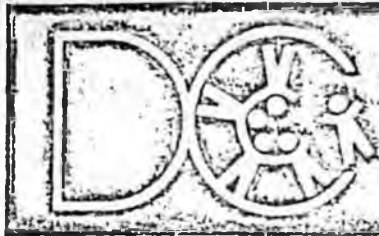
WHAT YOU CAN DO: Have organization affiliates contact Mary Curran as soon as possible since strategy is to bring Amendment up early in session.

CONTACT: Mary Curran, 145 25th St., Dr., SE, Cedar Rapids, IA 52304, (319) 362-1613

Sharon Hill, 610 3rd Ave. N. Mt. Vernon, IA 52314, (319) 895-8321

Mary Jane DeFrank, Self-Determination for D.C. (202) 833-1200

*Top priority state -- only Senate passage needed for ratification.



self-determination for DC

Washington - 202-331-1111

202-331-1111
202-331-1111

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

January 25, 1984

AFL-CIO

American Association of University Women
American Civil Liberties Union
American Federation of State, County, and
Municipal Employees

American Federation of Teachers
American Jewish Committee

American Nurses Association
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United States Student Association
United Steelworkers of America

KANSAS

STATUS: The Amendment is being introduced this week in the House by sponsors Rep. Elaine Hassler (R) and Rep. Vic Miller (D).

STRATEGY: The coalition is working closely with the sponsors to build bi-partisan support, lobby legislative leadership, contact the Governor, and enlist help from Senator Dole. Strategy is to try to move the bill early in session.

COALITION: Members so far: CC, LWV, KNEA, KS Nurses Assn., Coordinating Committee of the Black Community, KWFC, ACLU, AFL-CIO, Kansas Public Employees Assn., and sponsors.

SPONSORS: Rep. Elaine Hassler (R), Rep. Vic Miller (D), and over 40 co-sponsors.

SESSION DATES: January 9 - mid-April. Senate D/16 R/24; House D/53 R/72.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: 1) If your organization is not listed above, contact coalition convenors; 2) generate constituent mail to any House members; 3) urge local affiliates to attend the weekly coalition meetings:

Kansas DCVRA coalition meeting
Fridays at noon
Statehouse -- meet at Information Desk

CONTACTS: Nancy Sargent, LWV, 1913 Warner Ct., Topeka, KS
66605, (913) 357-1166

Dwight Hilpman, CC/KS, 641 Ohio, Lawrence, KS
66044, (913) 842-5059

Erika Landberg, Self-Determination for D.C.
(202) 833-1200