



2011 - 2012
The 112th Congress

Public Policy
Briefing
Book



Justice & Witness Ministries
Wider Church Ministries



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2. THE INSIDER -

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3. WITNESS FOR JUSTICE -

Weekly articles on a variety of subjects written by JWM's Executive Minister, Linda Jaramillo, and members of the staff sent to you electronically. Many local newspapers around the country publish Witness for Justice each week. Sign up online at: http://www.ucc.org/justice/advocacy_resources/witness-for-justice/.

4. Sign up for the weekly GLOBAL MINISTRIES UPDATE -

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Our **vision**: a more just, compassionate and peaceful world that honors all of God's creation.

Take Action The Insider Witness for Justice Global Ministries Update

Name: _____

E-mail address: _____

City: _____ State: _____

Church: _____



Justice & Witness Ministries, Attn: Helga Mingione
700 Prospect Avenue, Cleveland OH 44115
Fax: 216-736-3703, Email—jwmm@ucc.org

Greetings from UCC Executive Ministers

Dear Partners in Christ,

The United Church of Christ's Justice and Witness Ministries and Wider Church Ministries are pleased to share with you the **2011-2012 Public Policy Briefing Book** to help provide us all with information about our church's concern for key issues and places at home and abroad. Our highlighted suggestions for public policy could make this world a better place for all people. We join you in longing for and working for God's justice and peace here on earth.

The United Church of Christ has a long-standing commitment to advocate for public policy that promotes healing and reconciliation in this troubled world. The UCC has long organized us to work for an end to poverty and oppression and to proclaim that there should be enough for all of basic necessities like shelter, food, clean and accessible water, access to health care, and human rights.



We hope this briefing book will help you and your local church educate yourselves about key issues and organize your advocacy for justice and peace in concrete ways as well as gather support for specific legislation in the 112th Congress or for resolutions at the United Nations which further our understanding of the reign of God's love for all people.

The particular positions on public policy taken by the wider United Church of Christ are based on votes by local church members gathered in the UCC General Synod. General Synod delegates intentionally seek to give voice to the concerns of marginalized persons around us as well as to listen to the cries of partners around the world when they ask us to speak to our government about issues that can dramatically affect their daily lives. The General Synod never speaks for the entire United Church of Christ or for any particular local church or member; the General Synod, once it has voted, does speak powerfully to both the church and the society. The General Synod invites local church members to join it in advocating for particular justice stands.

In the United Church of Christ we have a terrific tool for organizing our advocacy, the **UCC Justice and Peace Action Network (JPANet)**. Regular email alerts give us weekly information about current issues and legislation so that we can more effectively proclaim our advocacy. Thank you for your emails, letters, phone calls, faxes, and cards to elected officials throughout the year. Congressional representatives frequently report that they pay close attention to the volume of messages they receive. Let's raise the bar and send even more messages on behalf of God's inclusive love in 2011 and 2012.

Imagine, Another World is Possible! God is still speaking, calling for a more peaceful world with adequate food and water, liberty and justice for all. Thank you for acting in response to God's call.

In solidarity,



Rev. M. Linda Jaramillo
Executive Minister
Justice and Witness Ministries



Rev. Cally Rogers-Witte
Executive Minister
Wider Church Ministers

Contents

Greetings from UCC Executive Ministers

Section I: Advocacy 101 9

User's Guide to the <i>Public Policy Briefing Book</i>	10
A Biblical Call to Advocacy	12
Developing an Advocacy Strategy	15
Engaging in Effective Policy Advocacy	16
Media Advocacy Tips	21
Restoring Civility	22
Justice and Peace Action Network (JPANet)	25
112th Congress Roster	26
112th House of Representatives Roster	28

Section II: Issue Briefings: 2011-2012 Legislative Agenda 36

Introduction	38
Federal Budget Calendar	39

Domestic

- **Bullying and Harassment:** Pass the Safe Schools Improvement Act (SSIA) 41
- **Campaign Finance Reform:** Uphold the Democratic Process 42
- **Environment:** Defend the Work of the EPA to Enforce the Clean Air Act 44
- **Health Care:** Do Not Repeal the Affordable Care Act 45
- **HIV-AIDS:** Fund AIDS Drug Assistance Programs 46
- **Human Rights:** End Warrantless Searches and Seizures under Patriot Act 47
- **Immigration:** Resist Enforcement-Only Legislation 48
- **Job Creation:** Make This be Our Highest Priority 50
- **Juvenile Justice:** Support the Youth PROMISE Act 52

- **Public Education:** Overhaul the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (No Child Left Behind) 53
- **Sexuality Education:** Fund Comprehensive Programs 54
- **Violence:** Support Sensible Gun Laws 55
- **Women's Rights:** Reauthorize the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) 56

International

- **Afghanistan:** Promote a Just Peace and Responsible End to the War 57
- **Climate Change:** U.S. Must Address Global Warming 58
- **Congo:** U.S. Policy Must Honor the Sovereignty 60
- **Cuba:** Time for a New Policy 61
- **Globalization:** Pass Fair (not Free) Trade Agreements 62
- **Global Security:** Invest in Diplomacy and Development, Not Increased Military Spending 63
- **Israel/Palestine:** U.S. Should Work for a Just Resolution 64
- **The Middle East and North Africa:** Ask Congress to Find the Right Tool 65



Section I: Advocacy 101

- User's Guide to the *Public Policy Briefing Book* 10
- A Biblical Call to Advocacy 12
- Developing an Advocacy Strategy 15
- Engaging in Effective Policy Advocacy 16
- Media Advocacy Tips 21
- Restoring Civility 22
- Justice and Peace Action Network (JPANet) 25
- 112th Congress Roster 26
- 112th House of Representatives Roster 28

User's Guide to the *Public Policy Briefing Book*

The *Public Policy Briefing Book* is a guide to policy issues that are monitored each year by the national staff of the United Church of Christ and our partner ecumenical and interfaith bodies. It is distributed at various UCC settings of the church, i.e. the local church, association, Conference meetings and General Synod. Moreover, it is circulated at some ecumenical gatherings such as Ecumenical Advocacy Days (EAD). An electronic version can be downloaded at www.ucc.org/justice/uccbriefingbook.

The Briefing Book Holds the Tools You Need to Get Started

Advocacy in the United Church of Christ depends on congregations and their members. Each week, through the UCC Justice and Peace Action Network (JPANet) and other UCC take action vehicles, i.e. *Keeping You E-Posted (KYEP)* or the *JWM Insider*, more than 50,000 people of faith are given the opportunity to take action as it relates to policy issues. As is consistent with past editions, this year's version of the *Public Policy Briefing Book* includes information that you will need to get your congregation ready for organizing a witness on legislative issues. A couple of noteworthy issue background sections include an emphasis on US economic recovery, the Middle East and an issue briefings section that highlight other key domestic and international public policy.

So get started. Glance through the *Briefing Book* and get an overview of where we anticipate public policy action this year. Then take the book to a social action committee meeting or find out the issues of greatest concern to your congregation and help put your congregation on the road to advocacy!

How to Use the Briefing Book in Your Congregation

The legislative issues described in this year's *Briefing Book* are all being addressed by the national staff of the United Church of Christ in local, state, national and even international arenas. Not every issue that General Synod has ever spoken to is found in this book. Many faithful members in the UCC, Disciples of Christ or our partner organizations, including national staff, do work throughout the year on many other issues.

The *Public Policy Briefing Book* presents issues that the national staff, in consultation with our local church and Conference contacts, has identified as priority for upcoming advocacy and legislative work. In discerning advocacy priorities for the 112th Congress, staff members weighed the likelihood that an issue might move through legislative action or other public policy decision-making.

The Internet and the newly expanded electronic advocacy capacity of the United Church of Christ have made it easier for advocates to time their actions with up-to minute strategies for influencing legislation. In the *Briefing Book* you will find background on anticipated legislation so that you can begin to educate and organize members of your local church to act when a bill comes to a committee or floor vote in Congress.

Weekly actions and updates on issues are posted on www.ucc.org/justice/jpanet.html, our UCC electronic advocacy website. If you are not currently receiving JPANet Weekly Actions, which alert network members to legislative actions in Congress each week, you can sign up for them through the above site. Moreover, once you take an electronic action, you immediately become part of the network, unless you choose to opt out.

How Does the UCC Staff Work on Legislative and Policy Issues?

People often ask, “What guides the statements, actions, witness, and ministry of the United Church of Christ in all its varied settings?” That vision is offered by UCC members from across the country who gather for General Synod, to pray, reflect, and discern a faithful response to God’s vision through resolutions and pronouncements on the issues facing our world. Since the very beginning of its life in 1957, the United Church of Christ has made courageous statements on major social policy issues of the day, during times of great social and political change. Staff in Justice and Witness Ministries and Wider Church Ministries build on this legacy and reference specific statements in shaping our public witness and positions on issues of public policy.

The UCC Justice and Witness Ministries (JWM) staff work on both domestic and international issues and is based in Cleveland, OH; Whitakers, NC; San Ysidro, CA; Port Orchard, WA and Washington, DC. The UCC staff of Wider Church Ministries (WCM) and of Global Ministries, which includes the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), monitor international issues and are based in Cleveland, OH and Indianapolis, IN.

The UCC Justice and Witness staff in Washington, DC (Public Life and Social Policy Team) in partnership with UCC staff, Conferences, congregations, and individual members, monitor and seek changes in legislation at local, state and federal levels through a variety of coalitions and working groups.

The UCC Justice and Peace Action Network (JPANet) is a common action arm of the four covenanted ministries of the UCC that is charged with mobilizing UCC members for concentrated action as issues emerge.

To contact UCC staff working on issues addressed in the *Public Policy Briefing Book*:

Justice and Witness Ministries

700 Prospect Avenue East
Cleveland, OH 44115
216-736-3700
216-736-3703 (fax)
866-822-8224 (toll free)
www.ucc.org/justice

Justice and Witness Ministries Washington, DC Office

100 Maryland Avenue NE, Suite 330
Washington, DC 20002
202-543-1517
202-543-5994 (fax)

Franklinton Center at Bricks (JWM)

PO Box 220
Whitakers, NC 27891
252-437-1723
252-437-1278 (fax)
www.ucc.org/franklinton-center

Pilgrim Firs (JWM-*PNC)

PO Box 694
Port Orchard, WA 98366
360-876-2031
www.pilgrimfirs.org

Wider Church Ministries/ Global Ministries (UCC)

700 Prospect Avenue East
Cleveland, OH 44115
216-736-3200
216-736-3203 (fax)
866-822-8224 (toll free)
www.globalministries.org

Global Ministries (Disciples of Christ)

PO Box 1986
Indianapolis, IN 46206
317-713-2575
317-635-4323 (fax)

Centro Romero (JWM-*SCNC)

173 W. Hall Street
San Ysidro, CA 92173
619-428-8700
619-428-8705 (fax)
www.theromero-center.com

*Southern California/Nevada Conference

*Pacific Northwest Conference

A Biblical Call to Advocacy



Doom to you who legislate evil, who make laws that make victims – Laws that make misery for the poor, that rob my destitute people of dignity, exploiting defenseless widows, taking advantage of homeless children. What will you have to say on Judgment Day?

[Isaiah 10:1-3a, the Message]

These are challenging times for our nation, as debate rages over fundamental decisions regarding our national priorities, values and commitments, and how they will be expressed in public policy.

Events of recent times remind us that we cannot ignore economic, social, and ecological realities that have led to greater abundance for some and scarcity for many others. None of us remains untouched. In the challenges before us today, we, as people of faith, can hear the echoes of prophets and believers who throughout history have lifted up a vision of right relationship within human community and with God. God's vision of the wholeness of creation has always challenged the human limits of our thoughts, imaginations, and hopes.

The Hebrew people were continually reminded that the way in which their human community was structured reflected their relationship to God. In the prophetic tradition, justice in human community is inextricably linked to being in right relationship with God, for as God had brought the people through great trouble, so they were to respond to those in trouble in their midst.

Jesus reminds us of the call to compassion and justice, showing special care and concern for those in his day who were considered expendable. "Whenever you did one of these things to someone overlooked or ignored, that was me—you did it to me." [Matthew 25:40, *the Message*]

When human community is broken by injustice, the relationship of the community to God is broken. Right relationship in human community and with God is reflected in how the least are treated – the orphans, the widow, the sojourners.

The prophet Isaiah points to the connection between our common life and public policy – the laws, policies, practices and decisions of our nation, states, and cities (Isaiah 10-1-2). Laws and policies order our common life. They reflect our priorities as a people, including what we value and who we value.

In responding faithfully to God's call for abundant life for all people, a common life in which no one is left behind, we are drawn inevitably to engage in public policy advocacy and decision making. This connection is powerfully expressed in these words:

"Politics is often taken to be a dirty word. But political processes are simply the way that communities of people organize their common life, allocate their resources, and tackle their shared problems. Politics is about the rules we make, the values we honor, the processes we follow so that large groups of people can live together with some measure of fairness, order and peace. How can people of faith possibly wash their hands of that public arena when our Scriptures clearly show God's preoccupation with it: with honest weights and measures in the marketplace; with judges who will not take bribes;

with the plight of the poor and the perils of wealth; with hospitality for strangers and foreigners; with beating swords into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks? For people of faith, public policy is never merely politics, merely economics. It is one way we try to plow the biblical vision of shalom into the soil of our history. It is a way of living out the commandment to love our neighbor as ourselves.” - “The Good Samaritan, the United Church of Christ and Public Policy,” Richard G. Watts, adapted by David Bahr [note: no longer in publication].

Do our policies and values reflect the vision to which our faith call us? What is the connection between the Gospel call to respond to the hungry — the thirsty, the stranger, those in prison, and those who are sick — and the policy decisions that determine funding for school feeding programs, standards for clean air, sentencing for nonviolent offenders, and health care access? It is our hope that the 2011-2012 *Public Policy Briefing Book* may provide a way to think about those connections.

UCC General Synod Resolutions and Justice Advocacy

"Whereas many people have committed to memory John 3:16 - 'For God so loved the world that God gave God's only begotten child,' and though this verse has become one of the best-known and often-quoted verses in the Scripture, we have failed to take cognizance of one of the key elements of this verse - 'world'. We have believed, rather, that God so loved the church, or the well-behaved people or the Christians, but not really the world; i.e. the whole people. The church is people, people who are called in every time and every place to the task of continuing the essential ministry of Christ. We in the UCC need to understand that ministry and responsibly appropriate it in the world... Therefore, the 11th General Synod calls upon the United Christ of Christ to marshal and utilize its resources to help equip our churches to fully and actively engage a prophetic ministry in political education and sensitivity including: a) citizen education, and registration efforts; b) political organizing and training workshops; c) public hearings on policy formulation; d) encourage participation in the political process.

-Resolution on Political Education and Sensitivity, General Synod 11, 1977.

People often ask, “What guides the statements, actions, and witness, and ministry of the United Church of Christ in all of its varied settings?” That vision is offered by UCC members from across the country who gather for General Synod, to pray, reflect, and discern a faithful response to God’s vision through resolutions and pronouncements on the issues facing our world. Since the very beginning of its life in 1957, the United Church of Christ has made courageous statements on major social policy issues of the day, during times of great social and political change. This prophetic tradition grows out of the prophetic witness of our predecessor denominations.

What is General Synod? It is a faithful gathering that speaks to the church, not for the church. It does not speak for the whole church. In our UCC polity, no one entity speaks for every setting of the church. Individual members and congregations are free to disagree and to state their convictions in their own terms. Still, General Synod is the most widely representative body in the life of the denomination. It sets policy for the Covenanted Ministries and provides direction for Conferences, Associations, and congregations, for all who hear the word of God speaking in the midst of the many words of General Synod.

General Synod has spoken some powerful and historic words. Whether by pronouncement or resolution, General Synod has prayerfully considered all of the issues you will find in these pages, and has offered a faithful response to the church and to the world. Many General Synod resolutions and pronouncements come about through the engagement, witness, and ministry of UCC members in local congregations who seek to share their experiences and witness with the larger church.

Many of the resolutions and pronouncements from the most recent General Synods are available through the UCC website at <http://www.ucc.org/synod/resolutions/past-general-synod.html>. Older proceedings, resolutions, and pronouncements can be accessed through the UCC archivist.

The resolutions and pronouncements of General Synod invite us all to engage in reflection and dialogue around issues of critical concern in our world. May God bless all of our efforts to discern what it means to live faithfully and courageously in the struggle for justice and peace.

Developing an Advocacy Strategy

Before any advocacy campaign begins — before the letter-writing, petitions, or protests — advocates must have a clear strategy — an overall map of where you are, where you want to be, and how to get there. At its heart, an effective strategy is based on five key questions:

What Do You Want? (Objectives)

An advocacy campaign must begin with a clear sense of what you want to achieve. It should be easily explainable and understood. An initial objective, i.e. a change in the law, should be big enough to attract people's interest yet small enough to win some concrete results within a reasonable time (six months to a year).

Who Can Give It to You? (Audiences)

The first question to ask is who has the authority to give you what you want. Is it Congress, the state legislature, your city council, your local school board, the local health department? Whoever it is, this is your primary audience. Second, who will most directly influence their decision-making? This could be the media, local business leaders, or other community groups. They also need to be a target of your advocacy efforts.

What Do They Need to Hear? (Message)

An advocacy campaign must have a message that is clear, true, persuasive and consistent for the audiences that the campaign has targeted. Advocates often make the mistake of believing that the most effective message is the most persuasive to themselves. What do your audiences think, and what will genuinely move them to your side? That message must be repeated, over and over again with clarity.

Whom Do They Need to Hear It From? (Messengers)

The same message will have a very different effect depending on who communicates it. In general, an advocacy campaign should have some messengers who have credibility as experts, some who can speak from personal experience, and others who have special credibility or connection to the person or group you have targeted.

How Can We Get Them to Hear It? (Delivery)

Advocacy campaigns can deliver their message in many different ways – from lobbying or media work to protest and direct action. Campaigns need to evaluate their options for action and weave the right ones together in a winning mix.

Take a look at each of these questions, look at the resources you have to work with, (i.e. people power, information, and money endorsements) and develop a strategy from them that makes the most sense.

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Engaging in Effective Policy Advocacy

Why Does it Matter?

For people of faith, public policy decision-making is never merely politics. It is a way of living out the commandment to love our neighbor as ourselves. In responding faithfully to God’s call for abundant life for all people, a common life where no one is left behind, we are drawn inevitably to engage in public policy advocacy and decision-making.

As people of faith, we bring the gift and responsibility of holding true to a vision of right relationship in human community that goes beyond any singular party, ideology or platform.

Issue Advocacy vs. Partisan Political Advocacy

People of faith can engage political work without being partisan. Faith communities can legally and effectively engage in issue-based advocacy. Partisan or candidate-focused advocacy is inappropriate and illegal.

Do...

Speak to policy issues from a faith perspective and communicate those views to decision-makers and the public.

Don’t...

Make statements endorsing or opposing candidates.

What Makes Advocacy Effective?

Be prepared to offer accurate information and assistance. You can provide valuable information, insight and resources on a particular issue. Accurate, informative communication helps decision-makers more effectively respond to the high volume of legislative measures and policy concerns that cross their desks. One of the most important advocacy tools that you have is your story, your experience of why an issue matters and how it impacts your community. Legislators need to know what is happening in the communities they represent.

Do your homework on issues you care about and provide decision-makers and staffers with information they can use – a key statistic, a story, a sound bite. Communicating the impact of policy decisions on a legislator’s district is especially effective and compelling.

Policy advocacy involves building relationships with decision-makers and their staff members. Make your presence known and establish connections with in-district staff as well as Washington-based staff members through regular communication.

Communicating with Your Members of Congress

People often ask, what is the *most* effective form of communication to legislators and staff members? Constituent visits (to both district and Washington offices) are generally most influential, followed by individualized, handwritten letters, individualized e-mails, phone calls and, lastly, form letters/e-mails/faxes.

Visits to the offices of your members of Congress are the best way to communicate about pending legislation. For many people, visits to in-district and Washington offices are not always possible. You can write personal, handwritten letters, though it is important to note that congressional mail continues to be screened for anthrax and may be delayed three weeks or more. Staff members in congressional offices are assigned to monitor and record your phone calls to the office and to monitor all e-mail received. If you can identify the staff person who covers your issue area, always take the time to send your message to that staff member as well through a personal e-mail.

Sending messages through the UCC Justice and Peace Action Network (JPANet) is a great way to advocate on public policy decisions and to establish regular, effective contact with your members of Congress and other key decision-makers. JPANet messages are timed to be sent out when they will be most effective in the decision-making process.

Remember that town hall meetings and campaign events are also great opportunities for raising issues that are important to you. Come prepared with your questions.

Know your lawmaker's committee assignments, previous experience, priorities and issue positions. You can often find this information on their web pages.

Scheduling a Visit

Contact the scheduler in your member's office to make an appointment with your member of Congress or a staff member who covers your issue. Let them know the dates you are available, the issue you want to discuss and who will be present during the visit. Make sure you identify yourself as a constituent in their district to get scheduling priority.

Check the congressional recess calendar to find out when members of Congress are likely to be in their home districts. This is a good time to set up a visit with a member or a staffer in their district office.

Some offices may require a meeting request in writing by fax or e-mail. [see sample meeting request letter]

Confirm your visit by phone a day or two ahead of your visit.

Whether you set up a visit in Washington or in your home district, you will most likely be meeting with a staff member – don't be discouraged. Staff members are the eyes, ears and advisors for our elected officials. They can be key to bringing your issue to the attention of your legislator.

Making a Visit

If possible, it is a good idea to practice or role-play your visit ahead of time.

Plan your agenda for the meeting and select one person to be the primary spokesperson.

Dress for success and be on time.

Introduce yourself and others and explain why you are there.

If possible, make a connection by thanking the congressperson for positive votes or support on issues in the past.

Make your ask – state clearly and concisely what action you want the congressperson to take. Make your ask within the first five minutes of meeting, and repeat it during the visit.

Be compelling – use personal experiences and bring the issue home to the congressperson’s own district or state. Talk about how this issue impacts their district.

Be honest and credible – if you don’t know the answer to a question, get the information to them in a follow-up call or letter.

If the conversation goes off track, politely steer it back to your central message.

Listen and ask good questions. It is particularly helpful to ask for specific responses (i.e. will the member co-sponsor a bill, speak in support of a bill,...)

Be respectful of time. End on a positive note and thank them for their time.

Leave behind a short written summary of your position.

Follow up your visit with a thank you letter and continue to monitor the congressperson’s action on your issue.

Making a Phone Call

Ask to speak to the staff member who covers the particular issue you want to address.

Identify yourself as a constituent and a person of faith.

Clearly and briefly state your position on the issue.

Thank the staff person for their time and follow up with a letter.

Writing a Letter

State your purpose for writing in the first sentence of your letter – identify the issue and make a specific request [i.e. “I urge you to support the Jubilee global debt cancellation bill”].

Be brief and focus on one issue per message.

Personalize your message – why does this matter to you? Use a story to illustrate the impact of a policy position.

Ask specific questions which may prompt something more than a form response.

Tips and Talking Points

Know the political landscape and know your audience. What are the key issues and priorities for the decision maker you wish to impact? Who are the key players with regard to the issues you want to influence? Who is opposed to your position and who is on your side? What are their arguments?

Think about the best angles with which to engage your particular legislator. Is your representative a fiscal conservative, a supporter of environmental issues, a member of a congressional issue caucus? Where can you reinforce what a lawmaker has done? Where can you point out new opportunities?

Remember Your **ABCs**:

Ask for something specific.

Be persistent.

Courtesy - be professional and gracious.

Helpful Websites

U.S. House of Representatives www.house.gov

U.S. Senate www.senate.gov

Library of Congress www.thomas.gov (tracking legislation)

Govtracks www.Govtrack.us (a civic project for finding information on legislation and members of Congress)

“Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world; indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.” Margaret Mead

Sample Letter: Requesting a Meeting with Your Member of Congress

Attn: [name of scheduler]
The Honorable [name]
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Ms./Mr. [name of scheduler]

I am writing to request an appointment for [number of meeting participants] to meet with the Honorable [] in [note whether Washington or in-district] to discuss the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA). VAWA is up for reauthorization this year, and we would like to talk about the importance of this legislation in addressing violence against women.

Please contact me to let me know when [] might be available to meet. I will follow up with you in the next week by phone.

Thank you for your assistance,

Name
Address
Phone number
e-mail address

Media Advocacy Tips

Think of the media as an opportunity to educate people in your community about the issues you care about and experience firsthand. The level of public debate and dialogue on key issues depends on the degree to which we effectively use or fail to use the media forum. As with all conversation, whether between two people or thousands, the quality depends on using our voices responsibly, faithfully, and respectfully.

Local media forums, such as newspapers, radio, or TV cable-access programs, reach many people and are very significant in shaping opinions. People learn from and listen to people they know – people from their communities. In fact, recent surveys reveal that the major factor in influencing an individual's vote is conversation with family and friends. So you can be a powerful advocate right where you are!

When developing your message, ask yourself this key question: what piece of information can I offer that is missing from the debate that might change someone's thinking on an issue if they became aware of it?

Writing a Letter to the Editor

Letters to the editor are an excellent way to expand on an article or respond with another viewpoint. This section is one of the most widely read sections of the paper.

To improve the chances of having your letter published, submit it as soon as possible – within twenty-four hours if you can and no more than three days after the article you are responding to appears. Refer to the article you are addressing by title and date it appeared.

Stick to one point. Keep your letter short. Use sound reasoning, facts, and firsthand experience.

Find out your newspaper's requirements for submitting a letter. Often you will need to sign your letter and provide your address and phone number.

Writing an Opinion Editorial (Op-Ed)

Choose a current topic or "news peg" on which to hang your opinion.

Express your point of view clearly and boldly in the first paragraph.

Use simple, short sentences and paragraphs. Avoid jargon.

Include at least one memorable phrase for use as a pull out quote.

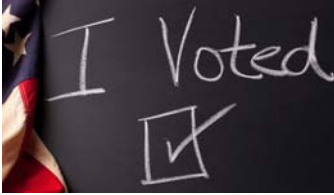
Close on a strong note. A short, powerful, last paragraph should drive your point home.

Make it personal (avoid form letters) and provide accurate information.

Think of images or ways to make your message powerful and concrete. Stories and personal experiences are often very persuasive. Create a picture in the reader's mind.

RESTORING CIVILITY

Being a Civil Voice in Uncivil Times



www.ucc.org/ourfaithourvote

*“Shout out, do
not hold back!
Lift up your
voice like a
trumpet!”*

- Isaiah 58:1

“Indeed, the body does not consist of one member but of many. If the foot would say, ‘Because I am not a hand, I do not belong to the body,’ that would not make it any less a part of the body. And if the ear would say, ‘Because I am not an eye, I do not belong to the body,’ that would not make it any less a part of the body. If the whole body were an eye, where would the hearing be? If the whole body were hearing, where would the sense of smell be? ...As it is, there are many members, yet one body. The eye cannot say to the hand, ‘I have no need of you,’ nor again the head to the feet, ‘I have no need of you.’ ... If one member suffers, all suffer together with it; if one member is honored, all rejoice together with it.”
[I Corinthians 12: 14-26]

“Let no evil talk come out of your mouths, but only what is useful for building up, as there is need, so that your words may give grace to those who hear. And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, with which you were marked with a seal for the day of your redemption. Put away from you all bitterness and wrath and anger and wrangling and slander, together with malice, and be kind to one another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another as Christ has forgiven you.”
[Ephesians 4: 29-32]

While public discussion of political issues has the potential to bring out the best in us – by surfacing creative new ideas or developing effective problem-solving strategies – more often than not in our public dialogue about the issues of the day, the opposite seems to be happening. From the national dialogue about health care to the passionate discussion of immigration reform this year, it is all too easy for anger and frustration to get the best of us. Whether around the office water cooler or the extended family dinner table, reasoned conversation is taking a back seat to personal attacks and replayed sound bites. Because we avoid these conversations, we miss out on deeper understanding.

As people of faith participating in the public square, we are called to a higher standard of engagement and interaction with our neighbors – even and perhaps especially those with whom we may disagree on an issue. **Our faith provides us with spiritual resources to take the conversation to a different level.** We can choose respect and hope over animosity and bitterness. We can choose to listen and learn rather than attack and insult. We can choose to have civic discussions in civil tones.

We do not have to avoid the hard issues. We can prepare ourselves for a better conversation by thinking about some of the following ideas to shape our conversation on difficult and emotion-filled issues of the day.



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Justice and Witness Ministries

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Show Respect: Rather than trying to “win” a debate with your arguments, judge your success by how well you demonstrate respect for other people and for what insights or interesting challenges arise for you. Stay away from insults and personal attacks, and keep trying to return to the substance of the issue. The more respect you show for someone else’s opinions, the more reason they have to respect yours.

Listen: One of the best ways to show respect is to listen. Focus on what the other person is saying, rather than focusing on what you are going to say next. Ask yourself, “What are they trying to express?” “What is important to them?” “Where do we agree?”

Seek Understanding: Try to understand the context from which other people are speaking – ask yourself why they see things the way they do. Ask open-ended questions that invite others to say more about why they believe what they believe.

Share Your Own Views Well: Put thought and energy into articulating your own views clearly and concisely. What do you believe and why? Statistics can be helpful, but often sharing your personal stories is most effective. Claim your own opinions by using “I” statements, such as “I believe...” and “In my experience...” Try to avoid exaggeration or the use of sound bites or slogans – use your own words.

Keep Your Head: Talking about public policy issues often taps into strong emotions and passions in all of us. Remember to pause, take a deep breath from time to time, and give yourself time to respond. Few people benefit or learn anything from a shouting match. You can help set the tone of the conversation by continuing to act with civility even when others are not. If someone is not showing respect – for instance, by interrupting or not listening to your comments – calmly ask that they do so. “You just shared your opinion and I listened without interrupting, could you please listen to mine?”

I believe our communities, our country and our world are stronger and safer and when we treat each other with respect. I believe that my voice is important, and I believe that listening to the voices of others is important for a healthy, vibrant democratic process. I believe that insulting, attacking or demonizing people with whom we disagree is unproductive and unacceptable. As individuals and as community, we can and should do better.

As a person of faith, I pledge to participate responsibly and faithfully in the electoral process. I recognize my responsibility for supporting a free, fair and respectful democratic process, and I pledge to do my part. I commit to honoring my own voice and the voice of others. I commit to educating myself and others about the issues at stake in these elections. I commit to expressing myself responsibly, to seek to learn from different perspectives, to always offer respect to others, and to challenge hurtful, disrespectful behavior when I can.

SIGN THE PLEDGE—Visit <http://www.ucc.org/ourfaithourvote/civility.html>

Tips for Faithful and Respectful Discussion on the Issues

- Realize that the Holy Spirit is present and active in the conversation and has given each participant a part of the truth you are seeking to discern.
- Follow the Golden Rule: “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you” – even when you disagree with them.
- Listen respectfully and carefully to others.
- State what you think you heard someone say and ask for clarification before responding, in an effort to make sure to understand each other.
- Speak honestly about your thoughts and feelings. Share personal experiences to help others more fully understand your concerns and perspectives on the issues. Conversations can be passionate and still be respectful, civil and constructive.
- Speak for yourself, rather than as a member of a group. Use “I” statements rather than “You” statements.
- Focus on ideas and suggestions instead of questioning people’s motives, intelligence or integrity.
- Look for and lift up points of agreement as well as disagreement.
- Create space for everyone’s concerns to be spoken, even when they disagree.
- Seek to stay in community with each other even though the discussion may be vigorous and perhaps tense.
- Keep an open mind and heart. You may not hear if you judge too quickly.
- Pray for God’s grace to listen attentively, to speak clearly and to remain open to the vision God holds for all of us.

[Adapted from “Ground Rules for Conversation” (Evangelical Lutheran Church Department for Communication) and “Seeking to be Faithful Together” (adopted by the 204th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, USA)]

Links to Additional Resources on Civility

- *Reclaiming Civility in the Public Square: Ten Rules That Work*, www.instituteforcivility.org
- Radio interview with Diana Butler Bass: On Civility and Graciousness, <http://godcomplexradio.com/2010/05/season-2-episode-1-diana-butler-bass-on-civility-graciousness/>
- Dialogue vs. Debate: A Guide, <http://www.nald.ca/clr/study/scdvd.htm>
- UCC General Synod Resource: <http://www.ucc.org/synod/resolutions/A-CALL-FOR-TRUTH-TELLING-AND-STANDARDS-OF-ETHICS-IN-PUBLIC-LIFE.pdf>
- Witness for Justice Article—An Air of Hostility <http://tiny.cc/WFJ443>
- Witness for Justice Article—Making the Connections - <http://tiny.cc/WFJ456>

Justice and Peace Action Network (JPANet)

What is the UCC Justice and Peace Action Network (JPANet)?

The UCC Justice and Peace Action Network (JPANet) is our denomination's way of mobilizing our members to speak and act prophetically through a grassroots advocacy network. Members of UCC congregations, as well as others, across the country make up the JPANet.

What does the JPANet do?

Our vision in Justice and Witness Ministries and Wider Church Ministries is a just, compassionate, and peaceful world that honors all of God's creation. In keeping with God's vision of a just and loving society, the JPANet equips its members through issues education and provides weekly opportunities for public policy advocacy. Our work is grounded in General Synod teachings, consonant with historic UCC witness, and formed by a biblical understanding of prophetic ministry.

The JPANet collectively advocates for justice and peace in the range of issues that come before Congress and to which our General Synod has spoken. Our issues work is resourced by national staff of Justice and Witness Ministries and Wider Church Ministries, who work with UCC advocates and with ecumenical, interfaith, and secular partners to shape coordinated strategy on our common witness.

What resources and opportunities does the JPANet provide?

- An electronic *Public Policy Briefing Book* at the beginning of each two year Congressional session as an overview of policy priorities and work in all areas.
- A shorter *Issues Briefing Update* in the second year of each Congressional session.
- Weekly electronic actions with direct "take-action" links to key decision makers.
- Monthly electronic *Justice and Peace Network News* with notices about upcoming events, new resources, and opportunities for action and witness.

To Join the Justice and Peace Action Network:

1. You can join the JPANet by visiting <http://www.ucc.org/justice/join-the-network/>.
2. You can join the JPANet merely by taking an electronic action on our site: <http://www.ucc.org/justice/jpanet.html>. Once you take an electronic action, you immediately become part of the network, unless you choose to opt out.



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1330 Longworth
(202) 225-7924; 225-7926
Long Beach: (562) 436-3828

[Rep. Grace Napolitano \(D-38th\)](#)
1610 Longworth
(202) 225-5256; 225-0027
Santa Fe Springs: (801) 801-2134

112th House of Representatives Roster cont'd

[Rep. Linda Sanchez \(D-39th\)](#)

2423 Rayburn
(202) 225-6676; 226-1012
Cerritos: (562) 860-5050

[Rep. Edward Royce \(R-40th\)](#)

2185 Rayburn
(202) 225-4111; 226-0335
Orange: (714) 744-4130

[Rep. Jerry Lewis \(R-41st\)](#)

2112 Rayburn
(202) 225-5861; 225-6498
Redlands: (800) 233-1700

[Rep. Gary Miller \(R-42nd\)](#)

2349 Rayburn
(202) 225-3201; 226-6962
Brea: (714) 257-1142

[Rep. Joe Baca \(D-43rd\)](#)

2366 Rayburn
(202) 225-6161; 225-8671
San Bernardino: (909) 885-2222

[Rep. Ken Calvert \(R-44th\)](#)

2269 Rayburn
(202) 225-1986; 225-2004
Riverside: (909) 784-4300

[Rep. Mary Bono Mack \(R-45th\)](#)

104 Cannon
(202) 225-5330; 225-2961
Palm Desert: (760) 320-1076

[Rep. Dana Rohrabacher \(R-46th\)](#)

2300 Rayburn
(202) 225-2415; 225-0145
Huntington Beach: (714) 960-6483

[Rep. Loretta Sanchez \(D-47th\)](#)

1114 Longworth
(202) 225-2965; 225-5859
Garden Grove: (714) 621-0102

[Rep. John Campbell \(R-48th\)](#)

1507 Longworth
(202) 225-5611; 225-9177
Newport Beach: (949) 756-2244

[Rep. Darrell Issa \(R-49th\)](#)

2347 Rayburn
(202) 225-3906; 225-3303
Vista: (760) 599-5000

[Rep. Brian Bilbray \(R-50th\)](#)

2410 Rayburn
(202) 225-0508; 225-2558
Solana Beach: (858) 350-1150

[Rep. Bob Filner \(D-51st\)](#)

2428 Rayburn
(202) 225-8045; 225-9073
Chula Vista: (619) 422-5963

[Rep. Duncan Hunter \(R-52nd\)](#)

223 Cannon
(202) 225-5672; 225-0235
El Cajon: (619) 448-5201

[Rep. Susan Davis \(D-53rd\)](#)

1526 Longworth
(202) 225-2040; 225-2948
San Diego: (619) 280-5353

Colorado

[Rep. Diana DeGette \(D-1st\)](#)

2335 Rayburn
(202) 225-4431; 225-5657
Denver: (303) 844-4988

[Rep. Jared Polis](#)

501 Cannon
(202) 225-2161; 226-7840
Boulder: (303) 484-9596

[Rep. Scott Tipton \(R-3rd\) *](#)

218 Cannon
(202) 225-4761; 226-9669
Grand Junction: (970) 241-2499

[Rep. Cory Gardner \(R-4th\) *](#)

213 Cannon
(202) 225-4676; 225-5870
Ft. Collins: (970) 221-7110

[Rep. Doug Lamborn \(R-5th\)](#)

437 Cannon
(202) 225-4422; 226-2638
Colorado Springs: (719) 520-0055

[Rep. Mike Coffman \(R-6th\)](#)

1222 Longworth
(202) 225-7882; 226-4623
Long Tree: (720) 283-9772

[Rep. Ed Perlmutter \(D-7th\)](#)

1221 Longworth
(202) 225-2645; 225-5278
Lakewood: (303) 274-7944

Connecticut

[Rep. John Larson \(D-1st\)](#)

1501 Longworth
(202) 225-2265; 225-1031
Hartford: (860) 278-8888

[Rep. Joseph Courtney \(D-2nd\)](#)

215 Cannon
(202) 225-2076; 225-4977
Norwich: (860) 886-0139

[Rep. Rosa DeLauro \(D-3rd\)](#)

2413 Rayburn
(202) 225-3661; 225-4890
New Haven: (203) 562-3718

[Rep. Jim Himes \(D-4th\)](#)

119 Cannon
(202) 225-5541; 225-9629
Bridgeport: (866) 453-0028

[Rep. Chris Murphy \(D-5th\)](#)

412 Cannon
(202) 225-4476; 225-5933
New Britain: (860) 223-8412

Delaware

[Rep. John Carney \(D-AL\) *](#)

1429 Longworth
(202) 225-4165; 225-2291
Wilmington: (302) 428-1902

District of Columbia

[Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton \(D-AL\)](#)

2136 Rayburn
(202) 225-8050; 225-3002
Washington: (202) 783-5065

Florida

[Rep. Jeff Miller \(R-1st\)](#)

2416 Rayburn
(202) 225-4136; 225-3414
Pensacola: (850) 479-1183

[Rep. Steve Southerland \(R-2nd\) *](#)

1229 Longworth
(202) 225-5235; 225-5615
Panama City: (850) 785-0812

[Rep. Corrine Brown \(D-3rd\)](#)

2336 Rayburn
(202) 225-0123; 225-2256
Jacksonville: (904) 354-1652

[Rep. Ander Crenshaw \(R-4th\)](#)

440 Cannon
(202) 225-2501; 225-2504
Jacksonville: (904) 598-0481

[Rep. Richard Nugent \(R-5th\) *](#)

1517 Longworth
(202) 225-1002; 226-6559
Brooksville: (352) 799-8354

[Rep. Cliff Stearns \(R-6th\)](#)

2306 Rayburn
(202) 225-5744; 225-3973
Ocala: (352) 351-8777

[Rep. John Mica \(R-7th\)](#)

2187 Rayburn
(202) 225-4035; 226-0821
Maitland: (407) 657-8080

[Rep. Daniel Webster \(R-8th\) *](#)

1039 Longworth
(202) 225-2176; 225-0999
Winter Garden: (407) 654-5705

[Rep. Gus Bilirakis \(R-9th\)](#)

407 Cannon
(202) 225-5755; 225-4085
Palm Harbor: (727) 773-2871

[Rep. Bill Young \(R-10th\)](#)

2407 Rayburn
(202) 225-5961; 225-9764
St. Petersburg: (813) 893-3191

[Rep. Kathy Castor \(D-11th\)](#)

137 Cannon
(202) 225-3376; 225-5652
Tampa: (813) 871-2817

[Rep. Dennis Ross \(R-12th\) *](#)

404 Cannon Offcie Building
(202) 225-1252; 226-0585
Lakeland: (863) 644-8215

[Rep. Vern Buchanan \(R-13th\)](#)

221 Cannon
(202) 225-5015; 226-0828
Sarasota: (941) 951-6643

[Rep. Connie Mack \(R-14th\)](#)

115 Cannon
(202) 225-2536; 226-0439
Cape Coral: (239) 573-5837

[Rep. Bill Posey \(R-15th\)](#)

120 Cannon
(202) 225-3671; 225-3516
Melbourne: (407) 632-1776

[Rep. Tom Rooney \(R-16th\)](#)

1529 Longworth
(202) 225-5792; 225-3132
Punta Gorda: (941) 575-9101

[Rep. Frederica Wilson \(D-17th\) *](#)

208 Cannon
(202) 225-4506; 226-0777
Miami Gardens: (305) 690-5905

[Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen \(R-18th\)](#)

2206 Rayburn
(202) 225-3931; 225-5620
Miami: (305) 668-2285

[Rep. Ted Deutch \(D-19th\)](#)

1024 Longworth
(202) 225-3001; 225-5974
Boca Raton: (561) 988-6302

[Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz \(D-20\)](#)

118 Cannon
(202) 225-7931; 226-2052
Pembroke Pines: (954) 437-3936

[Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart \(R-21st\) *](#)

436 Cannon
(202) 225-4211; 225-8576
Miami: (305) 225-6866

[Rep. Allen West \(R-22nd\) *](#)

1708 Longworth
(202) 225-3026; 225-8398
West Palm Beach: (561) 655-1943

[Rep. Alcee Hastings \(D-23rd\)](#)

2253 Rayburn
(202) 225-1313; 225-1171
Ft. Lauderdale: (954) 733-2800

[Rep. Sandy Adams \(R-24th\) *](#)

216 Cannon
(202) 225-2706; 226-6299
Port Orange: (386) 756-9798

[Rep. David Rivera \(R-25th\) *](#)

417 Cannon
(202) 225-2778; 226-0346
Miami: (305) 222-0160

Georgia

[Rep. Jack Kingston \(R-1st\)](#)

2372 Rayburn
(202) 225-5831; 226-2269
Savannah: (912) 352-0101

[Rep. Sanford Bishop, Jr. \(D-2nd\)](#)

2429 Rayburn
(202) 225-3631; 225-2203
Albany: (912) 439-8067

[Rep. Lynn Westmoreland \(R-3rd\)](#)

2433 Rayburn
(202) 225-5901; 225-2515
Newnan: (770) 683-2033

[Rep. Hank Johnson \(D-4th\)](#)

1427 Longworth
(202) 225-1605; 226-0691
Lithonia: (770) 987-2291

[Rep. John Lewis \(D-5th\)](#)

343 Cannon
(202) 225-3801; 225-0351
Atlanta: (404) 659-0116

112th House of Representatives Roster cont'd

[Rep. Tom Price \(R-6th\)](#)

403 Cannon
(202) 225-4501; 225-4656
Marietta: (770) 565-4990

[Rep. Rob Woodall \(R-7th\)](#) *

1725 Longworth
(202) 225-4272; 225-4696
Lawrenceville: (770) 232-3005

[Rep. Austin Scott \(D-8th\)](#) *

516 Cannon
(202) 225-6531; 225-3013
Warner Robins: (478) 971-1776

[Rep. Tom Graves \(R-9th\)](#) *

1113 Longworth
(202) 225-5211; 225-8272
Dalton: 706-226-5320

[Rep. Paul Broun \(R-10th\)](#)

325 Cannon
(202) 225-4101; 226-0776
Evans: (706) 447-3857

[Rep. Phil Gingrey \(R-11th\)](#)

442 Cannon
(202) 225-2931; 225-2944
Marietta: (770) 429-1776

[Rep. John Barrow \(D-12th\)](#)

2202 Rayburn
(202) 225-2823; 225-3377
Augusta: (706) 722-4494

[Rep. David Scott \(D-13th\)](#)

225 Cannon
(202) 225-2939; 225-4628
Jonesboro: (770) 210-5073

Guam

[Del. Madeleine Bordallo \(D-AL\)](#)

2441 Rayburn
(202) 225-1118; 226-0341
Hagatna: (671) 477-4272

Hawaii

[Rep. Colleen Hanabusa \(D-1st\)](#) *

238 Cannon
(202) 225-2726; 225-4580
Honolulu: (808) 541-2570

[Rep. Mazie Hirono \(D-2nd\)](#)

1410 Longworth
(202) 225-4906; 225-4987
Honolulu: (808) 541-1986

Idaho

[Rep. Raul Labrador \(R-1st\)](#) *

1523 Longworth
(202) 225-6611; 225-3029
Meridan: (208) 888-3188

[Rep. Mike Simpson \(R-2nd\)](#)

2312 Rayburn
(202) 225-5531; 225-8216
Boise: (208) 334-1953

Illinois

[Rep. Bobby Rush \(D-1st\)](#)

2268 Rayburn
(202) 225-4372; 226-0333
Chicago: (773) 224-6500

[Rep. Jesse Jackson, Jr. \(D-2nd\)](#)

2419 Rayburn
(202) 225-0773; 225-0899
Chicago: (773) 734-9660

[Rep. Dan Lipinski \(D-3rd\)](#)

1717 Longworth
(202) 225-5701; 225-1012
Chicago: (312) 886-0481

[Rep. Luiz Gutierrez \(D-4th\)](#)

2266 Rayburn
(202) 225-8203; 225-7810
Chicago: (773) 342-0774

[Rep. Mike Quigley \(D-5th\)](#)

1124 Longworth
(202) 225-4061; 225-5603
Chicago: (773) 267-5926

[Rep. Peter Roskam \(R-6th\)](#)

227 Cannon
(202) 225-4561; 225-1166
Bloomington: (630) 893-9670

[Rep. Danny Davis \(D-7th\)](#)

2159 Rayburn
(202) 225-5006; 225-5641
Chicago: (773) 533-7520

[Rep. Joe Walsh \(R-8th\)](#) *

432 Cannon
(202) 225-3711; 225-7830
Fox Lake: (847) 973-9341

[Rep. Jan Schakowsky \(D-9th\)](#)

2367 Rayburn
(202) 225-2111; 226-6890
Chicago: (773) 506-7100

[Rep. Robert Dold \(R-10th\)](#) *

212 Cannon
(202) 225-4835; 225-0837
Northbrook: (847) 940-0202

[Rep. Adam Kinzinger \(R-11th\)](#) *

1218 Longworth
(202) 225-3635; 225-3521
Joliet: (815) 726-4998

[Rep. Jerry Costello \(D-12th\)](#)

2408 Rayburn
(202) 225-5661; 225-0285
Belleville: (618) 233-8026

[Rep. Judy Biggert \(R-13th\)](#)

2113 Rayburn
(202) 225-3515; 225-9420
Willowbrook: (630) 655-2052

[Rep. Randy Hultgren \(R-14th\)](#) *

427 Cannon
(202) 225-2976; 225-0697
Geneva: (630) 232-7104

[Rep. Timothy Johnson \(R-15th\)](#)

1207 Longworth
(202) 225-2371; 226-0791
Champaign: (217) 403-4690

[Rep. Don Manzullo \(R-16th\)](#)

2228 Rayburn
(202) 225-5676; 225-5284
Rockford: (815) 394-1231

[Rep. Bobby Schilling \(R-17th\)](#) *

507 Cannon
(202) 225-5905; 225-5396
Moline: (309) 757-7630

[Rep. Aaron Schock \(R-18th\)](#)

328 Cannon
(202) 225-6201; 225-9249
Peoria: (309) 671-7027

[Rep. John Shimkus \(R-19th\)](#)

2452 Rayburn
(202) 225-5271; 225-5880
Springfield: (217) 492-5090

Indiana

[Rep. Peter Visclosky \(D-1st\)](#)

2256 Rayburn
(202) 225-2461; 225-2493
Merrillville: (219) 795-1844

[Rep. Joe Donnelly \(D-2nd\)](#)

1530 Longworth
(202) 225-3915; 225-6798
South Bend: (574) 288-2780

[Rep. Marlin Stutzman \(R-3rd\)](#) *

1728 Longworth
(202) 225-4436; 226-9870
Winona Lake: (574) 269-1940

[Rep. Todd Rokita \(R-4th\)](#) *

236 Cannon
(202) 225-5037; 226-0544
Plainfield: (317) 838-0404

[Rep. Dan Burton \(R-5th\)](#)

2308 Rayburn
(202) 225-2276; 225-0016
Indianapolis: (800) 382-6020

[Rep. Mike Pence \(R-6th\)](#)

100 Cannon
(202) 225-3021; 225-3382
Anderson: (765) 640-2919

[Rep. Andre Carson \(D-7th\)](#)

425 Cannon
(202) 225-4011; 225-5633
Indianapolis: (317) 283-6516

[Rep. Larry Bucshon \(R-8th\)](#) *

1123 Longworth
(202) 225-4636; 225-3284
Evansville: (812) 465-6484

[Rep. Todd Young \(R-9th\)](#) *

1721 Longworth
(202) 225-5315; 226-6866
Jeffersonville: (812) 288-3999

Iowa

[Rep. Bruce Braley \(D-1st\)](#)

1727 Longworth
(202) 225-2911; 225-6666
Waterloo: (319) 287-3233

[Rep. Dave Loebsack \(D-2nd\)](#)

1527 Longworth
(202) 225-6576; 226-0757
Iowa City: (319) 351-0789

[Rep. Leonard Boswell \(D-3rd\)](#)

1026 Longworth
(202) 225-3806; 225-5608
Des Moines: (888) 432-1984

[Rep. Tom Latham \(R-4th\)](#)

2217 Rayburn
(202) 225-5476; 225-3301
Ames: (515) 232-2885

[Rep. Steve King \(R-5th\)](#)

1131 Longworth
(202) 225-4426; 225-3193
Storm Lake: (712) 732-4197

Kansas

[Rep. Tim Huelskamp \(R-1st\)](#) *

126 Cannon
(202) 225-2715; 225-5124
Hutchinson: (620) 665-6138

[Rep. Lynn Jenkins \(R-2nd\)](#)

1122 Longworth
(202) 225-6601; 225-7986
Topeka: (785) 234-5966

[Rep. Kevin Yoder \(R-3rd\)](#) *

214 Cannon
(202) 225-2865; 225-2807
Kansas City: (913) 621-0832

[Rep. Mike Pompeo \(R-4th\)](#) *

107 Cannon
(202) 225-6216; 225-3489
Wichita: (316) 262-8992

Kentucky

[Rep. Edward Whitfield \(R-1st\)](#)

2368 Rayburn
(202) 225-3115; 225-3547
Hopkinsville: (502) 885-8079

[Rep. Brett Guthrie \(R-2nd\)](#)

308 Cannon
(202) 225-3501; 226-2019
Bowling Green: (270) 842-9896

[Rep. John Yarmuth \(D-3rd\)](#)

435 Cannon
(202) 225-5401; 225-5776
Louisville: (502) 582-5129

[Rep. Geoff Davis \(R-4th\)](#)

1119 Longworth
(202) 225-3465; 225-0003
Ft. Mitchell: (859) 426-0080

[Rep. Harold Rogers \(R-5th\)](#)

2406 Rayburn
(202) 225-4601; 225-0940
Somerset: (606) 679-8346

[Rep. Ben Chandler \(D-6th\)](#)

1504 Longworth
(202) 225-4706; 225-2122
Lexington: (606) 219-1366

Louisiana

[Rep. Steve Scalise \(R-1st\)](#)

429 Cannon
(202) 225-3015; 226-0386
Metairie: (504) 837-1259

112th House of Representatives Roster cont'd

[Rep. Cedric Richmond \(D-2nd\)](#) *

415 Cannon
(202) 225-6636; 225-1988
New Orleans: (504) 288-3777

[Rep. Jeff Landry \(R-3rd\)](#) *

206 Cannon
(202) 225-4031; 226-3944
Houma: (985) 879-2300

[Rep. John Fleming \(R-4th\)](#)

416 Cannon
(202) 225-2777; 225-8039
Shreveport: (318) 798-2254

[Rep. Rodney Alexander \(D-5th\)](#)

316 Cannon
(202) 225-8490; 225-5639
Alexandria: (318) 445-0818

[Rep. Bill Cassidy \(R-6th\)](#)

1535 Longworth
(202) 225-3901; 225-7313
Baton Rouge: (504) 929-7711

[Rep. Charles Boustany, Jr. \(R-7th\)](#)

1431 Longworth
(202) 225-2031; 225-5724
Lafayette: (337) 235-6322

Maine

[Rep. Chellie Pingree \(D-1st\)](#)

1318 Longworth
(202) 225-6116; 225-5590
Portland: (207) 774-5019

[Rep. Michael Michaud \(D-2nd\)](#)

1724 Longworth
(202) 225-6306; 225-2943
Bangor: (207) 942-6935

Maryland

[Rep. Andy Harris \(R-1st\)](#) *

506 Cannon
(202) 225-5311; 225-0254
Salisbury: (443) 944-8624

[Rep. Dutch Ruppersberger \(D-2nd\)](#)

2453 Rayburn
(202) 225-3061; 225-3094
Timonium: (410) 628-2701

[Rep. John Sarbanes \(D-3rd\)](#)

2444 Rayburn
(202) 225-4016; 225-9219
Towson: (410) 832-8890

[Rep. Donna Edwards \(D-4th\)](#)

318 Cannon
(202) 225-8699; 225-8714
Silver Spring: (301) 562-7960

[Rep. Steny Hoyer \(D-5th\)](#)

1705 Longworth
(202) 225-4131; 225-4300
Greenbelt: (301) 474-0119

[Rep. Roscoe Bartlett \(R-6th\)](#)

2412 Rayburn
(202) 225-2721; 225-2193
Frederick: (301) 694-3030

[Rep. Elijah Cummings \(D-7th\)](#)

2235 Rayburn
(202) 225-4741; 225-3178
Baltimore: (410) 685-9199

[Rep. Chris Van Hollen, Jr. \(D-8th\)](#)

1707 Longworth
(202) 225-5341; 225-0375
Rockville: (301) 424-3501

Massachusetts

[Rep. John Olver \(D-1st\)](#)

1111 Longworth
(202) 225-5335; 226-1224
Pittsfield: (413) 442-0946

[Rep. Richard Neal \(D-2nd\)](#)

2208 Rayburn
(202) 225-5601; 225-8112
Springfield: (413) 785-0325

[Rep. James McGovern \(D-3rd\)](#)

4380 Cannon
(202) 225-6101; 225-5759
Worcester: (508) 831-7356

[Rep. Barney Frank \(D-4th\)](#)

2252 Rayburn
(202) 225-5931; 225-0182
Newton: (617) 332-3920

[Rep. Niki Tsongas \(D-5th\)](#)

1607 Longworth
(202) 225-3411; 226-0771
Lowell: (978) 459-0101

[Rep. John Tierney \(D-6th\)](#)

2238 Rayburn
(202) 225-8020; 225-5915
Peabody: (978) 531-1669

[Rep. Edward Markey \(D-7th\)](#)

2108 Rayburn
(202) 225-2836; 226-0092
Medford: (781) 396-2900

[Rep. Michael Capuano \(D-8th\)](#)

1414 Longworth
(202) 225-5111; 225-9322
Cambridge: (617) 621-6208

[Rep. Stephen Lynch \(D-9th\)](#)

2348 Rayburn
(202) 225-8273; 225-3984
Boston: (617) 428-2000

[Rep. Bill Keating \(D-10th\)](#) *

315 Cannon
(202) 225-3111; 225-5658
Quincy: (617) 770-3700

Michigan

[Rep. Dan Benishek \(R-1st\)](#) *

514 Cannon
(202) 225-4735; 225-4710
Marquette: 906-273-1661

[Rep. Bill Huizenga \(R-2nd\)](#) *

1217 Longworth
(202) 225-4401; 226-0779
Holland: (616) 395-0030

[Rep. Justin Amash \(R-3rd\)](#) *

114 Cannon
(202) 225-3831; 225-5144
Grand Rapids: (616) 451-8383

[Rep. Dave Camp \(R-4th\)](#)

341 Cannon
(202) 225-3561; 225-9679
Midland: (989) 631-2552

[Rep. Dale Kildee \(D-5th\)](#)

2107 Rayburn
(202) 225-3611; 225-6393
Flint: (810) 239-1437

[Rep. Fred Upton \(R-6th\)](#)

2183 Rayburn
(202) 225-3761; 225-4986
Kalamazoo: (616) 385-0039

[Rep. Tim Walberg \(R-7th\)](#) *

418 Cannon
(202) 225-6276; 225-6281
Jackson: (517) 780-9075

[Rep. Michael Rogers \(R-8th\)](#)

133 Cannon
(202) 225-4872; 225-5820
Lansing: (877) 333-6453

[Rep. Gary Peters \(D-9th\)](#)

1609 Longworth
(202) 225-5802; 226-2356
Troy: (248) 273-4227

[Rep. Candice Miller \(R-10th\)](#)

1034 Longworth
(202) 225-2106; 226-1169
Shelby Township: (586) 997-5010

[Rep. Thaddeus McCotter \(R-11th\)](#)

2243 Rayburn
(202) 225-8171; n/a
Livonia: (734) 632-0314

[Rep. Sandy Levin \(D-12th\)](#)

1236 Longworth
(202) 225-4961; 226-1033
Roseville: (586) 498-7122

[Rep. Hansen Clarke \(D-13th\)](#) *

1319 Longworth
(202) 225-2261; 225-5730
Detroit: (313) 962-7700

[Rep. John Conyers \(D-14th\)](#)

2426 Rayburn
(202) 225-5126; 225-0072
Detroit: (313) 961-5670

[Rep. John Dingell \(D-15th\)](#)

2328 Rayburn
(202) 225-4071; 226-0371
Dearborn: (313) 278-2936

Minnesota

[Rep. Tim Walz \(D-1st\)](#)

1722 Longworth
(202) 225-2472; 225-3433
Mankato: (507) 388-2149

[Rep. John Kline \(R-2nd\)](#)

2439 Rayburn
(202) 225-2271; 225-2595
Burnsville: (952) 808-1213

[Rep. Erik Paulsen \(R-3rd\)](#)

127 Cannon
(202) 225-2871; 225-6351
Minnetonka: (952) 405-8510

[Rep. Betty McCollum \(D-4th\)](#)

1714 Longworth
(202) 225-6631; 225-1968
St. Paul: (612) 224-9191

[Rep. Keith Ellison \(D-5th\)](#)

1027 Longworth
(202) 225-4755; 225-4886
Minneapolis: (612) 522-1212

[Rep. Michele Bachmann \(R-6th\)](#)

103 Cannon
(202) 225-2331; 225-6475
Woodbury: (651) 731-5400

[Rep. Collin Peterson \(D-7th\)](#)

2211 Rayburn
(202) 225-2165; 225-1593
Detroit Lakes: (218) 847-5056

[Rep. Chip Cravaack \(R-8th\)](#) *

508 Cannon
(202) 225-6211; 225-0699
North Branch: (651) 237-8220

Mississippi

[Rep. Alan Nunnelee \(R-1st\)](#) *

1432 Longworth
(202) 225-4306; 225-3549
Tupelo: (662) 841-8808

[Rep. Bennie Thompson \(D-2nd\)](#)

2466 Rayburn
(202) 225-5876; 225-5898
Bolton: (800) 355-9003

[Rep. Gregg Harper \(R-3rd\)](#)

307 Cannon
(202) 225-5031; 225-5797
Pearl: (601) 932-2410

[Rep. Steven Palazzo \(R-4th\)](#) *

331 Cannon
(202) 225-5772; 225-7074
Gulfport: (228) 864-7670

Missouri

[Rep. William Lacy Clay, Jr. \(D-1st\)](#)

2418 Rayburn
(202) 225-2406; 226-3717
St. Louis: (314) 367-1970

[Rep. Todd Akin \(R-2nd\)](#)

117 Cannon
(202) 225-2561; 225-2563
St. Louis: (314) 590-0029

[Rep. Russ Carnahan \(D-3rd\)](#)

1710 Longworth
(202) 225-2671; 225-7452
St. Louis: (314) 962-1523

[Rep. Vicky Hartzler \(R-4th\)](#) *

1023 Longworth
(202) 225-2876; 225-0148
Jefferson City: (573) 634-4884

[Rep. Emanuel Cleaver \(D-5th\)](#)

1433 Longworth
(202) 225-4535; 225-4403
Kansas City: (816) 842-4545

112th House of Representatives Roster cont'd

[Rep. Sam Graves \(R-6th\)](#)

1415 Longworth
(202) 225-7041; 225-8221
Liberty: (816) 792-3976

[Rep. Billy Long \(R-7th\) *](#)

1541 Longworth
(202) 225-6536; 225-5604
Springfield: (417) 889-1800

[Rep. Jo Ann Emerson \(R-8th\)](#)

2230 Rayburn
(202) 225-4404; 226-0326
Cape Girardeau: (573) 335-0101

[Rep. Blaine Luetkemeyer \(R-9th\)](#)

1740 Longworth
(202) 225-2956; 225-5712
Columbia: (573) 443-1041

Montana

[Rep. Dennis Rehberg \(R-AL\)](#)

2448 Rayburn
(202) 225-3211; 225-5687
Billings: (406) 256-1019

Nebraska

[Rep. Jeff Fortenberry \(R-1st\)](#)

1514 Longworth
(202) 225-4806; 225-5686
Lincoln: (402) 438-1598

[Rep. Lee Terry \(R-2nd\)](#)

2331 Rayburn
(202) 225-4155; 226-5452
Omaha: (402) 397-9944

[Rep. Adrian Smith \(R-3rd\)](#)

503 Cannon
(202) 225-6435; 225-0207
Scottsbluff: (308) 633-3333

Nevada

[Rep. Shelley Berkley \(D-1st\)](#)

405 Cannon
(202) 225-5965; 225-3119
Las Vegas: (702) 220-9823

[Rep. Dean Heller \(R-2nd\)](#)

125 Cannon
(202) 225-6155; 225-5679
Reno: (775) 686-5760

[Rep. Joe Heck \(R-3rd\) *](#)

132 Cannon
(202) 225-3252; 225-2185
Las Vegas: (702) 387-4941

New Hampshire

[Rep. Frank Guinta \(R-1st\) *](#)

1223 Longworth
(202) 225-5456; 225-5822
Manchester: (603) 641-9536

[Rep. Charlie Bass \(R-2nd\) *](#)

2350 Rayburn
(202) 225-5206; 225-2946
Concord: (603) 226-0064

New Jersey

[Rep. Robert Andrews \(D-1st\)](#)

2265 Rayburn
(202) 225-6501; 225-6583
Haddon Heights: (856) 546-5100

[Rep. Frank LoBiondo \(R-2nd\)](#)

2427 Rayburn
(202) 225-6572; 225-3318
Mays Landing: (800) 471-4450

[Rep. Jon Runyan \(R-3rd\) *](#)

1239 Longworth
(202) 225-4765; 225-0778
Mount Laurel: (856) 780-6436

[Rep. Christopher Smith \(R-4th\)](#)

2373 Rayburn
(202) 225-3765; 225-7768
Hamilton: (609) 585-7878

[Rep. Scott Garrett \(R-5th\)](#)

2244 Rayburn
(202) 225-4465; 225-9048
Newton: (973) 300-2000

[Rep. Frank Pallone, Jr. \(D-6th\)](#)

237 Cannon
(202) 225-4671; 225-9665
Long Branch: (732) 571-1140

[Rep. Leonard Lance \(R-7th\)](#)

426 Cannon
(202) 225-5361; 225-9460
Westfield: (908) 518-7733

[Rep. Bill Pascrell, Jr. \(D-8th\)](#)

2370 Rayburn
(202) 225-5751; 225-5782
Paterson: (973) 523-5152

[Rep. Steven Rothman \(D-9th\)](#)

2303 Rayburn
(202) 225-5061; 225-5851
Hackensack: (201) 646-0808

[Rep. Donald Payne \(D-10th\)](#)

2310 Rayburn
(202) 225-3436; 225-4160
Newark: (973) 645-3213

[Rep. Rodney Frelinghuysen \(R-11th\)](#)

2369 Rayburn
(202) 225-5034; 225-3186
Morristown: (973) 984-0711

[Rep. Rush Holt \(D-12th\)](#)

1214 Longworth
(202) 225-5801; 225-6025
West Windsor: (609) 750-9365

[Rep. Albio Sires \(D-13th\)](#)

2342 Rayburn
(202) 225-7919; 226-0792
Jersey City: (201) 222-2828

New Mexico

[Rep. Martin Heinrich \(D-1st\)](#)

336 Cannon
(202) 225-6316; 225-4975
Albuquerque: (505) 346-6781

[Rep. Steve Pearce \(R-2nd\) *](#)

2432 Rayburn
(202) 225-2365; 225-9599
Las Cruces: (855) 473-2723

[Rep. Ben R. Lujan \(D-3rd\) *](#)

502 Cannon
(202) 225-6190; 226-1528
Santa Fe: (505) 984-8950

New York

[Rep. Tim Bishop \(D-1st\)](#)

36 Cannon
(22) 225-3826; 225-3143
Coram: (631) 696-65

[Rep. Steve Israel \(D-2nd\)](#)

2457 Rayburn
(22) 225-3335; 225-4669
Hauppauge: (631) 951-221

[Rep. Peter King \(R-3rd\)](#)

339 Cannon
(22) 225-7896; 226-2279
Massapequa Park: (516) 541-4225

[Rep. Carolyn McCarthy \(D-4th\)](#)

2346 Rayburn
(22) 225-5516; 225-5758
Garden City: (516) 739-38

[Rep. Gary Ackerman \(D-5th\)](#)

2211 Rayburn
(22) 225-261; 225-1589
Bayside: (718) 423-2154

[Rep. Gregory Meeks \(D-6th\)](#)

2234 Rayburn
(22) 225-3461; 226-4169
Far Rockaway: (718) 327-9791

[Rep. Joseph Crowley \(D-7th\)](#)

244 Rayburn
(22) 225-3965; 225-199
Jackson Heights: (718) 779-14

[Rep. Jerrold Nadler \(D-8th\)](#)

2334 Rayburn
(22) 225-5635; 225-6923
New York: (212) 367-735

[Rep. Anthony Weiner \(D-9th\)](#)

214 Rayburn
(22) 225-6616; 226-218
Brooklyn: (718) 743-441

[Rep. Edolphus Towns \(D-1th\)](#)

2232 Rayburn
(22) 225-5936; 225-118
Brooklyn: (718) 855-818

[Rep. Yvette Clarke \(D-11th\)](#)

129 Longworth
(22) 225-6231; 226-112
Brooklyn: (718) 287-1142

[Rep. Nydia Velazquez \(D-12th\)](#)

232 Rayburn
(22) 225-2361; 226-327
Brooklyn: (718) 599-3658

[Rep. Mike Grimm \(R-13th\) *](#)

521 Cannon
(22) 225-3371; 226-1272
Staten Island: (718) 351-162

[Rep. Carolyn Maloney \(D-14th\)](#)

2332 Rayburn
(22) 225-7944; 225-479
New York: (212) 86-66

[Rep. Charles Rangel \(D-15th\)](#)

2354 Rayburn
(22) 225-4365; 225-816
New York: (212) 663-39

[Rep. Jose Serrano \(D-16th\)](#)

2227 Rayburn
(22) 225-4361; 225-61
Bronx: (718) 62-84

[Rep. Eliot Engel \(D-17th\)](#)

2161 Rayburn
(22) 225-2464; 225-5513
Bronx: (718) 796-97

[Rep. Nita Lowey \(D-18th\)](#)

2365 Rayburn
(22) 225-656; 225-546
White Plains: (914) 428-177

[Rep. Nan Hayworth \(R-19th\) *](#)

144 Longworth
(22) 225-5441; 225-3289
Goshen: (854) 291-41

[Rep. Christopher Gibson \(R-2th\) *](#)

52 Cannon
(22) 225-5614; 225-1168
Glens Falls: (518) 743-964

[Rep. Paul Tonko \(D-21st\)](#)

422 Cannon
(22) 225-576; 225-577
Albany: (518) 465-7

[Rep. Maurice Hinchey \(D-22nd\)](#)

2431 Rayburn
(22) 225-6335; 226-774
Kingston: (845) 331-4466

[Rep. Bill Owens \(D-23rd\)](#)

431 Cannon
(22) 225-4611; 226-621
Watertown: (315) 782-315

[Rep. Richard Hanna \(R-24th\) *](#)

319 Cannon
(22) 225-3665; 225-1891
Utica: (315) 724-974

[Rep. Ann Marie Buerkle \(R-25th\) *](#)

163 Longworth
(22) 225-371; 225-442
Syracuse: (315) 423-5657

[Rep. was Christopher Lee \(R-26th\)](#)

Vacant as of Feb. 9
1711 Longworth
(22) 225-5265; 225-591
Greece: (585) 663-557

[Rep. Brian Higgins \(D-27th\)](#)

2459 Rayburn
(22) 225-336; 226-347
Buffalo: (716) 852-351

[Rep. Louise Slaughter \(D-28th\)](#)

2469 Rayburn (22) 225-3615; 225-7822
Rochester: (716) 232-485

[Rep. Thomas Reed \(R-29th\) *](#)

137 Longworth (22) 225-3161; 226-6599
Pittsford: 585-218-4

North Carolina

[Rep. G. K. Butterfield \(D-1st\)](#)

2305 Rayburn
(202) 225-3101; 225-3354
Weldon: (252) 538-4123

112th House of Representatives Roster cont'd

[Rep. Renee Ellmers \(R-2nd\)](#) *
1533 Longworth
(202) 225-4531; 225-5662
Dayton: (910) 230-1910

[Rep. Walter Jones \(R-3rd\)](#)
2333 Rayburn
(202) 225-3415; 225-3286
Greenville: (800) 351-1697

[Rep. David Price \(D-4th\)](#)
2162 Rayburn
(202) 225-1784; 225-2014
Raleigh: (919) 859-5999

[Rep. Virginia Foxx \(R-5th\)](#)
1230 Longworth
(202) 225-2071; 225-2995
Clemmons: (336) 778-0211

[Rep. Howard Coble \(R-6th\)](#)
2118 Rayburn
(202) 225-3065; 225-8611
Greensboro: (336) 333-5005

[Rep. Mike McIntyre \(D-7th\)](#)
2133 Rayburn
(202) 225-2731; 225-5773
Fayetteville: (910) 323-0260

[Rep. Larry Kissell \(D-8th\)](#)
1632 Longworth
(202) 225-3715; 225-4036
Concord: (704) 786-1612

[Rep. Sue Myrick \(R-9th\)](#)
230 Cannon
(202) 225-1976; 225-3389
Charlotte: (704) 362-1060

[Rep. Patrick McHenry \(R-10th\)](#)
224 Cannon
(202) 225-2576; 225-0316
Hickory: (828) 327-6100

[Rep. Heath Shuler \(D-11th\)](#)
229 Cannon
(202) 225-6401; 226-6422
Asheville: (828) 252-1651

[Rep. Melvin Watt \(D-12th\)](#)
2304 Rayburn
(202) 225-1510; 225-1512
Charlotte: (704) 344-9950

[Rep. Brad Miller \(D-13th\)](#)
1127 Longworth
(202) 225-3032; 225-0181
Raleigh: (919) 836-1313

North Dakota

[Rep. Rick Berg \(R-AL\)](#) *
323 Cannon
(202) 225-2611; 226-0893
Bismarck: (701) 224-0355

Ohio

[Rep. Steve Chabot \(R-1st\)](#) *
2351 Rayburn
(202) 225-2216; 225-3012
Cincinnati: (513) 684-2723

[Rep. Jean Schmidt \(R-2nd\)](#)
2464 Rayburn
(202) 225-3164; 225-1992
Cincinnati: (513) 791-0381

[Rep. Michael Turner \(D-3rd\)](#)
2454 Rayburn
(202) 225-6465; 225-6754
Dayton: (937) 225-2843

[Rep. Jim Jordan \(R-4th\)](#)
1524 Longworth
(202) 225-2676; 226-0577
Mansfield: (419) 522-5757

[Rep. Robert Latta \(R-5th\)](#)
1323 Longworth
(202) 225-6405; 225-1985
Norwalk: (419) 668-0206

[Rep. Bill Johnson \(R-6th\)](#) *
317 Cannon
(202) 225-5705; 225-5907
Marietta: (740) 376-0868

[Rep. Steve Austria \(R-7th\)](#)
439 Cannon
(202) 225-4324; 225-1984
Springfield: (937) 325-0474

[Rep. John Boehner \(R-8th\)](#)
1011 Longworth
(202) 225-6205; 225-0704
West Chester: (513) 779-5400

[Rep. Marcy Kaptur \(D-9th\)](#)
2186 Rayburn
(202) 225-4146; 225-7711
Toledo: (419) 259-7500

[Rep. Dennis Kucinich \(D-10th\)](#)
2445 Rayburn
(202) 225-5871; 225-5745
Lakewood: (216) 228-8850

[Rep. Marcia Fudge \(D-11th\)](#)
1019 Longworth
(202) 225-7032; 225-1339
Warrensville: (216) 522-4900

[Rep. Patrick Tiberi \(R-12th\)](#)
106 Cannon
(202) 225-5355; 226-4523
Columbus: (614) 523-2555

[Rep. Betty Sutton \(D-13th\)](#)
1519 Longworth
(202) 225-3401; 225-2266
Akron: (330) 865-8450

[Rep. Steven LaTourette \(R-14th\)](#)
2371 Rayburn
(202) 225-5731; 225-3307
Painesville: (800) 447-0529

[Rep. Steve Stivers \(R-15th\)](#) *
1007 Longworth
(202) 225-2015; 225-3529
Columbus: (614) 299-6415

[Rep. Jim Renacci \(R-16th\)](#) *
130 Cannon
(202) 225-3876; 225-3059
Canton: 330-489-4414

[Rep. Tim Ryan \(D-17th\)](#)
1421 Longworth
(202) 225-5261; 225-3719
Youngstown: (330) 740-0193

[Rep. Bob Gibbs \(R-18th\)](#) *
329 Cannon
(202) 225-6265; 225-3394
Zanesville: (740) 452-2279

Oklahoma

[Rep. John Sullivan \(R-1st\)](#)
434 Cannon
(202) 225-2211; 225-9187
Tulsa: (918) 749-0014

[Rep. Dan Boren \(D-2nd\)](#)
2447 Rayburn
(202) 225-2701; 225-3038
Muskogee: (918) 687-2533

[Rep. Frank Lucas \(R-3rd\)](#)
2311 Rayburn
(202) 225-5565; 225-8698
Yukon: (405) 373-1958

[Rep. Tom Cole \(R-4th\)](#)
2458 Rayburn
(202) 225-6165; 225-3512
Norman: (405) 329-6500

[Rep. James Lankford \(R-5th\)](#) *
509 Cannon
(202) 225-2132; 226-1463
Oklahoma City: (405) 234-9900

Oregon

[Rep. David Wu \(D-1st\)](#)
2338 Rayburn
(202) 225-0855; 225-9497
Portland: (800) 422-4003

[Rep. Greg Walden \(R-2nd\)](#)
2182 Rayburn
(202) 225-6730; 225-5774
Medford: (800) 533-3303

[Rep. Earl Blumenauer \(D-3rd\)](#)
1502 Longworth
(202) 225-4811; 225-8941
Portland: (503) 231-2300

[Rep. Peter DeFazio \(D-4th\)](#)
2134 Rayburn
(202) 225-6416; n/a
Eugene: (541) 465-6732

[Rep. Kurt Schrader \(D-5th\)](#)
314 Cannon
(202) 225-5711; 225-5699
Salem: (503) 588-9100

Pennsylvania

[Rep. Robert Brady \(D-1st\)](#)
102 Cannon
(202) 225-4731; 225-0088
Philadelphia: (215) 389-4627

[Rep. Chaka Fattah \(D-2nd\)](#)
2301 Rayburn
(202) 225-4001; 225-5392
Philadelphia: (215) 387-6404

[Rep. Mike Kelly \(R-3rd\)](#) *
515 Cannon
(202) 225-5406; 225-3103
Erie: (814) 454-8190

[Rep. Jason Altmire \(D-4th\)](#)
332 Cannon
(202) 225-2565; 226-2274
Aliquippa: (724) 378-0928

[Rep. Glenn Thompson \(R-5th\)](#)
124 Cannon
(202) 225-5121; 225-5796
Bellefonte: (814) 353-0215

[Rep. Jim Gerlach \(R-6th\)](#)
2442 Rayburn
(202) 225-4315; 225-8440
Wyomissing: (610) 376-7630

[Rep. Patrick Meehan \(R-7th\)](#) *
513 Cannon
(202) 225-2011; 226-0280
Springfield: (610) 690-7323

[Rep. Michael Fitzpatrick \(R-8th\)](#) *
1224 Longworth
(202) 225-4276; 225-9511
Langhorne: (215) 579-8102

[Rep. Bill Shuster \(R-9th\)](#)
204 Cannon
(202) 225-2431; 225-2486
Chambersburg: (717) 264-8308

[Rep. Thomas Marino \(R-10th\)](#) *
410 Cannon
(202) 225-3731; 225-9594
Clarks Summit: ? N/A

[Rep. Lou Barletta \(R-11th\)](#) *
510 Cannon
(202) 225-6511; 225-0764
Hazleton: (570) 751-0050

[Rep. Mark Critz \(D-12th\)](#)
1022 Longworth
(202) 225-2065; 225-5709
Johnstown: (800) 289-2642

[Rep. Allyson Schwartz \(D-13th\)](#)
1227 Longworth
(202) 225-6111; 226-0611
Philadelphia: (215) 335-3355

[Rep. Mike Doyle \(D-14th\)](#)
401 Cannon
(202) 225-2135; 225-3084
Penn Hills: (412) 241-6055

[Rep. Charles Dent \(R-15th\)](#)
1009 Longworth
(202) 225-6411; 226-0778
Bethlehem: (610) 861-9734

[Rep. Joseph Pitts \(R-16th\)](#)
420 Cannon
(202) 225-2411; 225-2013
Lancaster: (717) 393-0667

[Rep. Tim Holden \(D-17th\)](#)
2417 Rayburn
(202) 225-5446; 226-0996
Pottsville: (570) 622-4212

[Rep. Tim Murphy \(R-18th\)](#)
322 Cannon
(202) 225-2301; 225-1844
Pittsburgh: (412) 344-5583

112th House of Representatives Roster cont'd

[Rep. Todd Platts \(R-19th\)](#)

2455 Rayburn
(202) 225-5836; 226-1000
York: (717) 600-1919

Puerto Rico

[Res. Com. Pedro Pierluisi \(D-AL\)](#)

1218 Longworth
(202) 225-2615; 225-2154
Old San Juan: (787) 723-6333

Rhode Island

[Rep. David Cicilline \(D-1st\) *](#)

128 Cannon
(202) 225-4911; 225-3290
Pawtucket: (401) 729-5600

[Rep. James Langevin \(D-2nd\)](#)

109 Cannon
(202) 225-2735; 225-5976
Warwick: (401) 732-9400

South Carolina

[Rep. Tim Scott \(R-1st\) *](#)

1117 Longworth
(202) 225-3176; 225-3407
Charleston: (843) 852-2222

[Rep. Joe Wilson \(R-2nd\)](#)

2229 Rayburn
(202) 225-2452; 225-2455
Beaufort: (843) 521-2530

[Rep. Jeff Duncan \(R-3rd\) *](#)

116 Cannon
(202) 225-5301; 225-3216
Anderson: (864) 224-7401

[Rep. Trey Gowdy \(R-4th\) *](#)

1237 Longworth
(202) 225-6030; 226-1177
Greenville: (864) 241-0175

[Rep. Mick Mulvaney \(R-5th\) *](#)

1004 Longworth
(202) 225-5501; 225-0464
Rock Hill: (803) 327-1114

[Rep. James Clyburn \(D-6th\)](#)

2135 Rayburn
(202) 225-3315; 225-2313
Columbia: (803) 799-1100

South Dakota

[Rep. Kristi Noem \(R-AL\) *](#)

226 Cannon
(202) 225-2801; 225-5823
Sioux Falls: (605) 275-2868

Tennessee

[Rep. Phil Roe \(R-1st\)](#)

419 Cannon
(202) 225-6356; 225-5714
Morristown: (423) 254-1400

[Rep. John Duncan \(R-2nd\)](#)

2207 Rayburn
(202) 225-5435; 225-6440
Knoxville: (423) 523-3772

[Rep. Chuck Fleischmann \(R-3rd\) *](#)

511 Cannon
(202) 225-3271; 225-3494
Chattanooga: (423) 756-2342

[Rep. Scott DesJarlais \(R-4th\) *](#)

413 Cannon
(202) 225-6831; 226-5172
Columbia: (931) 381-9920

[Rep. Jim Cooper \(D-5th\)](#)

1536 Longworth
(202) 225-4311; 226-1035
Nashville: (615) 736-5295

[Rep. Diane Black \(R-6th\) *](#)

1531 Longworth
(202) 225-4231; 225-6887
Murfreesboro: (615) 896-1986

[Rep. Marsha Blackburn \(R-7th\)](#)

217 Cannon
(202) 225-2811; 225-3004
Memphis: (901) 382-5811

[Rep. Stephen Fincher \(R-8th\) *](#)

1118 Longworth
(202) 225-4714; 225-1765
Jackson: (731) 423-4848

[Rep. Steve Cohen \(D-9th\)](#)

1005 Longworth
(202) 225-3265; 225-5663
Memphis: (901) 544-4131

Texas

[Rep. Louie Gohmert \(R-1st\)](#)

2440 Rayburn
(202) 225-3035; 226-1230
Tyler: (903) 561-6349

[Rep. Ted Poe \(R-2nd\)](#)

430 Cannon
(202) 225-6565; 225-5547
Beaumont: (877) 218-1997

[Rep. Sam Johnson \(R-3rd\)](#)

1211 Longworth
(202) 225-4201; 225-1485
Richardson: (972) 470-0892

[Rep. Ralph Hall \(R-4th\)](#)

2405 Rayburn
(202) 225-6673; 225-3332
Rockwall: (972) 771-9118

[Rep. Jeb Hensarling \(R-5th\)](#)

129 Cannon
(202) 225-3484; 225-4888
Dallas: (214) 349-9996

[Rep. Joe Barton \(R-6th\)](#)

2109 Rayburn
(202) 225-2002; 225-3052
Arlington: (817) 543-1000

[Rep. John Culberson \(R-7th\)](#)

2352 Rayburn
(202) 225-2571; 225-4381
Houston: (713) 682-8828

[Rep. Kevin Brady \(R-8th\)](#)

301 Cannon
(202) 225-4901; 225-5524
Conroe: (936) 441-5700

[Rep. Al Green \(D-9th\)](#)

2201 Rayburn
(202) 225-7508; 225-2947
Houston: (713) 383-9234

[Rep. Michael McCaul \(R-10th\)](#)

131 Cannon
(202) 225-2401; 225-5955
Austin: (512) 473-2357

[Rep. Mike Conaway \(R-11th\)](#)

2430 Rayburn
(202) 225-3605; 225-1783
Midland: (432) 687-2390

[Rep. Kay Granger \(R-12th\)](#)

320 Cannon
(202) 225-5071; 225-5683
Ft. Worth: (817) 338-0909

[Rep. Mac Thornberry \(R-13th\)](#)

2209 Rayburn
(202) 225-3706; 225-3486
Amarillo: (806) 371-8844

[Rep. Ron Paul \(R-14th\)](#)

203 Cannon
(202) 225-2831; n/a
Victoria: (361) 576-1231

[Rep. Rubén Hinojosa \(D-15th\)](#)

2262 Rayburn
(202) 225-2531; 225-5688
McAllen: (956) 682-5545

[Rep. Silvestre Reyes \(D-16th\)](#)

2210 Rayburn
(202) 225-4831; 225-2016
El Paso: (915) 534-4400

[Rep. Bill Flores \(R-17th\) *](#)

1505 Longworth
(202) 225-6105; 225-0350
Waco: (254) 732-0748

[Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee \(D-18th\)](#)

2160 Rayburn
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Section II: Issues Briefing 2011-2012 Legislative Agenda

Introduction	38
Federal Budget Calendar	39
Domestic	
• Bullying and Harassment: Pass the Safe Schools Improvement Act (SSIA)	41
• Campaign Finance Reform: Uphold the Democratic Process	42
• Environment: Defend the Work of the EPA to Enforce the Clean Air Act	44
• Health Care: Do Not Repeal the Affordable Care Act	45
• HIV-AIDS: Fund AIDS Drug Assistance Programs	46
• Human Rights: End Warrantless Searches and Seizures under Patriot Act	47
• Immigration: Resist Enforcement-Only Legislation	48
• Job Creation: Make This Our Highest Priority	50
• Juvenile Justice: Support the Youth Promise Act	52
• Public Education: Overhaul the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (No Child Left Behind)	53
• Sexuality Education: Fund Comprehensive Programs	54
• Violence: Support Sensible Gun Laws	55
• Women's Rights: Reauthorize the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA)	56

International

- **Afghanistan:** Promote a Just Peace and Responsible End to the War 57
- **Climate Change:** U.S. Must Address Global Warming 58
- **Congo:** U.S. Policy Must Honor the Sovereignty 60
- **Cuba:** Time for a New Policy 61
- **Globalization:** Pass Fair (not "Free") Trade Agreements 62
- **Global Security:** Invest in Diplomacy and Development, not Increased Military Spending 63
- **Israel/Palestine:** U.S. Should Work for a Just Resolution 64
- **The Middle East and North Africa:** Ask Congress to Find the Right Tool 65



Issue Briefings: 2011-2012 Legislative Agenda

The Legislative Outlook of the 112th Congress

Each year the United Church of Christ and the Disciples of Christ justice advocates raise their voices to make a difference in the public policy arena on a broad range of issues. After a divisive midterm election campaign characterized by heated rhetoric and partisan attacks, the 112th Congress convened in January 2011 with new leadership in the House of Representatives and a Senate even more closely divided along partisan lines.

Unlike the 111th Congress, one of the most legislatively active sessions in recent decades, the 112th Congress is more likely to be marked by impasse and deadlock. Many newly elected members of Congress who campaigned on an agenda of cutting federal spending have dominated early debate about the federal budget, a trend likely to extend through much of the 112th session. Protecting key social safety net programs for the most economically vulnerable in the midst of a still shaky economy will be an important charge for faith-based justice advocates in the next two years.

Although legislative action is needed in major policy issue areas such as immigration and public education, there appears little prospect of forward movement with a divided Congress. More likely, justice advocates will be called upon to defend attacks on recent legislative gains made in the area of health care, civil rights and environmental justice.

In the meantime, significant international issues – including the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, global debt and poverty, democratic movements in Northern Africa and the Middle East – will challenge political leaders and justice advocates.

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Federal Budget Calendar

The President and Congress work on the budget for nearly the entire year.

January

President signals budget and program priorities in State of the Union or inaugural address.

By First Monday in February

President submits budget to Congress following the procedure required by the Congressional Budget Act of 1974. The President's proposed budget is a starting point for congressional deliberations. It estimates spending, revenue and borrowing levels based on input received from federal agencies. The President's proposed budget plays three important roles: 1) it outlines what the President believes overall fiscal policy should be; 2) it reflects the President's priorities for federal programs – how much should be spent on defense, education, health....; 3) it indicates the spending and tax policy changes the President recommends.

February – September

The President's proposed budget helps inform Congressional deliberations on the annual Budget Resolution, which establishes a level of total spending and revenues (taxes and fees) within which Congress will then control the process of appropriations as the year moves forward. To craft the Budget Resolution, Congress interacts with federal agency representatives who explain and advocate the President's proposed budget and then develops its Budget Resolution through the work of the House and Senate Budget Committees. Usually in the spring, House and Senate Budget Committees hold hearings on the Budget Resolution. Based on committee testimony and deliberations, each committee "marks up" its version of the Budget Resolution. Once the committees have completed their work, the Budget Resolution goes to the House and Senate floors for debate and vote.

Once House and Senate have each passed their version of the Budget Resolution, members are named to a Conference Committee which resolves differences between the House and Senate proposed budget resolutions. Much of the exchange and compromise between conferees happens outside formal deliberations. The Budget Resolution is supposed to be passed by April 15, but it frequently takes longer. In some years, Congress does not pass a Budget Resolution, and therefore the previous year's resolution remains in effect.

****Advocacy Opportunities** – Help shape the debate by meeting with members of Congress and using media advocacy to lift up your key issues and positions. Provide forums to educate members of your congregation and community on the impact of the federal budget proposal on the most vulnerable. Highlight stories from your own community.*

Once a Budget Resolution has been adopted, Congressional committees then prepare 13 Appropriations Bills, which specify how the money that has been allocated to each functional category will be distributed across the many programs within the category.

There is another important stream of funding outside the budget itself: mandatory spending, which pays for entitlement programs that continue from year to year. An entitlement program is one where funding is available for all people who are eligible for the program. Examples of entitlement programs include Social Security, veterans' pensions, food stamps, Medicare, Medicaid, and the federal employees' retirement program. Congress does not have to appropriate mandatory spending each year as part of the budget. Instead changes to spending in the mandatory category are made in Authorization Bills that may be written at any time during the year.

****Advocacy Opportunities** - Contact and meet with members of the House and Senate Budget Committees. When members of the Conference Committee are named, contact and meet with those members.*

Continue to provide educational forums and mobilize your advocacy networks.

Work with your local media to cover the impact of federal budget decisions on your community

October 1

The new Fiscal Year begins. This means that the Budget is intended to be passed by the end of September. In many years, however, Congress fails to complete its deliberations by that date. If a Budget has not passed by September 30, Congress must pass Continuing Resolutions for each of the 13 Appropriations categories. Eventually a new Budget must be approved, but this may again involve the appointment of a Conference Committee to resolve differences in the Senate and House versions.

**Advocacy Opportunities – You will still need to meet with members of your Congressional delegation and communicate with House and Senate Budget Committees until the Budget process has been completed.*

Bullying and Harassment: Pass the Safe Schools Improvement Act (SSIA)



Bullying happens in all kinds of communities—at school and even at church. At school, bullying creates significant adverse academic and other consequences for students. No federal law or policy exists that requires schools to address the problem, and existing state laws and school district policies vary greatly in their breadth and effectiveness.

What is bullying? According to the US Department of Education, “Bullying among children is commonly defined as intentional, repeated hurtful acts, words, or other behavior, such as name-calling, threatening and/or shunning committed by one or more children against another. These negative acts are not intentionally provoked by the victims, and for such acts to be defined as bullying, an imbalance in real or perceived power must exist between the bully and the victim. Bullying may be physical, verbal, emotional or sexual in nature¹.”

Two studies published by the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN) reported that two-thirds of middle and high school students (65%) and nearly 9 out of 10 LGBT students (86.4%) said they had been bullied in school in the past year. Suicide related to anti-LGBT bullying received a great deal of publicity in the fall of 2010 and has heightened awareness of this pervasive concern and its consequences.

In addition, the U.S. Center for Disease Control (CDC) reports: “Negative attitudes toward gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender people put LGBT youth at increased risk for verbal or physical harassment at school compared to other students². For example, a 2009 online survey³ of more than 7,000 LGBT middle and high school students found that:

- Eight in ten had been verbally or physically harassed at school in the past year because of their sexual orientation;
- Six in ten felt unsafe at school because of their sexual orientation; and
- One in five had been the victim of a physical assault.

The Twenty-seventh General Synod of the United Church of Christ (2009) declared its support for organizations, especially public school districts, to develop programs that promote anti-bullying and safe schools. It also called for participation in broad-based ecumenical and interfaith coalitions to advocate for anti-bullying, safe schools, and diversity/multi-cultural education in our public schools.

Faithful advocates should ask Congress to pass the Safe Schools Improvement Act (SSIA). It will strengthen the Safe and Drug Free Schools and Communities Act to ensure that:

- Schools and districts have comprehensive and effective student conduct policies to prohibit bullying and harassment;
- Schools and districts focus on effective prevention strategies and professional development

- designed to help school personnel meaningfully address bullying and harassment;
- States and districts maintain and report data regarding incidents of bullying and harassment to inform the development of effective federal, state, and local policies.

The SSIA ended the 111th Congress with 131 bipartisan cosponsors in the House and 17 bipartisan cosponsors in the Senate. SSIA is expected to be introduced early in the 112th Congress and may be attached to reforms of the No Child Left Behind Act.

For more information, contact Rev. Michael Schuenemeyer, (216-736-3217) schuenem@ucc.org, or see our website: <http://www.ucc.org/justice/children-and-youth/what-can-we-do-to-stop.html> and the resource, [Bridging the Gap in Federal Law: Promoting Safe Schools and Improved Student Achievement by Preventing Bullying and Harassment in Our Schools](#) [http://www.glsen.org/binary-data/GLSEN_ATTACHMENTS/file/000/000/916-1.pdf]

¹ *Preventing Bullying: A Manual for Schools and Communities*, US Department of Education: p. 1. Link: http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/search/detailmini.jsp?_nfpb=true&_ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_o=ED453592&ERICExtSearch_SearchType_o=no&accno=ED453592

² From: <http://www.cdc.gov/lgbthealth/youth.htm?source=govdelivery> as of 2/6/2011.

³ Kosciw JG, Greytak EA, Diaz EM, Bartkiewicz MJ. *The 2009 National School Climate Survey: The experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth in our nation's schools*. New York: Gay, Lesbian Straight Education Network. 2010. Link: http://www.glsen.org/binary-data/GLSEN_ATTACHMENTS/file/000/001/1675-5.PDF

Campaign Finance Reform: Uphold the Democratic Process



Campaign finance reform sits at the intersection of our faith values and our democratic ideals. It is not simply a political or public relations dilemma but a moral matter. The temptation to use money to buy unjust favors is an ancient one. Scripture speaks continually about the call to seek justice, particularly for those on the margins of society, those with little voice or power in the public sphere. The prophet Amos thundered against those merchants in Israel who "...sell the righteous for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes... and push the afflicted out of the way..." (Amos 2:6-7)

Psalm 15 defines a righteous person as one "who keeps his oath even when it hurts... and does not accept a bribe against the innocent."

As people of faith, we recognize the responsibility of government to seek justice for all people to build the common good. Justice cannot be achieved unless the rules governing the democratic process are just and fair to all. Central to that process is a citizen's free vote, not limited by the powers of money, social class and unequal access to the public media.

Rules governing the financing of campaigns have long been a focus of Congressional debate; yet meaningful campaign finance reform that would make the electoral process more responsive to and accessible to average voters has long been elusive.

Unfortunately, the January 2010 ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court in its *Citizens United v. FEC* decision has rendered even more elusive the prospect of meaningful campaign finance law that would protect the voices of individual voters. Although the case originally dealt with the narrow question of whether the electioneering communications provisions of the McCain-Feingold Act apply to “pay-per-view” movies produced by nonprofit entities, the Court stretched to ask a question that had not been posed to them. Then they answered it, announcing that private businesses, including for-profit corporations, have a right to spend an unlimited – yes, unlimited – amount of money to support or defeat candidates. The decision reversed numerous Supreme Court precedents and toppled dozens of long-standing campaign finance laws at the federal and state level.

To get a sense of the staggering implications of *Citizens United*, consider the example of Exxon-Mobil, whose political action committee (PAC) raised just under \$1 million in the 2008 election cycle from executives and members of its board. In that same year, Exxon-Mobil amassed profits of \$85 billion. If the *Citizens United* decision had already been law in 2008, and the company spent a modest 10 percent of its profits, they could have spent \$8.5 billion to elect candidates friendly to their interests and defeat candidates perceived as opposing their interests. This would have been more than was spent by the Obama campaign, the McCain campaign, every U.S. House and Senate candidate and every state legislative candidate in the country combined.

According to *Public Citizen*, businesses are likely to give considerable sums to front groups who will run attack ads against candidates who challenge corporate interests. Elected officials and anyone running for office will be under enormous pressure to support corporate interests, and it will be harder to advance a public interest agenda.

While Congress can pass some laws to limit the effects of the *Citizens United* decision, because the case is based on the protections of the First Amendment it can only be overturned by a constitutional amendment.

For more information, contact Sandy Sorensen, (202-543-1517) sorenses@ucc.org, or to learn more about advocacy for more just campaign finance laws in the wake of the *Citizens United* Supreme Court decision, visit <http://www.freespeechforpeople.org>.

Environment: Defend the Right of the EPA to Enforce the Clean Air Act



In April 2007, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has the right to regulate greenhouse gas (GHGs) emissions under the existing Clean Air Act; it did not need to seek additional Congressional authority. This decision was hailed as a landmark case by many in the faith and environmental communities because it would reduce GHGs that contribute to climate change.

Under the new Obama administration in December 2009, the EPA announced that scientific evidence proves that GHGs threaten the public health and welfare of the American people and are the primary drivers of climate change. This declaration led the EPA to announce the development of new rules beginning in 2011 to limit GHGs and smog-producing pollution from power plants, car and truck exhausts, and industrial boilers.

However, opposition to the new rules has been strong. To block EPA enforcement of the new rules the U.S. Chamber of Commerce filed a petition in August 2010, and eleven states filed a lawsuit in September 2010. The new House elected in November 2010 chose Rep. Fred Upton to head the Energy and Commerce Committee. Upton has vowed to have a "very aggressive, proactive schedule" to overturn the new EPA rules. Perhaps submitting to pressure, the EPA announced in December of 2010 that it will delay until later in 2011 the implementation of rules limiting smog and industrial boiler pollution.

Why are these new EPA rules important for people of faith?

- Air pollution has an immediate and long-term impact on the health of our communities. The EPA estimates that stricter EPA standards would help prevent up to 12,000 premature deaths annually and save up to \$100 billion in health care costs.
- Dirty air has a disproportionate effect on children and non-white poorer communities. Children – who have no choice where they live - are much more prone to asthma than adults, and in the landmark 1987 study commissioned by the UCC, *Toxic Wastes and Race*, communities of color or poverty often bear an onerous and unjust environmental burden compared to white and more affluent communities.
- Delaying or diminishing the new rules will add to climate change and its perilous outcomes for future generations. Taking steps now to combat global warming is absolutely essential for the health of the entire planet.

What can you do?

- Call, write, or visit your Senators and U.S. Representative. Tell them that we need the EPA to enforce the Clean Air Act that was passed 40 years ago by a bi-partisan Congressional effort, signed by a Republican President, and declared necessary by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2007.

- Make your own community or congregation a model of energy efficiency and mobilization for clean air, and then invite your elected officials to come and see how ordinary citizens are taking action.

Visit <http://www.ucc.org/environmental-ministries/just-green-congregations.html> and become a *Green Justice Congregation*.

For more information, contact Rev. Jim Deming (216-736-3722) demingj@ucc.org, or see our website: <http://www.ucc.org/environmental-ministries/water-air.html>.

Health Care: Do Not Repeal the Affordable Care Act

On March 23, 2010, the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (called the Affordable Care Act [ACA]) was enacted into law by the 111th Congress and signed by President Barack Obama. In addition, a Reconciliation Amendment, the Health Care and Education Act, was signed into law on March 30, 2010. This combined legislation expands access to quality, affordable health insurance to an additional 32 million currently uninsured Americans. For the first time the U.S. has a health care policy that addresses escalating costs, uneven quality, discriminatory practices by health insurance providers; provides mandatory funding for prevention and wellness programs and activities; and strengthens the Medicare program.



The United Church of Christ's 1991 Synod resolution proclaiming *Health Care for All* affirms our belief in the moral and justice imperative of equal access for all people in the United States. The passage of the Affordable Care Act is consistent with our church's understanding that "we are our brother's and sister's keepers" and our commitment to Jesus' priority to minister to those who are sick.

H. R. 2: Repealing the Job-Killing Health Care Law Act was introduced in the 112th Congress, in the House of Representatives in January 2011. Its sponsors seek fully to repeal the health care law passed in 2010. Repeal is unlikely, however, for several reasons. A repeal vote is not expected to pass the Senate. Even if it were to pass all of Congress, the President would likely veto the bill, and there would likely be insufficient votes in the Senate to override the veto.

However, H.R. 2 is the first step in the legislative process to repeal the 2010 law and health care-related provisions in the Health Care and Education Reconciliation Act of 2010, which contains primary public health and prevention services needed to maintain a healthy nation. Largely a symbolic gesture by a block of members of the House of Representatives, the repeal process alone is not a serious threat. The introduction of H.R. 2, however, means a large scale assault to de-fund and dismantle components of the 2010 law can be expected. It is also predicted that some members of the House will use the appropriations process to slow the full implementation of health care reform.

Repealing the 2010 law would return us to a health system that was unfriendly to many. Further repeal would negatively impact the public health while adding dollars to the deficit. Without the ACA, for example, young adults would lose their insurance coverage through their parents; people would once again be vulnerable to lifetime limits; and there would be reversal of cost sharing benefits for preventative services and reversal of the “donut hole” coverage gap.

Please urge your Representative to oppose H.R. 2 and any future attempts to defund and dismantle the Affordable Care Act.

For more information, contact Barbara Baylor (216-736-3708) baylorb@ucc.org, or see our website: www.ucc.org/justice/health.

HIV-AIDS: Fund AIDS Drug Assistance Programs



The U.S. has a growing HIV epidemic. 38% of those who test positive for HIV are diagnosed with AIDS within one year. The need for anti-viral HIV therapy is greater today than it ever has been. However, large numbers of the uninsured or underinsured do not have access to the life-saving treatment and care services they need.

Universal access to health care, which includes access to anti-retroviral treatment, is a fundamental human right. Access to treatment and care has been proven to be an important component of effective HIV prevention. Inconsistency in taking HIV anti-retroviral medications also often leads to drug resistant strains of HIV, which not only has immediate consequences for an individual’s health, but also has alarming implications for public health.

Housing Work reports that in the past two years an ever-growing number of people have attempted to enroll in their state’s AIDS Drug Assistance Program (ADAP), but states have less money to give to their ADAPs because the recession has significantly reduced state revenues across the United States. A number of states have blocked ADAP enrollment and instituted wait lists. As of January 2011, 5,779 people were on ADAP waiting lists in 10 states.¹ Other states have modified their ADAP eligibility requirements, cutting untold numbers from their programs and leaving many without a way to pay for medication. Yet other states have restricted the drugs they cover. The majority of the people served by ADAPs are black and Hispanic.

In July of 2010, when the number of people on ADAP waiting lists was about 2,100, advocacy groups and state officials urged the Obama Administration to provide \$126 million in emergency assistance for ADAPs to cover the needs to the end of the fiscal year. The Administration allocated \$25 million.² With wait lists now approaching 6,000 and growing, much more is needed to provide the treatment people need.

From the beginning of the epidemic, the UCC’s General Synod has consistently called on the US Congress and the President to appropriate the resources required to meet the needs of the epidemic, particularly in terms of providing treatment and alleviating suffering.³ In 1987 the 16th General Synod

called “for fair and equitable treatment for all population groups with respect to AIDS screening, treatment and provision of services.”⁴ And in 2009, the 27th General Synod Calls on local, state and federal governments to work together to develop and implement a national HIV and AIDS strategy that includes increased funding for best practice comprehensive HIV prevention programs. The National AIDS Strategy was launched by President Obama in July 2010 with treatment as one of its main goals. Backed by an abundance of research, the general consensus of the global AIDS community is that universal access to treatment is not only an essential human right but also vitally to effective HIV prevention.

Faithful advocates need to insist this health disparity be addressed with adequate funding in 2011 and in future federal and state budgets.

For more information, contact Rev. Michael Schuenemeyer, (216-736-3217) schuenem@ucc.org, or see The Federal Budget Process and HIV Funding (PDF), http://img.thebody.com/aac/pdfs/budget_process.pdf; Federal Funding for HIV by Category, <http://facts.kff.org/chart.aspx?ch=433>; National Alliance of State & Territorial AIDS Directors – Appropriations, <http://www.nastad.org/Programs/publicpolicy/ResourceDocument.aspx?Id=2&CatText=Appropriations>; General Synod Social Policy on HIV and AIDS, <http://www.ucc.org/health/hivaids/uccpolicy.html>.

¹Turkewitz, Julie, *ADAP Watch: AIDS Drug Wait List Grows to 5,779*, www.HousingWorks.org, Posted January 30, 2011 at 8:03pm, Link: <http://www.housingworks.org/blogs/detail/adap-watch-aids-drug-wait-list-grows-to-5779/>

²Pear, Robert, *U.S. to Provide \$25 Million to Help Buy AIDS Drugs*, New York Times, July 8, 2010, Link: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/09/health/research/ogaids.html?_r=1.

³*Resolution on Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS)*, 14th General Synod of the United Church of Christ, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, June 24-28-1983.

⁴*A Pronouncement: Health and Wholeness in the Midst of a Pandemic*, 16th General Synod of the United Church of Christ, Cleveland, Ohio, June 25-30, 1987.

Human Rights: End Warrantless Searches and Seizures under Patriot Act



A number of controversial provisions of the Bush Administration’s Patriot Act are set to expire this year. Three of the most controversial provisions regarding civil liberties are (1) court-appointed wiretapping of multiple phone lines of people who are suspected terrorists, and at its most extreme, of people who are not suspected of any criminal activity; (2) full FBI access to any court-approved item to be used in a terrorist investigation; and (3) court-approved surveillance of people who are not U.S. natives, even if they have no known terrorist links.

Although these provisions are set to expire, there has been significant movement to introduce new legislation to maintain them in law. On January 5, 2011, Rep. Mike Rogers (R-MI) introduced a bill (HR 67) to renew those provisions. This bill mirrored the extension of the Act approved last year, and because it was so similar to the extension, was expected to pass the House. The bill was placed on a fast track, but failed to pass as we go to press. The vote was 277 to 148 – which would have meant approval, except for the more stringent requirements of fast-tracked bills. Although this measure failed to pass the House in its current form, we expect further attempts to retain these provisions of the Patriot Act.

In the original Act of 2001, a number of authorities were assigned sunset provisions which allowed them to expire unless legislative action extended them. Many of these have to do with surveillance. They are set to expire February 28, 2011. However, new legislation is expected to continue them. Relevant provisions include authorities for roving wiretaps and tracking devices on social networks and websites on people not suspected of criminal activity. They also permit the government to obtain documents on citizens without individuals being informed of their seizure. These sections not only infringe upon personal liberties, but do so without informing citizens of the infringements.

Essentially, by passing repeated extensions of the Patriot Act (notably in 2005 and twice in 2009), Congress has failed to come to terms with serious social justice and liberty issues within the Act. In 2008, the Justice Department reported that under the provisions of the Patriot Act, the FBI regularly abused its authority to obtain citizens' personal records without a warrant. National Security Letters are used to spy on individuals who are not suspected of crimes. Recently, the Department of Justice ordered Twitter to produce information on more than 600,000 users who followed outlets on WikiLeaks. Twitter appealed the secrecy of this order and was permitted to reveal the Justice Department's request. Still, the FBI and the Department of Justice have argued consistently that to restrict their authority to conduct searches without a warrant would harm national security.

We urge you to contact your Representatives and Senators and the White House to let them know you oppose warrantless searches and seizures of the citizenry. If you want these sections to expire, let your lawmakers know.

For more information, contact Rev. Sala W.J. Nolan Gonzales (216-736-3716), nolans@ucc.org, or consult http://www.associatedcontent.com/article/629173/the_usa_patriot_act_of_2001.html?cat=75 for an overview of the Patriot Act and its impact on civil liberties.

Immigration: Resist Enforcement-Only Legislation



Last year began with immigrant rights advocates optimistic about the prospects for comprehensive immigration reform to promote family unity, bring people out of the shadows, and create a path to legalization for undocumented persons living in the U.S.

The impact on the immigrant community has been devastating as heightened enforcement by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and police has resulted in record deportations of residents who once hoped for a path to legalization.

"Secure Communities" and "287g" agreements between ICE and local law enforcement have been expanded. In some places, state and local police have become involved in immigration enforcement. The result is that a record 393,000 people were deported in 2010 with thousands of families broken apart. <http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/secure-communities-fact-sheet>

In the 112th Congress there will be more enforcement only type legislation. Proposals will focus on border security, increased oversight by the Department of Homeland Security, restrictions on due

process, efforts to criminalize undocumented immigrants, and an increased role for local law enforcement in immigration enforcement. The “birthright citizenship” of children born in the United States to undocumented parents will be challenged.

At the state level, proposals will include a wide range of punitive measures. Instead of Congress addressing comprehensive immigration reform, the states are considering enforcement-only legislation, which means that new laws will likely prescribe ways to punish violators but will not provide a path to legal residence in the United States. While aspects of S.B. 1070 have now been enjoined by the courts, “copy cat” legislation has been passed in the legislatures of 20 additional states.

Another very important immigration concern is the DREAM Act. While the U.S. House passed a version of the DREAM Act in December 2010, the legislation failed by 5 votes in the U.S. Senate. The DREAM Act would allow undocumented youths who entered the U.S. as children to enter a path to legal status through higher education or military service. Many DREAM students came out of the shadows to advocate vocally on behalf of an estimated 65,000 undocumented young people who graduate from high school each year without the right to a driver’s license, a job, participation in the military, or access to college scholarships. The DREAMERS seek the prayers and support of the faith community as they continue to live with the risks and indignities of being undocumented.
<http://www.ucc.org/justice/public-education/statement-in-support-of-the.html>

The biblical texts speak to God’s love and compassion for the stranger. It is written, “When an alien resides with you in your land, you shall not oppress the alien. The alien who resides with you shall be to you as the citizen among you; you shall love the alien as yourself. For you were aliens in the land of Egypt. I am the Lord your God.” (Lev. 19:33-34).

In Matthew 25: 35 Jesus is at one with the stranger, “For I was a stranger and you welcomed me.” Do the current laws being proposed welcome the stranger and welcome Christ, or do these proposals turn them away and bring judgment upon us as a nation?

In 1981, the United Church of Christ General Synod in its *Pronouncement: Justice in Immigration* called upon the church and its members to “advocate for the rights of immigrants” and “aid undocumented immigrants in attaining legal status.” In 2007, General Synod 26 issued a “Call for a More Humane U.S. Immigration Policy.” This resolution shared a special concern for the migrants who risk death crossing the border through the Southwestern desert. Current estimates are that at least 5,000 have died crossing the border. <http://www.ucc.org/synod/resolutions/immigration-final.pdf>

As a nation we need to build upon the foundations of freedom and respect for human rights. We should advocate for an earned path to legalization for undocumented persons of goodwill living in the U.S.. These people are working hard and raising families. We also need to insist that Congress reform outdated immigration laws that have kept families apart for decades.

Questions we must ask regarding any proposed legislation are: Does the law respect the role of the federal government? Does it consider how U.S. economic policies impact other countries and potentially cause people to migrate? Does it provide an earned path to legalization? Do our efforts to secure the border work for families, employers and people fleeing persecution? We need to advocate for comprehensive immigration reform and against enforcement-only laws that are being proposed across the states.

You are also invited to observe *Immigrant Rights Sunday*, on *May 1*. <http://www.ucc.org/justice/immigration/ImmigrantRightsSunday.html>. Learn about immigrants' concerns, honor their contributions, hear their pain, pray for their well-being, and listen to discover where God is leading us regarding immigration policy. You may also join a new Network of UCC members concerned for just and compassionate immigration reform. For more information, contact Mary Kuenning Gross, maryk-gross@gmail.com, or see our website: <http://www.ucc.org/justice/immigration>.

Job Creation: Make This Our Highest Priority



News reports proclaim the economy is recovering. But for millions of people who have lost their jobs, health insurance, economic security, and even their homes, the economic crisis continues. Congress must make job creation its highest priority.

American families are in a quagmire of financial and emotional pain. In January, 2011, over three years since the start of the recession, the unemployment rate is 9.4%.

Some 14.5 million people are officially unemployed. But a

broader count that includes everyone who wants work plus people who want more than their current part-time jobs indicates nearly 30 million people are unemployed or underemployed.¹ This is roughly twice the official count and nearly one in five potential workers. For some demographic groups, including people of color, young adults, and teenagers, the rates are much higher. Congress must make job creation its highest priority.

Federal Government – the Engine of Economic Recovery

The economy is growing slowly but job growth is stalled. Consumers have cut back their spending. Many firms have plenty of money but are not hiring.² If consumers aren't buying, companies don't need to produce more and they will not hire additional employees. The economy needs a jump start. The federal government must be the engine of economic recovery, boosting purchases so that firms will hire workers and raise production. Deficit spending by the federal government has ended recessions in the past and it can make an important contribution to economic recovery efforts today.

Federal Jobs Program

But a boost in purchasing will not be enough. Our shortfall in jobs is too large. Just to keep pace with growth in the labor force requires 120,000 new jobs a month. In 2010, we averaged just 94,000 new jobs a month. This rate of job creation is inadequate to keep unemployment from creeping up; it does not begin to address the backlog of joblessness. Even if job creation happened at over twice today's rate, say 220,000 new jobs a month (a level higher than even the best years in the 2000s), it would take nearly 10 years to reduce unemployment to the pre-recession level of 5 percent.³ Hurting families cannot hang on that long. Just waiting for the market to solve this crisis, without intervention, is unacceptable.

Congress must establish a program of job creation. The program could include tax credits to encourage firms to hire, funds for state and local governments to prevent layoffs, and grants to send workers back to school. It could include direct hiring by the government. There is much work that needs to be done, from cleaning up brown fields in our cities to making repairs in our national parks. Let's put people to work doing the things that need to be done.

Maintain the Safety Net

At the same time, we must maintain a solid safety net of support for people in need. Millions depend on unemployment insurance. One in seven people receives food stamps.⁴ Some 48 million people are insured by Medicaid and the numbers are rising.⁵ People are hurting and need a strong safety net. Congress must not cut programs for those most in need. Moreover, safety net spending stimulates the economy and creates jobs.

Reduce the Deficit Only After the Economy is Sound

The deficit is large but most of it is caused by the economic downturn.⁶ Unemployed people earn little money and pay few taxes. Government revenues fall. At the same time, costs rise as millions of people are forced to rely on safety net programs. Once people are working again, much of the deficit will disappear at least for now. In the longer term, health costs are the main factor driving the deficit and will need to be addressed.

For now, maintaining the deficit is the sound and humane thing to do. This will mean raising the debt limit. But only by creating jobs that put people back to work and strengthening the economy will the nation (and American families) be able to pay their bills and thrive.

For more information, contact Edith Rasell, Ph.D., (216-736-3709) raselle@ucc.org, or see our website: <http://www.ucc.org/justice/financial-crisis/>.

¹There are 14.5 million officially counted as unemployed. An additional 1.3 million say they want jobs but, since they are no longer looking for work, are not included in the official count. Nearly nine million can find only part-time work and want more hours. Another 4.4 million so-called "missing" workers have dropped out of the counts entirely. See Shierholz, Heidi, "Labor force smaller than before recession started," Economic Policy Institute, January 7, 2011 http://www.epi.org/publications/entry/labor_force_smaller_than_before_recession_started1/

²"U.S. Companies Sit on \$1 Trillion Cash," *The Street*, October 28, 2010. <http://www.thestreet.com/story/10903371/us-companies-sit-on-1-trillion-cash.html> Mufson, Steven, "Some giants sitting on piles of cash," November 6, 2009, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/11/05/AR2009110505221.html>

³The U.S. economy has 7.3 million fewer jobs than in December 2007 at the start of the recession. Those need to be replaced, plus we need 120,000/month for the past 36 months to accommodate the growth in the labor force, or a total of 11.6 million jobs. At the rate of 220,000 new jobs a month (120,000 taken by new entrants to the labor force) there would be 100,000 jobs a month for the jobless. To return to the unemployment level of December 2007 (5%) would take just under 10 years (11.6 million jobs needed / 100,000 created per month / 12 months). During the peak of the economic growth cycle during the 2000s, the U.S. economy created an average of 183,000 a month; 220,000 is an optimistic figure.

⁴Smith, Aaron, "1 in 7 Americans rely on food stamps," CNN Money December 21, 2010 http://money.cnn.com/2010/12/21/news/economy/food_stamps/index.htm

⁵DeNavas-Walt, Carmen, Bernadette D. Proctor, and Jessica C. Smith, U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P60-238, *Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2009*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 2010. <http://www.census.gov/prod/2010pubs/p60-238.pdf>

⁶Ruffing, Kathy A. and James R. Horney, "Critics Still Wrong on What's Driving Deficits in Coming Years," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, June 28, 2010, <http://www.cbpp.org/files/12-16-09bud.pdf>

Juvenile Justice: Support the Youth PROMISE Act



The Youth PROMISE Act (HR 1064) – officially entitled Youth Prison Reduction through Opportunities, Mentoring, Intervention, Support, and Education – was introduced in February 2009 by Rep. Bobby Scott (D-VA), and co-sponsored by 235 Representatives. The PROMISE Act would establish an Advisory Committee to assist the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention in hiring and training law enforcement officers as youth-oriented police to work with community-based organizations and high-risk youth. It would establish a Center for Youth-Oriented Policing. PROMISE would authorize prevention programs developed by community Coordinating Councils, and support partnerships

among mental health authorities and public and private groups to alleviate the effects of youth violence. It would support ongoing research to identify what actually reduces youth violence and gang involvement, and promote evidence-based practices to reduce delinquency.

There has been opposition to the bill from those who seek more punitive measures to address youth violence. Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) introduced the Gang Abatement and Prevention Act (S132), which would seek stronger prosecution efforts for gang violence and enhance criminal penalties for violent crimes. In December 2010, a new bill merging the Promise Act with Feinstein's bill, S132, was introduced. The seemingly contradictory approaches were noted by some supporters of the Youth Promise Act, but the compromise bill was supported by some analysts who believe that the charges and punishments proposed in S132 are already available to prosecutors under federal racketeering and conspiracy laws. The compromise bill was placed on hold in the Senate, precluding its passage in 2010. However, HR 1064 continues to progress. On December 22, 2010, the original Youth Promise Act was placed on the Union Calendar and is proceeding. Its passage depends on support for new federal expenditures for prevention and research; passage may be compromised in the context of budget deficits and strong fiscal scrutiny for all newly proposed programs.

Please support this bill. It is inherently positive, not punitive. It will support our communities and our youth. Although issues of funding may stall this legislation in its pathway to law, in fact, preventive measures will save millions of dollars for needless incarceration of our young people -- enormous expenditures that are destroying lives and communities. Contact your U.S. Representative and Senators to let them know you support this legislation, and that you believe its full funding will make better use of public dollars than imprisoning our young people.

For more information, contact Rev. Sala Nolan Gonzalez (216-736-3716) nolans@ucc.org, or see our website: <http://www.ucc.org/justice/criminal-justice/juvenile-justice.html>

Public Education — Overhaul the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (No Child Left Behind)



The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) originally passed in 1965 as the cornerstone of the War on Poverty, faces reauthorization every five years. Renamed “No Child Left Behind” (NCLB) in 2002, the law was scheduled for reauthorization in 2007, but Congress continues to delay.

The original 1965 ESEA allocated Title I money, called “compensatory funding,” for schools serving concentrations of America’s poorest children. Congress framed the 2002 reauthorization instead as holding schools accountable—mandating that states set standards, test whether students have met the standards, and punish schools that cannot quickly raise scores.

In 2009 Secretary of Education, Arne Duncan, introduced a dangerous new agenda as part of the federal economic stimulus program, and now Duncan seeks to include these same policies in the ESEA reauthorization. Duncan set aside nearly \$10 billion stimulus dollars—including a \$4.35 billion Race to the Top Fund and a \$3.5 billion Title I School Improvement Fund—to be distributed through competitive grants to states that would agree to revise laws and rules: to base teacher evaluation and pay more heavily on students’ test scores and reduce due process protection for teachers; intensify the test-and-punish mechanisms of No Child Left Behind; legislatively remove state laws that cap the authorization of new charter schools; and impose harsh “turnarounds” on struggling schools—closing the school and moving the students, firing the principal and a large percentage of the staff, or privatizing or charterizing the school. These policies have added to the injustices of NCLB and their inclusion in the upcoming reauthorization would make matters worse.

As Congress reauthorizes ESEA, faithful advocates should ask Congress to:

- **Address public school inequality** by allocating federal resources for equity and pressing states to close opportunity gaps.
- **Allocate Title I funds to support schools serving children in poverty through a fair formula, not a competition.** Poor children should not lose federal support because their state loses a funding competition.
- **Reduce reliance on standardized tests** and test only in ways that improve instruction, measure real performance, and encourage exploration, imagination, and critical thinking.
- **Support and improve, rather than punishing, the public schools in America’s poorest communities.**
- **Address issues outside school that affect school achievement** such as racial segregation, concentrated poverty, and the need for pre-school that helps children before they fall behind.
- **Reject market-based, technocratic policies and improve public education as the bedrock of our society and public schools as the anchors of communities.** As a people called to love our neighbors as ourselves, we must insist that Congress balances the needs of each particular child and family with the need to ensure a strong public system that secures the rights and addresses the needs of all children.

For more information, contact Jan Resseger, (216-736-3711) ressegerj@ucc.org, or see our website: <http://www.ucc.org/justice/public-education/>.

Sexuality Education: Fund Comprehensive Programs



For nearly 40 years, United Church of Christ General Synods have advocated for age-appropriate, comprehensive sexuality education. The United Church of Christ is among the pioneers in providing comprehensive, faith-based, human sexuality education in the form of the highly-regarded curriculum, *Our Whole Lives - Sexuality and Our Faith*. *Our Whole Lives* is a series of human sexuality education programs for four age groups: grades K-1, grades 4-6, grades 7-9, and grades 10-12. Based upon the values of self-worth, sexual health, responsibility, justice and inclusivity, the programs provide accurate information

for parents, teachers and pastors to help children and young people learn about human sexuality in the affirming and supportive settings of our churches. These programs help participants make informed and responsible decisions about their sexual health and behavior. Comprehensive sexuality education provides more than facts about anatomy and human development. It also helps participants to clarify values, improve interpersonal skills, and understand the spiritual, emotional, social and political aspects of sexuality, including the relationship between sexuality and faith.

In contrast, from 1996-2009, 1.5 billion federal tax payer dollars was spent to fund abstinence-only-until-marriage programs. Strong research and evaluation shows that abstinence-only-until-marriage programs are ineffective. The definition of “abstinence-only” education conflicts with the concepts underlying effective sexuality and health education programs. In contrast, effective programs, such as *Our Whole Lives*, include information about abstinence as well as contraception and sexually transmitted disease prevention.

More hopefully, in June, 2010, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services launched the Personal Responsibility Education Program (PREP), to allow states to apply for \$55 million this year in first-of-its-kind federal funding for comprehensive sex education. H.H.S. also opened applications for states to apply for \$50 million in funding to support Title V abstinence-only-until-marriage programs — programs which extensive research has proven to be ineffective. Both PREP and Title V were authorized and funded as a part of the recent health care reform package. State-by-state information can be found here: <http://siecus.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=Feature.showFeature&FeatureID=1934>

For the first time in a decade and a half there is a funding stream to support comprehensive sexuality education; however, it is important to note that there also remains a funding stream for abstinence-only-until-marriage programs.

Faithful advocates should become familiar with the differences between comprehensive sexuality education and abstinence-only education. Encourage your church leadership to advocate for the incorporation of *Our Whole Lives - Sexuality and our Faith* into church programming.

If a discussion concerning sexuality education takes place in your community, the Sexuality Education and Information Council of the United States (SIECUS) has posted an excellent advocacy resource at <http://www.communityactionkit.org/>.

For more information, contact Ann Hanson (216-736-3718) hanson@ucc.org, or see our website: <http://www.ucc.org/justice/sexuality-education/>.

Violence: Support Sensible Gun Laws



In the wake of the tragic January 8, 2011 shootings in Tucson, Arizona that left 13 people wounded (including Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords) and 6 dead, the issue of regulating access to firearms and ammunition gained the attention it merits but rarely receives. Merely discussing the need for gun violence prevention, however, is not enough. It is important to take decisive action to bring an end to shootings by enacting legislation that will decrease

access to firearms and ammunition. One significant piece of legislation Congress is considering in light of the Tucson tragedy is the Large Capacity Ammunition Feeding Device Act.

Rep. Carolyn McCarthy, whose husband was killed and son severely wounded in the 1993 Long Island Railroad Massacre, has introduced this bill (HR-308) in the U.S. House of Representatives to prohibit the transfer, importation, or possession of high capacity magazines. Large capacity ammunition magazines were used in notorious shooting sprees such as occurred at Columbine, Virginia Tech, Fort Hood and Tucson, allowing the perpetrators to fire numerous rounds of bullets into the victims' bodies without even having to take time to reload.

Previously, the Federal Assault Weapons Act banned magazines with more than ten rounds of ammunition. But when Congress declined to renew the law in 2004, the ban expired. Under the Large Capacity Ammunition Feeding Device Act, it would again be illegal for any person to possess magazines containing more than ten rounds of ammunition (unless lawfully possessed before the bill went into effect), or to transfer or sell such large capacity magazines.

The Large Capacity Ammunition Feeding Device Act is moderate legislation. It exempts active and retired law enforcement and certain federal and state departments and agencies. The legislation has a reasonable chance of passing this year for several reasons. The bill is limited scope. Many people realize that large capacity ammunition is neither necessary nor appropriate for any non-military/non-law-enforcement firearm use. There has been increased media attention to the issue of gun safety following the Tucson shootings. If this legislation is to pass, however, demonstrated grassroots support will be essential. It is vital that legislators on both sides of the aisle hear from people of faith who are strongly committed to seeing this bill become law.

With that victory won, we will need to work toward more comprehensive legislation such as closing the gun show loophole. Call your Congressperson and Senators to let them know you support this common sense legislation.

For more information, contact NaKeisha Sylver Blount (202-534-1517) or (202-544-2352) sylvern@ucc.org, or see our website: <http://www.ucc.org/justice/gun-violence/>.

Women's Rights: Reauthorize the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA)



The Violence Against Women Act was first introduced in Congress in 1991 by then-Senator Joe Biden. The bill was made part of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act and signed into law in September 1994 by President Bill Clinton. It was reauthorized in 2000. Building upon this law which provided funding for domestic violence crisis hotlines and battered women's shelters, for special training for judges who hear domestic violence cases, and for expanded rape shield laws among other provisions, the Violence Against Women Act of 2005 was signed into law by President George W. Bush in 2006. VAWA reauthorized existing programs to combat domestic violence, sexual assault, dating violence and stalking, and created new programs to meet the emerging needs of

communities working to prevent gender-based violence against women. It included new initiatives for programs and services for victims with disabilities, for community-based prevention programs, and for broadening VAWA service provisions to include children and teenagers.

VAWA is due for reauthorization in 2011, including federal funding for its many programs. Bipartisan support for reauthorization exists. At a June 10, 2010, hearing on VAWA conducted by the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Ranking Member of that Committee, Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-AL) said, "There has been tremendous progress made in combating violence against women." Since enactment of VAWA in 1994, rates of non-fatal and fatal domestic violence have declined and states have passed more than 600 laws to combat these crimes. "Every dollar of Violence Against Women Act funds need to be wisely and responsibly spent," he continued. "Let's make sure these programs are the most effective programs to help women and children."

For more information, contact Rev. Lois Powell (216-736-3715) powell@ucc.org. A section-by-section summary of the 2005 VAWA reauthorization can be found at: <http://www.aila.org/content/default.aspx?bc=1019|8846|18678|18208>.

Afghanistan: Promote a Just Peace and Responsible End to the War



In June 2010, war in Afghanistan surpassed the war in Vietnam to become as the longest war in U.S. history.¹ Unlike Vietnam, however, the war in Afghanistan remains largely out of the public spotlight.² In his recent State of the Union Address, President Obama reiterated his commitment to begin withdrawing U.S. troops from Afghanistan in July 2011. Other high ranking political and military officials have challenged this timeline, saying it will be “conditions based” or only a “token” number.³ The coming months may challenge the President’s commitment to remain firm on his timeline for 2011 to begin to end the war, especially as shifting humanitarian conditions on the ground and lowering public approval for the war are considered.⁴

Public interest has focused on the cost of war given ongoing debate highlighting our national debt, an unprecedented \$14 trillion. The 30,000 troop surge in Afghanistan brought the total U.S. troop level to 97,000. The financial cost of the war in Afghanistan continued to mount at an unprecedented rate in 2010 as the cost of wars in Iraq and Afghanistan together topped \$1 trillion.

The real cost of war, however, must be counted in loss of life – whether the life of a U.S. soldier, Afghan civilian, or insurgent. Over the past decade, the burden carried by military families in the U.S. cannot be understated. 2010 was the deadliest year of the war to date, with almost 500 U.S. soldiers killed in combat according to icasualties.org. The total number of U.S. casualties is now over 1,400, with over 6,500 troops injured.

The human cost, however, remains higher. Tragically, as *Congressional Quarterly’s* Joe Donneley points out, “for the second year in a row, the U.S. military has lost more troops to suicide than it has to combat in Iraq and Afghanistan.”⁵ The President recently announced a new initiative to support military families, highlighting the need to improve the psychological health and well-being of U.S. troops.⁶ While this initiative is welcome, more needs to be done to support our troops in other ways, including updating U.S. policy regarding Selective Conscientious Objection and the creation of a Veterans Trust Fund.⁷

In November, 2010, the National Council of Churches Governing Board adopted a resolution, “A Call to End the War in Afghanistan.”⁸ The resolution calls President Obama to negotiate the withdrawal of U.S. and NATO forces as soon as possible and in a way that does not further endanger U.S. or Afghani civilians or troops. For the NCC and other faith communities, ensuring that Afghanistan will develop and flourish following the removal of U.S. troops is essential, but so is calling for and working toward an end to the war in accordance with our common witness to peace.

The coming year will offer a challenge for members of United Church of Christ congregations to respond faithfully to this resolution and simultaneously to articulate a position that weighs the conflicting goods of ensuring Afghan security and development with our call to be a Just Peace church in a nation engaged in the longest war in its history.

For more information, contact Mike Neuroth (202-543-1517), neurothm@ucc.org, or see our website: <http://www.ucc.org/justice/just-peace/>.

¹There is debate about when the war in Vietnam actually started, but many point to August 1964, when the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was passed. <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/afghan-war-now-longest-war-us-history/story?id=10849303&page=2>

²Despite 2010 being the deadliest year for U.S. troops since the conflict began, media coverage of the war in 2010 still lagged well behind other domestic issues such as the economy, health care, and elections. http://www.journalism.org/analysis_report/year_news_2010

³http://articles.cnn.com/2010-03-10/world/afghanistan.gates_1_afghan-forces-southern-helmand-province-afghanistan?_s=PM:WORLD;

⁴<http://www2.nationaljournal.com/member/magazine/petraeus-running-out-of-time-to-show-progress-20101028>.

⁵An ABC/Washington Post poll in December found public opinion split almost evenly for and against the war. <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/abc-news-washington-post-poll-exclusive-afghanistan-war/story?id=12404367>.

The number of suicides reported by the armed services from the past year is 434 with deaths from combat (excluding accidents and illness) around 460. This number includes only active-duty soldiers, not those who have left the service completely or veterans who are not receiving care from VA's. If an accurate accounting were made, the number of suicides would certainly outnumber combat deaths.

⁶http://www.congress.org/news/2011/01/24/more_troops_lost_to_suicide

⁷<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/01/24/presidential-initiative-supports-military-families>

⁸<http://conscienceinwar.org/> and <http://www.standwithvets.org/stand-with-vets>

Climate Change: U.S. Must Address Global Warming



Because the 111th Congress and Obama Administration failed to push for legislation to control U.S. carbon emissions, expectations for a climate change bill in the near future have virtually disappeared. While the need to reduce the level of domestic carbon pollution remains urgent, attention has shifted to the need to help U.S. and global communities adapt to the emerging consequences of climate change.

As fossil fuels, like coal and oil are burned for energy, carbon pollution increases. The level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has reached approximately 390 parts per million (ppm) and is increasing by 2ppm per year. This is significantly higher than the 350 ppm threshold scientists agree is needed to maintain a healthy global temperature. With the world population now at 7 billion, reducing carbon pollution is essential. Both China and the U.S. emit around 6 billion metric tons of carbon dioxide a year—much more than any other countries. With one-fourth of China's population, the U.S. per capita rate of pollution makes it incumbent that we take responsibility for our disproportionate role in global warming.

The effects of atmospheric warming do not remain within the borders of industrialized nations, but instead have the greatest impact on countries that are least responsible for climate change. In the most danger are countries with high poverty levels, countries that depend directly on local food production or whose fragile ecosystems are highly susceptible to changes in sea and weather patterns. It will be necessary to find—and fund—ways to help countries that will be most affected adapt to the effects of climate change, for even if we change our fossil-fuel based economy immediately, the compounding effects of current global warming will continue to heat the planet

For example, the melting of the polar ice caps significantly affects small Pacific islands where rising sea waters have already substantially eroded coastlines, devastated mangrove and other essential habitats, salted wells and other freshwater sources, and in some cases swallowed whole villages,

forcing displaced communities into crowded population centers or out of their island homes altogether. If sea levels continue to rise as predicted, low-lying countries such as Bangladesh will lose most of their land mass, islands in the Pacific will disappear, and coastal marshes such as the Everglades in South Florida will be under sea water. Global warming means many plants and animals, unable to adjust, will become extinct.

Because affected nations are often poor, impacted populations are also likely to be less able to adjust to the effects of a warming planet. Many people will lose their homes or be unable to grow food for their families. Communities will face increasing natural disasters like flooding, stronger hurricanes and changes in rainfall patterns. Climate refugees—those displaced due to climate change—will add stress to already overcrowded urban centers and exacerbate the global food crisis.

Climate damage cuts across borders. An international problem will require an international strategy and mechanisms for international financing to assist affected countries. Unfortunately, however, in an effort to cut the U.S. federal budget, the 112th Congress has proposed deep cuts to international aid programs including those aimed at reducing climate change and helping the world's peoples adapt to its effects. Such budget cuts today will cost far more in the future when disasters are cataclysmic and an even greater number of nations are in need of emergency assistance.

It is only fair that those who have benefitted most from using the earth's resources now take responsibility for ensuring the planet remains livable; the U.S. must provide international leadership. As a faithful advocate, please:

- Learn more about climate change, calculate your own carbon footprint, and make energy-saving choices. Buy less and buy local at home, at work, and in your congregation. Drive less; fly less.
- Tell local, state, and federal elected officials that preserving God's creation and doing justice require smart public policies to reduce carbon pollution and to help communities around the world adapt to a world made warmer and wetter by climate change.

For more information, contact Rev. Jim Deming, (216-736-3722) demingj@ucc.org, or Derek Duncan (216-736-3220) duncand@ucc.org, or see our websites: <http://www.ucc.org/environmental-ministries/>; Global Ministries: <http://www.globalministries.org/get-involved/justice-and-advocacy/climate-change/>.

Congo: U.S. Policy Must Honor the Sovereignty



The Democratic Republic of Congo, home of 62 protestant denominations united under the ecumenical umbrella of the Church of Christ in the Congo, continues to suffer brutal and unmitigated exploitation of its people and immense resources after 125 years since the creation of the Congo Free State as a colony of King Leopold II of Belgium.

Although Congo achieved independence from Belgium on June 30, 1960, the continued greed of global corporations for precious and strategic raw materials from the Democratic Republic of Congo and the hypocrisy of the international community on the plight of African victims, has led to the failure of the Congo state. Corruption of and by politicians has become endemic, with kleptocracy the norm since the CIA-supported regime of the late President Mobutu Sese Seko from 1965-1997.

Rwanda and Uganda commenced a series of invasions of the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1996 to replace Mobutu with Joseph Desiré Kabila. The additional goal of these invasions was opening unfettered access to Congolese natural resources by international corporations and their Congolese collaborators. These invasions have not only undermined severely the democratic advancements made at the National Sovereign Conference of 1992, but have also cost the lives of an estimated 6,000,000 Congolese.

Up to a half million Congolese women and girls have been subjected to violent rape, including sexual mutilation by multiple armies from Congo, Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi. Attacks on women and girls have increased dramatically the incidence of HIV/AIDS among women and girls, thus creating a time bomb with dire consequences for Congo.

An estimated 1,250 Congolese reportedly perish daily in Eastern Congo, especially in the Oriental, North Kivu, and South Kivu, as a direct or indirect result of the militarization of mineral extraction. Mines are patrolled by elite networks of militia supported by business interests in the Congo, Rwanda, Uganda, and the industrialized world. Militia activities are orchestrated to ensure unfettered access to Congolese strategic natural resources such as coltan, cobalt, tungsten, cassiterite, niobium, diamonds, gold, copper, uranium, oil, and timber. Mineral interests have subjugated the Congolese people to abject poverty, suffering, slave labor, and human trafficking to benefit the West and other industrialized nations.

Faithful advocates need to support non-governmental organizations, including the United Nations, seeking to ensure that mineral extraction ceases to violate the sovereignty of the government of Congo and ceases to violate the rights of the people of Congo. Ask Congress and the Department of State to support recovery of democracy in Congo through legislation and international diplomacy.

For more information, contact LaMarco Cable (317) 713-2574, lcable@dom.disciples.org, or visit our web page: <http://globalministries.org/africa/>.

Cuba: Time for a New Policy



The United States has enforced an economic embargo of Cuba since the Kennedy Administration. The United Nations General Assembly has passed resolutions condemning this embargo eighteen times. It is believed that this economic embargo has contributed to some of the severe shortages of basic food and other hardships endured by the Cuban people. Additionally, twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Americans remain the only people in the world forbidden to visit their island neighbor, only 90 miles

away from Key West. During the last Bush Administration, further restrictions were implemented, curtailing most travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens.

In January 2011, President Obama issued an Executive Order easing some of the regulations to close to what they had been before the Bush travel restrictions. This new policy allows for “purposeful travel” such as formal religious visits to churches or ecclesiastical bodies in the island, academic travel, and visits by journalists. The Order also makes it easier for U.S. citizens to make modest cash remittances to Cubans on the island on a quarterly basis.

The new Cuba travel regulations announced by the Obama White House are welcomed by all who believe in people-to-people diplomacy and the things that bring humans together rather than those that keep us apart. These reforms are welcome and widely supported by the Cuban American community and the general public as well. However, they fall short of what is needed to restore the historical ties between the peoples of Cuba and the United States.

In 1993, General Synod 19 called for “Shalom in Cuba” including full economic and travel normalization between our two nations. This is the vision that we strive for and encourage our policy makers to make a reality.

In 1989 President Reagan challenged President Gorbachev to tear down the Berlin Wall. The world has never been the same since. As a faithful advocate, please call on President Obama to tear down the wall of the embargo and begin to rebuild our relationship with our Cuban neighbors.

For more information, contact LaMarco Cable (317) 713-2574, lcable@dom.disciples.org, or visit our web page: <http://globalministries.org/lac/>.

Globalization: Pass Fair (not Free) Trade Agreements



President Obama has made expanding U.S. exports (goods and services produced in the U.S. and sold to other countries) a focus of his economic recovery plan. An increase in exports would create badly needed jobs and shrink our huge trade deficit (the amount by which our imports exceed our exports). But how to do this is hotly debated, especially the role of free trade agreements (FTAs) that govern international trade and investment. Some people argue these agreements create jobs by increasing exports more than they boost imports and broadly benefit the nation. But others maintain

they have the opposite effect: boosting imports more than exports, destroying jobs, increasing the trade deficit, and, for the most part, benefiting a very small group of elites. Experts also disagree over the impact of FTAs on workers in the global South. These disagreements will surface in the months ahead as Congress debates whether to adopt FTAs with South Korea, Colombia, and Panama.

Each of these agreements is modeled on the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Under NAFTA, U.S. exports to Mexico rose but imports climbed even more. The net effect was a large increase in the trade deficit and a million jobs lost. The treaty also failed to help Mexican workers. As Mexico struggled to attract foreign investment, wages for most workers stagnated or were driven down. At the same time international firms moved in, putting many Mexican companies out of business. Only some of the largest Mexican firms and a small group of wealthy businesspeople benefited.

These are typical outcomes of trade agreements based on the NAFTA model. In the U.S., small and mid-sized firms have been driven out of business by larger U.S. and foreign firms, and wages for most workers have been stagnant or falling for years. The winners in this era of free trade globalization are the largest U.S. firms and a small number of people who have become extremely wealthy.

There is every reason to believe the FTAs currently awaiting Congressional approval will have similar effects. Estimates show that seven years after ratification, the FTAs with South Korea and Colombia will have increased our trade deficit by \$16.7 billion annually and eliminated 214,000 U.S. jobs. Congress must oppose these agreements as currently written.

Another bill that will likely be re-introduced in the current Congress is the Trade Reform, Accountability, Development and Employment Act (TRADE Act). It calls for a comprehensive review of existing trade agreements and modifications that would make these and future agreements fairer. Congress should pass this bill.

What the nation needs is not free trade but fair trade.

For more information, contact Edith Rasell, Ph.D., (216-736-3709) raselle@ucc.org, or see our website. <http://www.ucc.org/justice/globalization/>.

¹Faux, Jeff, Carlos Salas, and Robert E. Scott, "Revisiting NAFTA: Still not working for North America's workers," Economic Policy Institute Briefing Paper #173, Washington, DC:EPI, September 28, 2006 <http://www.epi.org/publications/entry/bp173/>

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Global Security: Invest in Diplomacy and Development, Not Increased Military Spending



In 2009, the U.S. State Department undertook the first Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, modeled after the Department of Defense's Quadrennial Defense Review. Secretary of State Clinton wants to promote the role of diplomacy and development as equal to the U.S. armed forces in "advancing America's core interests: security, prosperity, universal values—especially democracy and human rights—and a just international order."

Like a three-legged stool, diplomacy, development and defense must be balanced for global stability. Yet two decades after the Cold War, U.S. military spending remains \$700 billion a year, amounting to half of global military spending and as much as the next fifteen countries combined. In contrast, the 2011 State Department budget request was increased to \$58 billion, which is still not one-tenth of military investment.

Foreign military assistance, while far less than defense spending, has also nearly tripled in the last decade. But structuring U.S. foreign policy primarily around military spending is questionable. Most military aid is given to the Middle East. In 2007, 60 percent of military assistance supported Iraq and Afghanistan, nearly half of the rest went to Israel (18 percent), while 10 percent was given to Egypt and the remaining 10 percent to all other recipients—including other Middle East allies. While this strategy has created a precarious and highly militarized balance of power in the region, has it advanced democracy, human rights or reconciliation among even our Middle East allies?

Regional patterns of military spending raise similar questions. For instance, the four largest militaries—the U.S., China, Russia and Japan—concentrate a disproportionate amount of global force in North East Asia. The countries participating in the Six-Party Talks regarding North Korean disarmament account for 65 percent of world military expenditures. Is this heightened military posture the most effective path to ending hostilities or eventually unifying the Peninsula? Not surprisingly, there is growing pressure from close allies in the Pacific for the U.S. to reduce its sizeable military footprint in places like South Korea and Okinawa, Japan.

In an age when global threats are more likely to come from non-state actors and asymmetric tactics, global security relies heavily on strategies that create shared social and economic opportunities, and on what Secretary Clinton calls "smart" diplomacy—initiatives beyond the embassy walls that strengthen inter-cultural engagement and civil society.

U.S. diplomacy and development capacity are at risk, however, in this new Congress. In 2010, a bipartisan commission recommended cuts in military spending, but the recommendation has been ignored. Instead today some in Congress now propose cutting spending to 2008 levels in every government program deemed "non-security." In January 2011 House leaders introduced the Spending Reduction Act that would reduce budgets for the Department of State and for U.S. AID as part of domestic program cuts. Passage of this bill would mean \$16 billion less for State Department programs. Some programs that have grown significantly since 2008 would help build secure and sustainable communities by addressing climate change, food insecurity, by strengthening maternal and child health and by fighting human trafficking.

Tell Congress and the Administration that a strategy of overspending for war and short-changing peace does not advance real human security. Smart approaches are needed to create strong communities not just powerful weapons, and to encourage states to invest in their people as much as their militaries. Tell Congress you oppose cuts in State Department and international aid programs. Express opposition to military assistance and military spending programs that promote militarization in already volatile regions but do little to advance democracy and human rights.

For more information contact Derek Duncan (216-736-3220) at duncand@ucc.org, or visit <http://globalministries.org/get-involved/justice-and-advocacy/>.

Israel/Palestine: U.S. Should Work for a Just Resolution



The year 2010 witnessed a standoff between the United States and Israel over a proposed settlement freeze extension designed to create a climate conducive to negotiations. The U.S. hoped to help achieve a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians within one year. When settlement construction recommenced, the two principal parties stepped back from the hoped-for engagement, putting U.S. prospects for realizing an agreement in question.

Time is of the essence. Every day that peace is not realized, the more a viable two-state solution is impeded by violence and anger, continuing confiscation of land and property, destruction of homes, and restrictions on access to natural and cultural resources, including religious sites.

Palestinian Christian partners have been concerned about the impact of the continuing conflict on Christian presence for some time; the conflict spawns emigration among the Palestinian community. The consequences of the conflict and occupation are felt by all Palestinians—Christians and Muslims alike. Since the Palestinian Christian community is a mere 2% of the Palestinian population, emigration is a reality that disproportionately affects the Christian population. The impact of even a small number of Christians leaving is significant as it diminishes the size of the Christian community.

The United Church of Christ has long advocated for peace in the Middle East, calling for a two-state solution: a sovereign and viable Palestinian state neighboring Israel, resulting in safety and security for citizens of both, with Jerusalem as the shared capital for each. Such a result is what Global Ministries' partners in the Middle East have hoped for and called for. The UCC continues to encourage the U.S. to play a fair and active role in helping to bring about such a solution. The Administration and Congress must cooperate to make such an approach possible; while the White House and State Department conduct foreign policy, Congress allocates financial resources.

What you can do:

- Call or e-mail your Senators, Representative, and the White House expressing your support, as a Christian concerned for peace and justice and for U.S. involvement in a negotiated peace in the Middle East. Be sure to point out that lasting peace in the Middle East—and a positive U.S. role in brokering it—are in the interest of the United States, as well as Israel and Palestinians.
- Let officials know that you oppose Israeli settlement expansion—illegal according to international law and officially opposed by successive U.S. Administrations—in the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem; and that you support a peace agreement based on borders established by international law and U.N. Security Council resolutions.
- Support Congressional efforts to offer foreign aid to those countries demonstrating tangible evidence of promoting and moving toward peace in the Middle East; and oppose Congressional aid packages that reward intransigence. Congressional purse strings are incentives and can be used as such in productive peacemaking.
- Make clear your opposition to U.S. military aid to parties of the conflict. Such grants are inconsistent with the United States' stated goal of creating an environment conducive to a stable peace.

For more information, contact Dr. Peter Makari (216-736-3227) makarip@ucc.org, or see our website: www.globalministries.org/mee.

The Middle East and North Africa: Ask Congress to Find the Right Tool



There's a saying: "If your only tool is a hammer, then everything looks like a nail." The U.S. has many tools at its disposal, but too often reaches for the hammer.

Since early 2011 the world has witnessed massive demonstrations for change across the Middle East and North Africa. Starting in Tunisia and Egypt, protests have spread to other countries across the region, including Jordan, Algeria, Libya, Yemen, Iran, and Bahrain. Thousands of people have come out to demand political, economic, and social change. Each case has seen different governmental responses, ranging from acquiescence to violent war between government forces and opposition demonstrators.

While international media has focused on the events themselves, much of the discourse in our media has been on the proper U.S. response and implications for U.S. interests. While many aspects of these reform movements are important for long-term peace and security, the nature of U.S. engagement is something about which we as people of faith should be concerned.

At their core, the protest movements are authentically local. While there have been attempts to paint them as influenced by foreign actors, it is important that they develop and act without international interference, including that of the U.S.

If the protests are successful, the U.S. should reach out to offer support and partnership, to listen closely to the hopes and wishes of new governments, and to respond only when asked. An approach based on mutual respect supports the stated U.S. goal of bolstering diplomacy.

In cases like Libya, where the uprisings have turned violent, there is an international responsibility to protect people, and this responsibility should be upheld—through cooperation and not unilateral action. The opportunity to engage new governments in Libya’s neighbors—Tunisia and Egypt—to respond to the refugee and humanitarian crisis should be seized, without meddling in Tunisian and Egyptian efforts to continue to develop new mechanisms of governance.

In 2003, the General Synod adopted a resolution entitled, “U.S. Policy in the Middle East.” General Synod called on the U.S. to “base its Middle East policy on principles of human rights and human justice and to refrain from narrowly acting with U.S. economic interests in mind.” The resolution goes on to “Call upon the U.S. government to...work diligently to mend broken fences with countries of the region and the world in order to reduce feelings of animosity and distrust.”

The tools at hand include diplomacy, cooperation and support—with the people of the Middle East and North Africa, and the international community—of the emerging democratic governments. In order to avoid additional entanglements in the Middle East and North Africa and resist further antagonism against U.S. presence, the U.S. should avoid any imposition of policy and meddling for U.S. interests. Importantly, military intervention should be considered only in an international context and only as a last resort in response to requests from those directly involved, for the purpose of protecting civilians. Military intervention should be employed sparingly for limited and specific missions, in order to avoid long-term international presence, financial investment, and loss of life.

The right tools are in the toolbox, they sometimes just need to be moved to the top.

For more information, contact Dr. Peter Makari (216-736-3227) makarip@ucc.org, or see our website: www.globalministries.org/mee.

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