

# AFL-CIO News

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# 1981

## A REPORT ON CONGRESS

By Lane Kirkland

**A**T YEAR'S END the AFL-CIO analyzes the performance of Congress in terms of each Representative's and each Senator's votes for or against the interests of workers during the session. In 1981, long-standing laws and basic programs that benefit American working people, retirees, children—the full range of our society—came under serious attack.

In January 1981, Congress found itself facing a new President intent on dismantling the legislation that gave America its strength and growth of the past several decades. It soon became clear that Congress was unwilling to assert its role to resist that onslaught and to shape programs that would deal realistically with a declining economy and people's needs. In almost every instance a majority of the Congress became accomplices to President Reagan's dismantling of social and economic programs.

**MUCH OF THE** Reagan Administration program—tax policy, budget policy, energy policy, regulatory policy—can be explained as shifting hundreds of billions of dollars away from workers and the middle class and toward wealthy individuals and corporations in the name of supply-side economics. That program, it was promised, would improve the economy as investments would be made and new jobs created. The AFL-CIO testified before Congress that such a program would not work, and the signals are clear now that it is not working.

- The Administration promised that its tax cuts for the wealthy would somehow produce an economic boom to benefit all Americans. The alliance of Republicans and a minority of Democrats enacted his sought-for program. However, by fall the President was publicly confirming what everyone else already knew: The tax cut produced not a boom but a recession, and as the year closed the economic slowdown showed no sign of letting up.

- The Administration promised that its economic policies would create new jobs as it pushed through Congress massive cuts in highway, maritime, rail and public works programs. Instead, unemployment jumped from 7.2 percent in July 1981 to 8.8 percent in December, which translates into 1.5 million more unemployed workers. The hardship for those workers and their families was made worse by the cuts Reagan had brought about in unemployment compensation eligibility.

- By any criterion, the congressionally enacted Reagan program is a bust: the average standard of living is down; interest rates are still prohibitively high; inflation continues near double-digit levels; projected federal deficits have doubled; housing starts are down 48 percent; bankruptcies are up 40 percent; and home mortgage deficits are at a record high.

The voting charts on the following pages will allow you to see where your legislators stood in 1981 on votes that offered clear choices between helping or hurting American workers and between making our nation poorer and weaker or stronger and more prosperous.

This special section carries labor's 1981 report card on Congress tabulating the votes on major issues of concern to the AFL-CIO in the first session of the 97th Congress. Congressmen have been judged on 15 and Senators on 19 key issues—"R-right" or "W-wrong" on the basis of the position the AFL-CIO took on the legislation. The tables also include the cumulative voting record and

cumulative "right" percentage of each member since election to the House or Senate. With the voting records are brief descriptions of the issues—what the vote was about and its importance to the labor movement and the nation. Issues of prime importance to labor are the first 6 votes in the House and the first 8 votes in the Senate. In the tabulations they are the votes listed to the left of the rules.



# Labor's Stand on Major Issues in the House

## 1. Slashing Labor Department Funds

The Reagan Administration's economic policies—Reaganomics—coupled a record tax bonanza for the wealthiest individuals and corporations with devastating cuts in the programs that help ensure a better life for the majority of Americans. The budget cuts hit particularly hard at the worker protection programs run by the Labor Dept. Federal funds to enforce union rights, job safety and fair wage legislation as well as unemployment compensation and manpower programs were slashed by nearly \$23 billion over three years. Yet no sooner had Congress made these monumental budget reductions than the President sought more cuts.

As the economy fell into recession and the Administration economic advisers began to realize the potential of huge budget deficits due to its giveaway tax bill, rising unemployment and high interest rates, the President in September demanded a further 12-percent cut in non-defense program funding. During the debate on the Labor Dept. appropriations bill, Rep. Ralph Regula (R-Ohio) tried to recommit the bill to the Appropriations Committee to inflict another round of even harsher budget reductions in programs that protect workers. In the first major budget defeat for the Administration, the House rejected the motion by a 168-249 vote on Oct. 6.

Against—Right. For—Wrong.

## 2. Weakening Job Safety Protections

The conservative assault on "big government" set its sights on eradicating federal job safety protections for American workers. One target in 1981 was the Mine Safety & Health Administration (MSHA), whose health standards and enforcement policies for this hazardous industry are more stringent than those employed by OSHA.

During consideration of a Labor Dept. appropriations bill, Rep. John Roussetol (R-Calif.) offered an amendment to prohibit MSHA from spending any funds to enforce safety and health rules for workers employed in stone, sand and gravel surface mining operations. His amendment excluded some 40,000 surface miners from any federal job safety protection including OSHA, despite the fact that in 1978-80, 134 workers died in accidents in those mining industries—the worst collective job fatality record in surface mining. Despite those grim statistics and strong AFL-CIO opposition, the House approved the Roussetol amendment 254-165 on Oct. 6.

Against—Right. For—Wrong.

## 3. Saving American Jobs

As segments of the U.S. auto industry teetered on the brink of economic collapse, foreign car imports continued to take their toll. By year's end the United States had a staggering trade deficit of \$10 billion in autos, auto parts and engines. Worse, nearly a million workers in auto plants and supplier industries stood in unemployment lines. With unregulated imports continuing to flood U.S. markets and thousands of job opportunities disappearing, the AFL-CIO renewed its support for "Buy American" preference provisions requiring that all taxpayer-financed federal programs use U.S.-produced goods and services where available.

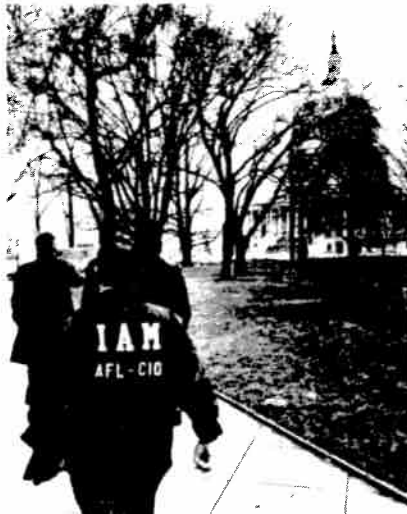
During consideration of the 1982 Defense authorization bill, Rep. Elwood Hillis (R-Ind.) proposed an amendment prohibiting the Defense Dept. from signing a contract worth more than \$50,000 to purchase civilian cars or light trucks not made in the United States or Canada. Seen as a small step toward revitalizing the sagging auto industry, the Hillis amendment was adopted 231-187 on July 16.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

## 4. Maintaining Public Works Jobs

A major federal public works program—the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway—barely escaped the ax of congressional budget cutting in 1981. This 232-mile inland canal, by connecting the Tennessee and Tombigbee Rivers, will allow barge traffic to flow from Appalachia to the Gulf seaport of Mobile, Ala. This labor-backed public works program is considered necessary to developing a modern mid-American waterway transportation system, which is vital to improving interstate commerce and furthering U.S. exports of agricultural commodities, coal and manufactured products. The government already has spent about \$1 billion on the "Tenn-Tom" project, which now is more than 80 percent complete.

During debate on the 1982 energy and water appropriations bill, Rep. Joel Pritchard (R-Wash.) tried to delete \$189 million earmarked for continuation of the "Tenn-Tom" project. The Pritchard amendment would have resulted in lost construction, maintenance and transportation jobs while preventing improvement



in U.S. commercial transportation and export capabilities. The amendment was rejected 198-208 on July 23.

Against—Right. For—Wrong.

## 5. Crippling Federal Worker Rights

Federal employees were hammered hard by President Reagan's budget cuts in 1981, as nearly 11,000 were fired while many others were transferred, often to lower paying positions. In 1982 at least another 5,000 are expected to lose their jobs as the President attempts to reduce the federal work force by 75,000 jobs. In addition to these reductions in personnel, the Administration sought to raise premiums for federal employee health benefits while at the same time arbitrarily denying coverage for certain kinds of medical care services.

Taking their cue from the President, congressional conservatives jumped in with their own version of anti-federal employee legislation during debate on a 1981 supplemental appropriations bill. Rep. John Ashbrook (R-Ohio) proposed an amendment to deny a full range of medical services for women, including abortions, which are now available under federal health insurance policies for which federal workers pay 60 percent of the premium. The AFL-CIO has taken no position on the issue of abortion; however, to the federation the key issue was not abortion but whether Congress could disregard the limited collective bargaining rights of federal workers by arbitrarily terminating certain health benefits that are now available to workers in the private sector. Despite opposition from the AFL-CIO, the amendment was approved 242-155 on May 13. Later, however, Senate opposition to this anti-worker proposal forced the House to drop it from the bill during conference deliberations.

Against—Right. For—Wrong.

## 6. Pay Raise for Strikebreakers

The eradication of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) and the firing of 12,000 of its members were among the most vicious anti-labor acts by the federal government. Reneging on his campaign promise to address PATCO concerns about excessive hours of work and other demanding working conditions, President Reagan's negotiators responded by offering the union a 16-percent pay cut after the membership had rejected the first contract. When PATCO struck, the government refused to continue contract negotiations. Twelve thousand PATCO workers then were fired, their union decertified and their membership condemned to joblessness with little hope of reemployment. Thus far, this government-imposed lockout has caused more than \$100 million in losses to the airlines. Thousands of airline workers who were innocent victims of the government's hard-line position have subsequently been laid off. The Federal Aviation Administration now admits that it will be three to five years before it can train replacements at an estimated cost of \$140,000 per controller.

Since this bitter dispute began, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and other union leaders have tried unsuccessfully to get the government to return the controllers to their jobs. Barely a week before the AFL-CIO Executive Council was to meet with President Reagan to discuss this issue, Congress voted to give the nonstriking controllers a pay raise that was in effect 40 percent higher than the government's last offer to PATCO. The pay raise had been included in the Senate

version of an interim appropriations bill. Rep. Larry Coughlin (R-Pa.) offered a motion to have the House recede from its disagreement with the Senate amendment and thus in effect approve the pay boost. By a 213-183 vote on Nov. 22, the Coughlin motion was approved. Ironically, the entire continuing appropriations resolution, which included the pay hike for strikebreakers, was vetoed by the President and the controversial provision was removed from a subsequent funding bill.

Against the motion—Right. For the motion—Wrong.

## 7. Destroying Federal Programs I

The Reagan budget slashed billions of dollars from "people" programs in order to finance "trickle-down" tax breaks for the rich and corporations. By eliminating more than \$214 billion over three years, social investments necessary to strengthen the economy were eradicated, the meager incomes of the jobless, the elderly and the poor were cut, and the nation's long-range needs for energy security, transportation improvements, environmental safeguards and urban development were seriously endangered.

During consideration of the First Budget Resolution—the first step in the congressional process that sets yearly federal spending targets—the AFL-CIO backed a substitute budget bill offered by Rep. David Obey (D-Wis.) to block a conservative alternative measure encompassing the Reagan budget cuts. The Obey bill sought to minimize damage to key programs such as unemployment compensation, Medicaid, housing, education and energy assistance. His substitute would have achieved budget savings comparable to the President's plan by limiting tax cuts to one year instead of three, while saving hundreds of thousands of jobs marked for extinction by the President's budget plan. Despite lobbying by the AFL-CIO and the Budget Coalition of more than 200 national public interest organizations, the Obey substitute was defeated 119-303 on May 6.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

## 8. Destroying Federal Programs II

Once the Obey substitute was defeated, the conservative coalition rammed through the Reagan budget. Representatives Delbert Latta (R-Ohio) and Phil Gramm (D-Tex.) had earlier joined forces to sponsor a substitute budget resolution incorporating the Reagan budget. The Gramm-Latta substitute inflicted far greater cuts in domestic programs than those originally proposed by the pending House Budget Committee measure. The extent of these budget cuts was far-reaching. For those seeking educational opportunity, \$10 billion was cut in college loans and grants, aid to elementary and secondary schools, and the school lunch program. For the elderly, the budget made billion-dollar reductions in social security, railroad retirees' pensions, and federal employee retirement benefits while boosting Medicare premiums another billion dollars a year. For the jobless, \$6 billion was axed from unemployment benefits while federal manpower programs were cut by \$14 billion. For workers, major reductions in budget and personnel were imposed on such key agencies as OSHA and the NLRB. On economic development, \$7 billion was severed from federal highway maintenance, mass transit and rail transportation funding. For the poor, \$16 billion was cut from various assistance programs. Meanwhile, key consumer and environmental agencies saw their budgets, staff and regulatory authority substantially curtailed.

The AFL-CIO, warning that adoption of the Gramm-Latta substitute would cost a million Americans their jobs, condemned the Reagan budget cuts as "a high-risk gamble with the future of America in which workers and the poor take the lion's share of the risk." Turning aside labor's objections, the House adopted the Gramm-Latta substitute resolution 253-176 on May 7.

Against—Right. For—Wrong.

## 9. Destroying Federal Programs III

The First Budget Resolution, which cut more than \$35 billion from federal social and economic programs, included "reconciliation" instructions requiring committees with jurisdiction over specific federal programs to translate these broad budget reductions into individual program cuts. Once completed, those cuts would then be packaged by the House Budget Committee into a budget "reconciliation" bill—the second of three steps in the congressional budget process. While the House committees tried to achieve the budget cuts in a manner that minimized hardship and job losses, President Reagan sought to dictate to the Congress



**AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue voices labor's opposition to anti-union nominee for NLRB at Senate hearing.**



**Federation President Lane Kirkland brands Reagan tax cut a giveaway to corporations and the wealthy. He was accompanied by Research Director Rudy Oswald, left, and Legislative Director Ray Denison.**



**Education Director Dorothy Shields warns of negative impact from tuition tax credit for private school students.**

which programs should be cut and by how much. Only hours before the Budget Committee's reconciliation package was to be considered on the House floor, the conservative coalition countered with a 400-page budget bill targeting programs opposed by congressional conservatives for the steepest cuts. This strategy was a clear attempt to allow the Executive Branch to manipulate congressional budget procedure to bypass the legislative process, and push through massive cuts in federal programs that help working people and the poor.

As a counter-strategy, House Democrats constructed a debate rule to force separate votes on each of the deepest Reagan cuts—in social security benefits, the school lunch program, college loans, inflation adjustments for federal retiree pensions, and housing and welfare assistance for the poor. The key vote came on a procedural motion by Rep. Richard Bolling (D-Mo.) to "order the previous question" and thus end debate on the proposed Democratic rule. Seeking to avoid the political consequences of voting for deep cuts in federal programs that enjoyed wide public support, the conservative coalition lined up to defeat the Bolling motion by a 210-217 vote, June 25. By limiting Congress to a single vote on budget reconciliation, the President was thus able to achieve permanent changes in long-standing federal programs that would have been impossible under conditions of reasoned debate.

For the motion—Right. Against the Motion—Wrong.

### 10. Destroying Federal Programs IV

No sooner had Congress approved President Reagan's massive budget cuts than he was back asking for still deeper reductions. The President's economic advisers realized that the combination of deepening recession, exorbitant interest rates and their near-trillion-dollar "supply side" tax-cut giveaway were likely to generate uncontrollable deficits over the next few years. Instead of back-tracking on the tax bill, the President's solution was again to victimize those with little political influence by slashing their programs. In September, the President used television to urge another \$16 billion in budget cuts, including a 12-percent across-the-board reduction in non-defense programs on top of the \$35 billion in cuts enacted only two months earlier.

Unable to complete action on all federal agency appropriations bills before a Nov. 20 deadline, the House Appropriations Committee reported a stopgap funding bill that cut another \$2 billion—far short of the President's \$16 billion request. When the bill came to the floor, Rep. Robert Michel (R-Ill.) moved to recommit the bill to committee with orders that additional cuts be made. In a rare budgetary setback for the Administration, the House rejected Michel's motion 189-201 on Nov. 16. However, the President vetoed the bill, forcing an unprecedented and wasteful one-day shutdown of most government agencies.

Against recommitment—Right. For recommitment—Wrong.

### 11. Destroying Federal Programs V

Following President Reagan's veto of the continuing appropriations bill, the House Appropriations Committee constructed a new funding measure that fell far short of the President's budget-cutting expectations. Once the bill reached the floor, the Republicans again sought further cuts. Rep. Silvio Conte (R-Mass.) led the attack this time with another motion to send the interim funding bill back to committee with instructions to cut nearly \$2 billion more than the \$2 billion already cut by committee. The Republican strategy was to slice another \$4 billion in federal spending so as to



**Union members spell out their concerns over Reagan's deep slashes in vital programs in a meeting with Rep. Romano Mazzoli (D-Ky.).**

achieve an overall 4-percent across-the-board funding reduction in certain non-defense federal agencies. Particularly hard hit were Labor Dept. programs that had already been cut by 12 percent. For OSHA, the Conte motion cut another \$5 million which, combined with earlier reductions, will force a major cutback in job safety inspections. An additional \$8 million cut from the NLRB budget coupled with previous reductions will force layoffs of some 300 employees, thus delaying union elections and trebling the backlog of unfair labor practice charges and other cases before the Board. The new budget resolution also inflicted a 25 percent reduction in personnel who process unemployment benefit claims, which, at a time of rising unemployment, will significantly delay the payment of benefits. Despite strong AFL-CIO opposition to the Conte recommittal motion, it was adopted 222-194 on Dec. 10.

Against recommitment—Right. For recommitment—Wrong.

### 12. Billion-Dollar Tax Giveaways

The second part of the Reaganomics equation was a trickle-down, tax-cut bill that used the billions of dollars in budget reductions from federal social and economic programs to finance a huge tax cut for the rich and big business. As enacted, the Reagan tax bill is the most expensive revenue-loser in history. By 1986 it will cost the federal Treasury \$750 billion in lost revenue.

The Reagan tax bill will cut the effective corporate income tax rate in half at a loss of \$170 billion within five years. And the oil companies will reap an additional \$12 billion tax bonus. By 1986 the bill will save the heirs of the rich \$15 billion in estate and gift taxes while new "savings incentives" tax schemes heap another \$21 billion on those who can afford large savings accounts. The highly touted "across-the-board" cuts used to peddle the Reagan tax scheme were later labeled a "Trojan Horse" by Reagan Budget Director David Stockman. They were really designed, he said, to ensure passage of the Administration's hidden objective—slashing the top income tax rate for the rich from 70 to 50 percent. Thus, the individual tax cuts allotted one-third of the tax savings to the wealthiest six percent of American taxpayers.

During House deliberations on the tax bill, the Administration competed with House Democrats for the votes of oil-state Democrats. As a result, a so-called Democratic alternative tax bill emerged, loaded with a host of last-minute special-interest amendments, making it just as costly and only slightly less inequitable than the Reagan proposal. For that reason the AFL-

CIO supported a substitute measure offered by Reps. Morris Udall (D-Ariz.), David Obey (D-Wis.), and Henry Reuss (D-Wis.), which provided for a one-year tax cut with no special-interest sweeteners" for the oil industry or the wealthy. This labor-backed alternative would have provided for a fairer distribution of personal tax cuts while targeting business tax reductions to areas and firms in economic need, at less than half the cost of the Reagan package. Despite strong AFL-CIO lobbying, the House rejected the substitute 144-288 on July 29.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

### 13. Achieving Energy Independence

During consideration of the 1982 Energy appropriations bill, Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.) proposed an amendment to delete \$135 million in funding for construction of a synthetic fuels demonstration plant in Newman, Ky. If approved, this amendment would have weakened U.S. efforts to overcome its dependence on foreign oil and political vulnerability to countries that supply it. With several thousand jobs also at stake in an area hard hit by unemployment, the AFL-CIO urged that the amendment be rejected. It was voted down 177-236 on July 22.

Against—Right. For—Wrong.

### 14. Protecting Civil Rights

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, a landmark civil rights law, important provisions of which are scheduled to expire in 1982, has resulted in doubling of voter registration among blacks in the South and has enabled greater numbers of minority citizens to seek and win elected office. The AFL-CIO and civil rights groups lobbied for extension of the law, particularly its important "pre-clearance" provision, which requires political subdivisions with a history of discrimination to seek approval from the U.S. Attorney General before making any change in election laws or practices.

When the Voting Rights Act extension bill came before the House, it contained a compromise "bail-out" provision that would allow covered jurisdictions to apply for exemption from the "pre-clearance" requirement if they satisfied certain criteria of good conduct in voting procedures and practices. One of those criteria was to bring their "bail-out" petitions to the federal court in the District of Columbia. Rep. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.) proposed an amendment to allow jurisdictions to argue their "bail-out" cases before federal judges across the country, in judicial forums which lacked the expertise of the D.C. court. The AFL-CIO urged rejection of the Butler amendment, which the House turned down by a 132-277 vote on Oct. 5.

Against—Right. For—Wrong.

### 15. Food Stamps

A major supplementary unemployment benefit program to help feed the families of long-term jobless workers is the federal food stamp program. Long a target of conservatives, funding for the anti-hunger program was cut by nearly \$2 billion in 1981, as Reagan budget cutters lopped off eligibility for 1.1 million needy persons. During House debate on a food stamp funding bill, conservatives led by Rep. Robert Walker (R-Pa.) tried a different strategy to cut even more from the programs. His amendment would have required most poor recipients of food stamp benefits to deplete their already meager incomes by paying for a portion of their benefits. Opposed by the AFL-CIO, the Walker amendment was rejected 147-251 on Oct. 22.

Against—Right. For—Wrong.

# How Your Members Vote in the

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**W** Voted Wrong or was paired Wrong.  
**A** Absent and not paired.  
**\*** Not in Congress at time.  
Number before each name shows congressional district.





# How Your Senators Voted

STATE	SENATOR	Voting Record																			Totals				
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	R	W	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	R	W	%
ALABAMA	Heflin (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	31	22	58
	Denison (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	17	11
ALASKA	Markowski (R)	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	6	W	W	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	13	24
	Strom (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	8	58
ARIZONA	DeConcini (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	51	40	56
	Goldwater (R)	A	W	W	A	W	A	W	A	W	1	3	W	W	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	19	183	9
ARKANSAS	Bumpers (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	H	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	78	52	60
	Pryor (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	5	3	W	A	A	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	27	28	49
CALIFORNIA	Cranston (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	A	H	R	R	A	R	R	144	16	91
	Hayakawa (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	13	78	14
COLORADO	Hart (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	R	R	A	R	R	A	W	R	R	102	31	77
	Armstrong (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	53	2
CONNECTICUT	Dodd (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	78	0	100
	Weicker (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	4	4	R	W	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	104	55	65
DELAWARE	Biden (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	111	33	77
	Roth (R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	6	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	34	143	19
FLORIDA	Chiles (D)	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	5	3	W	A	A	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	78	97	42
	Hawkins (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	5	W	W	W	A	W	R	R	W	W	W	5	13	28
GEORGIA	Nunn (D)	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	3	5	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	55	103	35
	Mattingly (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	7	11
HAWAII	Inouye (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	167	25	87
	Matsunaga (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	1	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	78	14	85
IDAHO	Syms (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	A	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	1	15	6
	McClellan (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	W	W	A	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	16	133	11
ILLINOIS	Dixon (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	W	A	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	7	61
	Percy (R)	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	R	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	100	77	56
INDIANA	Owens (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	19	0
	Lugar (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	89	6
IOWA	Grassley (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	17	6
	Jepsen (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	51	7
KANSAS	Dole (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	32	147	18
	Kassebaum (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	9	44	7
KENTUCKY	Ford (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	92	40	70
	Huddleston (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	2	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	104	43	71
LOUISIANA	Johnston (D)	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	3	5	W	A	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	55	87	38
	Fong (D)	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	4	4	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	122	125	49
MAINE	Mitchell (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	25	3	89
	Cohen (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	1	7	R	A	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	17	37	31
MARYLAND	Sarbanes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	89	3	97
	Mathias (R)	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	5	8	R	W	W	A	R	W	W	W	W	W	138	42	77
MASSACHUSETTS	Kennedy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	183	10	92
	Trongso (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	58	6	89
MICHIGAN	Larin (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	55	2	96
	Riegle (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	85	6	93
MINNESOTA	Roschwitz (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	50	12
	Darenberger (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	6	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	23	32	42
MISSISSIPPI	Stennis (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	5	W	A	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	62	198	24
	Cochran (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	9	46	14
MISSOURI	Engleton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	154	24	87
	Danforth (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	7	R	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	30	64	32
MONTANA	Baucus (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	1	W	R	A	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	43	11	80
	Meeker (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	0	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	73	20	78
NEBRASKA	Evans (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	5	W	W	A	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	19	34	36
	Zorinsky (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	19	67	30

### Key to Symbols

**R** Voted Right or was paired Right.  
**W** Voted Wrong or was paired Wrong.  
**A** Absent and not paired.  
**\*** Not in Congress at time.

*Notes:* Votes by senators while members of the House are not included in this record.

# Labor's Stand on Major Issues in the Senate

## 1. Attack on Federal Fair-Wage Laws

Conservatives continued to press their attack on the nation's basic labor laws in 1981 as once again the Davis-Bacon Act was targeted for destruction. This 50-year-old landmark law requires the payment of prevailing wages to workers on federally financed construction projects. It assures local contractors who uphold community labor standards a fair chance to compete for government projects without being undercut by outside firms using cut-rate labor. The law also helps stabilize a notoriously unstable industry by requiring payment of wage rates that allow for the recruitment, training and maintenance of a skilled construction labor force within the local area. This, in turn, helps protect the federal government against fly-by-night operators seeking to win government contracts by paying wages too low to attract competent craftsmen.

Stymied in their efforts to gain outright repeal of the Davis-Bacon law, anti-union lobbies and their congressional allies tried to eliminate the law piecemeal by removing its coverage from various federal construction programs. The most serious battle came on a military construction funding bill from which Davis-Bacon protections had been removed by the conservative-dominated Senate Armed Services Committee. However, heavy lobbying by organized labor, backed by grassroots local union pressure, turned the tables on the Senate floor, as a labor-backed amendment by Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) to delete this exemption and restore Davis-Bacon protections to the bill was approved 55-42 on Nov. 5.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

## 2. Slashing Unemployment Benefits I

The centerpiece of Reaganomics was a massive and unprecedented reduction in federal spending. The cuts weakened or destroyed programs created over five decades to protect workers on the job, provide educational and employment opportunities, build a strong economy and advance the cause of social and economic justice. These program cuts enabled the Administration to finance the largest tax giveaway in history, transferring billions of dollars from "people" programs to the bank accounts of the rich and big business.

Major victims of the assault on the federal budget were programs that aid jobless workers, which were cut back even as Administration economic policies were putting some two million more Americans out of work. One such cut was a \$3.1 billion reduction in unemployment insurance benefits coupled with a requirement (later dropped) to force jobless workers to take minimum-wage jobs after drawing their first 13 weeks of unemployment benefits. During debate on the First Budget Resolution, which sets yearly federal spending targets, Sen. Donald Riegle (D-Mich.) tried to restore \$285 million of the slashed jobless benefits. The AFL-CIO-endorsed amendment was denounced by Senate conservatives and rejected by a 38-60 vote on Apr. 2. As a result, 600,000 long-term jobless Americans will lose their unemployment benefits.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

## 3. Slashing Unemployment Benefits II

Another key unemployment assistance program targeted for extinction by the Reagan Administration was the Trade Adjustment Assistance program. Created in 1962, this program provided jobless benefits, retraining and relocation assistance to workers who suffer from U.S. foreign trade policies that increase imports and cost Americans their jobs. Unions were told in 1962 that increased imports would help all America and that only a modest number of Americans would ever need this assistance. In fact, imports became so heavy and job losses so great that available funds were soon exhausted and billions more were needed.

The Reagan Administration's budget reconciliation bill, which imposed the funding cuts of the First Budget Resolution, slashed adjustment assistance funds from \$1.5 billion in fiscal year 1981 to \$317 million in 1982, betraying the pledge in the law to displaced workers. Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.) proposed an amendment to restore \$400 million, still leaving the program at less than half its former size. Yet even this modest, AFL-CIO-backed amendment was rejected 29-49 on Apr. 2.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

## 4. Delaying Unemployment Benefits

By year's end, Reaganomics had pushed unemployment near 9 percent with more than 10.5 million Americans out of work. Besides slashing some \$3.1 billion in unemployment benefits, conservative lawmakers in the Senate meantax the funds used to administer the unemployment insurance program and pay its benefits to jobless workers.

During Senate consideration of a...

bill, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) proposed an amendment to restore \$120 million, which had been cut from state funds for administration of the jobless aid program. He cited an internal Labor Dept. study indicating that failure to appropriate these funds during a time of rising unemployment would not only add to the backlog of claims and cause long delays in the payment of benefits, but also result in unnecessary overpayments of \$1 billion annually. Yet Senate conservatives rejected this modest, cost-effective amendment by a 30-65 vote on Dec. 10.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

## 5. Weakening Federal Job Safety Laws

The callousness of Senate conservatives was starkly evident in a vote on mine safety. Less than ten days after mine accidents in Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia had killed 27 miners, the Senate slashed \$6 million in federal funds for enforcement of mine safety laws. During debate on a continuing appropriations bill, Sen. Robert Byrd (D-W.V.) tried to restore these funds to the budget of the Mine Safety & Health Administration. But in a clear message to mine operators that unsafe working conditions are of little concern to Congress, anti-worker conservatives helped defeat the Byrd amendment 38-54 on Dec. 11.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

## 6. Protecting Federal Pensions

The nation's elderly are among those most seriously hurt by inflation, which eats into the real value of their fixed pensions and forces more and more of them below the official poverty level.

Yet, even the meager incomes of older Americans felt the sharp blade of Reagan Administration budget-cutting. The Senate Budget Committee version of the first budget bill delayed for three months the standard cost-of-living increases in social security and veterans' benefits as well as pensions for federal employees, railroad workers and military retirees. Even worse, the bill incorporated a regressive change in the formula for calculating cost-of-living increases by replacing the Consumer Price Index with a Labor Dept. wage indicator as the basis for adjusting retiree benefits for inflation. Because wages tend to lag behind inflation, this provision will result in senior citizens falling farther behind in their struggle against the rising cost of living. During floor debate on the bill, Sen. Donald Riegle (D-Mich.) proposed an amendment to retain the existing system of calculating cost-of-living adjustments. Senate conservatives raised a storm of protest and defeated the Riegle amendment 44-54 on May 12.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

## 7. Cutting Railroad Retirees' Pensions

The Reagan budget ax swung at the nation's 400,000 railroad pensioners who were shocked to find in early October that their monthly retirement checks had been abruptly reduced, causing serious hardship for many of these senior citizens. Their pensions had been arbitrarily cut because President Reagan's budget bill failed to provide enough funding for a special account for these retirees as mandated by legislation passed in 1974. In eliminating a system of dual pension benefits under Social Security and railroad retirement, this statute had specifically called for general Treasury funding of those benefits for pensioners receiving them at that time. When the Senate debated a continuing appropriations bill, Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) offered an amendment to add the necessary \$90 million to the special railroad retirement fund. The amendment was approved by a 61-34 vote on Nov. 19, but the entire legislation later was vetoed by President Reagan. Subsequent legislation failed to provide the funds necessary to maintain railroad retirees' pension checks at their original level.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

## 8. Preserving U.S. Maritime Jobs

During consideration of a foreign aid authorization bill, Sen. John Danforth (R-Mo.) proposed an amendment to repeal the requirement that 50 percent of all shipments of U.S. food under the Food for Peace Program be carried on U.S.-flag ships. Since 1954 that requirement has helped prevent the further decline of the American merchant marine fleet, maintain maritime employment and ensure that beneficiaries of this program realize that the source of the foreign aid is the United States and not another country whose vessel happens to transport the commodities. By a 28-70 vote on Oct. 20, the Danforth repealer was rejected.

Against—Right. For—Wrong.

## 9. Shredding the 'Safety Net'

While the Reagan economic program heaped the

viduals and corporations, it demanded painful reductions in the programs that help ensure a better life for the majority of Americans. Among these are federal loans and loan guarantees to help working people send their children to college, wage and job safety protections, unemployment benefits, environmental safeguards and aid to depressed urban areas.

During Senate debate on a preliminary budget bill, Sen. John Chafee (R-R.I.) tried to restore \$973 million to several domestic programs. Among other elements, the labor-backed amendment allocated half its funds to elementary and secondary education programs, such as assistance to schools to improve basic reading and writing skills of disadvantaged and handicapped children. The Chafee package also would have restored \$300 million for assistance to low-income families and the elderly to insulate their homes and help offset rapidly increasing heating bills they cannot afford. Finally, it would have increased funds for preventive health care programs as well as urban economic development and mass transit. Reaganomics and its blind budget-cutting resulted in rejection of the Amendment 40-59 on Mar. 31.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

## 10. Destroying Federal Programs

As passed by Congress, the Reagan budget slashed billions of dollars from "people" programs in order to finance windfall tax cuts for the rich and corporations. By cutting more than \$214 billion in federal expenditures over three years, the Administration made sure that social investments necessary to strengthen the economy were eradicated, the meager incomes of the jobless, the elderly, and the poor were reduced, and the nation's long-range needs for energy security, transportation improvements, environmental safeguards and urban development were seriously endangered.

The impact of the devastation of the Reagan budget was far-reaching. For those seeking educational opportunity, \$10 billion was cut from college loans and grants, aid to elementary and secondary schools and the school lunch program. For the elderly, billion-dollar reductions were imposed in Social Security, railroad retirees' pensions and federal retirement benefits, while Medicare premiums were raised by another billion dollars a year. For the jobless, \$6 billion was axed from unemployment benefits while federal manpower programs were cut by \$16 billion. For workers, major reductions in budget and personnel were imposed on the key law enforcement agencies such as OSHA and NLRB. On economic development, \$7 billion was severed from federal highway maintenance, mass transit and rail transportation funding. For the poor, \$16 billion was cut from various assistance programs. Meanwhile, key consumer and environmental agencies saw their budgets, staff and regulatory authority substantially curbed.

The AFL-CIO condemned these and other elements of the Reagan budget as "a high-risk gamble with the future of America in which workers and the poor take the lion's share of the risk." Despite the federation's warnings that these budget reductions would cost more than a million Americans their jobs, the Senate approved the Reagan budget-cutting reconciliation bill by an overwhelming 80-15 vote on June 25.

Against—Right. For—Wrong.

## 11. Tax Cuts for the Rich

The Reagan Administration's 1981 tax cut represents the largest tax giveaway in U.S. history. Through billion-dollar budget cuts in programs that help people, the Administration was able to finance a tax bonanza for wealthy individuals and corporations which will deplete the federal Treasury by some \$750 billion in lost revenues by 1986. This in turn will generate huge federal deficits and pressure to keep interest rates at astronomical levels.

As enacted, this raid on the Treasury cut business taxes by \$170 billion, thus reducing by one-half the effective corporate income tax rate, to only 14 percent by 1986. In addition, oil companies were given still another \$12 billion tax handout. For the rich, the bill eliminates \$15 billion in estate and gift taxes by 1986 while new "savings incentive" tax schemes heap another \$21 billion on those who can afford large savings accounts. The highly touted "across-the-board" cuts used to peddle the Reagan tax bill to the public were later labeled a "Trojan Horse" by Reagan Budget Director David Stockman, who said in reality they were designed to ensure passage of the Administration's real goal: a slash in the top income tax rate for the rich from 70 to 50 percent. The so-called across-the-board cuts in fact delivered one-third of the tax savings to the wealthiest six percent of American taxpayers.

To correct this gross inequality, Sen. Bill Bradley (D-

# LABOR'S STAND ON MAJOR ISSUES IN THE SENATE

(Continued from preceding page)

N.J.) proposed an amendment to distribute more fairly the individual taxcut savings to the 95 percent of Americans who earn less than \$50,000 a year. The Bradley amendment was rejected 24-61 on July 17.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

## 12. Tax Cuts for the Oil Industry

One of the most blatant giveaways of the Reagan tax bill was a \$12 billion tax break for the oil industry. Besides giving the oil companies a host of general business tax benefits, Congress further reduced the oil industry windfall profits tax by 50 percent within five years. Only 17 months earlier, Congress had enacted that tax to recoup just one-fourth of the excess profits generated by an end to federal oil price controls (See Vote 16). Oil industry lobbying for repeal of the windfall profits tax began at the moment it was enacted. In 1981, with conservatives in control of Congress, the oil firms struck a revenue gusher.

In Senate debate on the tax bill, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) offered a motion to recommit the bill to conference with instructions to reduce or eliminate this House-passed multi-billion-dollar revenue-losing provision. Senate conservatives once again led the effort that buried the Kennedy motion by a 20-55 vote on Aug. 3.

For recommitment — Right. Against recommitment — Wrong.

## 13. Slashing Social Security Benefits I

Using scare tactics based on outright distortion, President Reagan unleashed the most serious assault on the social security system in its near-50-year history by proposing to slash \$82 billion in benefits for retirees, crippled workers, orphans and widows. Like his economic proposals, these cuts would be accompanied by reshaping the program through a massive redistribution of social security benefits. For example, one provision of the Reagan package would have given certain well-off elderly persons, such as doctors or lawyers whose good health and favorable job opportunities allow them to work beyond age 65, nearly \$7 billion in added benefits even though they had suffered no loss in income. Meanwhile, social security protection for those who most need a government "safety net" would be drastically reduced.

The President claimed his multi-billion-dollar benefit reduction scheme would rescue social security from imminent financial collapse, even though it faced only a short-term, revenue shortage due to a combination of continuing high unemployment, double-digit inflation and an increasing number of social security beneficiaries.

In late May, Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D-N.Y.) offered a strong statement of opposition to the Reagan social security proposal as an amendment to a supplemental appropriations bill. Senate Republicans, scurrying to cover the President's political flanks, blocked Moynihan's effort by a narrow 49-48 vote on a tabling motion by Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) on May 20.

Against tabling—Right. For tabling—Wrong.

## 14. Stabilizing Social Security

The \$82 billion proposal by the Reagan Administration to weaken the social security system sought to manipulate public concern over short-term social security funding difficulties to justify drastic benefit reductions. The AFL-CIO and senior citizen, consumer and

public-interest groups countered that the temporary \$10 billion revenue shortage could be remedied easily either by borrowing from other social security funds—disability and health insurance—which were in surplus, or with an infusion of general revenues, a measure which had been originally intended by the architects of the system.

A variation of the general revenue financing remedy was proposed by Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.) during debate on legislation to restore the minimum social security benefit. Sen. Eagleton tried to restore the \$12 billion oil industry tax giveaway in the Reagan tax bill (See Vote 12) and use the revenues as a funding reserve for social security. Lining up with the oil lobby against the nation's senior citizens, conservatives succeeded in killing the Eagleton amendment, approving a tabling motion by Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.), 65-30 on Oct. 15.

Against tabling—Right. For tabling—Wrong.

## 15. Slashing Social Security Benefits II

Not even the poorest of America's elderly escaped the impact of President Reagan's budget-cutting in 1981. One of the first programs singled out was the social security minimum benefit—a \$122-per-month payment to those who worked for a limited time or were employed in low-paying jobs and thus did not qualify for greater social security benefits. Of the three million Americans currently receiving this minimum benefit, nearly 90 percent are women, half are over age 70, and 500,000 are 80 or older.

During Senate debate on the budget reconciliation bill, Sen. Donald Riegle (D-Mich.) proposed an amendment to partially restore the minimum benefit by maintaining it for current but not for future retirees. But this modest proposal, backed by the AFL-CIO, was opposed by Senate conservatives and it was defeated, 45-33, on June 23. Fortunately, the minimum benefit later was restored in conference—but only for those retiring by the end of 1981.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

## 16. Rising Consumer Energy Costs

Rising energy costs have been a driving force behind the double-digit inflation of the last few years. To a great extent this has been the result of 1979 legislation to phase out by Sept. 30, 1981, all federal price controls on domestically produced oil and gasoline—an action that will cost American consumers \$1.1 trillion in higher energy prices by 1989. In his first major economic policy action following the inauguration, President Reagan, despite campaign pledges to bring down inflation, gave voters a preview of Reaganomics by eliminating the remainder of federal price controls. This single stroke cost consumers approximately \$12 billion in higher energy costs as the oil companies immediately rased the pump price of gasoline by 8-10 cents per gallon.

During debate on an oil industry anti-trust bill, Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) offered an AFL-CIO-supported amendment to nullify the President's action. But the oil lobby prevailed as the Metzenbaum amendment was defeated 24-68 on Mar. 10.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

## 17. Saving Public Works

A major federal public works program—the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway—barely escaped the frenzy of congressional budget-cutting in 1981. This 232-mile inland canal connecting the Tennessee and Tombigbee Rivers will, upon completion, allow barge

traffic to flow from Appalachia to the Gulf seaport of Mobile, Ala. At present "Tenn-Tom" is more than 80 percent complete with the government having already spent about \$1 billion on the project. This labor-backed public works program is considered necessary to developing a modern mid-American waterway transportation system, vital to improving interstate commerce and furthering U.S. exports of agricultural commodities, coal and manufactured products. In addition, thousands of construction, maintenance and transportation jobs depend upon completion of this project.

During consideration of the fiscal 1982 energy and water appropriations bill, Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.) proposed an amendment to delete \$189 million for continued construction of the waterway and thus effectively kill the project. The Percy amendment was rejected 46-48 on Nov. 4.

Against—Right. For—Wrong.

## 18. Attack on the U.S. Constitution

In a frontal assault on the constitutional system of checks and balances among the three branches of government, Senate conservatives won adoption of a proposal by Senators Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and J. Bennett Johnston (D-La.) crippling the ability of federal courts to order pupil assignment and transportation as a remedy to eliminate illegal racial segregation in schools. The amendment also included language to allow the U.S. Attorney General to file lawsuits to overturn previous desegregation orders.

In essence, the Helms-Johnston amendment would deny the judicial branch of government its appointed role of enforcing the Constitution, and it would circumvent the amending process by allowing the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution to be overruled by a simple majority vote of Congress. After the amendment was approved by a 60-39 vote on Sept. 19, the Justice Dept. funding bill to which it was attached was removed from floor consideration.

Against—Right. For—Wrong.

## 19. Food Stamps for Jobless Workers

A major supplementary unemployment benefit program to help feed the families of the long-term jobless is the federal food stamp program. In 1981, funding for this anti-hunger program was severely cut by the Reagan budget through legislation enforcing a rigid limitation on federal food stamp spending. This spending "cap" would have the effect of drastically reducing food stamp benefits if food price inflation or unemployment increases more than predicted and creates greater demands on the program. In addition, the bill immediately denied one million Americans these benefits.

When lobbying for this restriction in early June, the Administration boldly predicted a drop in unemployment. Yet, barely six months later, 1.5 million more American workers had lost their jobs. During debate of a food stamp funding bill, even Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.) recognized the harshness of the food stamp spending lid. He and Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.) proposed an amendment to allow small increases in the cap in case of increased demands for benefits. Once again Senate conservatives led the attack, and this modest proposal lost by a 41-53 vote on June 10. Thus, despite a promise that the Reagan budget ax would not harm the "safety net" programs, food stamp funding will be insufficient to provide minimum standards of nutrition for the hungry in America.

For—Right. Against—Wrong.

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