



# 1982

## A REPORT ON CONGRESS



By Lane Kirkland

**E**ACH YEAR the AFL-CIO analyzes the voting record of every member of Congress on issues that affect the lives of working men and women. The hundreds of legislative decisions by the House and Senate are boiled down to those votes which show most clearly whether a legislator votes for or against the interests of working Americans and their families.

In 1982, economic issues continued to dominate the congressional agenda. President Reagan and his Republican allies in Congress pushed for ever-deeper cuts in programs from pensions and unemployment compensation to job training and education. The Administration also insisted on maintaining the 1981 windfall tax cuts for the wealthiest families and most profitable corporations. Combined with a tight-money policy that kept interest rates high, this economic formula produced the Reagan recession, the worst since the 1930s.

In 1982, Congress slowly put aside the rubber stamp it used on Reaganomics in 1981. As, month by month, the economy skidded deeper into recession, Congress began to reassert its lawful role in setting economic policies:

- When the President demanded a constitutional amendment that would force future presidents to balance the federal budget, regardless of its damage to the nation or its defenses, the House saw through the sham. If in place today, such an amendment would prevent Congress from taking any action to end the recession and would decimate social security and other programs. The House voted the amendment down, over the President's objections.

- President Reagan increasingly resorted to "government by veto," but on two occasions he overplayed his hand, and both the House and Senate came up with the two-thirds majorities needed to override a veto. The first came on legislation to maintain century-old protection of U.S. printing industry workers. In overriding the veto, Congress saved 367,000 jobs that would have gone to factories in the Far East. The second veto came on an appropriations bill which included funds for key programs and came in *under* budget. In overriding this veto, Congress rescued new unemployment benefits and jobs for the elderly.

- Taking their cue from the Administration, key Senate Republicans tried to sneak through another \$40 billion cut in social security benefits. Senate Democrats put a stop to it immediately.

But stopping Reaganomics is not enough. Much more needs to be done if Congress is to lead the nation out of the Reagan economic disaster. In February 1982, the AFL-CIO proposed an alternative economic program that included job-creating investments, rebuilding of troubled industries, housing construction, a fair trade policy designed to stop the outflow of U.S. jobs to foreign nations, restoration of programs that benefit working people, and genuine tax reform based on ones' ability to pay—not a reward to the wealthy.

Portions of that program, including job training, extended unemployment benefits, and certain tax reforms, were passed in 1982. Other provisions, including legislation to require auto importers to produce a share of their vehicles in the United States, industrial revitalization, and lowering of interest rates, made progress.

Fifty years ago, America's economy was in chaos. American workers rejected a President who urged patience while the nation suffered. They elected a new, compassionate President and a supportive Congress to bring about recovery with strong action, not slogans.

The programs created in that era—the Works Progress Administration, Reconstruction Finance Corp., Tennessee Valley Authority, Public Works Administration, National Recovery Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and many others—helped restore health to the economy, and gave the necessary push to get America's economy rolling again.

The challenges facing America today are as difficult as in the Great Depression. And once again a President says, "Do nothing, wait for recovery, it's just around the corner." But jobless workers cannot wait any longer. They need action now. And the key is in the Congress. The charts on the following pages will show you where your legislators stood in 1982 on issues that offered a clear choice between economic revival and economic stagnation.

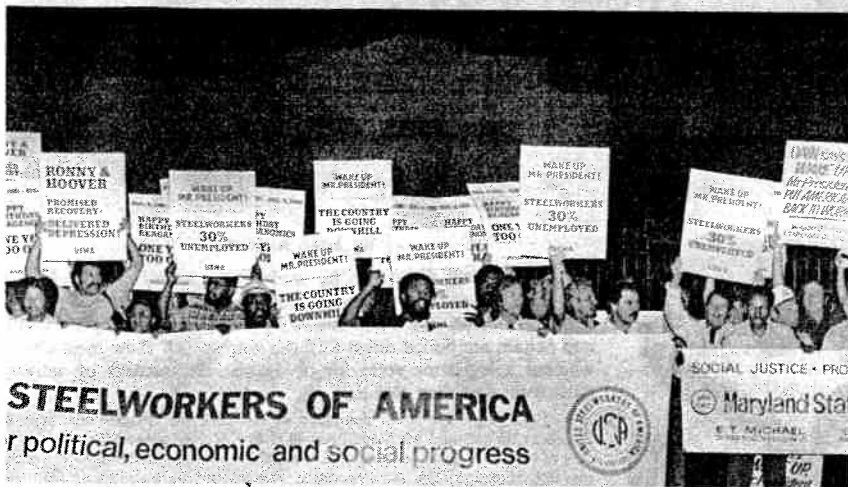
Congress can take the lead in bringing recovery. Congress will get the message if American workers study the record and elect legislators who will vote in the interest of all Americans, not those who profit from a stricken nation.

This special section carries labor's 1982 report card on Congress tabulating the votes on major issues of concern to the AFL-CIO in the second session of the 97th Congress. House members have been judged on 13 and senators on 18 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 la-

bor movement and the nation. Issues of prime importance to labor are the first 8 votes in the House and the first 10 votes in the Senate.

Two important votes occurred too late to be included in the voting record—the rejection by the House of the balanced budget constitutional amendment and the Senate's rejection of a proposal by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) to prohibit unions from using funds to communicate with their members on political issues or voter registration drives. Rollcall votes on these issues are listed separately in the Oct. 9 AFL-CIO News.

# Labor's Stand on Major Issues in the House



Steelworkers deliver a 4 a.m. "wake-up call" on the economy to President Reagan at the White House.



Senior citizens voice their concerns.



AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland spells out labor's prescription for economic recovery.



AFSCME members call on Rep. Paul Simon (D-Ill.)

## 1. Halting Attempts to Export U.S. Jobs

Even though Reaganomics already has caused unemployment to rise above 10 million, President Reagan offers no program to produce new jobs and, in fact, has taken action to directly wipe out existing jobs. Reagan cast a veto that his own Labor Dept. estimated could cost another 367,000 workers their jobs, causing Republicans and Democrats to wonder about his professed commitment to the jobless. Congress wisely overrode the Reagan veto.

The veto came on a bipartisan bill to extend the century-old law requiring that books and periodicals written by Americans and published by U.S. companies be printed and bound in America in order to gain full copyright protection. The Labor Dept. showed that failure to extend the law could cost the United States 172,000 jobs in printing and another 195,000 jobs in supplier industries, due to the move-out of the U.S. printing industry to Far Eastern countries. Congress passed the extension by wide margins, and when Reagan vetoed the extension bill, the House overrode him 324-86 on July 13.

For—Right Against—Wrong

## 2. Restoring Mine Safety and Health Protections

In 1981, conservatives in Congress stripped the Mine Safety & Health Administration (MSHA) of its authority to enforce worker health and safety rules at stone, sand and gravel surface-mining sites. In taking this action, Congress ignored AFL-CIO protests that 134 workers died in those industries in 1978-80. Congressional action left these workers without any federal safety protection. Fortunately, in 1982 Congress reversed itself and restored MSHA protections to the 40,000 affected workers.

The key vote came during consideration of an appropriations bill which included language restoring protections of the law to these workers; Rep. John Roussetol (R-Calif.), who led the anti-worker forces last year, attempted to delete the MSHA language. The House rejected the Roussetol amendment 186-220 on May 12.

For—Wrong Against—Right

## 3. Targeting Defense Contracts to Ease Pain of Unemployment

In 1982 the conservative-dominated Congress took remarkably little action to ease the hardship of the Reagan recession on more than 10 million unemployed Americans. But one show of concern came during consideration of the Defense Dept. authorization bill, when the House approved an amendment by Rep. Samuel Stratton (D-N.Y.) directing the Secretary of Defense to continue a test program in which certain contracts for goods and services are directed toward areas of the country with especially high unemployment. Thus jobs are provided to workers who have little likelihood of finding work in their communities. The Stratton amendment passed 237-170 on July 28.

For—Right Against—Wrong

## 4. Food Stamps for the Jobless

During consideration of budget reconciliation for agriculture programs, Rep. William Wampler (R-Va.)



BRAC grass-roots lobbyists on Capitol Hill.

proposed deeper cuts in the food stamp program than those already in the bill. The Wampler amendment would have ended emergency food stamps for families that have recently lost their source of income. Thus, if a head of a household were laid off unexpectedly, the jobless family would have been denied food stamps for up to 30 days, even if it had no money to buy food in the meantime.

The House rejected the Wampler amendment 181-210 on Aug. 10.

For—Wrong Against—Right

## 5. Improving Worker Productivity with Job Training Programs

Labor Dept. programs, especially jobs programs, have taken a disproportionate share of the Reagan budget cuts, with the public service job-creation program completely wiped out. But as the Reagan recession caused joblessness to rise above 10 million, Congress became increasingly concerned about the unemployed, and the question was no longer whether to provide job training but how it should be handled.

Rep. John Erlenborn (R-Ill.) attempted to make training programs one-sided, with virtually total control by management. The Erlenborn amendment would have given management veto power over any provision of a job training program, while worker representatives would have no such power. The AFL-CIO urged that the law provide for a fairer partnership among management, labor and local government officials in designing and managing the training programs. The House rejected the Erlenborn amendment, but Rep. Eugene

Johnston (R-N.C.) moved to recommit the bill to committee in order to add the Erlenborn language. The House then rejected the Johnston motion 189-218 on Aug. 4.

For—Wrong Against—Right

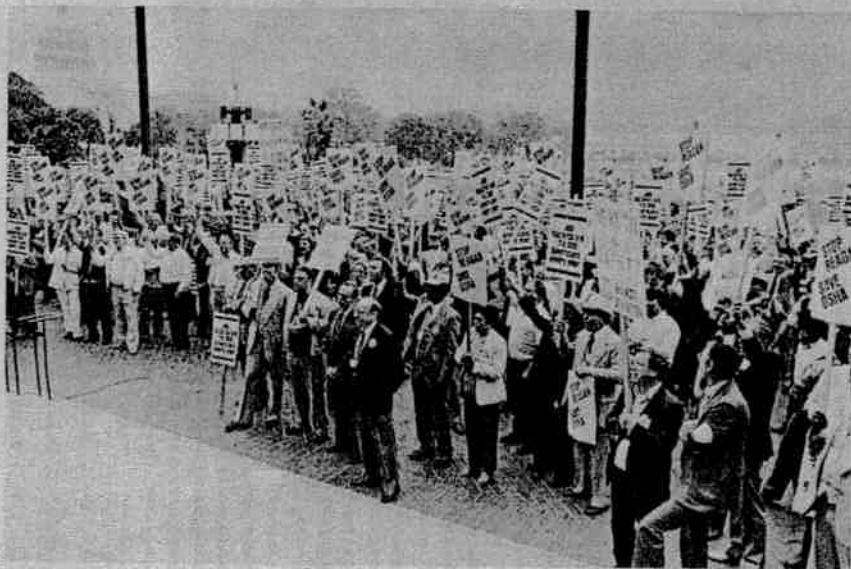
## 6. Defending Davis-Bacon Prevailing Wage Protections

Anti-worker members of Congress seize every opportunity to tear down America's labor laws, including the 50-year-old Davis-Bacon Act, which requires payment of locally 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. It also protects the government from fly-by-night operators seeking to win federal 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 repeatedly have tried to eliminate the law piecemeal by removing its coverage from various types of government contracts. One such attempt came during House consideration of Economic Development Administration grants. Rep. Tom Hagedorn (R-Minn.) offered an amendment to weaken Davis-Bacon protections on these local development grants for distressed areas of the country. Once again the House supported Davis-Bacon, rejecting the amendment 140-237 on Aug. 12.

For—Wrong Against—Right





Safety conference delegates protest Administration attacks on established OSHA standards.



UAW President Douglas Fraser testifies on domestic auto content measure.



Transit union delegation visits Rep. James Howard (D-N.J.).



AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue warns House panel of consequences of Administration's attempt to gut child labor protections. With Donahue are Legislative Director Ray Denison and labor standards consultant Clara Schloss.

### 7. Maintaining Pensions for Retired Federal Workers

Congress so far has rejected President Reagan's attempts to slash cost-of-living adjustments in social security, but the separate pension system paid into by federal workers has proved more vulnerable to political attack. During consideration of the civil service budget, Rep. Edward Derwinski (R-Ill.) tried to slash \$3.2 billion from the measure in order to impose a 4-percent "cap" on the federal pension COLA. Assuming an inflation rate of 7 percent, this would mean that pensioners would lose 3 percent of their purchasing power. The Democratic-controlled House rejected the Derwinski motion by a 160-236 vote on Aug. 3. (But the GOP-dominated Senate approved the unfair 4-percent cap, as did the House-Senate conference committee which forged a "compromise" between the House and Senate bills.)

For—Wrong Against—Right

### 8. Fighting Recession with Jobs Legislation

As the Reagan recession worsened in 1982 and the unemployment rate edged toward 10 percent, Congress finally began to consider legislation to restore jobs. On Sept. 16 the House voted 223-169 to pass a bill creating approximately 250,000 jobs for the hardcore unemployed. The jobs would involve repair and maintenance of deteriorating public facilities, such as roads and bridges, water systems, and school facilities.

ate defeated an attempt by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) to enact this job-creating legislation.)

For—Right Against—Wrong

### 9. Defending Federal Programs that Help People I

The fiscal year 1983 budget submitted by President Reagan contained program cuts so unfair that both Republicans and Democrats in Congress rejected it out of hand. Congress then set about writing its own outline for government programs. Of the seven budget plans that came to a vote in the first round of debate—all of which were rejected—only one was designed to reverse the Reagan recession. This was the proposal by Rep. David Obey (D-Wis.). The Obey budget would have rescued programs such as unemployment compensation, public service jobs and training, veterans' benefits, education and transportation programs, as well as scientific research programs designed to improve America's productivity. The Obey budget would have financed these programs by reversing portions of the unfair Reagan tax cuts, restoring the full windfall profits tax on oil companies, and closing other tax loopholes.

The Obey budget would have restored an estimated one million jobs, and would have produced a smaller federal deficit than the other budget plans. Nevertheless, conservatives in the House, eager to provide Reagan with another round of program slashes, rejected the Obey budget 152-268 on May 24.



ERA rally pledged labor's support.

### 10. Defending Federal Programs that Help People II

After rejecting seven budget plans, the House began work again on a First Budget Resolution. This time the choice was simpler—a Democratic package offered by Budget Committee Chairman Jim Jones (D-Okla.) or the Reagan-endorsed Republican plan of Rep. Delbert Latta (R-Ohio). The AFL-CIO endorsed the Jones budget, which included creation of jobs in housing construction and in repair and maintenance of public buildings and other facilities, restoration of unemployment compensation in 25 states that were forced to "trigger off" extended benefits because of previous Reagan budget cuts, and allowance for tax reforms to help pay for programs such as Medicare.

Unfortunately, Reagan budget cuts won out over people's needs. The Jones budget lost 202-225 on June 10.

For—Right Against—Wrong

### 11. Defending Federal Programs that Help People III

Shortly after rejecting the AFL-CIO-endorsed Jones budget, the House passed another installment of Reagan budget cuts, introduced by Rep. Delbert Latta (R-Ohio). The cuts included an \$11 billion cut in Medicare over three years, which will force the elderly to pay higher out-of-pocket costs for their health care. Also slated for additional cuts: trade adjustment assistance, the special unemployment compensation for those who lose their jobs due to government policies that encourage imports; college student loans; nutrition programs; veterans' programs; and virtually all other non-defense programs. The House approved the Reagan-backed Latta budget cuts by a 220-207 vote on June 10.

For—Wrong Against—Right

### 12. Providing Funds for Housing and Other Programs

On June 24 Reagan sent a message to nearly a million unemployed construction workers and to families eager to buy a home but unable to pay exorbitant interest rates. The message: Don't look to me for sympathy—or help.

On that date Reagan vetoed an urgent supplemental appropriations bill because it included a \$3 billion program of subsidies to bring down home mortgage interest rates. The bill would have lowered interest rates for 210,000 home mortgages and would have restored more than 480,000 jobs. It had broad bipartisan support in Congress. It also included necessary stopgap funding for most government agencies pending enactment of regular appropriations bills.

The House, in a 253-151 vote, failed to come up with the two-thirds majority needed to override the Reagan veto. Ironically, 75 Republicans voted for the housing program but then voted against overriding the Reagan veto of it.

For—Right Against—Wrong

### 13. Reasserting Congressional 'Power of the Purse'

By the summer of 1982, as Reaganomics produced deepening recession and ever-higher unemployment, Congress was beginning to tire of Reagan vetoes of its appropriations bills. On Aug. 28 Reagan pushed Congress too far, as he vetoed a carefully crafted supplemental appropriations bill that included funds for the Labor Dept. to process payments under the recently enacted extension of unemployment compensation, a popular program that provides part-time jobs for the elderly, and funds for college loans and education for the handicapped.

In vetoing the measure, Reagan called it a "budget-buster," a charge resented by House members who knew the bill totalled nearly \$2 billion less than Reagan had requested. Actually, Reagan vetoed the bill because it didn't spread the money among programs he preferred. The House overrode the Reagan veto, 301-117 on Sept. 9. (The Senate also overrode the veto, and the measure became law.)

# Labor's Stand on Major Issues in the Senate



Industrial Union Dept. delegation briefed on critical issues by Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.).

## 1. Providing Emergency Funds for Unemployment Compensation

In times of recession, Congress traditionally has acknowledged its responsibility to those who have lost their jobs through no fault of their own by approving additional weeks of unemployment compensation. In the spring of 1982, as the Reagan Recession worsened and unemployment jumped toward levels unseen since the Great Depression, the Democratic leadership in the Senate began working to pass such extended unemployment benefits. A key vote came during consideration of the First Budget Resolution for fiscal 1983, as Sen. Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.) offered an amendment to increase unemployment funding in order to provide for 13 additional weeks of benefits in states suffering from very high unemployment levels. Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.), took the lead and—with the help of 45 other Republicans and six Democrats—killed the Byrd amendment 52-42 on May 21. (Extended unemployment compensation later was passed by Congress as part of a tax bill.)

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

## 2. Restoring Mine Safety and Health Protections

In 1981, conservatives in Congress stripped the Mine Safety & Health Administration (MSHA) of its authority to enforce worker health and safety rules at stone, sand and gravel surface-mining sites. In taking this action, Congress ignored AFL-CIO protests that 134 workers died in those industries in 1978-80. Fortunately, in 1982 Congress reversed itself and restored MSHA protections to the 40,000 affected workers. But this effort suffered a setback when Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.) offered an amendment to delete language in an appropriations bill restoring MSHA protection to these miners. The Bumpers amendment was passed 52-38 on May 27, making it necessary for the Senate to return to the issue later.

For—Wrong Against—Right

## 3. Preventing Illegal Immigration and Protecting Wage Standards

In 1982 Congress attempted to pass a much-needed overhaul of U.S. immigration laws. The AFL-CIO pushed for compassionate legislation to stem the flow of illegal immigration and end the undermining of U.S. wage and labor standards by the exploitation of illegal workers. During Senate debate on the reform bill, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) offered an amendment to prevent expansion of the "H-2" program by which foreign workers, particularly migrant farm workers, are allowed to work in the United States on a temporary basis. At a time when more than 10 million Americans are jobless, the need for a program to encourage the importation of foreign workers can only benefit greedy employers. Recognizing that an expanded "H-2" program was simply a new name for the discredited "bracero" and "guestworker" programs of the past, Kennedy tried to stop its expansion. Unfortunately, the Kennedy amendment was defeated 28-62 on Aug. 13.

For—Right Against—Wrong

## 4. Targeting Defense Contracts to Ease Pain of Unemployment

In 1982 the conservative-dominated Congress took remarkably little action to ease the hardship of the Reagan recession on more than 10 million unemployed



Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) welcomes Transit Workers legislative team.

Americans. But one small show of concern came during consideration of the Defense Dept. authorization bill, when the Senate approved an amendment by Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) directing the Secretary of Defense to continue a test program in which certain contracts for goods and services are directed toward areas of the country with especially high unemployment. Thus, jobs are provided to workers who have little likelihood of finding work in their communities. The Moynihan amendment passed 48-45 on May 13.

For—Right Against—Wrong

## 5. Saving the Eight-Hour Day Standard

Not even America's oldest labor standard—the eight-hour day—is sacred to the Reagan Administration. During consideration of legislation to allow flexible work scheduling on federal contracts, Sen. William Armstrong (R-Colo.)—with the support of the Administration—offered an amendment to allow 10-hour days without payment of overtime. The proposal would have given an edge in contract bidding to non-union employers who could escape the overtime pay the unionized workers enjoy. The Senate wisely chose not to use federal dollars to gouge wages, and approved a motion by Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) to kill the Armstrong amendment by a 49-46 vote on June 30.

For tabling—Right Against tabling—Wrong

## 6. Saving Railroad Retiree Pensions

In 1981 President Reagan vetoed a railroad retirement funding bill, causing abrupt cuts in monthly retirement checks for 400,000 railroad pensioners. In 1982 Senate conservatives sought to make additional cuts in railroad pensions. Because railroad retirees paid into both social security and the railroad pension system, they are entitled to benefits under both retirement systems, as promised in the 1974 rail retirement law. The railroad pension system is funded not by general federal revenues but by contributions from employers and employees, so Congress has no business slashing benefits in order to reduce the federal budget deficit.

The key vote came when Sen. Jim Sasser (D-Tenn.) offered an amendment to the First Budget Resolution to provide 7.4 percent cost-of-living adjustments in order to keep these retirees apace with inflation. Sen. Pete Domenici (R-N.M.) offered a substitute amendment providing for only a 4 percent COLA in 1983, which would cause retirees to lose their real purchasing

power. Fortunately, the Senate approved a Sasser motion to kill the Domenici substitute, 53-44, on May 21. For tabling—Right Against tabling—Wrong

## 7. Protecting Federal Workers' Pensions

Retired federal workers are just as vulnerable to the effects of inflation on their pensions as those who receive social security or railroad retirement, but Congress seems more willing to inflict hardship on federal retirees by "capping" the inflation adjustments in their pensions at levels far below the inflation rate. During consideration of the First Budget Resolution for fiscal 1983, Sen. Donald Riegle (D-Mich.) offered an amendment to provide funding for a modest 6.6 percent inflation adjustment for federal pensions in 1983, and 4 percent in 1984 and 1985. Even at these levels, retirees would gradually lose some of their purchasing power to inflation, but Senate conservatives wanted no cost-of-living increases for retirees, so in a 47-43 vote they approved a motion by Sen. Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) to kill the Riegle amendment. (Later, the resolution agreed upon in House-Senate conference contained a 4-percent inflation adjustment.)

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

## 8. Saving Union Publications from Accelerated Postage Rate Hikes

In 1970 Congress decided to end the subsidy of postage rates for publications of non-profit groups, including labor unions and charities. The subsidy was to have been phased out over 16 years, resulting in gradually increasing postal rates for these groups.

In 1981 the Reagan Administration upset that schedule, cutting the postage subsidy far more than the non-profit groups had been prepared to adjust to under the original schedule. Scores of church journals, education magazines and union publications were forced to fold. In 1982, during consideration of the First Budget Resolution, Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) offered an amendment to restore the non-profit postage rates to the original schedule of increases. The Senate rejected the Moynihan amendment 34-57 on May 21.

For—Right Against—Wrong

## 9. Assisting Airline Employees Made Jobless by Mergers

In 1982 the House and Senate passed legislation requiring termination benefits from the companies for employees who lose their jobs due to the merger or sale of airlines. As the airline industry gradually is being deregulated, Congress recognized the need to provide a measure of protection for airline employees until they are able, through their unions, to negotiate such benefits in collective bargaining. The House-Senate conference committee, charged with ironing out the differences between the House and Senate bills, reported a favorable compromise; but the Senate, in a 59-38 vote on Aug. 12, sent the bill back to conference to have protective provisions removed.

For—Wrong Against—Right

## 10. Keeping Reaganomics Out of the Constitution: Stopping the Balanced Budget Amendment

A balanced federal budget—in which federal tax revenues are at least as great as federal spending—is a

Continued on next page



# Labor's Stand on Major Issues in the Senate

Continued from previous page

goal that can be achieved over time through an appropriate combination of tax policies, spending policies, Federal Reserve Board monetary policy, and healthy economic growth. There is nothing wrong with a balanced budget, but there is a lot wrong with a constitutional amendment that would force Congress to pass balanced budgets every year.

The AFL-CIO objected to the proposed balanced budget amendment on three basic principles: (1) The U.S. Constitution, the most basic law of the land, was designed as a framework for lasting government, not a dumping ground for transient economic doctrines. (2) Such a constitutional straitjacket would prevent Congress from using its taxing and spending authority to end depression, natural disaster or other emergency. (3) The three-fifths majority required by the amendment to pass a deficit budget undermines majority rule, handing the congressional power of the purse to a two-fifths minority.

As a practical matter, passage of the balanced budget amendment would force enormous cuts in all programs that help working Americans—including social security, Medicare, unemployment compensation, job safety and health enforcement, education programs, highways and public transportation facilities, and every other program would face cuts much more severe than those already approved.

But the Senate, hoping to distract voters from the Reagan budget it had approved with its record-high budget deficit, played politics and approved the balanced budget constitutional amendment by a 69-31 vote on Aug. 4.

For—Wrong Against—Right

## 11. Preventing GOP-Threatened Cuts in Social Security

Ignoring the wishes of the American people, who in many public opinion polls have stated emphatically that they want social security benefits left intact, the Republican-controlled Senate Budget Committee called for a \$40 billion reduction in the 1983 deficit through changes in social security. In order to nip these social security cuts in the bud, Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) offered an amendment to a military authorization bill rejecting the proposed \$40 billion social security "deficit reduction." But Sen. Howard Baker (R-Tenn.), playing politics with America's retirees, moved to kill the Moynihan amendment. The Senate agreed to the Baker tabling motion by a 51-44 vote on May 11.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

## 12. False Budget Economy Hurts Working People

In 1981 Congress adopted the Reagan economic program with no questions asked. By spring 1982 it was obvious that the Reagan package of tax cuts for the rich and program cuts for everyone else was not spurring economic recovery but rather was causing the worst recession since the 1930s. Nevertheless, Senate Republicans, in passing a new budget resolution for fiscal 1983, closed their eyes to the damage they had done, and instead of taking strong action to end the recession and bring down the unemployment rate, approved yet another round of the policies that brought the disaster.

The new GOP First Budget Resolution included more cuts in federal programs, including programs that train uneducated workers for new jobs and put them to work on such projects as highway and bridge repair; compensate workers who lose their jobs because of government policies; provide health care for the elderly and poor (Medicare and Medicaid); educate children, including the handicapped and underprivileged, and help working families put their children through college; help injured war veterans adjust to a new, tougher life; clean up the nation's air and water; prevent hunger in infants and children; and provide other vital services. Once again, the Republican budget slashed most programs, from railroad retirement to housing, from unemployment compensation to job safety and health. The GOP First Budget Resolution was passed 49-43 on May 21.

For—Wrong Against—Right

## 13. Defending Medicare and Medicaid from More Cuts

During consideration of the First Budget Resolution (see Vote 12), Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) offered an amendment to protect the health care programs for the nation's elderly and poor—Medicare and Medicaid. The resolution under consideration included a \$5.8 billion cut in these programs—a cut that would mean higher out-of-pocket costs for the elderly, who already pay a hefty 43 percent of the costs of their health care. Noting that last year's Reagan budget cuts in these programs already were forcing many of the



Unions march to Capitol Hill to rally congressional opposition against Administration attacks on government printers.

elderly to choose between eating and going to the doctor, the backers of the Moynihan amendment urged that \$1.8 billion be added to the bill to lessen the cuts. But this modest proposal failed, as the Senate rejected the Moynihan amendment 39-60 on May 19.

For—Right Against—Wrong

## 14. Investing in America's Future: Better Education Programs

A cornerstone of the American goal of "equal opportunity for all" has always been a quality education for all young Americans. Recognizing that not all school districts are financially able to fulfill this goal, Congress has created special education programs for the handicapped, the underprivileged, and those who are qualified to go to college but who cannot afford today's high tuition costs.

The Reagan First Budget Resolution for fiscal 1983 made more drastic cuts in these programs—compromising America's future in order to achieve short-term budget savings. Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) offered an amendment to restore funding to maintain education programs at current levels. But Senate conservatives rejected the Bradley amendment 44-54 on May 19.

One example of what this means: America's colleges and universities are becoming more exclusively institutions for the rich. Because the Senate rejected the Bradley amendment, approximately 500,000 students will lose modest sums, averaging \$900 per student, which help academically qualified but financially strapped young Americans go to college.

For—Right Against—Wrong

## 15. Averting America's Worsening Housing Crisis

The housing industry, a linchpin of the American economy, is in deep trouble. In 1981, fewer new homes were built than in any year since 1946—less than half the number needed to provide for new households and to replace old housing. Nearly a million construction workers are now unemployed.

In 1982 Congress tried to reverse the housing disaster, but President Reagan stopped all action, with vetoes and threatened vetoes of any legislation that included needed housing funds. During consideration of a supplemental appropriations bill, Sen. Donald Riegle (D-Mich.) offered an amendment to provide \$3 billion for subsidies of home mortgage interest rates. The Riegle amendment was a bipartisan effort, cosponsored by Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.). It would have resulted in lower interest rates for 210,000 homes and would have restored more than 480,000 jobs.

But Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.), in order to comply with the demands of Reagan Budget Director David Stockman, moved to table the Riegle amendment. The Senate did so in a close 48-44 vote on June 29.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

## 16. Raising Workers' Taxes to Pay for '81 Tax Cuts to Wealthy and Corporations

The Reagan/GOP First Budget Resolution called for \$21 billion in tax increases in fiscal 1983. The Republican-controlled Senate Finance Committee recom-

mended a package of tax hikes that included substantially higher taxes on working Americans, including higher federal taxes on telephone use, airline tickets and tobacco products, and tighter restrictions on tax deductions for medical expenses and casualty losses, such as burglary of one's home. The committee bill also included major cuts in Medicare.

Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) argued that it was unfair to raise taxes on working Americans, because it was the 1981 Reagan tax cuts for wealthy individuals and corporations that caused the budget deficit. Bradley offered an amendment that would have eliminated or eased the unfair tax hikes mentioned above by restricting the 1983 tax cuts to those who earn less than \$46,500 per year, postponing the 1983 tax cut for the wealthy. But Senate conservatives chose to put a portion of the higher tax burdens on working people, rejecting the Bradley amendment 45-54 on July 21.

For—Right Against—Wrong

## 17. Guaranteeing All Americans the Right to Vote

Major provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 required its renewal in 1982. One of the most successful civil rights laws in U.S. history, this law prevents poll taxes, "literacy tests" and other tactics that prevent minority citizens or the poor from voting. Congress eventually voted to renew and strengthen the act, but not without a struggle from a handful of arch-conservatives. Sen. John East (R-N.C.) tried several times to weaken the law and make enforcement difficult. Under one East amendment, if federal law enforcers cited a state or other jurisdiction for violation of the Voting Rights Act, that jurisdiction could file suit against the government in local courts, rather than in the District of Columbia, thus bringing a hodge-podge of court decisions and weakening enforcement. Wisely rejecting this and other East amendments, the Senate voted to retain uniform enforcement of the law by the D.C. Circuit Court, by a 31-65 vote on June 17.

For—Wrong Against—Right

## 18. Putting a Stop to the Damage of Reaganomics

For a year and a half Congress bent over backward to comply with each and every whim of the Reagan Administration regarding economic matters. But on Sept. 10 the Senate joined the House in handing the Administration a major defeat—overriding Reagan's veto of an appropriations bill by a 60-30 vote.

The Reagan veto would have killed funds for staff to make payments to jobless workers under a recently enacted extension of unemployment benefits. Also slated for termination by Reagan were funds for college student loans, jobs for the elderly and education for the handicapped. Reagan had called the bill a "budget buster;" actually, it came in at nearly \$2 billion less than the presidential request. Senators understood that Reagan vetoed the measure only to pacify extreme right-wing pressure groups. Congress, finally concerned about the harm Reaganomics is causing and resentful that the President was playing politics with some of the most unfortunate Americans, said "No" to Reagan by a two-thirds vote.

For—Right Against—Wrong













# 1982

## Supplemental Report on the 97th Congress

The 1982 voting record of Congress appeared in the October 9 issue of the AFL-CIO News, so union members and their families could study their legislators' records before the Nov. 2 election. After publication of that report, the 97th Congress voted on a number of additional issues of importance to working people, and returned after the election to wrestle with job-related issues until the week before Christmas. These votes, which are detailed in the following pages, tell you whether or not your legislators were concerned enough about the hardship of recession to take strong action, or whether they chose to "stay the curse" of Reaganomics, no matter what the harm to the economy and peoples' lives.

Because these votes are of such major importance, the AFL-CIO for the first time is publishing a supplemental voting record to provide you with a complete record of the work of the 97th Congress.

Among the most important of these votes were:

- The balanced budget amendment—a radical right-wing formula to write Reaganomics, into the U.S.

Constitution and force massive cuts in government programs, including social security.

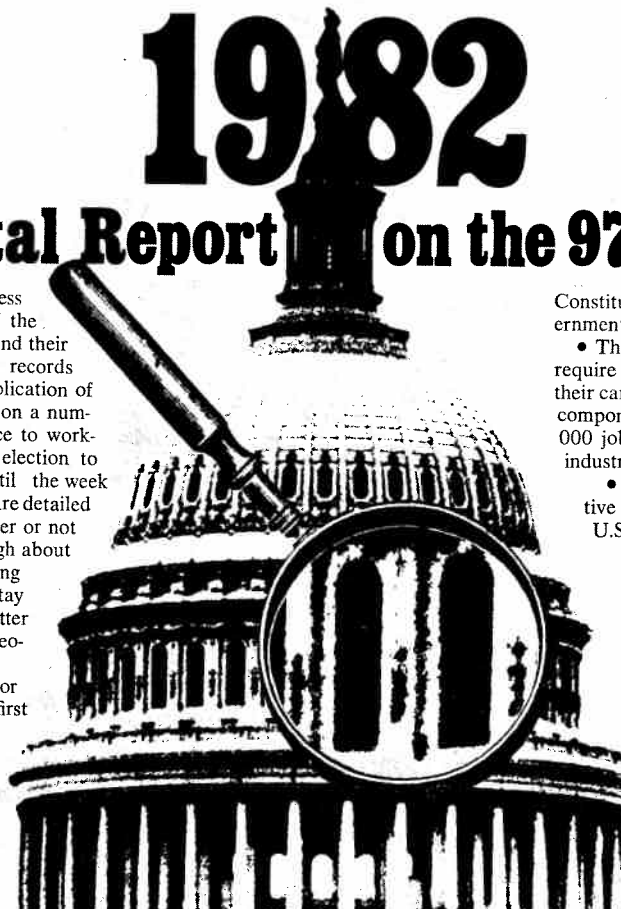
- The domestic auto content legislation to require foreign auto manufacturers to stock their cars with an increasing level of U.S.-made component parts and, thereby generate 800,000 jobs in auto production and its supplier industries.

- The so-called Caribbean Basin Initiative bill—just another scheme to export U.S. jobs and technology.

- Legislation to put America back to work through job-creating public works, housing and highway programs.

This special supplemental Report on Congress outlines these and other key votes cast by Congress in late 1982. This voting record tells you where your representative and senators stood—for you or against you.

**NOTE: Seven key votes in the House of Representatives and the Senate are contained in this report. These votes have been added to each member's previous votes on issues the AFL-CIO considers of prime importance. New cumulative totals, right and wrong, and a new lifetime "correct vote" percentage are listed for each member.**



## Labor's Stand on Major Issues in the Senate

### 1. Protecting Union Political Rights

As Congress approached adjournment for the campaign recess of November 1982, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) attempted to legislate a sweeping attack on the rights of unions to undertake get-out-the-vote drives and other voter education activities among their members. A Helms amendment to an appropriations bill sought to stop unions from spending funds for any political purposes. Helms contended that such a punitive restriction was necessary in order to be "... consistent with the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court." In fact, no Supreme Court decision ever inflicted upon unions the broad prohibitions of the Helms amendment. Helms's real purpose was twofold: to prevent unions from exercising their First Amendment right to communicate with their members on political issues; and to prevent unions from encouraging their members to participate in the democratic election process.

Realizing that Sen. Helms was fronting for the anti-worker National Right to Work Committee, the Senate approved, by a 62-37 vote on Sept. 29, a motion by Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) to table and thus kill the Helms amendment.

For tabling—Right Against tabling—Wrong

### 2. Creating Jobs for the Unemployed I

Although unemployment was the number one issue in the 1982 elections, efforts by congressional Democrats to pass job-creation legislation were thwarted by Republicans in the Senate and by the repeated threat

of veto by President Reagan. Despite this opposition, the House passed a \$5.4 billion job-creation package of proven public works projects (See House Vote 5).

In the Senate, Minority Leader Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.) offered a similar package of jobs programs as an amendment to the highway repair bill. The Byrd amendment provided that the job-creating work would be financed by "capping" the planned 1983 income tax cuts for high-income individuals—a measure long advocated by the AFL-CIO. The tax cut would be delayed only for those with incomes greater than \$50,000 per year. The Byrd amendment also included an extension of unemployment benefits. As a package, the Byrd amendment combined a concern for the 12 million unemployed Americans with a commitment to fairness in tax policy. Unfortunately, Republican opposition killed this initiative as the Byrd amendment was defeated 44-53 on Dec. 14.

For—Right Against—Wrong

### 3. "Buy American" Protection to Save U.S. Jobs

Long-overdue legislation to rehabilitate the nation's highways was passed in the lame-duck session to provide badly needed maintenance of the U.S. transportation network while giving some measure of relief to the unemployed by putting an estimated 320,000 Americans back to work. During Senate debate, Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) tried to create even more jobs by offering an amendment to the bill requiring that only U.S.-made steel and cement be used in projects funded by the bill. This would ensure the greatest amount of

"ripple effect" in creating jobs in supplier industries for this highway program.

Once again, Republicans thwarted this job-creating effort. Sens. John Chafee (R-R.I.) and John Danforth (R-Mo.) filibustered the Metzenbaum amendment after which Sen. Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) offered a motion to table it. Over labor's objections, the Senate approved the Baker motion by a 51-47 vote on Dec. 15. (However, a "buy American" provision which had been approved earlier by the House was maintained in the bill as signed into law.)

Against tabling—Right For tabling—Wrong

### 4. Protecting Consumers by Containing Health Care Costs

In the closing days of the 97th Congress, special-interest lobbies led by the American Medical Association (AMA) tried to eliminate the consumer protection, anti-monopoly powers of the FTC in the area of professional services. In essence, the AMA sought to carve out for itself and certain other professions a special anti-trust immunity. In the health care field this proposal would allow medical associations to thwart efforts by unions and other groups to lower health care costs for their members.

After the battle was lost in the House (see House Votes 2 and 3), the Senate turned the tables on the AMA. During debate on an appropriations bill, the Senate approved a motion by Sen. Warren Rudman (R-N.H.) to table and thereby kill an amendment by Sen. James McClure (R-Ida.) to bar use of FTC funds to

Continued on back page







# ... Senate Issues

Continued from front page  
 combat monopolistic practices by the professions. The tabling motion passed 59-37 on Dec. 16.  
 For tabling—Right Against tabling—Wrong

## 5. Maintaining Federal Employee Health Care Protections

Federal employees have undergone more than their share of misery caused by Reagan budget cuts. Early in his Administration, the President declared that his goal was to cut the federal work force by 75,000 workers. Those federal employees who survive the Reagan reductions, are finding that the Administration is determined to raise premiums and reduce coverage under their health care plans.

Congressional conservatives, taking their cue from the Administration, repeatedly tried to eliminate abortion coverage now available under federal health insurance policies, for which federal workers pay 60 percent of the premium. While the AFL-CIO has taken no position on the issue of abortion, to the federation the key issue is not abortion but whether Congress can disregard the limited collective bargaining rights of federal workers by arbitrarily removing certain health benefits that are now available to workers in the private sector. During the lame-duck session a continuing appropriations bill contained language to eliminate this health care coverage. However, during final debate a labor-backed committee amendment to remove the harmful language was approved 49-48 on Dec. 16.

For—Right Against—Wrong

## 6. Creating Jobs for the Unemployed II

After Sen. Robert Byrd's (D-W.Va.) package of job-creating programs failed to achieve passage (See Senate Vote 2), Democrats and some Republicans worked to attach a smaller, \$1.2-billion public works package to the continuing appropriations bill that Congress needed to pass before adjournment. This modest attempt to create jobs in the face of massive unemployment had bipartisan support. A key vote came on an amendment by Sen. Pete Domenici (R-N.M.) to delete the job-creating programs from the resolution. The Domenici amendment failed 46-50 on Dec. 16. (However, with President Reagan threatening to veto the vital continuing appropriations resolution if it included any jobs programs, House and Senate conferees decided to delete the job-creating public works provision from the resolution in order to avert a wasteful shutdown of most government agencies.)

Against—Right For—Wrong

## 7. Maintaining Davis-Bacon Prevailing Wage Protections

Davis-Bacon prevailing wage provisions of the high-way rehabilitation legislation underwent attack in both the House and Senate, as conservatives attempted to remove assurances that workers on federally contracted construction projects will be paid the wages prevailing in their area of the country (See House Vote 4). In the Senate, Don Nickles (R-Okla.) offered an amendment to delete provisions specifying that Davis-Bacon protections would apply to major interstate highway repairs, as well as new construction. At the urging of organized labor, Sen. Robert Stafford (R-Vt.) moved to table, and thereby kill, the Nickles anti-labor amendment. By a 48-46 vote on Dec. 19, the Senate approved the Stafford motion.

For tabling—Right Against tabling—Wrong

## 8. Creating Jobs—Restoring Highways and Transit

Labor's hopes for passage of major job-creating legislation in the post-election lame-duck session were thwarted by "do nothing" Republicans led by a President committed to "staying the course" instead of putting America back to work. One casualty was a broad-based package of job-creating public works programs approved by the House and Senate only to be dropped in conference after being threatened with a Presidential veto. Even the highway repair bill, which most observers expected to sail through Congress, was delayed by a stubborn right-wing Republican filibuster in the Senate. Eventually the Senate voted to stop the filibuster and passed the AFL-CIO-backed highway measure by a 56-34 vote on Dec. 20. As enacted, the highway bill will create an estimated 320,000 jobs in the repair and maintenance of interstate and other highways and improvements to mass transit systems. It will also help save thousands of lives by rehabilitating some of the most dangerous stretches of our nation's highways.

For—Right Against—Wrong

# How Your Senators Voted

State	Senator	Federal Employee Health Care								Cumulative Voting Record		Cumulative Right Percentage	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	R	W	R	W
ALABAMA	Heflin (D)	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	47	32	59	
	Dutton (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	3	40	7	
ALASKA	Markowski (R)	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	10	32	24	
	Stevens (R)	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	94	102	48	
ARIZONA	DeConcini (D)	R	A	R	W	W	R	R	R	68	45	60	
	Goldwater (R)	W	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	20	101	8	
ARKANSAS	Bumpers (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	88	58	63	
	Froyer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	44	37	55	
CALIFORNIA	Cranston (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	A	108	16	92	
	Hayakawa (R)	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	16	78	14	
COLORADO	Hart (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	126	33	79	
	Armstrong (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	79	1	
CONNECTICUT	Dodd (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	43	6	100	
	Weicker (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	124	60	67	
DELAWARE	Biden (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	133	26	79	
	Roth (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	40	163	10	
FLORIDA	Chiles (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	W	94	107	47	
	Hawkins (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	11	31	26	
GEORGIA	Nunn (D)	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	70	113	38	
	Mattingsley (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	4	39	9	
HAWAII	Inouye (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	189	27	88	
	Matsunaga (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	100	18	85	
IDAHO	Symms (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	3	39	8	
	McCloskey (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	17	156	10	
ILLINOIS	Dixon (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	34	9	79	
	Percy (R)	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	108	94	53	
INDIANA	Quayle (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	4	40	9	
	Lugar (R)	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	12	108	10	
IOWA	Gandy (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	5	39	11	
	Jepson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	74	9	
KANSAS	Dole (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	37	107	18	
	Kassebaum (R)	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	15	62	19	
KENTUCKY	Ford (D)	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	112	46	71	
	Huddleston (D)	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	121	49	71	
LOUISIANA	Johnston (D)	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	69	99	41	
	Long (D)	R	R	R	A	W	R	R	R	137	134	51	
MAINE	Mitchell (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	49	5	91	
	Cohen (R)	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	23	55	31	
MARYLAND	Sarbanes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	113	4	97	
	Mathias (R)	R	A	A	R	R	A	R	R	153	49	76	
MASSACHUSETTS	Kennedy (D)	A	R	R	R	R	R	A	A	207	16	93	
	Troiano (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	70	6	92	
MICHIGAN	Levin (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	81	2	98	
	Wegle (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	119	7	94	
MINNESOTA	Boschwitz (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	12	71	14	
	Durenberger (R)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	35	41	45	
MISSISSIPPI	Stennis (R)	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	72	212	25	
	Cochran (R)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	12	68	15	
MISSOURI	Engleton (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	173	27	87	
	Danforth (R)	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	37	83	31	
MONTANA	Rausch (D)	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	64	16	80	
	Meleber (D)	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	91	25	78	
NEBRASKA	Egan (D)	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	30	48	38	
	Zorinski (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	38	84	31	
NEVADA	Canon (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	A	A	163	86	65	
	Lasell (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	16	133	11	
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Rodman (R)	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	12	33	27	
	Humphrey (R)	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	3	76	6	
NEW JERSEY	Bradley (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	73	7	91	
	Brady (R)	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	7	19	27	
NEW MEXICO	Domenici (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	41	125	33	
	Schmitt (R)	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	19	88	17	
NEW YORK	Morhahn (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	111	6	95	
	D'Amato (R)	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	15	29	34	
NORTH CAROLINA	East (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	43	4	
	Hefner (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	16	166	9	
NORTH DAKOTA	Burdick (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	218	42	84	
	Anderson (R)	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	17	26	40	
OHIO	Glenn (D)	R	R	R	A	A	A	R	R	121	34	78	
	Metzenbauer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	117	10	91	
OKLAHOMA	Boren (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	30	53	36	
	Nickles (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	44	2	
OREGON	Hatfield (R)	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	A	110	98	53	
	Packwood (R)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	94	112	46	
PENNSYLVANIA	Strom (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	A	A	78	27	68	
	Specter (R)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	26	18	59	
RHODE ISLAND	Pell (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	233	19	92	
	Chafee (R)	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	65	63	51	
SOUTH CAROLINA	Hollings (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	A	111	107	51	
	Thornton (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	32	258	11	
SOUTH DAKOTA	Abdnor (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	4	41	8	
	Pressler (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	24	44	34	
TENNESSEE	Sasser (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	84	31	73	
	Baker (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	50	154	28	
TEXAS	Brentson (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	97	100	49	
	Tower (R)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	21	220	9	
UTAH	Care (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	15	145	9	
	Hatch (R)	W	W	R	A	A	W	W	A	10	104	9	
VERMONT	Leahy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	232	29	89	
	Stafford (R)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	118	71	62	
VIRGINIA	Byrd (R)	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	33	202	13	
	Warner (R)	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	11	72	14	
WASHINGTON	Jackson (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	A	A	273	18	94	
	Gorton (R)	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	9	35	20	
WEST VIRGINIA	Byrd (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	194	91	68	
	Manly (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	209	61	77	
WISCONSIN	Kasten (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	6	38	14	
	Proxmire (D)	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	201	85	70	
WYOMING	Stump (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	4	77	5	
	Wallop (R)	W	W	R	W	R	A	W	W	12	106	10	

### Key to Symbols

R Voted Right or was paired Right.  
 W Voted Wrong or was paired Wrong.  
 A Absent and not paired or voted "present."  
 Votes by senators while members of the House are not included in this record.