



1985



# A REPORT ON CONGRESS

By Lane Kirkland

**F**ROM START to finish the 1985 congressional agenda was dominated by three major issues—the federal deficit, taxes and trade. In each area the Reagan Administration, which only months earlier had won a landslide national election, demonstrated a lack of leadership and proved incapable of giving direction to congressional deliberations. Congress, too, wrestled with itself, seeking to force action on the nation's massive fiscal problems without raising new revenues.

Despite the political climate, working men and women won major victories in 1985, thanks to successful lobbying campaigns that saw the entire labor movement bring the power of constituency pressure upon Congress.

The biggest such victory was the federation's year-long lobbying campaign to kill the Administration's twin proposals to tax employee benefits and eliminate the deductibility of state and local taxes. The President's so-called tax simplification bill tried to pick the pockets of Americans by proposing a new tax on the entire range of employee benefits: health and dental insurance, educational benefits, prepaid legal services, workers' compensation benefits, black lung benefits and unemployment compensation. Moreover, the bill would have imposed double taxation on taxes paid to state and local governments by denying their deductibility on the federal tax form. Such a proposal would have seriously undercut the ability of these governmental entities to raise needed revenues to finance such vital public services as education.

A three-pronged attack of grassroots action backed up by AFL-CIO Legislative Action Committees in selected congressional districts, a massive direct-mail program and on-the-site lobbying in Congress brought about a total victory. Once again, the lesson learned—as it was in labor's 1984 win on bankruptcy legislation—was that when back-home lobbying by rank-and-file union members is teamed with a Capitol Hill effort, it can make the difference—and win.

By the time the Administration's pro-tax lobbyists made their rounds on Capitol Hill, labor's grassroots lobbying had made clear that the benefits tax and the repeal of deductibility were in serious trouble. The President backed down partially and in a second, scaled-down bill proposed a more limited tax on health care coverage along with workers' compensation and unemployment benefits. However, state and local tax deductibility was still repealed.

To defeat the benefits tax, labor's grassroots lobbying pressure intensified with a carefully targeted direct-mail program aimed at key members of the tax-writing House Ways & Means Committee. A flood of postcards and letters inundated their offices, while back-home face-to-face meetings took place. A "sense-of-the-House" resolution opposing the benefits tax was then introduced to give House members the chance to stand up and be counted as opponents of the benefits tax by signing on as cosponsors of the resolution. The strategy behind the resolution was to get a House majority as cosponsors and thereby show committee members that a tax bill with the benefits tax included would face rough sledding on the House floor.

By the time the Ways & Means Committee began its

sponsored—60 more than the full House majority. The result: a committee tax bill, eventually passed by the House, which maintained the tax-exempt status of all employer-provided employee benefits. Worker's compensation was also left untaxed. Only unemployment compensation—now partially taxed—will be fully taxed. Grassroots lobbying pressure also succeeded in defeating Reagan's other proposal to deny state and local tax deductibility. Stopping the benefits' tax and preserving the deductibility was a total victory for the labor lobby.

Concentrated grassroots pressure also helped to bury a Right to Work Committee proposal to inflict on union members the penalties of a little-known federal anti-extortion law—the Hobbs Act—for any incident of picket-line violence, no matter how trivial. Although such picket-line incidents are rare and they are subject to state and local law, the anti-worker lobby yearned for the days when the federal government policed strikes and busted unions for the benefit of employers. With attention focused on the Senate Judiciary Committee, labor undertook another grassroots lobbying blitz. The result: an embarrassing defeat for the anti-union lobby as efforts to report the bill were defeated in this Republican-controlled forum.

Labor's 1985 report card on Congress tabulates the votes on major issues of concern to the AFL-CIO in the first session of the 99th Congress. House members have been judged on 17 key issues—"R-right" or "W-wrong"—on the basis of the position the AFL-CIO took on the legislation. Senators have been rated on 21 key votes. 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 eight votes in the House and the first six votes in the Senate. In the tabulations they are the votes listed to the left of the rules.

Another win came when labor detoured a conservative-backed bill to overturn a pro-labor decision by the Supreme Court and thus free state and local governments from the overtime pay requirements of the federal minimum wage law. The repealer bill was sidetracked when the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions, working in tandem with state and municipal lobbyists, fashioned a compromise measure later signed into law which left the underlying court decision intact.

Labor's biggest setback came, surprisingly, when the usual bipartisan, anti-worker conservative coalition teamed up with new allies to first cripple and then kill a plant closing

agery to notify workers 90 days prior to a permanent shut-down and to consult with the employees about possible alternatives. Considered labor's most important worker rights' initiative in recent years, the measure met with the opposition of Republicans overwhelmingly and a number of weak-kneed Democrats who were cowed by business lobbyists' cries of impending economic doom if this minimal bill were to become law. The real friends of organized labor stood firm on these votes—House votes 1 and 2 in this voting record. Meanwhile, the lobbying tactics of business put the lie to its hollow calls for labor-management cooperation.

The most contentious issue Congress faced in 1985 was on the federal budget deficit. In 1985, federal red ink for the year built up to more than \$220 billion—the result of Reagan fiscal policies hatched in 1981 when Congress accepted Administration proposals for drastic tax cuts for the rich and corporations coupled with a big spending boost for national defense. While the President's number one priority in 1985 was his so-called tax simplification proposal, his tax bill did not simplify the code or raise any federal revenues. His tax proposal which was to be recast several times, was soon followed by a budget blueprint recommending such Draconian budget cuts that even the Republican-controlled Senate balked. This set the stage for congressional gridlock between the Senate and the Democratic-controlled House over how and where to cut the budget, and by year's end the deficit problem was worse than when the year began. With the House and Senate at odds and the White House stubbornly refusing to consider a tax increase, Senators Gramm, Rudman and Hollings proposed a statutory balanced budget plan forcing steep budget reductions in 1986 and future years until a balanced budget is achieved by 1991. This plan brought even more contentious debate and division within the Congress.

On trade, an explosion of pent-up back-home pressure forced this issue to the congressional center-stage as lawmakers returned from the August recess after listening to constituent outrage over lost jobs, padlocked plants and depressed communities. A labor-backed bill to limit textile imports was overwhelmingly approved by the House and Senate. But the vote margins were not good enough to stop a Presidential veto. Other labor-backed bills to modernize U.S. trade law still remain for 1986.

Action on other issues of importance to organized labor—labor standards, civil rights, the environment, aid to jobless workers and the poor—is detailed in the descriptions of the key votes contained inside. They are, however, only a snapshot of the broad public interest agenda of the AFL-CIO—the People's Lobby.

How Congress voted on these issues is of pocketbook importance to any union member's family, job, union and country as decision time nears in this year's election. We urge all union members to use this record accordingly.

For 1986 on Capitol Hill, much unfinished business remains on the congressional agenda. For labor, the success of lobbying in Washington depends upon the extent to which local union members are involved directly in the legislative process. In the final analysis—as the record shows—you are

## 1. Plant Closing Protections for Workers, Communities I

Sudden plant closings have occurred with alarming frequency in this country throughout the past decade, often with no advance notice or community awareness. Between 1979 and 1984, five million workers were permanently displaced from their jobs by abrupt plant closings for which they received no warning. The impact on communities of a plant shutdown has been devastating in economic, social and personal terms. Workers who lose their jobs due to a plant closing are often unable to find reemployment or are forced to work at a fraction of their former wages. Family life is disrupted and mental and physical problems occur within these households. Studies have shown that the suicide rate among displaced workers is almost 30 times the national average. The incidence of heart disease, hypertension and other ailments is also much higher than normal.

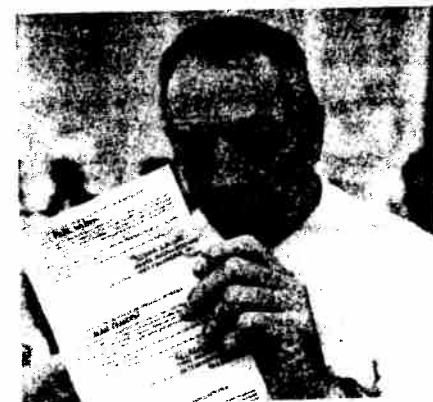
To ease the pain of plant closings, the AFL-CIO supported legislation that would require employers of 50 workers or more to give three months advance notice before a permanent plant closing. The bill also required an employer to meet with representatives of the workers to discuss possible alternatives to the plant-closing plan. To enforce the new law the Secretary of Labor was: (1) directed to seek injunctive relief within 10 days if presented with reasonable cause to believe that an employer had ordered a plant closing in violation of this Act, (2) given authority to extend the notice period if the employer refused to meet, consult in good faith, or provide relevant information to the workers or their representatives, and (3) empowered to issue protective orders aimed at preventing the disclosure of information that would jeopardize the company's competitive interests.

To stop the bill, business groups unleashed a lobbying blitz on Capitol Hill and from back home. When the bill came to the House floor, right-wing Republicans, led by Rep. Steve Bartlett (R-Tex.), mounted the business-backed effort to defeat the legislation. A key vote came on an amendment by Bartlett to strike from the bill the advance consultation provision, which called for discussions between workers' union representatives and companies to seek out possible alternatives to plant closing. The provisions called only for talks and did not mandate a solution. By a 215-193 vote, on Nov. 14, the House approved the Bartlett amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right



Texas Letter Carriers lobby Rep. Martin Frost (D-Tex.) in support of preserving retirement benefits from federal budget cuts.



The flood of post cards sent by union members to Capitol Hill helped defeat the employee benefits tax in the House.

## 2. Plant Closing Protections for Workers, Communities II

The final plant closing bill would still have provided assistance to displaced workers by simply giving them sufficient notification to allow them time to adjust and to find new jobs. Studies had shown that advance notice reduces the period of a worker's unemployment, thus reducing the cost to taxpayers of unemployment insurance and other transfer payments. Communities also gain time to prepare for the ripple effects of a mass layoff. Advance notice can also result in adjustments by workers and communities which make a layoff unnecessary. Thus, at no cost to employers and with significant savings to taxpayers, the plant closing bill was an important step in providing the human decency that American workers deserve, while preserving the right of employers to make necessary business decisions. Despite the enormous hardship and trauma inflicted on workers, their families and their communities because of no-notice plant closings, the House by a 203-208 vote, on Nov. 21, turned its back on America's workers and rejected the plant closing bill.

For—Right Against—Wrong

## 3. Saving U.S. Textile and Apparel Jobs

Public outcry over record-level U.S. trade deficits and the loss of American jobs to imports thrust the trade issue to the political center-stage in 1985. Congress responded by moving legislation to deal with an economic sector badly battered by the flood tide of low-wage imports—the textile and apparel industry. Despite trade agreements negotiated in 1974 to provide for orderly growth, textile imports have skyrocketed from 12 percent in the early 1970s to nearly 43 percent of the U.S. market by 1985. As a result, 300,000 jobs have disappeared since 1980. The textile share of the overall record-shattering \$150 billion 1984 U.S. trade deficit was \$16.2 billion or 13 percent of the total.

To better regulate textile imports, the AFL-CIO backed legislation to enforce the trade treaties originally negotiated in 1974. Limits on the rate of increase in exports to this nation would be established with advantages given to smaller, economically developing nations. Contrary to claims by importers that U.S. consumers would face higher prices, exhibits before Congress showed that men's, women's and children's garments cost no more when made in the U.S. The bill, which had strong bipartisan congressional support, was approved by the House by a 255-161 vote on Dec. 3. Despite this wide margin of support, President Reagan vetoed the bill.

For—Right Against—Wrong

## 4. Union Members' Political Rights

In recent years, the Supreme Court has handed down rulings stemming from suits filed by the anti-union National Right to Work Committee which severely limited the expenditure of union dues for certain activities. These activities included such legitimate and vital functions as lobbying, political action, judicial redress and even organizing.

In the 99th Congress, conservative Republicans tried to expand the scope of these Supreme Court decisions. During House consideration of a Treasury and Postal appropriations bill, Rep. Thomas Bliley (R-Va.) offered an amendment to force the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) to implement these decisions, even though the FEC does not have the statutory authority to interpret labor law decisions rendered under the Railway Labor Act or a state collective bargaining law or to determine what a union may or may not do with regard to state and local legislative and political activities. For these reasons the House agreed to a procedural motion by Rep. Edward Roybal (D-Calif.) which sidetracked the amendment as being non-germane. The Roybal motion was approved by a 233-186 vote on July 30.

For—Right Against—Wrong

## 5. Pay Equity for Women

Equal pay for work of comparable value is a major issue for the American labor movement. In recent years, labor's concern for pay equity has evidenced itself in legislative and judicial efforts to assure that women workers are not the victims of wage discrimination caused by pay classification plans which fail to compensate them adequately for their level of skills. In the House the AFL-CIO backed legislation sponsored by Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio) to advance the cause of pay equity for women at the federal level by providing for an independent study to determine whether the federal government salary structure undervalued jobs that are filled primarily by women. If a determination were made that pay discrimination existed, the Oakar bill required development of legislative proposals to close the pay

gaps. Pay reductions in predominantly male occupations were specifically prohibited. By a 259-162 vote on Oct. 9, the House passed this labor-backed bill.

For—Right Against—Wrong

## 6. Preserving Maritime Ships and Jobs

By 1985 the U.S. maritime fleet had become a relic of the once formidable force that had played such a key role in winning World War II. The merchant fleet, which had ranked second among global maritime powers in 1950, slid to a dismal 14th position by 1985. During these decades of neglect, thousands of U.S. jobs in seafaring and ship construction were lost to low-wage foreign "flags of convenience." The increasingly heavy reliance on foreign flag vessels for shipment of U.S. exports also contributed significantly to the record-level U.S. trade deficit and undermined U.S. security interests by jeopardizing defense sea-lift capabilities necessary to backstop the nation's global concerns.

In 1985 one of the few laws designed to assure a strong merchant marine—the 1954 Cargo Preference Act—became the target of agricultural exporters in the 99th Congress. Seeking to maximize profits at the expense of American maritime workers, the agricultural lobby sought to destroy this law, which requires that a minimum of 50 percent of all exports generated by federal programs, such as the "Food for Peace" foreign aid program, be carried on U.S. ships. During House debate on farm legislation, farm state conservatives led by Rep. Glenn English (D-Okla.) offered an amendment to exempt agricultural export credit programs from the cargo preference requirements. By a 179-245 vote, the House, on Oct. 3 rejected the English amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right

## 7. Rescuing a Railroad and Railroad Jobs

In 1970, when Congress established Amtrak to be a government-run national railroad passenger system, it recognized that a balanced transportation system was a critical national need—vital to commerce, freedom of movement and national defense. Amtrak now provides an important alternative to congested highways and airports, can carry more people more efficiently in all kinds of weather than any other mode of travel, and lessens America's dependence on the vagaries of the international oil market. Today the Amtrak system carries some 40 million passengers throughout 44 states.

The 1985 Reagan budget, however, proposed to eliminate completely all Amtrak subsidies. The elimination of this subsidy would have cost more than 25,000 railroad workers their jobs and wiped out intercity rail passenger service in the United States, with a particularly harsh impact in northeastern states. The proposed layoffs would have carried a federal government price tag of up to \$2.1 billion severance pay—while the government would have taken an additional \$5.2 billion financial loss in the sale or scrapping of Amtrak equipment. The House Public Works Committee rejected Reagan's proposal to destroy Amtrak and countered with a modest budget cutback of \$13.5 million. However, during House debate on a transportation appropriations bill Rep. Bill Richardson (D-N.M.) offered an amendment to further cut Amtrak funding. By a 173-245 vote on Sept. 11, the House rejected the Richardson amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right



Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), chairman of the tax-writing House Ways & Means Committee confronts petitions and post cards supporting tax justice.

### 8. Sanitation for Farm Workers

In 1973, farm workers filed suit to force the Dept. of Labor's Occupational Health & Safety Administration (OSHA) to issue a field sanitation standard that would protect them from the physical ailments caused by prolonged job-site exposure to heat, pesticides and bacteria and provide access to decent sanitation facilities. Despite a 1975 U.S. District Court ruling in favor of the farm workers, 10 years later OSHA continues to refuse to promulgate a standard that would provide handwashing and toilet facilities and drinking water for workers in the field. Because of OSHA's continuing refusal to issue a field sanitation standard, Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.) offered an amendment to a 1985 farm bill that would require farms employing 10 or more workers to provide these sanitation facilities in order to be eligible for federal farm subsidies. Despite findings—undisputed even by OSHA—that due to the primitive working conditions, field laborers suffer high rates of infectious, parasitic and toxic diseases, the Miller amendment was rejected by a 199-227 vote on Oct. 8.

For—Right Against—Wrong

### 9. Battle for the '86 Budget Resolution I

As in previous years, the battle of the fiscal year 1986 budget turned into a slugfest between the Democratic-controlled House and the Republican-controlled Senate. With Senate Republicans bowing to President Reagan's demands to slash federal spending drastically, eliminate many popular domestic programs and cut social security benefits, the House countered with a more rational budget-reduction plan to reduce spending by some \$56 billion while still protecting most programs, including social security. Rather than eliminate 13 federal programs as the Senate proposed, the House would phase out only revenue sharing. On budget cuts, the House alternative was a more balanced approach which froze spending for most government programs—including the defense budget for which the Senate would have actually allowed a significant increase.

When the Democratic budget alternative came to the House floor, conservative Republicans led by Rep. Delbert Latta (R-Ohio) offered a substitute bill that would have increased the Pentagon budget by \$42 billion over the next three years, frozen federal workers' pay, eliminated several federal domestic programs and cut several others like social security. By a lopsided 102-329 vote on May 23 the House rejected the Latta substitute.

For—Wrong Against—Right

### 10. Battle for the '86 Budget Resolution II

Following the rejection of the Latta substitute and other substitute bills, the House adopted the Democratic alternative budget by a 258-170 vote on May 23. As a result of this action the House was able to position itself in conference on the budget bill to moderate the drastic federal program reductions contained in the Senate bill, prevent the elimination of 12 beneficial federal programs killed by the Senate, and retain cost-of-living adjustments for social security beneficiaries.

For—Right Against—Wrong

### 11. Gramm-Rudman Budget Amendment

Four years of bankrupt Reagan budgetary policies of steep tax cuts for the wealthy and corporations combined

with large military funding increases came back to haunt the U.S. government in 1985 in the form of the highest budget deficit—\$200 billion—in U.S. history. This dubious achievement—a budget deficit that exceeded the total accumulated deficits of every President from George Washington to Jimmy Carter—continued to take its toll on the economy's international competitiveness, as the huge budget deficit was a major cause of an overvalued dollar that priced U.S. goods out of foreign markets. Although the Administration eventually pushed through many deep program cuts, the deficit crisis worsened because the President refused either to raise taxes or to cut defense spending.

Late in the year, when the Senate had to consider a bill to raise the public debt to over \$2 trillion, conservatives took advantage of a growing congressional concern over unyielding budget deficits to ram through a balanced budget mandate that will force huge cuts in certain domestic spending programs and the military budget as a way to erase the deficit by fiscal year 1990. The so-called Gramm-Rudman-Hollings balanced budget plan, named after its Senate sponsors, demanded massive multi-billion-dollar annual spending cuts for each of the next five years, threatening to wipe out scores of federal programs. The key vote on the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings amendment in the House came when the conference agreement on the legislation to which it had been attached—a bill to increase the public debt—gained final approval from the House, 271-154, on Dec. 11.

For—Wrong Against—Right

### 12. Restoring Fair Corporate Taxes

The corporate share of tax revenues to operate the federal government has fallen steadily from 25 percent in 1960 to around 8.5 percent by 1985. As a result individuals—mostly working families—have been forced through higher tax rates to make up the difference. The deepest plunge in tax contributions to the federal government came as a result of the 1981 Reagan tax bill that cut corporate taxes by \$170 billion over five years. In 1984, nearly 90,000 corporations paid no taxes at all. In fact, many corporations earning billions of dollars in profits in 1984 not only paid no taxes, but received hundreds of millions of dollars in handouts or in future write-offs from the federal government.

During floor deliberations on the federal budget bill to set spending and revenue-raising targets for fiscal 1986, Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio) offered a sense-of-the-House resolution calling on the tax-writing Ways & Means Committee to report out legislation imposing a minimum corporate tax. Her proposal was designed to force the committee to raise \$25 billion annually in revenues to be used to cut taxes for individuals or to reduce the record-level federal budget deficit. By a 142-283 vote the House, on May 23, rejected taking even this symbolic step toward tax reform.

For—Right Against—Wrong

### 13. Jobs for Youth—A CCC Model

With youth unemployment running at nearly 30 percent, President Reagan in 1984 pocket-vetoed legislation to put jobless youth back to work on government-sponsored conservation projects. In 1985 the Democratic-controlled House resurrected the legislation, which was modeled after the successful Depression-era Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The House bill authorized a modest \$75 million for three years. By a narrow 193-191 vote, on July 11, the House passed the legislation. The Senate thus far has taken no action on the bill.

For—Right Against—Wrong

### in South Africa

Since 1958, the AFL-CIO has repeatedly expressed its outrage in Congress, international forums and elsewhere over the South African government's long-standing racist policy of apartheid. Under this system, black South Africans—who represent nearly 75 percent of the nation's population—endure a strictly enforced policy of racial discrimination and segregation that denies them basic human, political, economic and social rights. For trade unionists in South Africa, apartheid can be particularly brutal, denying workers the freedom of association necessary to improve wages and working conditions.

In 1985, the AFL-CIO endorsed legislation to impose a series of economic sanctions on South Africa to pressure that government to move toward reform and eventual elimination of apartheid. In the House, labor backed a bill introduced by Rep. Bill Gray (D-Pa.) which would have immediately banned any new commercial bank loans to South Africa and banned the sale of U.S. computers to the South African government. Two other sanctions—preventing U.S. companies from expanding their operations or making new investments in South Africa and prohibiting U.S. citizens from buying South African gold coins (Krugerrands)—would be phased in if the South African government did not move toward significant reform. The House by a 295-127 vote, on June 5, passed the anti-apartheid bill.

For—Right Against—Wrong

### 15. Environmental Protection for Workers and Their Families I

In 1980, Congress recognized that abandoned toxic waste dumps are a major environmental and health hazard. In response, Congress created a "Superfund"—a \$1.6 billion five-year cleanup plan to be administered by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in cooperation with affected states and local jurisdictions. However, under the Reagan Administration, the Superfund cleanup plan slowed to a crawl as a major scandal over mismanagement resulted in massive resignations within the Reagan-appointed EPA hierarchy.

The AFL-CIO strongly supported the Superfund reauthorization legislation that was brought to the House floor. Working with our allies in the environmental community labor felt the legislation made great improvements in both current law and the Senate version of the bill, especially in the areas of adequate funding, mandatory cleanup schedules and standards, community right-to-know, and establishment of a new training function for on-site cleanup workers. One shortcoming of the original 1980 legislation which labor and environmental groups have tried to remedy was the failure to include a victims' compensation program. A study commissioned by the original 1980 cleanup law found that legal remedies available in state courts to victims of toxic wastes were inadequate. During House floor deliberations on a five-year \$10 billion reauthorization of the Superfund program, Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.) offered a labor-backed amendment to allow victims to sue in federal court those persons responsible for dumping toxic wastes. By a 162-261 vote on Dec. 10, the amendment was rejected.

For—Right Against—Wrong

### 16. Environmental Protection for Workers and Their Families II

A second controversy regarding the Superfund legislation concerned how funding would be provided to finance the multi-billion dollar cleanup effort. The House Ways & Means Committee had approved a funding formula which included a combination of taxes on polluters, general revenue funding and a value-added tax imposed on all manufactured goods. This excise tax would be levied on the sale of all manufactured goods at each stage of production, with a tax credit provided for those taxes previously paid by other manufacturers early in the production chain. But the bottom line was that the tax would be passed along to consumers. As such, the value-added tax was nothing more than a regressive national sales tax which, unlike the federal income tax system, would impose a levy on all consumers regardless of their ability to pay.

During floor consideration of the bill, the AFL-CIO backed an alternative offered by Rep. Thomas Downey (D-N.Y.) which would strike the value-added tax and replace it with a provision to raise an equal amount of money through an increase in taxes on polluters responsible for toxic waste dump sites. By a 220-206 vote on Dec. 10, the House approved the Downey amendment.

For—Right Against—Wrong

### 17. Guarding Food Stamps for the Poor

A major supplemental benefit program to help feed the families of long-term jobless workers is the federal food stamp program. Today some 95 percent of food-stamp recipients live below the poverty line while half the food stamp beneficiaries are poor children. Long a target of conservatives, the program has been cut by some \$7 billion since 1980, resulting in benefit cutbacks for thousands of beneficiaries while thousands more have lost benefits altogether. In 1985 the House Agriculture Committee reported an omnibus farm bill which included \$1 billion more in food-stamp spending than was scheduled to be allocated over three years in order to restore benefits to the poor. House conservatives led by Rep. Bill Emerson (R-Mo.) countered with an amendment to cut \$550 million over four years. By a 171-238 vote the House rejected the amendment on Oct. 7.

For—Wrong Against—Right

## 1. Saving U.S. Textile and Apparel Jobs

Along with many other U.S. economic sectors, the textile and apparel industry has been badly battered by the flood tide of imports. Despite trade agreements negotiated in 1974 to provide for orderly growth, textile imports exploded from 12 percent of the U.S. market in 1973 to 43 percent today. As a result, since 1980, 300,000 jobs have disappeared in this industry alone. The textile share of the record-shattering \$150 billion 1985 U.S. trade deficit was \$16.2 billion or 11 percent of the total. To restore order to the textile import market, the AFL-CIO backed legislation to enforce the textile trade treaty originally negotiated in 1974. Limits on the rate of increase in exports to this nation would be established with advantages given to smaller, economically developing nations. Contrary to claims by importers and retailers that U.S. consumers would face higher prices, exhibits before Congress showed that men's, women's, and children's garments cost no more when made in the U.S. The bill, which had strong bipartisan congressional support, was approved by the Senate by an overwhelming 60-39 vote on Nov. 13. Despite this clear margin of support, President Reagan vetoed the bill.

For—Right      Against—Wrong

## 2. Protecting Fair Wages for Construction Workers

The 1931 Davis-Bacon Act insures that workers on federally financed construction projects will be paid at wage rates that prevail in their area of the country. For over 50 years this law has assured that contractors who uphold community labor standards have a fair chance to compete for government projects without being undercut by firms using cut-rate labor. It has also protected the government and taxpayers from fly-by-night operators seeking to win federal contracts by paying wages too low to attract competent craftsmen. During 1985 debate on a Defense Dept. authorization bill, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) offered an amendment to delete from the bill a committee-approved provision sponsored by Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) to exempt military construction projects from the fair-wage standards of the Davis-Bacon law. By a tie 49-49 vote on June 4, the Republican-controlled Senate rejected the Kennedy amendment.

For—Right      Against—Wrong

## 3. Preserving Maritime Ships and Jobs

By 1985 the U.S. maritime fleet had become a relic of the once-omnipotent force that played such a key role in winning World War II. The U.S. merchant fleet which had ranked second among global maritime powers in 1950, slid to a dismal 14th position by 1985. During these decades of neglect, thousands of U.S. merchant marine jobs in seafaring and ship construction were lost to low-wage foreign "flags of convenience." Further, the increasingly heavy reliance on foreign flag vessels for shipment of U.S. exports contributed significantly to the record-level U.S. trade deficit. The absence of a cohesive U.S. maritime policy has been the chief culprit in the decline of our merchant marine, which in turn poses a serious threat to U.S. security by jeopardizing defense sea-lift capabilities necessary to backstop the nation's global concerns.

One of the few laws designed to assure a strong merchant marine—the 1954 Cargo Preference Act—became the target of agricultural exporters in 1985. Seeking to maximize profits at the expense of American workers, the agricultural lobby sought to destroy this law, which requires that a minimum of 50 percent of all exports generated by federal programs, such as the "Food for Peace" foreign aid program, be carried on U.S. ships. During Senate debate on farm legislation, farm state conservatives sought to weaken existing cargo preference requirements. Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) successfully detoured this assault by offering a compromise amendment to exempt government-generated commercial agricultural exports from cargo preference requirements while requiring that 75 percent of government-donated exports be covered by cargo preference. A string of court decisions had already undermined application of cargo preference requirements to commercial cargoes. By a 70-30 vote on Oct. 29 the Senate agreed to the Stevens amendment.

For—Right      Against—Wrong

## 4. Rescuing a Railroad and Railroad Jobs

In 1970 when Congress established Amtrak to be a government-run national railroad passenger system, it recognized that a balanced transportation system was a critical national need—vital to commerce, freedom of movement and national defense. Amtrak now provides an important alternative to congested highways and airports, can carry more people more efficiently in all kinds of weather than any other mode of travel and lessens America's dependence on the vagaries of the international oil market. Today the Amtrak system carries some 40 million passengers throughout 44 states.



AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland accompanied by Legislative Director Ray Denison, left, and Research Director Rudy Oswald testify at Senate Finance Committee hearing in opposition to tax on employee benefits.

The 1985 Reagan budget, however, proposed to eliminate completely all Amtrak subsidies. The elimination of this subsidy would have cost more than 25,000 railroad workers their jobs and wiped out intercity rail passenger service in the United States, with a particularly harsh impact in northeastern states. The proposed layoffs would have carried a federal government price tag of up to \$2.1 billion severance pay, while the government would have taken an additional \$5.2 billion financial loss in the sale or scrapping of Amtrak equipment. During Senate debate on the budget bill, Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) offered an amendment to restore federal Amtrak funding to a level of 90 percent of 1986 spending—\$616 million. By a 53-41 vote on May 9, the Senate agreed to the Specter amendment.

For—Right      Against—Wrong

## 5. Saving Jobless Benefits for the Unemployed I

With unemployment exceeding seven percent for most of 1985 and more than 11 million workers unemployed or underemployed, the AFL-CIO supported legislative efforts to extend the federal program of supplemental unemployment benefits (FSB) for six months. For many of the longest-term unemployed, this federal benefit program—available after regular state jobless compensation is exhausted—protects against eviction from homes, hunger and even the breakup of families by providing up to 14 weeks of additional benefits. Without the extension, over 400,000 jobless workers and their families faced a cut off from extended benefits if the federal program terminated on its expiration date of Mar. 31, 1985. Despite the high rate of joblessness, President Reagan threatened to veto any extension of the federal benefit program, seeking instead an immediate cut-off of benefits. During Senate debate on the legislation to phase out the FSB program, Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) sponsored an amendment to provide a six-month extension of the federal supplemental program. With the President promising to make good on his veto threat, the Senate rejected the Specter amendment by a 34-58 vote on Apr. 3.

For—Right      Against—Wrong

## 6. Saving Jobless Benefits for the Unemployed II

In a second key vote on unemployment benefits, Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) tried to liberalize extended jobless benefits. This program targets an extra 13 weeks of compensation to jobless workers in those states with unemployment rates in excess of 6 percent. However, restrictions imposed on the program since 1981 allowed only three states to qualify for extended benefits as of April 1985. Levin's amendment would have allowed states to provide these federally funded benefits if their unemployment rate exceeded 5 percent instead of the 6 percent rate contained in the existing law. By a 32-62 vote, on Apr. 3, the Senate killed the Levin amendment.

For—Right      Against—Wrong

## 7. Stopping Postage Rate Increases for Union Journals

Since 1972, postal rates for the publications of non-profit groups such as unions and churches have skyrocketed by over 1,200 percent. By 1987, the rates will have increased by another 1,400 percent. As a result of these increasing costs, more than 100 union newspapers have been forced out of business while hundreds more have had to curtail the frequency of their publication. This, in turn, has restricted

the ability of unions to communicate with their members. In 1985, the Reagan Administration recommended that \$1.4 billion be cut from this federal subsidy. The result would be another increase in postage rates in excess of 100 percent for non-profit mailers. Particularly hard hit would have been the blind and disabled, whose free mailing privileges would have been wiped out. During Senate debate on the Republican budget bill, Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) offered an amendment to restore \$817 million in order to continue reduced rates for non-profit organizations, small newspapers, libraries and free mail for the blind. Once again conservatives lined up to defeat this amendment when the Republican majority approved by a 51-46 vote, on May 9, a motion offered by Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) to table and thereby kill the Metzenbaum amendment.

For tabling—Wrong      Against tabling—Right

## 8. Maintaining Jobs for the Unemployed

One of the nation's long-standing job-creation initiatives was the Economic Development Administration (EDA) program established by Congress in 1965 to provide grants to poor communities to help them attract new business investment or to revive failing industries in their areas. For the last two decades the EDA program has provided funds to finance public works projects earmarked for the repair and development of public infrastructure, including roads, water and sewer systems, education and health facilities. Much of the work of the EDA has been targeted to economically depressed areas. Elimination of EDA had long been a target of Reagan budget draftsmen, but Congress has prevented them from terminating the program. However, since 1980, EDA funding has been cut by the Reagan Administration from \$500 million to less than \$260 million for 1985.

In 1985 the Republican-controlled Senate Budget Committee slashed EDA funding once again to \$184 million for fiscal 1986. But for some Republicans that wasn't enough. During Senate debate on the Commerce Dept. appropriations bill Sen. John Chafee (R-R.I.) offered an amendment that would cut an additional \$160 million. Chafee's amendment would have left only enough for the expenses needed to phase out and terminate EDA. A sizeable number of Chafee's Republican colleagues deserted him on his amendment as the Senate by a 39-57 vote, on Nov. 1, rejected the Chafee amendment.

For—Wrong      Against—Right

## 9. Importing Foreign Workers

During Senate debate on immigration reform legislation designed to curb the influx of illegal aliens, Sen. Pete Wilson (R-Calif.) offered an amendment to reestablish the discredited "bracero" program. Killed by Congress in 1964, this program had permitted the importation of hundreds of thousands of foreign agricultural workers during World War II, but subsequently displaced U.S. farm and migrant workers and undercut American working standards. Foreign farm workers, meanwhile, were subjected to some of the worst cases of exploitation in our nation's history. Under the Wilson amendment, up to 350,000 foreign workers could be brought into the country for up to nine months each year for agricultural work. These workers would not have to have a stateside job offer to obtain an entry visa. Their employers would not have to look for available domestic workers before hiring imported workers. Further, the U.S. government would have no role in such a program insofar as protecting job opportunities for American workers or promoting decent wage and work standards for foreign workers. The bracero program cruelly pits desperate foreign workers against desperate unemployed domestic workers in U.S. fields and on U.S. farms. It would also be used by growers as a tool to defeat farm worker organizing efforts. Despite strong labor opposition, the amendment was approved by a 51-44 vote on Sept. 17.

For—Wrong      Against—Right

## 10. Seeking Fairness in Federal Budget Programs

The right-wing assault on federal spending continued in 1985 as the budget bill reported by the Republican-controlled Senate Budget Committee slashed \$56 billion in federal spending for an array of domestic programs, including education, transportation, job training and employment services, governments, social security, Medicare and other programs for the elderly and disabled, food stamps, health assistance and public housing for the poor, and economic development. Thirteen programs were targeted for outright elimination.

When this one-sided Republican budget came to the Senate floor, several days were spent in maneuvering and casting "political posturing" votes to protect Republicans up for reelection in 1986. The key vote finally came on a substitute budget bill offered by Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.). The Dole substitute discarded amendments that would have restored funds to critical programs and went back to an austere program-slashing version. On the final vote several Republicans still felt the cuts were too deep and joined the near-solid Democratic ranks in opposition.

### 11. Gramm-Rudman Budget Amendment

Four years of bankrupt Reagan budgetary policies of steep tax cuts for the wealthy and corporations combined with large military funding increases came back to haunt the government in 1985 in the form of the highest budget deficit—over \$200 billion—in U.S. history. This dubious achievement—a budget deficit that exceeded the total accumulated deficits of every President from George Washington to Jimmy Carter—continued to take its toll on the economy's international competitiveness as the huge budget deficit is a major cause of an overvalued U.S. dollar which prices U.S. goods out of foreign markets.

While the Democratic House fashioned a reasonable budget alternative, the Republican-controlled Senate refused to veer from Reagan's party line except to exempt social security cuts. Although the Administration eventually pushed through many deep program cuts, the deficit crisis worsened because the President refused either to raise taxes or to cut defense spending.

Late in the year, when the Senate had to consider a bill to raise the public debt limit to over \$2 trillion, conservatives took advantage of a growing congressional concern over unyielding budget deficits to ram through a budget mandate requiring an end to the annual deficit by FY 1991. The law will force huge cuts annually in domestic spending programs and the military budget. Sponsored by Sens. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), Warren Rudman (R-N.H.) and Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.), the balanced budget plan as finally approved by Congress will demand massive multi-billion dollar spending cuts for each of the next five years. Overall, the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings amendment threatens to wipe out scores of federal programs. The key vote on the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings provision came when the Senate by a 75-24 vote passed it for the first time on Oct. 9.

For—Wrong Against—Right

### 12. Giving the President Line-Item Veto Authority

As Reagan budget deficits ran wild in 1985, the Senate sought to hand him new constitutional authority to meat-ax domestic spending—the line-item veto. This authority would allow the President for two years to review congressionally approved appropriations bills on an item-by-item basis and to veto those individual expenditures he opposed. A vetoed item would stand unless overridden by a two-thirds vote of both the House and Senate. Under current law, the President can only veto an entire bill; he has no authority to “red line” single provisions of it.

The AFL-CIO opposed the line-item veto because it would primarily affect domestic, non-defense programs; undercut the ability of the executive and legislative branches to negotiate appropriate levels of spending, and provide the President with a sweeping grant of new constitutional authority by bypassing the normal constitutional amendment process. A bipartisan group of senators successfully mounted a filibuster which stopped the line-item veto proposal. After three failed attempts to invoke cloture and halt the filibuster, Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.) pulled the bill from the Senate floor. The key cloture vote came when the Senate by a 57-42 vote, on July 18, fell three votes short of the 60 votes needed to invoke cloture.

For cloture—Wrong Against cloture—Right

### 13. Restoring Fair Corporate Taxes

The corporate share of tax revenues to operate the federal government has fallen steadily from 25 percent in 1960 to around 8.5 percent by 1985. As a result, individuals—mostly working families—have been forced, through higher tax rates, to make up the difference. The deepest plunge in tax contributions to the federal government came as a result of the 1981 Reagan tax bill which cut corporate taxes in half by \$170 billion over five years. In 1984, nearly 90,000 corporations paid no taxes at all. In fact, many corporations earning billions of dollars in profits in 1984 not only paid no taxes, but received hundreds of millions of dollars in handouts or in future write-offs from the federal government.

During floor deliberations on the federal budget, senators had a chance to stand up and be counted on the issue of fair corporate taxes. Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) offered an amendment to the budget bill to impose a 15 percent minimum tax on corporate earnings in excess of \$50,000 and to use the revenues generated to reduce the record-level \$200 billion federal deficit. The Metzenbaum amendment would have raised a modest \$10.5 billion over the next three years. However, hard-line conservatives led by Republican Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.) sidetracked the amendment when Dole's motion to table and kill the Metzenbaum provision was approved by a 61-37 vote on May 9.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

### 14. Restoring Education and Job-Training Funds

President Reagan's five-year crusade to slash federal aid to public schools has worsened education problems at the very time that many states have sought to resolve serious deficiencies in their educational systems. Steep federal budget cuts have forced the cancellation of special teaching programs and tightened the squeeze on local school districts



AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue testifies before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in support of economic sanctions against South Africa. He is accompanied by Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, former U. S. Ambassador.

leaving many teaching posts unfilled—particularly in math and sciences—because school districts cannot afford to pay competitive salaries to their staffs. Meanwhile, America's international competitors, such as Japan, attribute their global economic successes to a firm commitment to education.

During the 1985 battle of the budget, conservatives swung their budget axe at federal education funding. The Republican-controlled Senate Budget Committee recommended a whopping \$3.5 billion cut in federal aid to education over three years. Among other cutbacks, a freeze was imposed on elementary and secondary education programs, including compensatory education for the disadvantaged and aid for the education of the handicapped. Student loans were also cut back, while the popular Job Corps program—which provides job training for disadvantaged youths—would have been slashed by \$1.3 billion. During Senate floor debate Sen. Lawton Chiles (D-Fla.) offered an amendment to restore \$7 billion for a range of education and job-training programs. The Chiles amendment was defeated by a 47-50 vote on May 9.

For—Right Against—Wrong

### 15. Protecting the Purchasing Power of Social Security

Since the Republicans took control of the Senate in 1980, conservatives have led an unrelenting assault on the social security program. In 1985 the assault on social security came during deliberations on the federal budget bill. In the Republican-dominated Budget Committee, conservatives demanded that the cost-of-living adjustment for social security recipients be eliminated for one year. This would slash these benefits to the elderly—many of whom have only meager pension benefits to rely upon—by an estimated \$21.9 billion. On an individual basis this would mean that retirees would receive \$220 less in their social security pension adjustment in 1986. During floor debate on the budget bill Democratic senators led by Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) tried to restore the full social security cost-of-living adjustment. Moynihan's amendment was defeated by the acceptance, 51-47, of a motion by Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.) to table on May 9.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

### 16. Safeguarding Health Care for the Elderly and the Poor

The conservative assault on federal spending also targeted federal health care assistance for the elderly, disabled and the poor. The final budget bill adopted by the Senate slashed Medicare and Medicaid assistance programs by \$16.3 billion over three years. For the nation's senior citizens who on the average pay 15 percent or \$1,800 of their meager annual income for health care, \$9.6 billion would have been lopped off the Medicare program over and above previous cuts of nearly \$12 billion. This would translate into an average benefit reduction of \$700 over the next five years for some 30 million elderly and disabled Medicare beneficiaries.

During floor debate on the Republican budget, Democrats, led by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), attempted to restore some \$4.6 billion in funding. However, this amendment was blocked when Sen. Robert Packwood (R-Ore.) offered a motion to table and thus kill the Kennedy provision. Packwood's tabling motion was approved by a 54-44 vote on May 9.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

### 17. Guarding Food Stamps for the Poor

A major supplemental benefit program to help feed the families of long-term jobless workers is the federal food stamp program. The program has long been a target of conservatives, who had succeeded in cutting it by \$7 billion since 1980. Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) engineered a sizable back-door cutback in the program in 1985 through his Agriculture Committee. Helms's provision required that, in determining eligibility for food stamps, any federal assistance to the poor for paying energy bills would be counted as income. This ignored congressional intent in reauthorizing a federal program of low-income energy assistance for the poor which made clear that the program was not to be counted as income in determining food-stamp eligibility. The Helms provision would have forced some 12 million low-income people to lose food-stamp benefits during the winter months. It would have hit hardest at the poorest food-stamp recipients because they receive more energy assis-

have lost much more. During floor debate Sen. Robert Stafford (R-Vt.) offered an amendment to strike the Helms proposal. An effort by Helms to table and kill the Stafford amendment was rejected by a 37-59 vote on Nov. 12.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

### 18. Retaining Community Development and Jobs Programs

Federal revenue sharing, first enacted in 1972, provides grants to local governments for use on locally controlled programs based on local priorities. These grants have been used in a wide variety of projects ranging from pothole repair on local streets to health screening, immunization and improved police and fire services. Revenue sharing has provided jobs and helped soften the blow of continuing economic recession still battering many communities throughout the nation. Revenue sharing has long been a target of Reagan budget cutters and in 1985 Sen. Jake Garn (R-Utah), chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, successfully slashed revenue-sharing funds when his committee reported out a 1986 housing appropriations bill cutting revenue sharing by \$570 million. During debate on the bill, Sen. David Durenberger (R-Minn.) successfully offered an amendment to restore this funding cut. Garn's effort to table and kill the add-back amendment was defeated by a 39-57 vote on Oct. 17.

For tabling—Wrong Against tabling—Right

### 19. Fighting Racism in South Africa

Since 1958 the AFL-CIO has repeatedly expressed its outrage in Congress, international forums and elsewhere over the South African government's longstanding racist policy of apartheid. Under this system black South Africans—who represent nearly 75 percent of the nation's population—endure a strictly enforced policy of racial discrimination and segregation that denies them basic human, political, economic and social rights. For trade unionists in South Africa apartheid can be particularly brutal, denying workers the freedom of association necessary to improve wages and working conditions.

In 1985 the AFL-CIO backed legislation to impose a series of economic sanctions on South Africa in order to pressure that government to move toward reform and eventual elimination of apartheid. The final conference report on legislation originally sponsored by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Sen. Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.) would have prohibited all new investment in South Africa by U.S. corporations and individuals, disallowed any commercial bank loans to South Africa, mandated that U.S. employers of 25 or more workers in South Africa would have to adhere to the “Sullivan Code” of fair labor practices, and banned the U.S. sale of South African Kruggerand gold coins. However, the conference report failed to pass when the right-wing combine led by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) blocked final approval by a filibuster. On a 57-41 vote, on Sept. 11, a motion to invoke cloture and thus end the filibuster fell three votes short of the 60 votes required.

For cloture—Right Against cloture—Wrong

### 20. Environmental Protection for Workers and Their Families

In 1980 Congress recognized that abandoned toxic waste dumps are a major environmental and health hazard. In response, Congress created a “Superfund”—a \$1.6 billion five-year cleanup plan to be administered by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in cooperation with affected states and local jurisdictions. However, under the Reagan Administration, the Superfund cleanup plan slowed to a crawl as a major scandal over mismanagement resulted in massive resignations within the Reagan-appointed EPA hierarchy.

One shortcoming of the original 1980 legislation which labor and environmental groups have tried to remedy was the failure to include a victims' compensation program. During 1985 Senate Environmental Committee deliberations on a five-year \$7.5 billion reauthorization of the Superfund program, a victim-assistance demonstration program was added to the bill without dissent. The proposal would set aside \$30 million annually for a five-year program for selected areas. These areas would qualify only if scientific studies showed that toxic exposures caused health threats. From the \$30 million fund, the government would pay victims' out-of-pocket medical expenses only when they were not covered by other insurance. During floor debate on the bill Sen. William Roth (R-Del.) attacked the victims' aid program and succeeded in deleting this modest health assistance effort. By a 49-45 vote on Sept. 24 the Senate voted for the Roth amendment to strike the victims' assistance demonstration program from the bill.

For—Wrong Against—Right

### 21. Promoting Democracy Abroad

In 1983, Congress authorized the creation of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED)—a federally financed, private, non-profit organization open to public scrutiny whose various activities such as fostering trade unions in developing countries are designed to promote the evolution of democratic institutions abroad. The AFL-CIO, which since 1982 has had its own programs of bilateral aid to developing trade unions abroad through regional institutes, is a participating organization in the endowment program. During Senate debate on legislation providing funds for the endowment for fiscal 1986, Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.) offered an amendment to wipe out the entire \$18.4 million appropriated for NED. By a 32-57 vote on Dec. 6, the Senate rejected the Hollings amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right





MISSISSIPPI

- 1. Whitten (D)
2. Franklin (R)
3. Montgomery (D)
4. Dewey (D)
5. Lott (R)

MISSOURI

- 1. Clay (D)
2. Young, R. (D)
3. Gophers (D)
4. Shelton (D)
5. Wheat (D)
6. Coleman, E. (R)
7. Taylor (R)
8. Emerson (R)
9. Vallum (D)

MONTANA

- 1. Williams P. (D)
2. Maclean (R)

NEBRASKA

- 1. Bonestar (R)
2. Dash (R)
3. Smith, V. (R)

NEVADA

- 1. Reid (D)
2. Vaccarovich (R)

NEW HAMPSHIRE

- 1. Smith, R. (R)
2. Gregg (R)

NEW JERSEY

- 1. Florio (D)
2. Hughes (D)
3. Howard (D)
4. Smith, C. (R)
5. Roskams (R)
6. Dryer (D)
7. Rinaldi (R)
8. Roe (D)
9. Torricelli (D)
10. Blanton (D)
11. Galle (R)
12. Cusack (R)
13. Starnes (R)
14. Costello (D)

NEW MEXICO

- 1. Lujan (R)
2. Shinn (R)
3. Richardson (D)

NEW YORK

- 1. Carney (R)
2. Derrico (D)
3. Miran (D)
4. Lane (R)
5. McGrath (R)
6. Addabbo (D)
7. Ackerson (D)
8. Schoen (D)
9. Manton (D)
10. Schauer (D)
11. Tarent (D)
12. Owens (D)
13. Solari (D)
14. Malinowski (R)
15. Green (R)
16. Rangel (D)
17. Weller (D)
18. Garcia (D)
19. Blangi (D)
20. DiGiuseppe (R)
21. Flak (R)
22. Chinn (R)
23. Stratos (D)
24. Solomon (R)
25. Rosburgh (R)
26. Martin, D. (R)
27. Wray (R)
28. McHugh (D)
29. Horton (R)
30. Eckert (R)
31. Kemp (R)
32. LaFalce (D)
33. Novick (D)
34. Lander (D)

NORTH CAROLINA

- 1. Jones, W. (D)
2. Valentine (D)
3. Whitmore (D)
4. Cober (R)
5. Neal (D)
6. Coble (R)
7. Rose (D)
8. Hester (D)
9. McMillan (R)
10. Broyles (R)
11. Hendler (R)

NORTH DAKOTA

- AL. Dorgan (D)

OHIO

- 1. Lott (D)
2. Grassano (R)
3. Hall, T. (D)
4. Okey (R)
5. Latta (R)
6. McCraw (R)
7. DeWine (R)
8. Kinross (R)
9. Kugler (D)
10. Miller, C. (R)
11. Eckart (D)
12. Kasich (R)
13. Fenech (D)
14. Suberling (D)
15. Wylie (R)
16. Kappas (R)
17. Trickett (D)
18. Applegate (D)
19. Feigman (D)
20. Oaker (D)
21. Stenon (D)

OKLAHOMA

- 1. Jones I. (D)
2. Sygar (D)
3. Watkins (D)
4. McCurdy (D)
5. Edwards, M. (R)
6. English (D)

Table with columns for legislative sessions (1-17) and cumulative right percentages (1-5). Rows correspond to the candidates listed in the state sections.

OREGON

- 1. AnCale (D)
2. Smith, A. (R)
3. Wyles (D)
4. Weaver (D)
5. Smith, D. (R)

PENNSYLVANIA

- 1. Fugate (D)
2. Gray (D)
3. Bondi (D)
4. Schuler (D)
5. Yoncos (D)
6. Edger (D)
7. Kinnaman (D)
8. Ganser (R)
9. McDade (R)
10. Kaminski (D)
11. Marlin (D)
12. Coughlin (R)
13. Walker (R)
14. Gahan (R)
15. Gosholt (R)
16. Gaylor (D)
17. Murphy (D)
18. Cheper (D)

RHODE ISLAND

- 1. St. Germain (D)
2. Schuster (R)

SOUTH CAROLINA

- 1. BARNETT (R)
2. Dennis (R)
3. Campbell (D)
4. Yalton (D)

SOUTH DAKOTA

- AL. Dunshee (D)

TENNESSEE

- 1. Quinn (R)
2. Lyles (D)
3. Cooper (D)
4. Carleton (D)
5. Carleton (D)
6. Carleton (D)
7. Carleton (D)
8. Carleton (D)
9. Carleton (D)

TEXAS

- 1. Quinn (R)
2. Wilson (D)
3. Bartlett (R)
4. Hall, B. (D)
5. Bryant (D)
6. Barton (R)
7. Brooks (D)
8. Pickett (R)
9. Brooks (D)
10. Wright (D)
11. Lamb (D)
12. Wright (D)
13. Starnes (D)
14. Starnes (D)
15. Starnes (D)
16. Starnes (D)
17. Starnes (D)
18. Starnes (D)
19. Starnes (D)
20. Starnes (D)
21. Starnes (D)
22. Starnes (D)
23. Starnes (D)
24. Starnes (D)
25. Starnes (D)
26. Starnes (D)
27. Starnes (D)

UTAH

- 1. Hansen J. (R)
2. Hansen R. (R)
3. Nelson (R)

VERMONT

- AL. Jellison (R)

VIRGINIA

- 1. Bassman (R)
2. Whitbeck (R)
3. Miller (D)
4. Sibley (D)
5. Daniel (D)
6. Sims (D)
7. Stanger (R)
8. Parro (R)
9. Felt (D)
10. Wolf (R)

WASHINGTON

- 1. Miller J. (R)
2. Swick (D)
3. Bondi (D)
4. Morrison S. (R)
5. Foley (D)
6. Dick (D)
7. Levy (D)
8. Chandler (R)

WEST VIRGINIA

- 1. Stabon (D)
2. Stapp (D)
3. Wain (D)
4. Kallal (D)

WISCONSIN

- 1. Apple (D)
2. Lamm (D)
3. Gunderson (R)
4. Kamm (D)
5. Moody (D)
6. Patti (R)
7. Ohg (D)
8. Samsel (R)

WYOMING

- AL. Cheney (R)

Table with columns for legislative sessions (1-17) and cumulative right percentages (1-5). Rows correspond to the candidates listed in the state sections.

State	Total Labor Votes						Total Labor Votes						Cumulative Voting Record			Cumulative Right Percentage								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	R	W	%
<b>ALABAMA</b>																								
Halle (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	77	51	68
Duncan (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	81	18
<b>ALASKA</b>																								
Markwardt (R)	W	R	R	W	A	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	18	78	28
Stevens (R)	W	R	R	W	A	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	183	138	40
<b>ARIZONA</b>																								
DeConcini (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	96	61	61
Goldwater (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	37	9
<b>ARKANSAS</b>																								
Bumpers (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	153	71	68
Byrd (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	81	68
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>																								
Cranston (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	228	28	91
Wilson (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	41	9
<b>COLORADO</b>																								
Hart (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	161	28	82
Armstrong (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	123	1
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>																								
Dodd (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	84	10	98
Welcher (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	127	27	64
<b>DELAWARE</b>																								
Biden (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	178	128	86
Roth (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	18	10	18
<b>FLORIDA</b>																								
Chiles (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	121	108	53
Hawkins (R)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	108	31
<b>GEORGIA</b>																								
Nease (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	88	10	37
Montgomery (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	10	37
<b>HAWAII</b>																								
Isaacs (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	88	10	88
Monahan (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	10	88
<b>IDAHO</b>																								
Synnott (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	88	10	2
McClellan (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	10	2
<b>ILLINOIS</b>																								
Dixon (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	71	1	77
Simms (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	28	1	98
<b>INDIANA</b>																								
Oswalt (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	16	10	11
Lugar (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	10	11
<b>IOWA</b>																								
Granley (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	15	10	16
Harkin (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	1	98
<b>KANSAS</b>																								
Dole (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	21	218	17
Kanemann (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	28	108	21
<b>KENTUCKY</b>																								
Ford (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	152	84	74
McClellan (R)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	2	18	74
<b>LOUISIANA</b>																								
Johnston (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	96	115	45
Long (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	182	156	51
<b>MAINE</b>																								
Mitchell (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	88	18	85
Coburn (R)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	50	78	39
<b>MARYLAND</b>																								
Sarbanes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	168	4	98
Mattias (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	181	65	73
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>																								
Kennedy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	253	18	93
Kerry (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	28	1	95
<b>MICHIGAN</b>																								
Lewis (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	134	7	95
Riegle (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	154	18	94
<b>MINNESOTA</b>																								
Bonchitz (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	28	112	18
Durenberger (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	49	71	41
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>																								
Strom (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	35	228	29
Cochran (R)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	19	269	15
<b>MISSOURI</b>																								
Eagleton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	219	31	88
Dandridge (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	46	122	27
<b>MONTANA</b>																								
Ramsey (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	86	51	74
McCluer (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	139	38	82
<b>NEBRASKA</b>																								
Evans (D)	W	W	R	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	86	73	39
Zorba (D)	W	W	R	A	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	27	114	32

State	Total Labor Votes						Total Labor Votes						Cumulative Voting Record			Cumulative Right Percentage							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	R	W
<b>NEVADA</b>																							