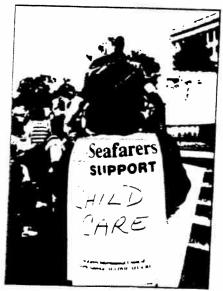


REPORT ON How they voted in CONGRESS 1989





Sending a message—Frank Lorenzo's anti-worker antics were high on labor's 1989 Congressional agenda as AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland led nationwide picket line protests against Eastern Airlines. Lower left—Union families made the rounds on Capitol Hill on behalf of the AFL-CIO family agenda. Below—Union members by the thousands joined housing advocates in a march on Congress to draw attention to the nation's housing crisis.





A year of leadership transition

By Lane Kirkland

he 1989 legislative session was marked by leadership transition and sharp controversies as Congress and the White House wrestled with the results of the 1988 elections.

In the Oval Office, a new president was more preoccupied with symbols than the substance of a legislative agenda. Public relations gave way to harsh political reality when President Bush used the presidential veto to assist Eastern Airline's Frank Lorenzo, delay and decrease a new minimum wage, and benefit the Japanese economy at the expense of our own.

On Capitol Hill, a new leadership team was frustrated by the inability of the executive branch to make timely appointments and nominations to fill key government posts. Lacking their counterparts within critical executive branch agencies, Congress and the policy-making process slowed to a crawl. Meanwhile the federal establishment was rocked by events outside its reach — Eastern Europe, natural disasters, narcotics smuggling — and was preoccupied with the unfolding consequences of past missteps: the savings and loan candal and the HUD fiasco.

inancial disaster

1989, the legacy of inactive government turned into a il disaster for the nation's taxpayers. Past deregulative savings and loan industry had spawned fraud and of historic proportions. Coupled with the corrupHUD, these Reagan-era catastrophes will cost a nearly \$300 billion in taxpayer dollars that could ten far better spent on education, health, housing, affrastructure, reducing the deficit and other worthy

deregulation nightmare came back to haunt the person of Lorenzo, who bankrupted Conines, and later Eastern, in an effort to destroy in the hilt and striptine of over \$700 million in assets, Lorenzo forced ees to strike by demanding outrageous pay conchanges in working conditions and job cutbacks.

President Bush refused to use his powers under the Railway Labor Act to institute a 60-day cooling-off period and impose a fact-finding emergency board, becoming the first president in the history of the 55-year-old law to refuse to take such action in a national transportation dispute. Congress then passed legislation to establish a blue-ribbon commission to investigate the strike, and review other problems plaguing the airline industry. President Bush vetoed the bill.

The president also cracked the whip at the working poor. While advocating a \$25,000 annual capital gains tax bonanza for the rich, he vetoed a \$4.55-an-hour minimum wage bill for those at the bottom of the economic ladder. An eventual compromise raising the minimum wage to \$4.25 per hour by 1991 was enacted into law. The new law includes a limited training wage for teenagers that will sunset — self-destruct — unless new legislation is enacted.

Pension reform

Pension reform also moved to the forefront in the first session of the 101st Congress as labor tried to stop corporate

raiders from grabbing so-called "excess" assets in workers' retirement plans. In too many cases, pension funds have been used by Wall Street raiders to finance corporate takeovers or by management to head-off threatened raids. Although bills to discourage this practice passed the House and Senate, a last-minute disagreement left the bills still before Congress at year's end. Another proposal — to give workers in single-employer pension plans a voice on the board of trustees — also will be reconsidered.

Although the House, with support of the Democratic leadership, again passed the Hatch Act reform bill to restore full political rights to federal and postal workers, Republicans in the Senate threatened to filibuster the measure. Senate floor action is likely in 1990. Labor-backed legislation to modernize the Davis-Bacon Act also passed the House, but conservative demands for total repeal of this landmark fair-wage law blocked final action. Meanwhile, efforts to cripple the nation's cargo preference laws were soundly rejected.

Family, bealth care issues

Family issues also ranked high on the labor movement's agenda in 1989. The Democratic leadership is working to reach agreement on a measure to help develop affordable and quality day-care services for working families. The child-care bill will be an early priority of the Congress in 1990. Meanwhile, a pitched battle between business and family advocates raged at the grassroots over legislation to give working parents time off to take care of family-related or medical problems. The Family and Medical Leave Act bill also will be a high priority for the AFL-CIO in 1990.

On health care, the repeal of last year's catastrophic health insurance, coupled with congressional tinkering with the doctor fee schedule under medicare, again delayed the needed overhaul of the nation's health-care system. Bitter stikes at Pittston, NYNEX and Boeing symbolize the crisis in health care. The increasing cost of health care is forging a consensus, including a number of business organizations, that the time for reform is at hand. In November, at our 18th Constitutional Convention, the AFL-CIO announced a national grassroots lobbying campaign designed to convince federal lawmakers to join the reform movement.

Throughout 1989, Congress and the White House looked for ways to cast off the Reagan legacy of \$150 billion annual budget deficits. The President proposed the cutting of the capital gains taxes for the rich — a clear-cut repudiation of the tax reforms enacted in 1986 — as a short-termed revenue raiser that, in later years, will increase the deficit. While House Democrats lost this battle, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell stopped this tax rip-off. On this issue, labor can expect President Bush to repeat his efforts.

While another Reagan-era deficit, the huge trade imbalance, continued to stagnate throughout the year, President Bush proposed to trade away advanced U.S. technology in one of the few international accounts in which America has a trade surplus — aviation and aerospace. Less than 10 days after citing Japan for job stealing and unfair trade practices under the 1988 Trade Reform Act, the president rewarded Japan by seeking congressional approval of the so-called FSX deal. This seven billion dollar scheme would promote joint U.S.-Japanese co-development of a new genera-

tion of combat fighter planes. When labor's efforts to scotch the FSX scam failed in the Senate, the House proposed safeguards to protect against abuses of technology transfers. But even these minimal protections offended the president, who used his veto to abort them.

In 1990, partisan conflict will continue to punctuate congressional deliberations as Washington faces an agenda of unfinished business and challenges for the new decade.

In addition to many unresolved issues, Congress will have to wrestle with the thorny problems of reauthorizing the Clean Air Act and developing a new consensus on auto emissions and acid rain. A major civil rights bill prohibiting discrimination based on disability also awaits action. At the same time, a proposal to reverse a set of recent Supreme Court cases effecting sex and race discrimination on the job is being readied for introduction. The need to address the nation's crumbling infrastructure — decaying roads, bridges, dams, inner city sewer systems and railroad beds — demands immediate attention.

Finally, the changes in Eastern Europe will require a reordering of budget priorities following congressional debate on the use of any "peace dividend."

As with health care, trade unionists also must begin the grass roots educational campaign that will lead to modernization of our nation's unfair labor laws.

Whether Congress and the president can reach agreement on a national agenda to address these problems remains to be seen. Ultimately the people — citizens in their communities — have the power to be the decisive factor. As was proven so often in the 1980s when union members and their traditional allies speak out, lawmakers respond and the nation benefits. This AFL-CIO voting record indicates which lawmakers listened and which didn't.

In the 1990s, the AFL-CIO will step up its efforts to educate and energize union members into grassroots legislative action. Such activity is a major component of labor's commitment to a legislative agenda truly reflecting the future needs of our country.

MAJOR ISSUES in the House of Representatives



1. Eastern Airlines I

In 1989, 30,000 airline workers found themselves pitted against one of the most notorious corporate raiders of the decade — Frank Lorenzo. Under his control, Lorenzo had destroyed Eastern Airlines' profit-making ability by stripping it of over \$700 million in assets and shifting them to Continental Airlines and Texas Air Corporation, Eastern's parent firm. During contract negotiations, Lorenzo tried to scapegoat the Machinists by demanding one-sided paycuts and job reductions. When the IAM struck, the Air Line Pilots and the Transport Workers attendants honored the picket line. As the strike wore on, Eastern's losses hit nearly \$1 million a day. Then Lorenzo did what he had done with Continental Airlines six years earlier — he sought the shelter of bankruptcy.

In March 1989, President Bush refused to use his powers under the Railway Labor Act to call for a 60-day cooling off period and appoint a federal fact-finding panel—emergency board—to investigate the strike and recommend a settlement. At labor's behest, Congress filled the void. On March 15, the House by a key 252-167 vote passed labor-backed legislation to force Bush to establish an emergency board to investigate the dispute and make recommendations to Congress for a settlement. Later, when an amended version of the House bill landed on the President's desk, the President, only hours before the 1989 session of Congress adjourned, vetoed the legislation. A veto override vote may occur in the second session of Congress.

For - Right Against - Wrong

Striking Eastern Airlines workers — Machinists, Pilots and Flight Attendants — backed by other union members took their fight against Frank Lorenzo to the U.S. Congress.

2. Eastern Airlines II

By the fall of 1989, the U.S. House of Representatives was fed up with the tactics of Frank Lorenzo. His takeovers of Continental Airlines and Eastern Airlines had forced both airlines into bankruptcy. At Continental, jobs were lost and the unions were destroyed. At Eastern, Lorenzo's asset stripping and provocation of a bitter ongoing strike had all but destroyed that airline.

During debate on legislation to enhance federal regulation of airline takeovers. Rep. Douglas Bosco (D-Calif.) offered an amendment specifically aimed at Lorenzo. Bosco's amendment prohibited any person from acquiring an airline who had already taken two other airlines into bankruptcy. Tagged as the "two-time loser" provision by House members during debate, the labor backed anti-Lorenzo amendment was approved by an overwhelming 283-132 key vote on October 31.

For - Right Against - Wrong



Workers came to Washington, D.C. to send President Bush a message on the minimum wage bill.

3. Minimum Wage I

For eight years, America's poorest workers — those who toil at the minimum wage — have had no increase in pay. As a result, by 1989 their inflation-eroded \$3.35 hourly minimum wage was worth only \$2.11 or \$85 per week. Although the AFL-CIO had lobbied over the years for an increase in the minimum wage, opposition by Ronald Reagan had stymied these efforts.

With President Bush threatening veto, the House considered legislation to raise the minimum wage from \$3.35 to \$4.65 an hour in three steps over three years. Rep. William Goodling (R-Pa.) offered a White House-backed substitute proposal during floor debate to raise the minimum wage to just \$4.25 over the same period. In addition, his proposal included a six-month training wage set at 80 percent of the minimum wage for any newly-hired employee. By a 198-218 key vote on March 23, the Goodling substitute was rejected.

For - Wrong Against - Right

4. Minimum Wage II

In the Senate, a minimum wage bill was passed that would increase the minimum wage to \$4.55 an hour over three years - ten cents less than the House-passed bill. The measure also included a modified training wage proposal allowing the payment of 85 percent of the minimum wage to newly-hired employees for a one-time total of 60 days. The AFL-CIO agreed to the training wage as the price demanded by Republican moderates and conservative Democrats for any wage increase. However, the training wage was designed to "sunset" - that is self destruct one year after the last step increase in the minimum wage. Despite these changes the compromise failed to satisfy President Bush as he carried out his veto threat. On June 14, by a 247-178 key vote, the House failed to secure the two-thirds vote needed to override his veto. Later, a compromise bill to increase the minimum wage to \$4.25 which included a modified training wage proposal was approved by Congress and signed into law by President Bush.

For override - Right Against override - Wrong

5. Pension Protections

The 1948 Taft-Hartley Act mandated that workers participating in multi-employer pension plans have the right to equal representation on the plans' boards of trustees. Thus workers' representatives — alongside those of management — make investment decisions and these pension plans are jointly administered. Such is not the case with single-employer pension plans. More than \$1.4 trillion in assets are tightly controlled in these plans by hand-picked management trustees. As a result, millions of workers who contribute deferred wages to these plans for retirement income have no say in how their money is used, invested, or managed.

Because workers have no say in these plans, assets from single-employer pension funds have been increasingly invested in junk bonds and other financial schemes to underwrite job-destroying, leveraged buyouts, corporate mergers and acquisitions. At least 90,000 AFL-CIO members have lost their jobs through corporate cannibalism financed by workers' pension plans.

To give workers an equal voice in the administration of their pension plans, Rep. Peter Visclosky (D-Ind.) proposed an amendment to a budget bill to mandate joint administration of single-employer plans. When this bill hit the House floor, it was met by an explosion of opposition from business lobbyists and conservatives led by Rep. Marge Roukema (R-N.J.). By a 250-173 key vote on September 27, the House adopted a Roukema amendment to strip the Visclosky provision from the bill.

For - Wrong Against - Right

6. 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 more than 50 years this law has assured that contractors who uphold community labor standards will have a fair chance to compete for government projects without being underbid by firms using cut-rate labor. The law has also protected the government and taxpayers from fly-by-night operators who seek to win federal contracts by paying wages too low to attract competent craftsmen.

During House debate on a Department of Defense authorization bill, Rep. Charles Stenholm (D-Tex.) offered an amendment designed to thwart a pending labor-backed proposal to modernize the Davis-Bacon law. Stenholm's amendment would have exempted 80 percent of all military construction from the fair wage standards of the Davis-Bacon law by increasing the \$2,000 contract threshold exemption to \$250,000. Organized labor countered with a substitute amendment by Rep. Austin Murphy (D-Pa.) which increased the threshold to \$50,000 and provided for other reforms. By a 223-201 key vote on July 27, the House approved the Murphy substitute, thereby blocking Stenholm's proposal. The Murphy reform proposal was later dropped from the bill.

For - Right Against - Wrong

7. Hatch Reform Act

Almost 3 million federal, postal and District of Columbia government employees are barred by the Hatch Act from fully exercising the political freedom enjoyed by all other Americans. Among the activities outlawed by this restrictive 1939 statute, these workers are forbidden from handing out leaflets, publicly endorsing candidates or even displaying a candidate's lawn sign on their own front yards.

Originally, the Hatch Act was intended to prevent political appointees from coercing government workers into partisan campaign work. But now, some 40 years later, thanks to protections by their unions and new laws, those threats of intimidation are almost non-existent. Yet government workers are still denied their basic political rights.

In 1989, labor-backed legislation was introduced to restore full political rights to these workers. In addition, the legisla-



Rep. Tom Foley (D-Wash.) — a labor-backed Democrat with an 80% lifetime pro-worker voting record took over as Speaker of the House at mid-year.

tion strengthened existing protections against improper political solicitations. By a 297-90 key vote on April 17, the House approved the Hatch Act reform bill which is now awaiting Senate action.

For - Right Against - Wrong

8. Trade

The 1980s saw the export of jobs accelerate as millions of Americans lost high paying manufacturing jobs due to free trade policies that were blind to the realities of cutthroat global competition. In 1989, these policies continued. Within weeks after his Administration had cited Japan under the 1988 trade reform law for job-stealing, anti-fair trade practices, President Bush sent to Congress a proposal that would have transferred highly-regarded U.S. aviation technology to Japan. The so-called FSX deal promoted the joint U.S.-Japanese development of a new generation of advanced combat fighter aircraft — the FSX. The \$7-billion co-development scheme was strongly opposed by the AFL-CIO because it would cost thousands of American jobs and allow



the Japanese to acquire U.S. technology to develop their own aerospace industry. This is precisely what the Japanese had already achieved as a result of past U.S. technology exports that had paved the way for Japan's development of their own color television, VHS, semi-conductor industries and other "high tech" manufacturing.

Although the Senate narrowly failed to reject a labor backed effort to kill the agreement, safeguards were adopted to stop transfers of technology. In the House, Rep. Terry Bruce (D-III.) introduced a joint resolution which contained similar restrictions barring the transfer of certain jet engine technologies to Japan while also prohibiting them from transferring any newly developed FSX-related technology to third countries. Although the resolution passed the House by a key 262-155 vote on June 7, President Bush vetoed the measure. Later, the Senate failed to override the veto and the FSX deal is now being implemented.

For - Right Against - Wrong

9. Maritime Jobs

By the end of the 1980s, 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. Four decades of neglect had cost the U.S. thousands of merchant marine, seafaring and ship construction jobs, lost to low-wage foreign "flags of convenience." At the same time, the increasingly heavy reliance on these "foreign-flag" vessels for shipments of U.S. exports has contributed significantly to the record level of the U.S. trade deficit. The maritime fleet has so deteriorated that recent studies have shown that it could barely meet its defense support obligations during a foreign conflict.

One of the few remaining government programs sustaining the nation's merchant marine fleet is the 1954 Cargo Preference Act. This law reserves a percentage of federally-funded foreign aid for shipment on U.S. vessels. During

debate on legislation providing U.S. food shipments to Poland, Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio) offered an amendment to reduce the Cargo Preference requirement for these shipments from current 75 percent levels to 50 percent. Although the amendment was designed to forestall an even steeper cut sponsored by Rep. Fred Grandy (R-Iowa), the AFL-CIO and the maritime unions opposed her amendment. By a 170-228 key vote on October 19, the labor-opposed Kaptur amendment was rejected. Later the Grandy proposal was also defeated.

For - Wrong Against - Right

10. Tax Cuts for the Rich

The economic policies of President Reagan that generated record-level budget deficits were repeated by President Bush in 1989. Throughout the first session of the 101st Congress, President Bush tried to make good on a 1988 campaign promise to cut the capital gains income tax rate for the rich. His proposal would cut taxes on the average about \$25,000 for those making more than \$200,000 annually. Eighty percent of the benefits would go to 3 percent of the nation's wealthiest taxpayers, leaving nine of ten American workers out in the cold. A comprehensive study showed that the President's proposal would cost American taxpayers \$71 billion from 1991-1999.

During House debate on the omnibus budget reconciliation bill, enough Democrats teamed up with Republicans to add the capital gains tax amendment to the bill. Efforts by the Democratic leaders to block the tax rate cut by restoring the deductibility of the individual retirement accounts while increasing the marginal income tax rate on upper income wage earners from 28 to 33 percent were defeated. This labor-backed attempt to focus the tax breaks on middle-income Americans was rejected on a key 190-239 vote on September 28. Later, during the House-Senate conference on the budget bill, the capital gains provision was dropped.

For - Right Against - Wrong

11. Child Care

The face of America's work force has changed drastically. The "traditional" family — with a father who works and a mother who stays at home to take care of the kids — counts for only 10 percent of American families. Instead, 70 percent of all mothers with school-age children work as do 50 percent of all mothers with preschool-age children. As a result, America's working families face a child care crisis. As of 1986 only 2.5 million available places existed in licensed child care facilities in a nation where more than 36 million children have one or more parents working. Meanwhile, less than 3,000 of the 6 million American employers provide any child care services. As a result, many working parents have children that are "latchkey" kids or are forced to leave their children in inadequate or unsafe child care facilities.

In the 101st Congress, child care legislation was a major priority for the AFL-CIO. A package of child care provisions reported by the Labor and Education Committee and the Ways and Means Committee was initially approved by the House of Representatives as part of an omnibus budget bill. The child care package provided funds to: expand Head Start services, establish early childhood education programs, before and after school programs, create community-based services for infants, toddlers, and young children, place an earmarked increase in the Title XX Social Services Block Grant program for child care, and call for an expansion of the earned income tax credit. During floor debate, Rep. Charles Stenholm (D-Tex.) led a conservative assault designed to kill the new program by striking all child care-related provisions and replacing them with expanded earned income tax credit and an increased authorization for the Head Start program. By a 195-230 key vote on October 5, the House rejected this labor-opposed amendment.

For - Wrong Against - Right

12. Promoting Democracy Abroad

In 1983, Congress authorized the creation of the National Endowment for Democracy, a federally-financed, non-profit organization whose activities are subject to public scrutiny. Among other activities, the Endowment helps foster free trade unions in developing countries as a means of promoting democracy abroad. The AFL-CIO, which since 1962 has had its own programs to assist developing trade unions abroad, is a primary participant in Endowment programs. Funding to unions, including AFL-CIO assistance to the Polish Solidarity trade union movement, has helped lead the way for the pro-democracy movements throughout Eastern Europe.

During House debate on the State Department authorization bill, Rep. Paul Kanjorski (D-Pa.) offered an amendment to cut 1990-91 Endowment funding by \$9.2 million or 37 percent. The AFL-CIO-opposed amendment was defeated by a 209-216 key vote on April 12.

For - Wrong Against - Right



Children's Day on the Hill—More than 5,000 children and parents lobbied Congress on the AFL-CIO family agenda at this June 21 labor-sponsored rally.

MAJOR ISSUES in the United States Senate



Democratic Senator George Mitchell of Maine (right) took over as Senate Majority leader in the 101st Congress. Here he confers with AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and

Legislative Director Bob McGlotten on the Senate's 1989 legislative agenda.

1. Eastern I

In 1989, 30,000 airline workers found themselves pitted against one of the most notorious corporate raiders of the decade — Frank Lorenzo. Under his control, Lorenzo had destroyed Eastern Airlines' profitmaking ability by stripping it of over \$700 million in assets and shifting them to Continental Airlines and Texas Air Corporation, Eastern's parent firm. During contract negotiations, Lorenzo tried to scapegoat the Machinists by demanding one-sided paycuts and job reductions. When the IAM struck, the Air Line Pilots Association and the Transport Workers attendants honored the picket line. As the strike wore on, Eastern's losses hit nearly \$1 million a day. Then Lorenzo did what he had done with Continental Airlines six years earlier — he sought the shelter of bankruptcy.

In March 1989. President Bush refused to use powers under the Railway Labor Act to call for a 60-day cooling off period and appoint a federal fact-finding panel—emergency board—to investigate the strike and recommend a settlement. The House moved and passed legislation to force Bush to appoint the emergency board after months of delay. Pro-Lorenzo conservatives, using the fillibuster, tried to block the legislation. Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) broke the back of the short-lived talk-a-thon when he offered a motion to invoke cloture and thereby limit debate. The AFL-CIO-backed cloture motion was approved 61-36 on October 3, one vote more than the 60 votes required.

For Cloture - Right Against Cloture - Wrong

2. Eastern II

Later in debate on the emergency board legislation. Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell offered a substitute proposal to set up a three-member blue-ribbon panel to review the Eastern situation, recommend a settlement to Congress, and investigate other problems disrupting the airline industry. In a key vote on October 26, the labor-backed Mitchell amendment was approved. However, once again President Bush took action against the strikers when he vetoed the bill.

For - Right Against - Wrong

3. Minimum Wage

More than 6 million full-time and part-time workers — many who are heads of households — find it impossible to make ends meet on the meager minimum wage of \$3.35 an hour. The last time these workers saw a minimum wage raise was eight years ago. In the interim, the minimum wage, measured in today's dollars, fell to less than \$2.11 an hour or \$85 a week. Efforts by organized labor to raise the minimum wage had been steadfastly opposed by President Reagan.

When Senate debate began on a labor-backed proposal sponsored by Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) to raise the minimum wage to \$4.55 an hour over three years, conservative Republicans led by Minority Leader Sen. Robert Dole

(R-Kan.) countered with a recommital motion to send the bill back to the Senate Labor Committee. The intent of Dole's motion was to have the committee report the bill back to the floor with President Bush's wage proposal - a three-stage increase to only \$4.25 and a six-month training wage for every employer, which the AFL-CIO opposed. By a key 43-56 vote on April 12, the Senate defeated Dole's motion. Unfortunately, Kennedy's Senate bill was later vetoed by President Bush. Later, agreement was reached and the President signed into law a compromise bill that lifted the minimum wage to \$4.25 in two years and included a modified training wage provision for workers 16 thru 19 who will be paid 85 percent of the minimum wage. The 90-day training wage, which can be extended for an additional 90 days if the teenager takes another job and additional training is certified by the Labor Department, will self destruct one year after the last step increase in the minimum wage.

For Recommital — Wrong Against Recommital — Right

4. Fair Wages for Construction Workers I

The Davis-Bacon Act is one of the nation's oldest fair wage laws protecting construction workers on federally-funded projects. For more than 50 years this statute has safeguarded both workers and contractors in communities around the nation. By making construction firms pay an area-based prevailing wage, the Davis-Bacon Act prevents firms from underbidding federal construction projects based on cut-rate labor costs. The law protects taxpayers and the government from fly-by-night operators seeking to win federal contracts by paying wages far too low to attract competent and skilled craftsmen.

In 1989, anti-labor conservatives continued their campaign to cripple the Davis-Bacon Act. During the debate on the minimum wage bill, Sen. Don Nickles (D-Okla.) offered an amendment to exempt from the Davis-Bacon law contracts



WRECKING CREW

with annual gross income of less than half a million dollars. This amendment would have stacked the deck against union contractors paying Davis-Bacon wages who could not win federal contracts in a competitive federal bidding process against those exempted from the law. A motion by Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine) to table and thus kill the amendment was approved by a 61-38 key vote on April 12.

For tabling - Right Against tabling - Wrong

5. Fair Wages for Construction Workers II

Senator Nickles continued his anti-labor tactics during floor debate on the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) appropriations bill. This time he offered an amendment allowing contractors building or repairing federally subsidized homes or shelters to hire unskilled tenants and homeless people and pay them less than required by prevailing wage laws. By a 58-42 key vote, the Senate approved a tabling motion by Sen. Barbara Mikulski (D-Md.), killing the amendment.

For tabling - Right Against tabling - Wrong

6. Trade I

The 1980s saw the export of jobs accelerate as millions of Americans lost high-paying manufacturing jobs due to free trade policies that were blind to the realities of cutthroat global competition. In 1989, these policies continued. Within weeks after his Administration had cited Japan under the 1988 trade reform law for job-stealing, anti-fair trade policies, President Bush sent to Congress a proposal that would have transferred highly-regarded U.S. aviation technology to Japan. The so-called FSX deal promoted the joint U.S.-Japanese development of a new generation of advanced combat figher aircraft — the FSX. The \$7-billion co-development scheme was strongly opposed by the AFL-CIO because it would cost thousands of American jobs and allow the Japanese to acquire U.S. technology to develop their own aerospace industry. This is precisely what the Japanese had already achieved as a result of past U.S. technology exports that had paved the way for development of their own color television, VHS, and semi-conductor industries along with other "high-tech" manufacturing.

In the Senate, Sen. Alan Dixon (D-III.) led efforts to block the deal by offering an amendment to the FSX approval resolution to ban the transfer of aviation-related technology. Despite AFL-CIO support, the Senate rejected the Dixon amendment by a 47-52 key vote on May 16.

For - Right Against - Wrong

7. Trade II

Although the Senate approved the FSX deal, restrictions were placed on the co-developed project. These restrictions: barred the transfer of certain jet engine technology, prohibited the transfer or sale of the FSX by Japan to any other

country, and prohibited the sale or transfer of any technologies developed in the project. Despite these modest restrictions, President Bush vetoed the FSX legislation. The Senate, on a 66-34 margin, failed by one vote to reach the two-thirds margin needed to override. As a result, the FSX deal is now being implemented.

For - Right Against - Wrong

8. Maritime Jobs

By the end of the 1980s, 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. Four decades of neglect had cost the U.S. thousands of merchant marine, seafaring and ship construction jobs, lost to low-wage foreign "flags of convenience." At the same time, the increasingly heavy reliance on these "foreign flag" vessels for shipments of U.S. exports has contributed significantly to the record level of the U.S. trade deficit. The maritime fleet has so deteriorated that recent studies have shown that it could barely meet its defense support obligations during a foreign conflict.

One of the few remaining programs sustaining the U.S. maritime program is the federal government's cargo preference safeguards which requires that 100 percent of all



On the path to political power: Labor's most important resource—local union members from all over the nation lobbied throughout the year in Washington, D.C. and at the grassroots on the worker's legislative agenda.

A message to the Iowa Congressional Delegation.

The President's Capital Gains plan is a rip-off. It is a tax cut for the very rich.

Tax payers with incomes over \$200,000 (1% of the population) get two-thirds of the capital gains.

80% of the capital gain income goes to the 3.3% of the taxpayers with incomes over \$100,000.

It's time to stand up and say

Vote No on the Capital Gains Rip-off.



A message brought to you by the lowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO James J. Wengert, President: Mark L. Smith, Secretary Treasurer.

military shipments and 75 percent of foreign aid food shipments are to be reserved for U.S.-flag ships. During debate on a Polish foreign aid bill, Sen. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa) tried to offer an amendment to strip the cargo preference safeguards from the bill. His amendment was ruled out of order because it was deemed an attempt to attach legislation to an appropriations bill. Grassley appealed the ruling in an effort to overturn this decision. The chair's ruling was upheld by a 64-33 key vote on September 20.

For - Right Against - Wrong

De Ter Cuts for the Rich

The economic policies of President Reagan that generated record-level budget deficits were repeated by President Bush in 1989. Throughout the year, President Bush tried to make good on a 1988 campaign promise to cut the capital gains

The AFL-CIO grassroots lobbying campaign against the capital gains tax cut for the rich included a media blitz of newspaper ads like the one above sponsored by the Iowa AFL-CIO

tax rate for the nation's wealthiest taxpayers. The tax bonanza that would result would cut about \$25,000 from the tax bill of those making more than \$200,000 annually. Eighty percent of the benefits would go to 3 percent of the nation's richest taxpayers, while leaving nine of ten American workers out in the cold. A Congressional study showed that the President's proposal would cost American taxpayers \$71 billion from 1991-1999, compounding the existing \$100-billion federal budget deficit.

During Senate debate on the omnibus budget reconciliation bill, Republicans led by Sen. Robert Packwood (R-Ore.), tried to add a modified version of the capital gains tax amendment. This effort was stopped by a Democratic filibuster led by Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine). Sen. Packwood's cloture motion to stop the filibuster was defeated 51-47 — nine votes short of the margin needed. After this defeat, the capital gains tax cut provision was withdrawn.

For cloture - Wrong Against cloture - Right



The children were "seen and heard" at the Children's Day on the Hill rally in June sponsored by the AFL-CIO when 5,000 children and their parents made the rounds in Congress on family issues. At right is AFSCME President Gerald McEntee.

10. Child Care

The lack of affordable, safe and quality child care is a major problem confronting America's working families. As of 1986, there were only about 2.5 million licensed child care openings at licensed facilities available for some 36 million children nationwide who are in need of some sort of child care while their parents work. With half of all mothers with pre-school age children working and 70 percent of all mothers with school-age children having jobs outside the home, working parents are faced with a dilemma. Do they place their children in unlicensed or unsafe child care facilities to keep their jobs, or do they sacrifice their jobs and the needed income to take care of their children?

The AFL-CIO believes that working parents should not be forced to make such a decision and in 1989 backed a pro-

posal to expand needed child care services. Labor-supported Senate legislation sponsored by Sen. Chris Dodd (D-Conn.) alloted \$1.75 billion in federal funds to, among other improvements: increase the number of child care facilities and qualified providers, improve the quality of service and coordinate services, enhance licensing standards, make available financial assistance to low and middle-income working families, and enhance tax credits for dependent care. Conservative Republicans, long opposed to federal action on child care, countered with an amendment to limit the program. Offered by Minority Leader Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.), the substitute focused on earned-income tax credits and block grants which did not go far enough to solve the child care crisis. The Senate rejected the Dole substitute by a key 44-56 vote on June 22.

For - Wrong Against - Right

AFL-CIO Department of Legislation 815-16th Street N.W., Room 309 Washington, D.C. 20006 Publication No. 698-R0290-20



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I Chapman J (7) R W W W I Chapman J (7) R W W W 2 Wilson C (7) R W A R 3 Rantest S (R) 4 Natl R (f))	I Qualitat (R)	South Dakota AL Johnson T (B) R R R R	Revened A (R) W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W	South Carolina	Riode is and	11 Randovski P (D) R R R R R R 13 Coughbir L (R) R R R R R R R R 14 Coyne W (W) W(W) W (W) W(W) W (W)	1 Fagilietia I (D) 2 Gray W (D) 3 Bershi N (D) 4 Kelier J (D) 5 Schulze R (R) 5 Vatron G (D) 7 Welden C (R) 8 Radinayer F (D) 9 Shades B (R) 9 Nectools J (R) 9 Nectools J (R) 9 Nectools J (R) 9 Nectools J (R) 9 Nectools	Oregon Action L(D) Wysten R(D) Definite P(D) Smith D(R) Pennsylvania	ORIGNOMO I habit J (i) I habit J (i) I symmet M (ii) I wathin W (ii) I wathin W (ii) I wathin W (ii) I wathin M (ii) I wathin W (ii) I wathin M (ii) I wathin	15 Wylet (18) W W W W 16 Republic R(8) W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W	2 (Gradions R (R) W W W M 3 Haft T (D) R R R R R M 5 (Ellison P (R) W W W W M 5 (Ellison P (R) W W W M 7 DeWise M (R) W W W W M 1 Lakens D (R) W W W W M 1 Lakens D (R) R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R
I OXOS I Chapman J (ft) R W W W W I Chapman J (ft) R W W W W 2 Wilson C (ft) R W A R R 3 Raction S (ft) 4 Not R (ft)	I (pulled 3 (R)) 2 Duncton J (R) 3 Llayed M (D) 4 Compet J (D) 5 Chronical B (D) 6 Cordon R (D) 7 Sendequist D (R) 9 Front H (P) 9 Front H (P) 10 Front H (P) 11 Front H (P) 12 Front H (P) 13 Front H (P) 14 Front H (P) 15 Front H (P) 16 Front H (P) 17 Front H (P) 18 Front H (P)	South Dakota AL Johnson T (B) R R R	I Revened A (R) W W W I Spence F (R) W R W I S Potential B (P) R R W I S Spent J (D) R R W W W S Spent J (D) R R W W W S Spent J (D) R R W W W S Spent J (D) R R W W W S Spent J (D) R R W W W S Spent J (D) R R R W W W S Spent J (D) R R R W W W W S Spent J (D) R R R W W W W W W W S Spent J (D) R R R W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W	South Carolina	Riccian Co.	12 Marshard P (7) RR	1 Fagilietin T (D) 2 Gray W (D) 3 Bershi R (D) 3 Bershi R (D) 4 Robert J (D) 5 Schulze R (R) 6 Vatron C (R) 7 Weldon C (R) 8 Rosensper P (D) 9 Rosensper P (D) 9 Rosensper R (R) 9 R R R R R R	Oregon Action L(D) Wysten R(D) Definite P(D) Smith D(R) Pennsylvania	ORIGNOMO I hart J (R) Syman M (D) Within W (D) A NaCordy D (D) S Sowerth M (R) Fights G (D) R R W W S Fights G (D) R R W W	15 Wylet (R) W W W W 16 Require R (R) W W W W W 16 Require R (R) W W W W W 16 Require R (R) W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W	2 Gradison R (R) W W W W W Stalk F (P) R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R
1 Chapman J (ft) R W W W W W Z W A R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R	I Qualitat J (R) 2 Descript J (R) 3 Libret M (D) 4 Compet J (D) 5 Chement B (D) 6 Cordon R (D) 7 Sundquist D (R) 9 Ford H (D) 7 Ford H (D) 9 Ford H (D) 10 Ford H (D) 11 Ford H (D) 12 Ford H (D) 13 Ford H (D) 14 Ford H (D) 15 Ford H (D) 16 Ford H (D) 17 Ford H (D) 18 Ford H (D) 19 Ford H (D)	South Dakota	I Ravend A (R) 2 Spence F (R) 3 Decrete B (D) 4 Finderman L (D) 5 Spent J (D) 6 Talana R (D) 7 R R W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W	South Carolina	Riccian (C) To Grand (C) To	12 Rangherds P (D) R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R	1 Fagilietia T (D) RR RR RR R B Gray W (D) RR	Oregon Anti-Lon Switch Lon Www W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W	ORIGNOMO I habely J(t) Syman M (D) W R W R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R	15 Wyle (18) W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W	Ciradions R (R) W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W
1 Chapman J (ft) R W W W W W I Chapman J (ft) R W W W W W I R 2 When C (ft) R W A R R 3 Raction S (ft) 4 Hall R (ft)	I (pulled 3 (R)) 2 Duncton J (R) 3 Llayed M (D) 4 Compet J (D) 5 Chronical B (D) 6 Cordon R (D) 7 Sendequist D (R) 9 Front H (P) 9 Front H (P) 10 Front H (P) 11 Front H (P) 12 Front H (P) 13 Front H (P) 14 Front H (P) 15 Front H (P) 16 Front H (P) 17 Front H (P) 18 Front H (P)	South Dakota Al. Johnson T (B) R R R R R R R	I Ravened A (R) 2 Spence F (R) 3 Devretch B (P) 4 Potentian (P) 5 Spent J (D) 6 Tables R (D) 8 R R V V V V V V V V V V V V V V V V V	South Carolina	Rhode Island	12 Residents P(f)) RR R	1 Fagilietia I (D) 2 Gray W (D) 3 Gray W (D) 3 Bernit N (D) 4 Keller J (D) 4 Keller J (D) 5 Schulze R (B) 6 Vatron G (D) 7 Vellen C (B) 9 Radinayer F (D) 9 Radinayer F (D) 9 Radinayer R (B) 9 Shader B	Oregon Activation: Switch (III) Wyden R (III) Defaults (III) Smitch (III) R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R	OKIGNOMO Inhaft J (R) Syman M (P) Within W (P) M W R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R	15 Weyler (R) W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W	Ciradison R (R) W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W
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Key to Symbols

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- Voted Wrong or was paired Wrong.

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- Absent and not paired or voted "present."
- Not in Congress at time.

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2 Kalanta R (2)

3 General G (3)

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Wyoming

West Virginia

Number before each name shows congressional district.

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