

Report on Congress

1990—The Year Of the Veto



LETTING THEIR VOICES BE HEARD—Union men and women led the fight for progressive legislation in 1990. Despite strong congressional support for legislation such as textile import limits, civil rights and Hatch Act reforms, President Bush just said no. The AFL-CIO and 14 million union members will be back in the new Congress to campaign for anti-strikebreaker legislation and health care, and to continue the fight for civil rights, family and medical leave and other important issues struck down by Bush's veto pen.



Bush: Reagan Recycled for the '90s

By Lane Kirkland

The 1990 legislative session dashed all hopes that the Bush Administration is capable of departing from the anti-worker agenda of its predecessor.

Whether he was siding with scab-herding employers, opposing efforts to keep industrial jobs here in America or marching lock-step with the corporate opponents of pro-family legislation, this president has clearly chosen to stand against the trade union movement and our struggle to build a better future for working men and women.

Now, the bill is coming due for the foolish fiscal policies of the Reagan/Bush era in the form of recession and job loss, while huge budget deficits have paralyzed government's ability to offer real solutions to the growing problems of homelessness, drug abuse and the deterioration of our schools, neighborhoods and public facilities. Yet, amid all of this, the Bush Administration could offer only one solution in the great budget debate of 1990: more tax cuts for the wealthy. Fortunately, labor and its allies stood firm against this madness and steered Congress toward a more reasonable and sound approach.

Vetoes Dash Progressive Hopes

Perhaps the session's clearest indication of this Administration's attitude toward working people was the President's perfect veto record on six progressive bills, including bipartisan civil rights legislation, Hatch Act reform, textile trade legislation, and the Family and Medical Leave Act.

Despite those setbacks, 1990 was not without significant legislative gains for the labor movement and its allies.

Several of these victories were contained in the bitterly contested budget reconciliation bill passed by Congress in the final moments of the session. In the preceding weeks, the AFL-CIO had campaigned against the President's efforts to cut taxes on the rich, and we worked strenuously for changes in the original budget deal that strongly favored wealthier taxpayers at the expense of moderate-income working people and their families. In the end, lawmakers enacted a vastly improved budget package with higher taxes for the wealthy and lower Medicare cuts than were originally proposed.

The final package contained several other important labor-backed initiatives, including stronger penalties for violators of job safety and child labor laws, continued tax exemptions for employer-paid legal and educational benefits, and new laws to discourage corporate raiders from milking surplus assets from employee pension plans.

Also enacted as part of budget reconciliation was a program of child care initiatives containing \$2.5 billion in block grants to states, health and safety standards for child care facilities, and a \$12.4 billion increase over five years in the Earned Income Tax Credit. Though not as broad as provisions in AFL-CIO-backed child care bills that passed both the Senate and House, they are a good beginning.

Working Families Lose

Despite our best efforts, another bill of vital importance to working families failed to become law in the 101st Congress. The Family and Medical Leave Act would have re-

quired employers to grant unpaid leave to workers for the birth or adoption of a child, or the serious illness of a family member. Strong bipartisan support for this measure was unable to overcome the opposition of the employer community and its ally in the Oval Office. His campaign pronouncements of "family values" notwithstanding, President Bush vetoed the legislation and the House failed to override.

Environmental legislation moved to the forefront of the recent legislative session, as Congress amended the Clean Air Act of 1970 to strengthen limits on toxic emissions and pollutants that cause acid rain. After months of negotiations and hard-fought debate, the AFL-CIO and its affiliates secured language improving unemployment and training benefits for workers who will be displaced by the legislation.

In addition, labor-supported housing and immigration bills were passed, as was legislation to prevent age discrimination in the payment of certain benefits.

After doubling the national debt in less than 10 years with their huge annual budget deficits, the Reagan-era supply-siders were back again in 1990 with another cynical attempt to enact a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget. Opposition from the trade union movement helped defeat this measure in the House.

Disabilities Bill Becomes Law

Labor's support was also crucial to the passage of the Americans With Disabilities Act, a far-reaching measure that prohibits discrimination against the disabled both on the job and in public services and accommodations. Sadly, though, our alliance with the civil rights community failed to secure enactment of legislation needed to help victims of job-related racial or sexual discrimination. The Civil Rights Act of 1990 would have restored provisions of 1964 and 1866 civil rights laws that were weakened by several recent Supreme Court rulings. Joining with employers who sought the right to discriminate when such conduct makes good business sense, the President vetoed the bill, falsely claiming that it would lead to hiring quotas. The Senate upheld the veto by a narrow margin.

Hatch Act Vetoed

The Bush veto pen also struck down a measure that would have granted basic rights to nearly three million federal and postal workers who are covered by the Hatch Act. The bill would have allowed such workers to engage in a limited number of campaign activities on their own time and out of uniform, while keeping existing prohibitions on running for office or soliciting political contributions from the public. Aggressive White House pressure on Republican senators to sustain the President's veto resulted in a narrow defeat for labor on the override vote.

Other legislation killed by sustained vetoes in 1990 included a measure to establish a non-partisan panel to investigate the Eastern Airlines strike, a bill to save American jobs by limiting import growth for textiles, apparel and footwear, and an Amtrak Reauthorization bill that would have given the Interstate Commerce Commission authority to determine whether the public interest is threatened when non-rail companies purchase existing railroads.

Labor's agenda in the 102nd Congress will shape itself around the unfinished business of previous sessions, as well as the major grass-roots initiatives we have launched in recent months to secure a better life for the people we care about.

Foremost among them is our campaign for legislation to ban employers from "permanently replacing" workers who exercise their legal right to strike. In recent months, the labor movement has undertaken an intensive program to educate legislators about a loophole in the law that has all too frequently been used by employers to force strikes and destroy unions in the process. Already, our effort has received support from dozens of members of Congress, and we will aggressively pursue enactment of our anti-strikebreaker bill in the upcoming session.

The AFL-CIO is also making progress in our campaign for national health care reform. As soaring insurance premiums drive medical care beyond the reach of a growing number of working families, we have been building sup-

port in the labor and business communities for a legislative program that will expand access to health care services while addressing the issues of cost and quality.

In the meantime, we will return to Capitol Hill with a civil rights bill, family and medical leave legislation, and Hatch Act reform. And we will pick up where we left off on issues such as construction safety, reasonable Davis-Bacon reform, legislation to establish federal seafood inspection, and a bill to simplify the voter registration process and thus add millions of Americans to the rolls.

Our success in these and other initiatives depends on the political and legislative activism of trade unionists and our allies, and our ability to elect and re-elect lawmakers who share both our interests and our values. This AFL-CIO voting record, in underscoring the distinction between labor's friends and foes in the Congress, is intended to educate and energize union members as we pursue a legislative agenda that will meet the needs of working Americans in the 1990s and beyond.

Major Issues

In the House of Representatives

Eastern Airlines—Veto Override

The congressional battle for 30,000 workers at Eastern Airlines carried over into the second session of the 101st Congress. As the year began, Frank Lorenzo was still at Eastern's controls, having made millions in the corporate takeover game that cost thousands of workers their jobs.



Eastern Airlines workers saw their strike enter its second year in 1990, so did President Bush's anti-worker stand.

President Bush's last veto in 1989 occurred only hours before Congress adjourned when he nixed H.R. 1231. The bill would have established a four-member bipartisan panel to investigate the dispute and recommend a solution to the strike.

The strike began March 4, 1989. More than a year after Machinists were forced to the picket lines at Eastern Airlines,

with support from pilots and flight attendants, the House of Representatives voted on an override of President Bush's veto of H.R. 1231. The override was supported by a House majority, 261-160, but failed to win the necessary two-thirds vote.

Since that vote, the federal bankruptcy judge in the case removed Lorenzo from Eastern and appointed a trustee to run the airline. Despite various efforts to reorganize the airline, it was on the verge of being shutdown and liquidated in late November.

**FOR OVERRIDE—RIGHT
AGAINST OVERRIDE—WRONG**

Clean Air—The Wise Amendment

The Clean Air Act of 1970 set ambitious goals for improving the nation's air quality and protecting citizens against hazardous pollutants. The AFL-CIO has strongly supported the objective of cleaning up the country's air.

When the Administration and Congress began rewriting and reforming the Clean Air Act to address the continuing problems of acid rain, automobile emissions and toxic pollutants, the AFL-CIO worked closely with Congress. The goal was to develop legislation that would significantly improve the environment for workers, their families and their communities, while recognizing the need to maintain employment opportunities in America's construction, industrial and mining base.

During the debate on the House clean air bill, H.R. 3030, Rep. Robert Wise (D-WV) offered an amendment to provide extended unemployment compensation and training benefits to workers who might lose their jobs because of the new regulations. Supported by the AFL-CIO, the amendment was adopted by a 274-146 vote on May 23. The final version of clean air legislation contained a modified unemployment allowance and training provision.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

Housing

The cost of housing for many low- and moderate-income working families is climbing out of their reach. The Housing and Community Development Act of 1990 (H.R. 1180) takes a critical step forward in addressing this nation's housing needs, needs which have gone unmet through a decade of neglect.

The legislation reauthorizes and improves many of the existing housing programs run by the Housing and Urban Development Department (HUD) and the Farmers Home Administration (FHA), including programs to assist first-time home buyers to increase the use of federal property for low- and moderate-income persons. It also includes new construction programs.

Rep. Rose Mary Oakar (D-OH) introduced an amendment to maintain state and local authorities' rights to set structural, electrical and plumbing codes for modular homes. The Building Trades unions strongly supported this amendment to ensure the safety and sound construction of manufactured housing.

The original bill would have resulted in those homes being preempted from state and local codes, as mobile homes are now. The amendment ensured that state and local authorities could continue to implement construction safety regulations appropriate to local needs.

The amendment was defeated on July 31 by a 200-211 vote. The final housing bill maintained the state and local authority and set up a study commission on the issue.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

Trade—Textile, Apparel and Footwear Jobs at Stake

The 1980s were disastrous for textile, apparel and footwear workers. An unchecked flood of imports cost some 400,000 jobs and about 1,800 factories closed their gates. To address that problem, the AFL-CIO backed the Textile, Apparel and Footwear Act of 1990.

The legislation did not contain a rollback of imports, but instead provided for orderly growth that will help American workers maintain their jobs in this import-sensitive industry. Currently imports make up 60 percent of the textile and ap-



House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-MO) and Majority Whip William H. Gray (D-PA) brief the AFL-CIO Executive Council on pending issues in Congress. At right is AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland.



parel market and account for 26 percent of the nation's trade deficit. The bill limited growth to 1-percent per year. Footwear imports, which make up 85 percent of the U.S. shoe market, would be limited to 1989 levels.

The legislation was badly needed by communities which have been hit hard by textile and apparel imports. American apparel jobs are among the few work opportunities available to minorities, immigrants and others who are prevented by language, cultural and educational barriers from taking other jobs in the market.

The House fell 10 votes short October 10 and failed to override President Bush's veto of the bill 275-152.

**FOR OVERRIDE—RIGHT
AGAINST OVERRIDE—WRONG**

Immigration

One of the labor movement's concerns about current immigration law has been the admission of aliens as non-immigrant temporary workers. The current law has not adequately protected American workers from displacement or having their wages and working conditions undermined by employers bringing in such workers.

H.R. 4300, the Immigration Revision and Family Reunification Act, would strike a balance that establishes minimum protection for American workers' jobs and working conditions while establishing visa numbers that are realistic in light of present employment of these alien workers and employers' reasonably foreseeable needs.

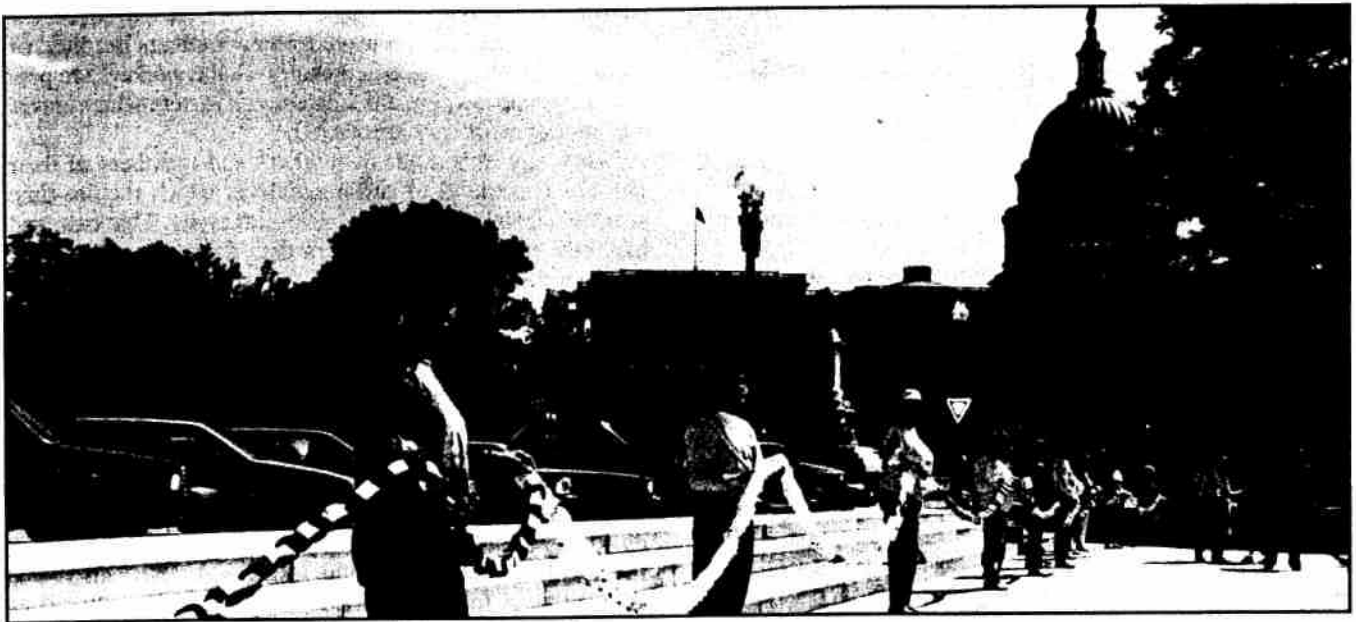
During floor consideration, Rep. Bruce Morrison (D-CT) offered an amendment to further strengthen the job protection provisions by requiring employers who hire aliens as non-immigrant temporary workers to provide education and training for American workers or students so those jobs could eventually be filled by U.S. workers. On October 2, the amendment was defeated 194-229. The immigration bill was passed and signed into law.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

Fish Inspection—Safe Seafood

Most Americans do not realize that there is no mandatory federal inspection program covering the seafood they eat. But such a program is necessary for consumer health and safety.

Among the several bills establishing a fish inspection program introduced in the House, the AFL-CIO supported H.R. 3155 as the best vehicle for such a program. Under H.R.



Backers of child care legislation formed a 200,000-link paper chain that stretched from the Capitol steps to the White House.

3155, the program authority was vested in the Food and Drug Administration which has the expertise and experience to develop standards for safe and effective seafood inspection.

It also contained strong whistleblower language. Because inspections under the bill were not to be continuous, plant employees would, in effect, be taking on federal inspection roles and thus would need protection from employer reprisals for reporting violations.

Offered as a substitute to a Senate-passed bill, H.R. 3155 passed 277-153 on October 24. Because no House-Senate conference was completed, the bill died.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

Voter Registration—“Motor Voter”

The United States has the lowest voter turnout of any democracy in the world. For the past 20 years the number of Americans who vote has steadily declined and the 1990 off-year congressional elections drew only 35 percent of the voters to the polls.

The National Voter Registration Act, H.R. 2190, was introduced by Rep. Al Swift (D-WA) and backed by the AFL-CIO and a wide coalition of other groups.

Studies show that most people who are registered to vote do cast ballots, but only 61 percent of eligible voters are registered. H.R. 2190 would have significantly increased the numbers of registered voters in federal elections. The main reason so few people register is the myriad of regulations in each state.

The bill would have set nationwide standards for federal elections by allowing “motor voter” registration where each state’s driver license application (along with non-driver IDs) would be considered an application for voter registration. It would also have required government agencies to actively provide for voter registration as a means of targeting low-income people, who are less likely to be registered. In addition, citizens would have been allowed to register by mail.

During debate on the bill, Rep. Paul Gillmor (R-OH) made a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to change and weaken several key provisions. The motion, opposed by the AFL-CIO, failed by 156-265 vote. The bill passed the House but died in the Senate.

**FOR RECOMMITMENT—WRONG
AGAINST RECOMMITMENT—RIGHT**

Child Care

Millions of working parents are trying to balance their jobs and the needs of their children. Today, 70 percent of all mothers with school age children work. Only 10 percent of American families are composed of a father who works while the mother stays home with the kids. Tens of millions of working Americans must find daycare or before- and after-school care for their children.

But licensed day care slots are scarce: 2.5 million for the 36.2 million children whose parents work. At the same time the average cost of \$3,000 a year per child places quality care out of reach of many low- and moderate-income families. In addition, only 3,000 of six million American employers provide any type of child care for working parents.

The AFL-CIO supported a comprehensive child care bill, H.R. 3, which would have expanded Head Start, provided grants for child care services for infants and toddlers through community-based providers and developed before- and after-school care through the public school system.

Despite the documented need for a wide-ranging child care bill, some members of Congress and the Administration tried to derail comprehensive child care.

A weak substitute was offered by Charles Stenholm (D-TX) and Clay Shaw (R-FL). It fell short in terms of authorized funding levels, as well as in the breadth and quality of programs authorized. It eliminated all requirements on standards of care. The AFL-CIO urged its defeat and it was beaten on March 29, by a vote of 195 to 225. Eventually several provisions of House- and Senate-passed child care legislation were included in the omnibus budget reconciliation bill.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

Balanced Budget

One of the most bankrupt fiscal remnants of the Reagan era resurfaced in the House—a call for a constitutional amendment to require Congress to balance the federal budget regardless of economic circumstances. The amendment would have hamstringed Congress’ fiscal power to address the nation’s economic stability and was constitutionally unsound. It could have resulted in the dismantlement of more than

50-years of labor-backed, progressive economic and social programs.

A balanced budget amendment would dismantle the fiscal weapons needed to combat unemployment and inflation. Any legislation needed to create jobs or stimulate the economy would be required to gain a three-fifths vote of Congress. Unemployment compensation and various social welfare programs, customary stabilizers during a recession, would be choked.

On July 17, the amendment fell short of the two-thirds majority needed for passage by a 279-150 vote.

**FOR THE AMENDMENT—WRONG
AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—RIGHT**

Family and Medical Leave—Veto Override



The U.S., unlike most industrialized countries, has no national leave policy to enable workers—male or female—to have time off to attend to family needs, such as the birth or adoption of a child, a child's illness or even the worker's own serious illness. Workers can lose, and have lost, their jobs when they have been forced to make a choice between their families' welfare and their own job security.

Most workers have little protection when they must take time off for family emergencies. Some are protected by union

contracts. Only half of the 1,500 largest U.S. employers offer job-protected unpaid leave for new mothers but little or no protection for other emergencies. Some workers are protected by state law, but it is a patchwork system which leaves millions of workers unprotected.

Every day, thousands of workers and members of their families become ill or suffer accidents which require time at home, from a few days to several months. That can, and has, cost thousands of workers their jobs.

When that happens, most of the time the taxpayer pays the bill through unemployment insurance, welfare, food stamps, Medicaid and other programs. One study, concentrating only on working women, showed that women and their families lose over \$600 million a year because they don't have job-protected parental leave. Taxpayers foot a \$100 million bill in unemployment and other benefits for that same group.

H.R. 770, supported by the AFL-CIO, would have allowed up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for the birth, adoption or serious illness of a child. The legislation would also have allowed leave for a worker's own serious illness, as well as for the care of an elderly dependent. Workers would be guaranteed their same or an equivalent job following the leave and pre-existing health benefits would continue during the leave. It would exempt employers of 50 or fewer workers.

The bill passed the House and Senate, but President Bush vetoed the legislation. On July 25, the House failed to override the veto by a 232-195 vote.

**FOR OVERRIDE—RIGHT
AGAINST OVERRIDE—WRONG**

Civil Rights—Restoring Job Discrimination Remedies

The Supreme Court—packed with Reagan appointees and by razor-thin majorities—issued a series of rulings in 1989 which seriously scaled back legal remedies for victims of racial or sexual discrimination on the job.

The AFL-CIO backed legislation in the House, H.R. 4000,



Rep. Gus Hawkins (D-CA), the chief sponsor of the Civil Rights Act of 1990, addresses the AFL-CIO Executive Council. Flanking Hawkins are AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue (left) and Federation President Lane Kirkland. Hawkins retired after serving in Congress since 1963.

which would repair the "most serious damage to the law worked by the Supreme Court and would correct what has become an increasingly harmful defect in Title VII's remedies for sexual, racial or religious or other willful discrimination," the AFL-CIO's Executive Council said in a statement.

The bill banned racial harassment at the workplace and returned the burden of proof to the employer to show the business necessity for a practice that has proven discriminatory impact. It also made it illegal for an employer to use race, ethnicity, gender or religion as a motivating factor in employment decisions and reestablished fair rules for determining when victims of discrimination must file their claims.

During debate on the bill, Representatives John LaFalce (D-NY) and Robert Michel (R-IL) offered a substitute to H.R. 4000 which would have gutted several important provisions of the Act. It was defeated by a 188-238 vote on August 3. President Bush's veto of final civil rights legislation was sustained.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

Tax Fairness

The fight over the FY 1991 budget and reconciliation package to reduce the deficit was one of the longest and nastiest ever. The AFL-CIO and its affiliates worked to convince Congress that any budget deal had to be centered on tax fairness and humane spending cuts.

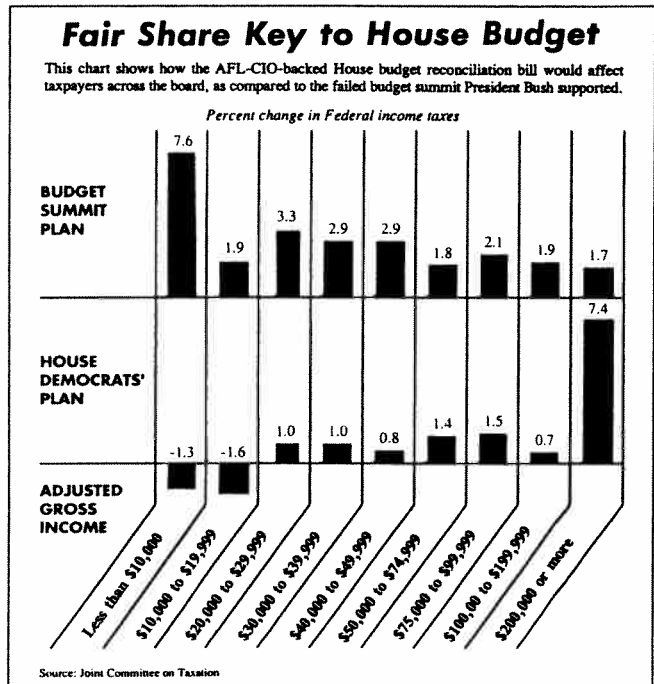
In late September, a budget summit agreement featuring regressive taxes and massive cuts in Medicare and unemployment compensation was strongly opposed by the AFL-CIO and was soundly defeated.

The AFL-CIO then worked closely with House Democrats to develop a progressive and fair reconciliation package that shifted the tax burden from lower- and middle-income working Americans to the wealthy, who enjoyed a decade of tax breaks from the supply side economic schemes of two

Republican presidents. The House package was relatively protective of Medicare beneficiaries and unemployed workers.

The bulk of the House package's details was contained in an amendment offered to H.R. 5835, the Omnibus Reconciliation bill, by Ways and Means Committee Chairman Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL), which was approved by a 238-192 vote on October 16. A final budget package containing most of the Ways and Means provisions was approved and signed into law.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG



Major Issues

In the United States Senate

Clean Air—The Byrd Amendment

The AFL-CIO has long supported the improvement of air quality for all Americans. The Clean Air Act of 1970 set ambitious goals, but 20 years later many of those goals had not been achieved.

S. 1630, Amendments to the Clean Air Act, set new and more stringent standards for toxic emissions, automobile pollution and power plant sulfur emissions that cause acid rain. While the AFL-CIO backed many aspects of the bill, its overriding concern was to prevent, as much as possible, significant job loss and dislocation for American workers and to soften the blow for workers who do lose their jobs as a result of the legislation.

Both the EPA and the United Mine Workers estimated that the acid rain provisions could cost from 14,000 to 20,000 coal mining jobs in the high sulfur coal fields of Appalachia and the Midwest. Related industries would also suffer job losses.

Sen. Robert Byrd (D-WV) offered an AFL-CIO-supported amendment to the bill. It would have offered coal miners three years of declining percentage benefits, in addition to

the normal unemployment benefits, while granting non-miners the equivalent of one year of trade adjustment assistance. On March 29, the amendment was defeated 49-50. Subsequently clean air legislation containing modified unemployed worker relief was passed and signed into law.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

Amtrak Reauthorization

The Amtrak reauthorization bill was a carefully crafted bi-partisan compromise. In addition to providing funding for the rail system, it contained a provision to eliminate multi-state taxation for transport employees who work in more than one state and the authority to establish a commuter rail system between northern Virginia and the District of Columbia.

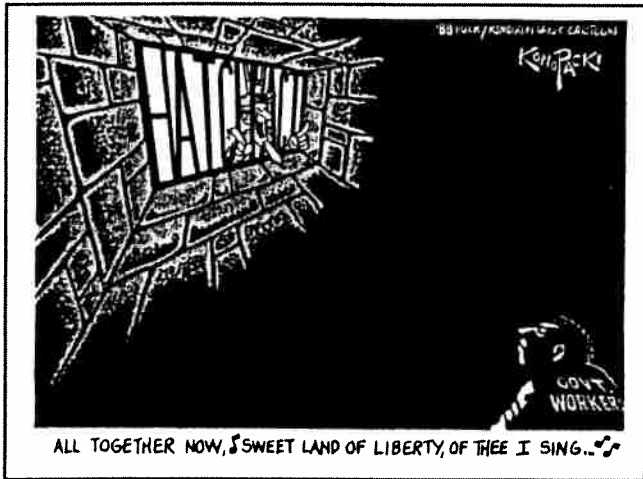
After it passed the House and Senate, President Bush vetoed the bill, citing only one small segment: a labor-supported provision that would have allowed the Interstate Commerce Commission to review and approve the acquisition of any of the 14 Class I railroads by any non-railroad interest to make sure that the public's interest was protected.

The Senate failed in its effort to follow the House's successful override of the veto. The Senate tally, 64-36, on June 12 fell three votes short of override. The AFL-CIO supported the override.

**FOR OVERRIDE—RIGHT
AGAINST OVERRIDE—WRONG**

Hatch Act Reform

Under the terms of the 1939 Hatch Act, nearly three million federal and postal workers are virtually shut out of the political process. The law places bans or limitations on such basic political activities as endorsing candidates, carrying signs or speaking at political rallies and displaying signs on a worker's car or home.



Hatch Act reform, S. 135, would have allowed federal and postal workers, on their own time and out of uniform, to more fully participate in the democratic process by working in a political campaign stuffing envelopes, answering phones and engaging in other campaign activity. Workers could also hold offices in a political party or club, participate in a partisan voter registration drive, circulate a nomination petition for a candidate or speak at a primary caucus in favor of a candidate.

The bill continued the existing prohibitions against federal and postal employees running for office in a partisan election, soliciting campaign contributions from the general public or coercing the public on an election campaign. It also would have improved the protection against coercion of or by federal and postal employees.

However, President Bush vetoed the bill and the White House used intensive pressure and lobbying to keep GOP lawmakers toeing the party line. On June 21, the Senate failed 65-30 to override the veto. The AFL-CIO supported the override.

**FOR OVERRIDE—RIGHT
AGAINST OVERRIDE—WRONG**

Davis-Bacon

The 1931 Davis-Bacon Act ensures that workers on federal construction projects receive the local prevailing wage. This

prevents contractors from slashing workers' wages in order to win federal contracts with low-ball bids and thereby deny contractors who uphold community labor standards a fair chance to compete for government construction projects. It also protects the government and public from fly-by-night operators who seek to win federal contracts by paying wages too low to attract competent craftsmen.



In Senate debate on the Housing Reauthorization bill (S. 566), an amendment that would have removed Davis-Bacon protection from federal housing construction projects was offered. Sen. John Chafee's (R-RI) amendment would have nullified the Act for HUD contracts under \$1 million. A motion to table by Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA) and backed by the AFL-CIO was approved by a 59-39 vote.

**FOR TABLING—RIGHT
AGAINST TABLING—WRONG**

Trade—Textile, Apparel and Footwear Imports

Since 1980, more than 1,800 textile and apparel plants have shut their gates and 400,000 workers have lost their jobs. Currently textile and apparel imports make up almost 60 percent of the U.S. market and account for 26 percent of the nation's trade deficit. Footwear imports make up 85 percent of the U.S. market.

That is why the AFL-CIO supported S. 2411, a bill that would set import limits for those products and thereby protect the jobs of several hundred thousand U.S. workers in



those industries. The bill allowed imports of textiles and apparel to grow at a 1-percent annual rate and footwear imports to be frozen at 1989 levels.

The legislation did not contain a rollback of imports but provided for orderly growth that would have helped U.S. workers to retain their jobs in this import-sensitive industry. Unrestricted imports in these areas will eliminate thousands of existing jobs in the future.

It passed the Senate July 17 by a 68-32 vote. But it was later vetoed by President Bush and the veto was sustained.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

Fish Inspection/Employee Whistleblower Protection

Most Americans do not know that the fish they eat reaches their table without mandatory government inspection for health and safety. The AFL-CIO backed efforts to establish a mandatory federal fish and fish products inspection program to protect both consumers and workers.

S. 2924, the Fish Safety Act of 1990, called for frequent, unannounced random inspections of fish processing plants. But it fell short in several areas, including whistleblower protection. Because it did not require the continuous presence of an inspector, the bill needed a provision affirming a plant employees' right to monitor and report abuses on an everyday basis without the fear of recrimination. Workers must be assured that they are not risking their jobs for simply reporting violations of the law and acting in the public's interest.

On September 12, the Senate passed S. 2924, after defeating a labor-backed substitute, 39-59. The substitute was offered by Senators Ernest Hollings (D-SC), Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and Ted Stevens (R-AK) and would have created whistleblower protections for workers in fish processing plants.

**FOR SUBSTITUTE—RIGHT
AGAINST SUBSTITUTE—WRONG**

Fuel Efficiency— Realistic Standards

The AFL-CIO supports a national energy policy, including the need to increase fuel efficiency for motor vehicles. But a bill, S. 1224, introduced by Sen. Richard Bryan (D-NV), would have required exceedingly strict standards for fuel efficiency of motor vehicles.



The AFL-CIO led the fight on Capitol Hill on worker and family issues. Above are (left to right) Karen Ignagni, Federation employee benefits director, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, and Robert M. McGlotten, AFL-CIO legislative director.



Every year 100,000 workers die from occupational diseases and the long-term effects of exposure to toxic substances. The AFL-CIO fought for stronger criminal penalties for employers who willfully violate health and safety laws.

AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue testifies in favor of anti-strikebreaker legislation before the Senate.



The levels called for in the bill—a 20 percent increase by 1995 and a 40 percent hike by 2001—are out of reach with present technology. If enacted, the legislation would have resulted in plant closings and significant unemployment.

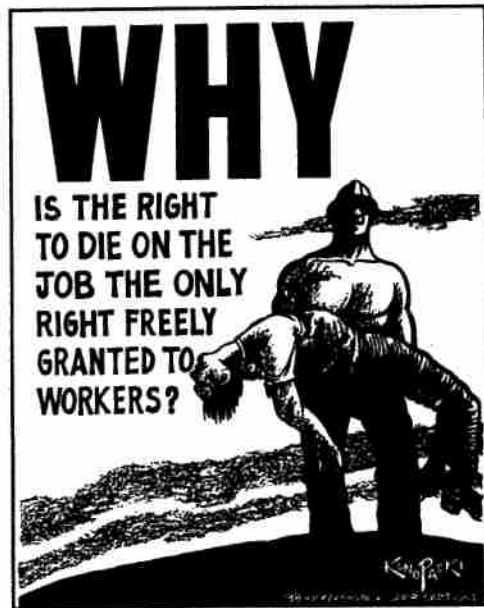
Improvements in fuel efficiency must be both achievable and reasonable. Those called for in S. 1224 were neither. On September 25 by a 57-42 vote, the bill failed to gain the three-fifths majority needed for cloture and effectively was killed for the session.

**FOR CLOTURE—WRONG
AGAINST CLOTURE—RIGHT**

OSHA Criminal Penalties

Improving the safety and health of working people in the United States is an AFL-CIO priority. The labor movement was instrumental in the fight to establish the Occupational Health and Safety Administration in 1970. But in the past 20 years, the progress to improve working conditions has come slowly and with great difficulty.

Every year, 10,000 workers are killed on the job from traumatic injuries, 70,000 are permanently disabled and six million are injured. Another 100,000 workers die from occupational diseases and the long-term effects of exposure to toxic substances.



Since 1971, 200,000 workers have died on the job. But the Justice Department prosecuted only 14 cases and not until 1989 did one employer spend a single day in jail for violations resulting in death or injury.

The AFL-CIO has called for comprehensive reform of OSHA. One of those reforms is stronger criminal penalties for employers when willful health and safety violations lead to injury or death.

In the Senate, such increases were called for in S. 2154. The Senate's version of budget reconciliation contained many of the provisions outlined in the legislation. But on October 18, Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) offered an amendment to strike those provisions from the bill. A motion to table the Hatch amendment failed 21-79 and those provisions were stricken from the reconciliation bill.

**FOR TABLING—RIGHT
AGAINST TABLING—WRONG**

Civil Rights

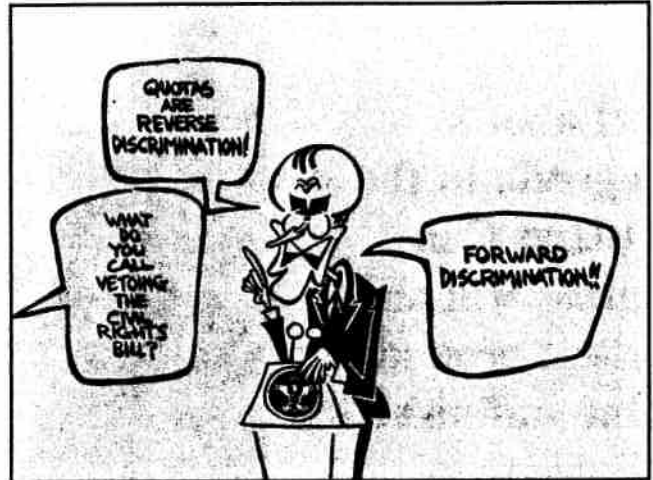
Because of several 1989 Supreme Court rulings, millions of Americans can no longer count on the full protection of civil rights laws dating back to the 1960s—nor even the 1860s. These regressive rulings mean that victims of racial or sexual employment discrimination will find it more difficult, more time consuming and more expensive to obtain simple justice.

S. 2104, the Civil Rights Act of 1990, introduced by Senators Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and James Jeffords (R-VT), would have strengthened several provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that the Supreme Court weakened. It also restores parts of an 1866 civil rights law that the court narrowly interpreted.

Along with the backing of the AFL-CIO, this bipartisan legislation enjoyed the support of The Leadership Council on Civil Rights, other civil rights groups, women's organizations and religious institutions.

The legislation passed the House and Senate but was vetoed by President Bush and the Senate sustained the veto October 24 by a 66-34 vote, one short of overriding.

**FOR OVERRIDE—RIGHT
AGAINST OVERRIDE—WRONG**

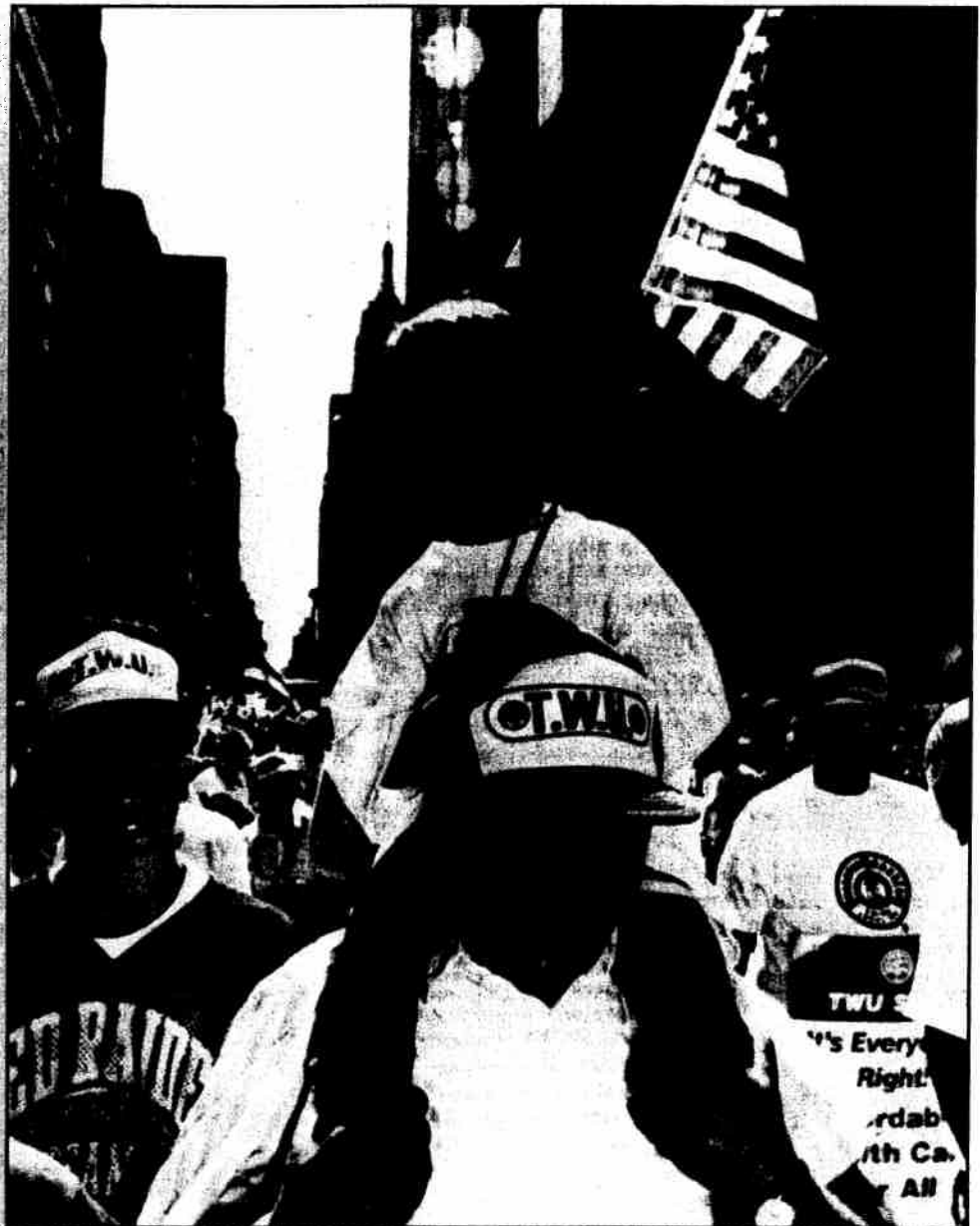


National health care reform will be one of several legislative goals for the AFL-CIO in the 102nd Congress. Below AFGE President John Sturdivant (right) hauls a bag of petitions calling for health care reform as he leads AFGE members on a march to the Executive Office Building near the White House.



**“Labor’s
agenda in the
102nd Con-
gress will shape
itself around
the unfinished
business of
previous
sessions...to
secure a better
life for the
people we care
about.”**

Lane Kirkland



AFL-CIO
Department of Legislation
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HOW YOUR REPRESENTATIVES VOTED IN THE HOUSE

Rep Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Lifetime Voting Record	Lifetime Right Percentage
Alabama														
1 Calhoun S (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	19
2 Dickinson B (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	14
3 Browder G (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	55
4 Bevell T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	69
5 Flippo R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	69
6 Erdreich B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	72
7 Harris C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	69
Alaska														
AL Young D (R)	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	44
Arizona														
1 Rhodes J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	9
2 Udall M (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	87
3 Stump B (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	7
4 Kef J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	4
5 Kolbe J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	7
Arkansas														
1 Alexander B (D)	R	A	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	71
2 Robinson T (R)	R	A	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	71
3 Hammerschmidt J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	15
4 Anthony B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	59
California														
1 Bosco D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	79
2 Herget W (R)	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	19
3 Matsui R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	89
4 Fazio V (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	90
5 Philbin N (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	96
6 Borer B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	95
7 Miller G (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	95
8 DeLuane R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	89
9 Stark P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	93
10 Edwards D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	90
11 Lantos T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	94
12 Campbell T (R)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	95
13 Milata N (D)	A	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	22
														89
Colorado														
1 Schroeder P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	77
2 Stange D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	83
3 Campbell B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	79
4 Brown H (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	10
5 Helley J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	7
6 Schaefer D (R)	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	20



Indiana
Coats D (R) W W W W W W W W W W W W
Lugar R (R) W W W W W W W W W W W W

Iowa
Grassley C (R) R R R W W W W W W W W W W
Harkin T (D) R R R W W W W W W W W W W

Kansas
Dole B (R) W W W W W W W W W W W W
Kassambara N (R) W W W W W W W W W W W W

Kentucky
Ford W (D) R R R R R R R R R R R R W
McConeill M (R) R W W W W W W W W W W W

Louisiana
Breaux J (D) W A R R R R R R R R R R R W
Johnston J (D) W A R R R R R R R R R R R W

Maine
Cohen W (R) W R R W W W W W W W W W W
Mitchell G (D) W W W R R R R R R R R R R

Maryland
Mikulski B (D) R R R R R A R R W W W R R
Sarbanes P (D) W R R R R R R R W W W R R

Massachusetts
Kennedy E (D) R R R R R R R R R R R W R
Kerry J (D) R R R R R R R R R R R W R

Michigan
Levin C (D) W R R R R R R R R R R R W
Rohrabacher D (R) W R R R R R R R R R R R W

Minnesota
Boehwiler R (R) W W W W W W W W W W W W
Durenberger D (R) W R R R R R R R W W W W

Mississippi
Cochran T (R) R W W W W W R R R R R W
Lott T (R) W W W W W W R R R R R W

Missouri
Bond C (R) R W W W W R R R R R W W W
Danforth J (R) R W W W W R R R R R W W W

Montana
Baucus M (D) W R R R R R R W W W W W W
Burns C (R) W W W W W W W W W W W W

Nebraska
Eaton J (D) R R R R R R R R R R W W W
Kerry R (D) R R R R R R R R R R W W W

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South Dakota
Ducate T (D) 21 W R R R R R R R R R R W
Freyer L (R) 11 W W W W W W W W W W W

Tennessee
Gore A (D) 19 R R R R R R R R R R R W
Sasser J (D) 91 R R R R R R R R R R R W

Texas
Beutten L (D) 17 R R R R R R R R R R R W
Gramm P (R) 20 W W W W W W W W W W W

Utah
Garn J (R) 77 W W W W W W W W W W W
Hatch O (R) 19 W W W W W W W W W W W

Vermont
Jeffords J (R) 88 W W R R R R R R R R R W
Leahy P (D) 52 W R R R R R R R R R R W

Virginia
Robb C (D) 38 W R R R R R R R R R R W
Warner J (R) 86 W R R R R R R R R R R W

Washington
Adams B (D) 95 R R R R R R R R R R R W
Gorton S (R) 96 W W W W W W W W W W W

West Virginia
Byrd R (D) 93 R R R R R R R R R R R W
Rockefeller J (D) 95 R R R R R R R R R R R W

Wisconsin
Kasten B (R) 93 W W R R R R R R R R R W
Kohl H (D) 94 R R R R R R R R R R R W

Wyoming
Stumpson A (R) 17 W W W W W W W W W W W
Wallop M (R) 46 W W W W W W W W W W W

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Key to Symbols

R Voted Right or was paired Right
W Voted Wrong or was paired Wrong
A Absent and not paired or voted "present"
Number before each name shows congressional district.

83 7
33 115

87 6
80 177

55 146
4 3

10 27
13 28

42 8
83 222

68 23
18 25

86 26
11 2

74 201
90 71

25 37
79 15

7 13
8 17

HOW YOUR SENATORS VOTED

State	Senator	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Labor Votes	9	Lifetime Voting Record	Lifetime Right Percentage
Alabama	Hedlia H (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	118-84	63
	Shelby R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	118-84	81
Alaska	Murkowski F (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	129-70	24
	Stevens T (R)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	129-70	43
Arizona	DeConcini D (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	136-68	64
	McCain J (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	136-68	14
Arkansas	Bumpers D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	114-73	67
	Pryor D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	114-73	62
California	Cranston A (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	144-64	90
	Wilson P (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	W	R	W	144-64	14
Colorado	Armstrong W (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	124-74	3
	Wirth T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	124-74	79
Connecticut	Dodd C (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	120-78	93
	Leiberman J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	120-78	84
Delaware	Biden J (D)	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	W	124-74	81
	Rohb W (R)	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	W	124-74	20
Florida	Graham B (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	141-53	79
	Mack C (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	141-53	11
Georgia	Fowler W (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	135-77	79
	Nunn S (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	135-77	42
Hawaii	Ataka D (D)	I	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	140-52	88
	Inouye D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	140-52	89
Idaho	McClure J (R)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	124-74	8
	Syrms S (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	124-74	3
Illinois	Bixon A (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	111-83	78
	Simon P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	111-83	89
Nevada	Bryan R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	127-77	89
	Reid H (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	127-77	81
New Hampshire	Hampsey G (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	144-64	24
	Rudman W (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	144-64	43
New Jersey	Bradley B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	154-58	64
	Lautenberg F (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	154-58	14
New Mexico	Blumenthal J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	97-119	67
	Donnell P (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	97-119	62
New York	D'Amato A (R)	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	71-78	90
	Morhahn D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	202-70	14
North Carolina	Helms J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	126-78	3
	Sanford T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	126-78	79
North Dakota	Burdick Q (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	115-83	93
	Conrad K (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	115-83	84
Ohio	Gleason J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	141-53	81
	Metzenbaum H (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	141-53	20
Oklahoma	Boren D (D)	W	R	R	A	R	R	W	R	W	W	78-108	79
	Nickles D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	78-108	11
Oregon	Hartfield M (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	128-76	79
	Packwood B (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	128-76	42
Pennsylvania	Hefner J (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	147-73	88
	Specter A (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	147-73	89
Rhode Island	Charfe J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	104-121	8
	Pell C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	104-121	3
South Carolina	Hollings E (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	106-120	78
	Thurmond S (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	106-120	89

