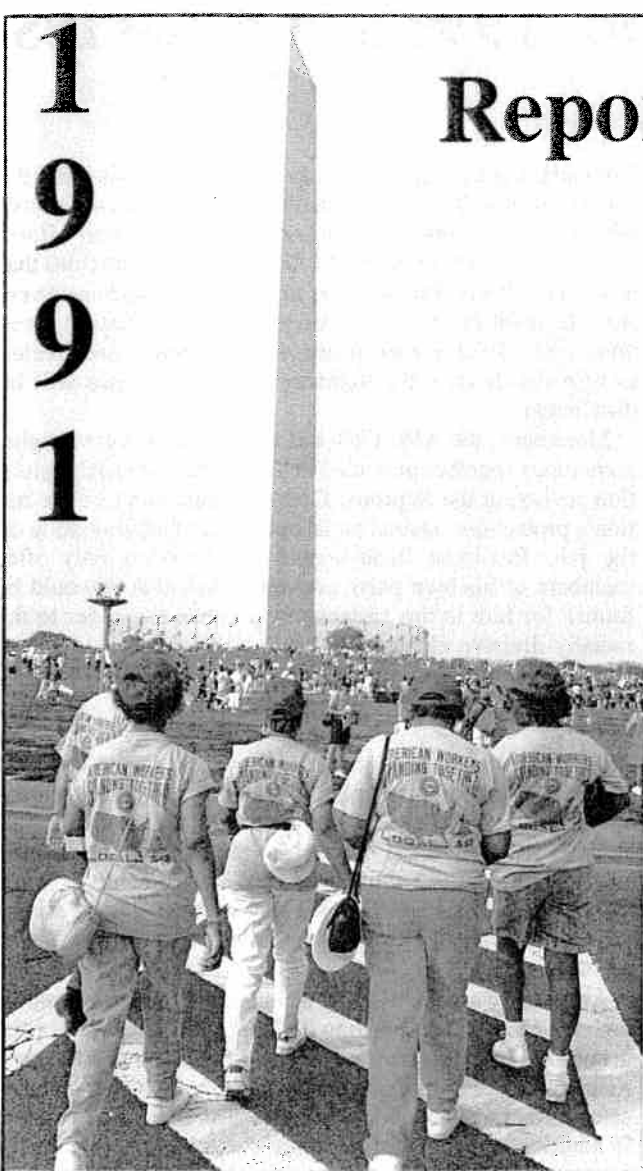
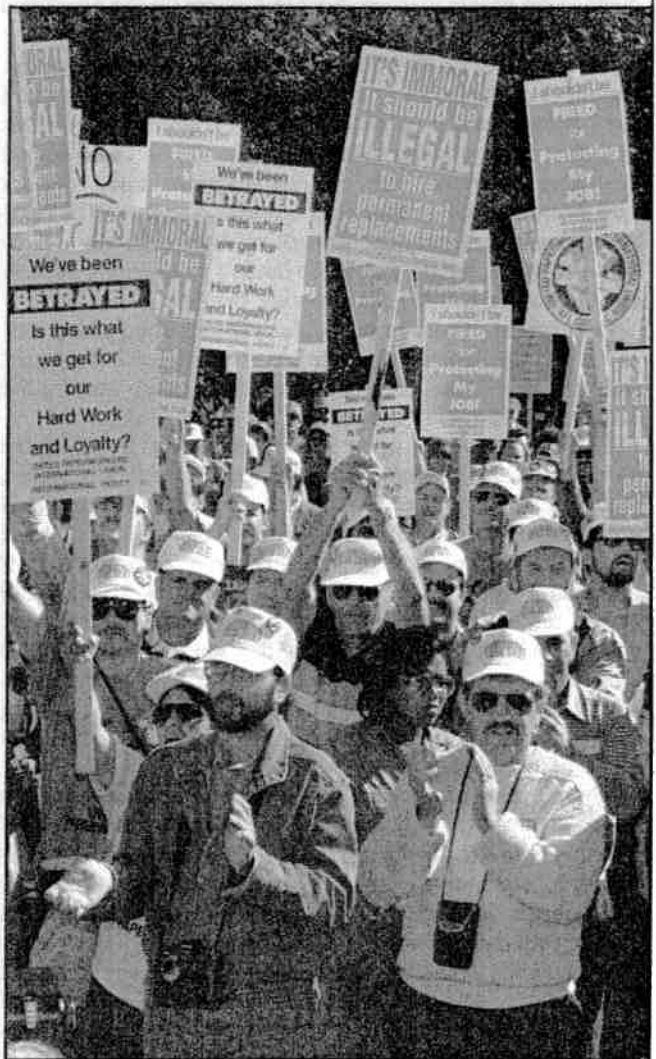


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# Report on Congress



Some 325,000 union members marched on Washington during Solidarity Day to let Congress and the president know that it's time to act on such pressing issues such as jobs, trade, the economy, health care, unemployment benefits and workplace fairness and job safety.



# It's Time to Build on 1991's Victories

By Lane Kirkland

Despite the onslaught by the White House and its corporate allies on labor's legislative agenda, the trade union movement made progress in 1991 on the issues of critical importance to the people we care about and whom we are privileged to represent.

For example, on labor-backed initiatives such as the extension of unemployment insurance benefits, the highway and mass transit authorization bill and civil rights restoration, President Bush yielded to broad public support and signed them into law rather than risk his administration's perfect veto record. While economic conditions continue to deteriorate and growing numbers of working Americans voice their dissatisfaction, the prospects for labor's progressive agenda in the coming months are growing brighter.

Two recent events in particular offered compelling evidence that the American people are growing tired of excuses and inaction from their political leadership on crucial economic and social issues.

The first occurred August 31 in Washington, D.C., where more than 325,000 people marched to tell our nation's leaders that they don't like the direction the country is taking. Two months later, Democrat Harris Wofford capped his longshot Senate campaign in Pennsylvania with a stunning, 10 percentage-point victory over Dick Thornburg, who had served until recently as the Bush administration's attorney general. Wofford, who marched with trade unionists and their allies in the grueling heat of Solidarity Day, carried the issues of that day as his campaign platform and delivered a message to America's political leadership that they ignore the concerns of working families at their own peril.

These events serve as evidence that working people want action from their government to ease the suffering of the unemployed, to create jobs and to reverse the past decade's economic policies that have favored only the wealthiest in our society. They want action on national health care reform and passage of legislation to ban employers from "permanently replacing" workers who exercise their legal right to strike. And they're frustrated with trade policies that ship U.S. jobs to countries where workers are paid rock-bottom wages and where safety and environmental standards are non-existent.

## *Third Time Charm for UI*

Our efforts to advance these concerns and translate them into legislative action yielded victories on labor-backed legislation in 1991. For instance, the trade union movement's persistence in demanding relief for the millions of jobless Americans who had exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits—after failing twice to surmount the Bush administration's opposition—finally paid off on the third attempt when, against the backdrop of a deteriorating economy and massive layoffs, President Bush finally agreed to sign an extension in unemployment insurance benefits for the long-term jobless.

For months, the president's veto threats also stalled the enactment of an AFL-CIO-supported, \$151 billion highway and mass transit bill that will create two million jobs over the next six years. Not until late in the session did the president relent in his opposition, leaving Congress to pass the

landmark legislation only hours before adjourning for the holiday season. During the final weeks of the surface transit bill conference, labor's lobbyists succeeded in their efforts to retain the funding levels and Davis-Bacon protections that were in the House bill but were missing from the Senate version. In addition, the final version of the legislation gives unions a voice in the local organizations that were created to help decide how the highway and transit funds will be distributed.

Elsewhere, the AFL-CIO and its allies in the civil rights community together prevailed in the struggle to enact legislation reversing the Supreme Court's dismantling of the nation's protections against racial and sexual discrimination on the job. President Bush signed the measure only after members of his own party convinced him that it would be foolish for him in this instance to continue to pander to the racially divisive elements in our society.

## *House OKs Workplace Fairness*

On the critical issue of striker replacement, the AFL-CIO's grassroots campaign to enlist broad congressional support for the Workplace Fairness Act overcame its first major hurdle with passage of the measure in the House, thus setting the stage for a Senate showdown in 1992. Currently, we are focusing our efforts on key senators with the aim of securing enough votes to break a threatened filibuster and win Senate approval.

Although we were bitterly disappointed at the refusal of both the House and Senate to derail the "fast track" for the proposed U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement, we are persisting with our struggle to ensure that any final pact includes safeguards to prevent the wholesale loss of American jobs. In addition, without minimum standards and protections for Mexican workers, their communities and their environment, workers in both countries will suffer.

Nineteen-ninety-one was also the year when America's political leadership began to get serious about an idea that the labor movement has been championing for decades—the reform of our health care system to guarantee that every American has access to basic medical services at a reasonable cost. While various proposals to do that are now on the table, labor and its allies must still overcome a formidable alliance between the White House, some Republican legislators and the employer lobby to apply the same trickle-down approach that has brought the nation to its present state of affairs. In the coming year, the AFL-CIO will continue to work with our allies and legislators who favor real reform, with the goal of enacting health care legislation that will make a real difference in the lives of those who are suffering.

The past year saw no let-up of the campaign by labor's adversaries to weaken the prevailing wage provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act. With the leadership of the building trades, the labor movement waged a successful fight against attempts to strip these protections from an Emergency Supplemental appropriations bill for Fiscal Year 1991. Our efforts to enact reasonable reform of the Davis-Bacon Act will continue in the coming legislative session.

Meanwhile, labor's six-year effort on behalf of family and

medical leave legislation—which President Bush vetoed in 1990—took another step forward with the passage of an AFL-CIO-endorsed bill in both houses. Although there appears to be veto-proof support in the Senate, the bill fell more than 30 votes shy in the House of the margin needed to override an expected veto. We hope that political prospects for an override will improve by the time the conference committee works out a final bill.

Also awaiting conference committee action in the 1992 session are two other labor-backed bills—one setting worker standards and human rights conditions for renewal of China's "Most Favored Nation" status and the other to maintain requirements that a large percentage of foreign aid be shipped on U.S.-flag vessels.

In the second half of the 102nd Congress, the labor movement's efforts on Capitol Hill will continue to focus on assisting working Americans build for themselves a society that promotes "liberty and justice for all."

As the deepening recession exacts its toll on working families and increases pressures for measures to "jump start" the economy, we will continue to fight the Bush administration's plans to once again open the gates of the public treasury to the well-heeled through a further cut in the capital gains tax. A broad-based and thoughtful anti-recession program that will benefit the recession's hardest-hit victims—

workers—is what is needed.

Meanwhile, we will continue to press for congressional action on labor's top priorities such as the Workplace Fairness Act, national health care reform and a more sensible trade policy. We are determined that 1992 will be the year that the family and medical leave bill finally becomes law, along with Hatch Act reform, improvement of construction safety laws and overhaul of the Occupational Safety and Health Act so that workers are given the right-to-act to correct hazards they encounter on the job.

As always, how we fare on these and other issues in the halls of Congress depends on how well labor's activists perform the critical tasks of mobilizing trade unionists and their families to legislative and political action. Strong, persistent activism at the grassroots level shows legislators that our progressive agenda has the broad support that can't be ignored.

I have no doubt that we are up to the task. This AFL-CIO Report on Congress is designed to help union activists and members determine where their elected representatives stand on the critical issues and whether or not they're on our side. Not just words, but the record, is our best defense against the evasions of many of those in public office. And it is the record that will help us formulate labor's political and legislative action in the 1990s.

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# Major Issues

## *In the House of Representatives*

### Davis-Bacon

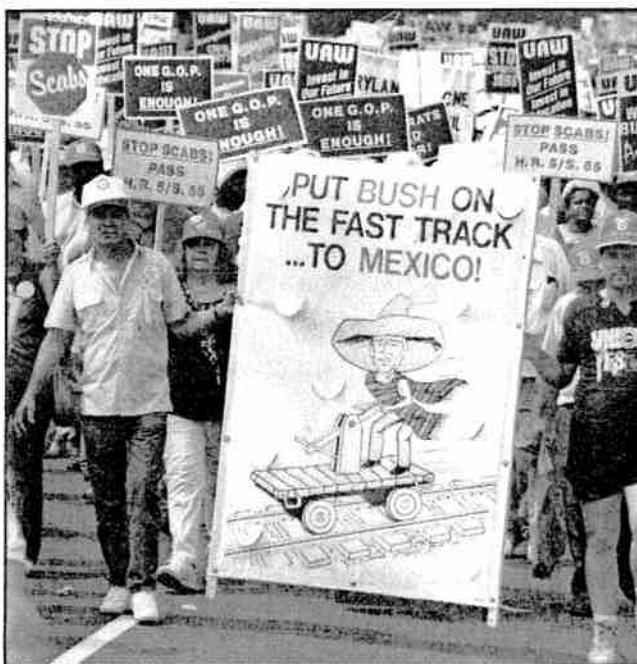
In every Congressional session the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act comes under attack and organized labor must fight to beat back these attacks. In 1991 the battle centered around the consideration of the FY 1991 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations bill (H.R. 1281).

The 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 craftsman.

The Department of Labor wanted to implement new "helper" regulations which would have put up to 40 percent of the Davis-Bacon workforce on the street, replaced by low-paid, unskilled "helpers." It also wanted to undermine a 44-year-old national and state apprenticeship program which was operating efficiently.

H.R. 1281 contained language preventing the DOL from spending funds to implement those changes. An amendment offered by Rep. Charles Stenholm (R-TX) to strip that language from the bill was adamantly opposed by the AFL-CIO. It was defeated March 7 by a 173-244 vote.

**FOR—WRONG    AGAINST—RIGHT**



**Keep the jobs here, ship the president south.**

### "Fast Track"

During the 1980's tens of thousands of American jobs were shipped across the Mexican border as U.S. companies

learned that they could take advantage of that nation's maquiladora plants where workers are paid 60 cents an hour and where safety and environmental regulations are nearly non-existent.

In 1991 the Bush administration decided to pursue a North American free trade agreement which would result in even further job loss for American workers and without adequate job protections for Mexican workers. The president asked Congress for "fast track" authority which would allow the administration to send implementing legislation for the treaty it negotiates to the Hill for a straight up or down vote. "Fast track" authority abridges the normal legislative process by precluding Congress from offering amendments to the treaty implementing legislation.

The AFL-CIO opposed the fast track authority. Rep. Bryon Dorgan (D-ND) offered a resolution (H.Res. 101) which would have denied the president fast track authority for a U.S./Mexico deal and for the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT). That AFL-CIO-backed resolution was defeated May 23 by a 192-231 margin.

**FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG**

## Cargo Preference

The U.S.-flag merchant marine has suffered through almost 50 years of neglect after having played such a key role in World War II. Tens of thousands of seafaring and ship construction jobs have been lost to low-wage "flags of convenience." More and more U.S. exports are shipped on those vessels.

While the Bush administration continued the long neglect of the U.S. merchant marine, the FY 1992-93 foreign aid authorization (H.R. 2508) contained requirements that recipients of U.S. aid be required to use U.S.-flag vessels to ship a portion of the goods they purchase with the aid received. Rep. Doug Berueter (R-NE) offered an AFL-CIO-opposed amendment to strike the cargo preference language from the legislation. It was defeated June 12 by a 175-246 vote.

**FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT**

BOYCOTT BOYCOTT BOYCOTT



## Trade—MFN For China

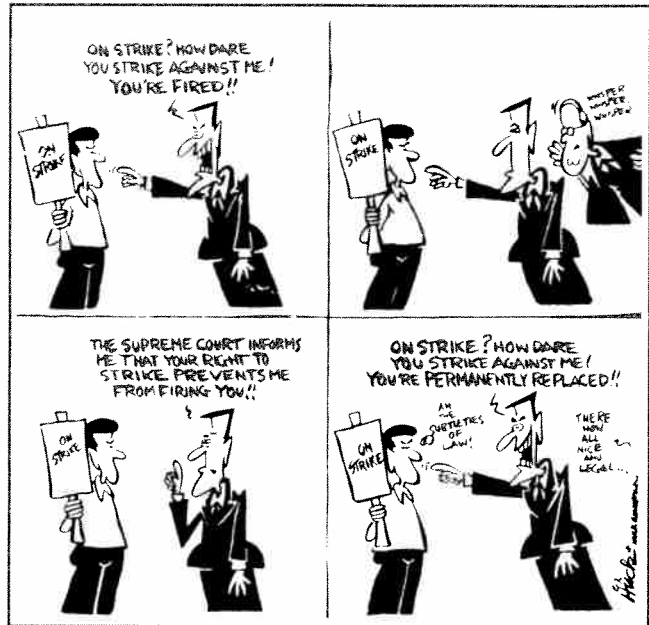
The AFL-CIO has been a strong voice and partner in the fight for worker and human rights around the globe for decades. When President Bush sought to grant unconditional Most Favored Nation (MFN) trading status to China, the AFL-CIO was adamantly opposed.

China exports products made by slave labor to the United States and it supports a vast prison-industry network to manufacture those goods. That nation imprisons, under cruel and harsh conditions, workers and other who seek freedom of association. The massacre in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989 and the subsequent executions and brutal repression

of labor leaders and others was further evidence of China's abysmal record on human rights.

A country engaged in such brutal repression is hardly a candidate for the U.S.'s lowest tariffs in trade, which MFN would grant. The AFL-CIO supported a resolution which would have denied the president's request to extend unconditional MFN to China. H.J. Res. 263 was approved in the House 223-204 on July 10.

**FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG**



## Workplace Fairness

U.S. law tells workers they cannot be fired for striking. That rule is both clear-cut and as right as any law on the books. In a free society, a worker should be free to join a union and engage in concerted activity without being subject to employer punishment or discrimination. Since 1935, workers have been assured by federal law that they have a right to collective action and a right to strike.

Today, however, those same workers are being told, "You can't be fired for striking, but if you strike you will be 'permanently replaced'." Clearly, that's a contradiction in the law. It defies logic that anyone can find a fundamental difference between being fired and being "permanently replaced."

The practice has spread in the last 10 years as a "new breed of management" seeks to evade or destroy collective bargaining in an effort to rid themselves of their unionized workforce.

H.R. 5, the Workplace Fairness Bill, would ban the use of "permanent replacements" during a lawful economic strike. A massive grassroots lobbying program was a key element in winning House passage for the bill July 10 when it won by a 247-182 tally.

**FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG**

## Flight Attendant Duty Time

Unlike pilots, flight engineers and air traffic control workers, there are no Federal Aviation Administration regu-



lations governing how long a flight attendant can work and fly in one stretch nor any regulations which require a minimum rest period between flights.

The FAA refused to place limits on duty time despite earlier indications that it would act on this safety matter. That is why the AFL-CIO backed a bill which is expected to improve cabin safety by setting limits on the number of duty hours and requiring minimum rest periods for the nation's flight attendants. H.R. 14 passed by a 228-195 margin August 1.

**FOR—RIGHT      AGAINST—WRONG**

## Extended U.I. Benefits

While the nation's economy continued its nosedive in 1991, the administration continued to insist prosperity was just around the corner. Refusing to use the "R"(ecession) word

President Bush and his advisors did nothing to help the millions of Americans who had been tossed out of work.

During the past decade, the unemployment safety net has been steadily eroded. Today, only a little more than one-third of the jobless qualify for unemployment benefits and the amount of those benefits has shrunk. The long-term unemployed (those who could not find work before their basic 26-week state benefit was exhausted) no longer can count on an extended benefits program. The formula to trigger an extended benefits program had been changed so drastically that the program did not kick in except for a few states with incredibly high unemployment figures.

The AFL-CIO backed H.R. 3040 which would have granted up to 20 additional weeks of benefits to workers who had exhausted their 26 weeks. This was the second attempt by Congress last year to extend benefits. The first bill passed in the summer gave both the president and opponents an "out" by allowing the president to sign the bill, but requiring him to declare an emergency before releasing any funds for benefits. That allowed an overwhelming number of members to cast a vote for unemployment benefits with some knowing that the president would never declare the emergency, which is exactly what happened.

By the time a third version was passed and signed in November, with the economy in a tailspin, the unemployment picture bleak, and Bush's popularity falling, he bowed to the pressure and signed the bill.

H.R. 3040, the second bill, was opposed by the administration (which was continuing to claim the recession was over). Some Republican opponents even charged that a few extra weeks of unemployment benefits would encourage the out-of-work to stay on the dole and not seek new work.

By a near veto-proof margin (283-125), the House approved the bill September 17. A Senate version of this bill was approved by both houses and vetoed and the veto was sustained (see page 9).

**FOR—RIGHT      AGAINST—WRONG**



The jobless waited while the White House stalled.



## Highways and Mass Transit

America's highways, roads, bridges and mass transit systems are not only the heart of one of the world's best surface transportation systems but they have also served as a massive jobs-producing system. Since 1956 when the Interstate highway system was begun, through today, the federal dollars spent on surface transportation have been used wisely to keep America's transportation infrastructure growing along with employing millions of highly-skilled workers.

The Surface Transportation Act faced reauthorization in 1991. The AFL-CIO worked closely with House members to ensure both reasonable funding levels for highways and transit funding, and to maintain long-standing labor protections, such as Davis-Bacon and Section 13C which protects transit workers' collective bargaining rights and benefits from adverse impact when system ownership is transferred.

The Public Works and Transportation Committee developed H.R. 2950, a \$151 billion, six-year reauthorization which is expected to provide some two million jobs and it maintains the labor protection provisions sought by the AFL-CIO. It passed the House Oct. 23 by a 343-83 vote.

**FOR—RIGHT      AGAINST—WRONG**

## Civil Rights

In 1989 the Supreme Court issued a series of rulings which seriously scaled back legal remedies for victims of racial or sexual discrimination on the job. These rulings overturned and altered civil rights laws from as long ago as the 1860's through the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Court's action was praised by the administration.

The first bill introduced in the 102nd Congress, H.R. 1, was the Civil Rights Act of 1991 which would repair the most serious damage done to the law by the 1989 Supreme Court decisions and would correct what has become an increasingly harmful defect in Title VII's remedies for willful sexual, racial and religious discrimination.

The administration and GOP leaders mounted an all-out attack against the bill and hoped to be able to use it to their political advantage by falsely labelling it a "quota bill." Most observers said the Republicans had hoped to entice white voters by creating a fear that they could lose their jobs because of the legislation. H.R. 1 clearly states that employers are neither required nor encouraged to adopt hiring or promotion quotas.

Strongly-backed by the AFL-CIO, H.R. 1 passed the House June 5 by a 273-158 vote.

**FOR—RIGHT      AGAINST—WRONG**

## Family and Medical Leave

The fight for family and medical leave continued in the first session of the 102nd Congress as the AFL-CIO and other groups fought to bring the United States in line with other industrialized countries which recognize the need for a national policy of family and medical leave.



Many workers risk their jobs when forced to take time off for a serious family crisis such as the birth or adoption of a child, a child, spouse's or parent's serious illness or even a worker's own illness. While many union workers are protected by clauses in contracts, the vast majority of workers must depend on the whims of the boss when seeking time off for serious family or medical matters. In fact, only half of the nation's largest companies have unpaid, job-protected maternity leave.

The AFL-CIO supported H.R. 2 which grants up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to workers for the birth or adoption of a child or to care for a seriously ill child, spouse or elderly parent, or for the worker's own illness. It guarantees a worker's job, or equivalent upon return, and continues health benefits during the leave. The bill's requirements apply to firms with 50 or more employees. It passed the House Nov. 13 by a 253-177 vote.

**FOR—RIGHT      AGAINST—WRONG**

## Gag Rule

The AFL-CIO believes that a patient whose visit to a physician is financed by the government, should receive the same medical information and advice as a patient whose visit is financed by insurance or self payment. But a Supreme Court ruling "Rust V. Sullivan" upheld a "gag rule" which banned doctors in clinics receiving government funds from informing and counseling patients about certain legally available medical options. The fact that the Rust decision limiting these counseling services arose out of the controversy over restrictions on abortion counseling should not obscure the far broader rights that are at stake. Everyone in our society, regardless of wealth or standing is entitled to equal recogni-

tion of the right to make an informed and intelligent decision on matters affecting one's own health and welfare.

The FY 1992 Labor, Health and Human Services appropriations bill H.R. 2707, contained language which blocked the implementation of the "gag rule" developed by the Bush administration. President Bush vetoed the \$205 billion legislation over language which allows women to receive full medical counselling at federally funded clinics.

An override of the veto failed to gain a two-thirds majority Nov. 19 by a 276-156 vote. The AFL-CIO supported the override.

**FOR—RIGHT      AGAINST—WRONG**

## Campaign Finance Reform

Large financial contributions from wealthy individuals are a corrupting influence on the nation's political system. The

labor movement has no vested interest in making large contributions, but views union PACs as a countervailing answer to the massive money power of the wealthy. So long as the individual contribution limits are beyond the means of working people, PACs are necessary to maintain a political balance. A wealthy business executive might think nothing of giving thousands of dollars to a candidate and the only way working men and women can match that influence is to band together and give perhaps \$5 or \$10 each to a union-sponsored political action committee.

Campaign finance reform was a major topic in the first session of the 102nd Congress. A House bill, H.R. 3750, won AFL-CIO backing. The bill included a voluntary system of candidate expenditure limits and personal contribution limits linked to partial public financing. It also maintained PACs. During debate on the bill, a Republican substitute which would have drastically slashed labor unions' abilities to contribute to candidates was defeated 165-265 on Nov. 25.

**FOR—WRONG      AGAINST—RIGHT**



# Major Issues

## In the United States Senate

### Davis-Bacon

The 1931 Davis-Bacon Act comes under attack every Congressional session and the first session of the 102nd Congress was no different. The attack in the Senate came dur-



**AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Federation Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten testify before a Senate committee. Federation officials presented labor's viewpoint at dozens of congressional hearings last year.**

ing its consideration of the FY 1991 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations bill (H.R. 1281).

The 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 craftsman.

The Department of Labor (DOL) wanted to implement new "helper" regulations which would have put up to 40 percent of the Davis-Bacon workforce on the street, replaced by low-paid, unskilled "helpers." It also wanted to undermine a 44-year-old national and state apprenticeship program which was operating efficiently.

H.R. 1281 contained language preventing the DOL from spending funds to implement those changes. An amendment offered by Sen. Don Nickles (R-OK) to strip that language from the bill. Strongly opposed by the AFL-CIO it was defeated March 20 by a 37-63 vote.

**FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT**

### "Fast Track"

Tens of thousands of American jobs were shipped across the Mexican border in the last decade as U.S. companies

took advantage of Mexico's maquiladora plants where workers are paid 60 cents an hour and where safety and environmental regulations are nearly non-existent.

In 1991 the Bush administration decided to pursue a North American free trade agreement which would result in even



further job loss for American workers and without adequate job protections for Mexican workers. The president asked Congress for "fast track" authority which would allow the administration to send implementing legislation for the treaty it negotiates to the Hill for a straight up or down vote. "Fast track" authority abridges the normal legislative process by precluding Congress from offering amendments to the treaty implementing legislation.

The AFL-CIO opposed "fast track" authority. Sen. Fritz Hollings (D-SC) offered a resolution (S.Res. 78) which would have denied the president fast track authority for a U.S./Mexico deal and for the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT). That AFL-CIO-backed resolution was defeated May 24 by a 36-59 margin.

**FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG**



The IUE is one of dozens of unions with members who have lost jobs to Mexico where U.S. employers take advantage of 60-cent an hour wages and lax worker safety and health laws.



## Cargo Preference

The U.S.-flag merchant marine has suffered through almost 50 years of neglect after having played such a key role in World War II. Tens of thousands of seafaring and ship construction jobs have been lost to low-wage "flags of convenience." More and more U.S. exports are shipped on those vessels.

Ironically while the Bush administration has continued the long neglect of the U.S. merchant marine, American merchant sailors played a key role in moving troops and supplies to the Middle East during the crisis with Iraq. Pensioners even came out of retirement and volunteered to crew the ships.

The FY 1992-93 foreign aid authorization (H.R. 2508) contained requirements that recipients of U.S. aid be required to use U.S.-flag vessels to ship a portion of the goods they purchase with the aid received. Sen. Alan Dixon (D-IL) offered an AFL-CIO-opposed amendment to strike the cargo preference language from the legislation. In a move backed by the AFL-CIO the Senate voted 55-42 on July 24 to table the Dixon amendment.

**FOR—RIGHT      AGAINST—WRONG**

## Trade—MFN for China

When President Bush sought to grant unconditional Most Favored Nation (MFN) trading status to China, the AFL-CIO was adamantly opposed. The AFL-CIO has been a strong voice and global partner in the fight for worker and human rights around the world.

There were many reasons MFN for China was uncalled

for. China exports products made by slave labor to the United States and it supports a vast prison-industry network to manufacture those goods. That nation imprisons, under cruel and harsh conditions, workers and other who seek freedom of association. The massacre in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989 and the subsequent executions and brutal repression of labor leaders and others was further evidence of China's abysmal record on human rights.

A country engaged in such brutal repression is hardly a candidate for the U.S.'s lowest tariffs in trade, which MFN would grant. The AFL-CIO supported a Senate bill (S. 1367) which set stringent worker and human rights conditions China must meet to continue its MFN status beyond 1992. The bill passed the Senate July 23 by a 55-44 vote.

**FOR—RIGHT      AGAINST—WRONG**

## Extended U.I. Benefits

The nation's economy continued its nosedive in 1991, but the administration continued to insist prosperity was just around the corner. Even though traditional major economic indicators showed the economy was in a recession, President Bush refused to use the "R"(ecession) word. In fact the president and his advisors turned their backs on the millions of Americans who had been tossed out of work.

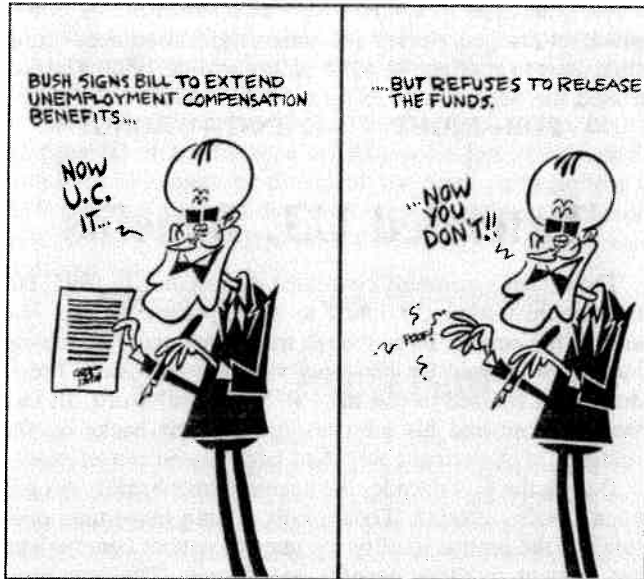
During the past decade, the unemployment safety net has been steadily eroded. Today, only a little more than one-third of the jobless qualify for unemployment benefits and the amount of those benefits has shrunk. The long-term unemployed (those who could not find work before their basic 26-week federal benefit were exhausted) no longer could count on an extended benefits program. The formula to trigger an extended benefits program had been changed so



It took consistent pressure from workers and Congress to finally force the administration to agree to extend UI benefits for workers.

drastically, that the program did not kick in except for a few states with incredibly high unemployment figures.

After the administration killed one extended unemployment benefits bill in the summer the AFL-CIO backed S. 1722 which would have granted up to 20 additional weeks of benefits to workers who had exhausted their 26 weeks. It was opposed by the administration (which was continuing to claim the recession was over). Some Republican opponents even charged that a few extra weeks of unemployment bene-



fits would encourage the out-of-work to stay on the dole and not seek new work.

This was the second attempt by Congress last year to extend benefits. The first bill passed in the summer gave both the president and opponents an "out" by allowing the president to sign the bill, but requiring him to declare an emergency before releasing any funds for benefits. That allowed some Republican members to cast a vote for unemployment benefits knowing that the president would never declare the emergency, which is exactly what happened.

By the time a third version was passed and signed in November, with the economy in a tailspin, the unemployment picture bleak, and Bush's popularity falling, he bowed to the pressure and signed the bill.

S. 1722 won overwhelming near veto-proof margins in both houses, but Bush vetoed the legislation and on Oct. 16 the Senate fell two votes short, 65-35, to override the veto.

**FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG**

## Pensions—Pension "Losers"

In the early 1970's Congress was considering new laws to protect workers and their pensions. The best evidence for the need for tougher protections came from the workers who lost their pensions when their companies went bankrupt, were bought or unilaterally changed pension plans. At the time, these people were called "pension losers."

It was the pension losers' plight and in many cases their personal testimony before Congress that provided the impetus for passage of Employment Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) and the creation of the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation, and thus protection for millions of subse-

quent retirees. The new law did not help these people retain their pensions as it was not retroactive.

A bill (S. 351) which would have granted partial pensions to about 40,000 surviving retirees and spouses was added to the Older Americans Act (S. 243) during committee consideration. But on Nov. 12, the Senate failed to table (46-51) a motion to delete the "pension losers" provisions from the bill. The AFL-CIO backed the motion to table.

**FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG**

## Social Security Tax Cut

The Social Security program was financed on a pay-as-you-go basis from the time of its creation in the 1930s until 1977. Under this approach, Congress would schedule the Social Security tax rates workers and businesses paid to generate the revenue needed to meet expected outlays for retiring workers and others who count on Social Security income. Generally, the goal was to keep the system in close actuarial balance over the long term.

In 1977, and again in 1983, Congress accelerated the schedule for Social Security tax rate increases in response to short-term financing problems. The higher rates in the 1980's together with better-than-estimated economic performance, produced the current surpluses—expected to be \$74 billion for FY 1991 and growing at the rate of about \$1.5 billion a week—in the Social Security Trust Fund. The AFL-CIO supports legislation to return the system to its original pay-as-you-go format and reduce the Social Security payroll tax for workers.

During consideration of the FY 1992 budget resolution, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) offered a procedural amendment which would have cleared the way for a vote later in the year on his legislation to reduce the Social Security payroll tax and return the system to a "pay-as-you-go" basis. However by a 60-38 vote on April 24 the Senate approved a motion to table—opposed by the AFL-CIO—Moynihan's amendment, in effect killing it.

**FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT**

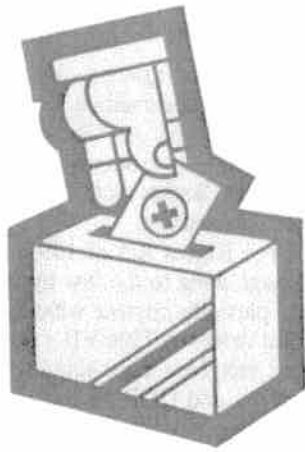
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So long as the individual contribution limits are beyond the means of working people, PACs are necessary to maintain a political balance. A wealthy business executive might think nothing of giving thousands of dollars to a candidate and the only way working men and women can match that influence is to band together and give perhaps \$5 or \$10 each to a union-sponsored political action committee.

The Senate version's of campaign finance reform (S. 3) was adamantly opposed by the AFL-CIO. One of the major reasons for the opposition is the ban on PACs contained in the bill. Even though such a ban would tip the scales of political influence toward the wealthy, the bill won Senate approval 56-42 on May 23.

**FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT**



## Motor Voter

Only 36 percent of potential voters participated in the 1990 Congressional election. The turnout for recent presidential elections has steadily declined. Most other nations have about an 80 percent turnout rate, but many have some form of automatic registration. The AFL-CO has long supported improvements in the federal election laws that would increase citizen participation in the electoral process.

Only 61 percent of eligible voters are registered. The main reason so many citizens are not registered is the myriad of regulations in each state.

The AFL-CIO supports S. 250 which allows for "motor voter" registration whereby a citizen becomes a registered voter when applying for a drivers license. It would also establish a mail-in registration process and make registration possible at many state and local agencies which serve the public. It contains safeguards against voter fraud.

In an effort to get the bill to the floor, a motion to invoke cloture (limiting debate) was offered July 17. The motion, backed by the AFL-CIO, failed to gain the three-fifths majority needed, 59-40.

**FOR—RIGHT      AGAINST—WRONG**



## Family and Medical Leave

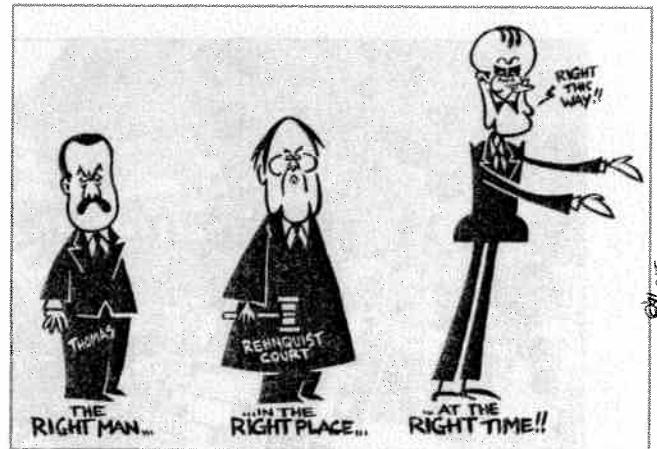
The AFL-CIO and other groups continued to fight during the first session of the 102nd Congress to bring the United

States in line with other industrialized countries which recognize the need for a national policy of family and medical leave.

When workers are forced to take time off for a serious family crisis such as the birth or adoption of a child, a child's, spouse's or parent's serious illness or even a worker's own illness, many are risking their jobs. While many union workers are protected by contract provisions, the vast majority of workers must depend on the whims of the boss when seeking time off for serious family or medical matters. In fact, only half the nation's largest companies have unpaid, job-protected maternity leave.

The AFL-CIO supported S. 5 which grants up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to workers for the birth or adoption of a child or to care for a seriously ill child, spouse or elderly parent, or for the worker's own illness. It guarantees a worker's job, or equivalent upon return, and continues health benefits during the leave. The Senate approved an AFL-CIO supported substitute for the bill, Oct. 2 by a 65-32 margin.

**FOR—RIGHT      AGAINST—WRONG**



## Clarence Thomas Nomination

The AFL-CIO and major civil rights organizations joined together to oppose the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court. President Bush picked Thomas, who had served only 16 months on the federal bench—yet called Thomas the best qualified candidate in the nation. The American Bar Association however, gave the nominee its middle rating "qualified," though almost all Supreme Court justices have received the ABA's highest rating over the years.

Along with his abbreviated stint as a judge, Thomas served under President Reagan as head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, where he attacked affirmative action programs to remedy discrimination against minorities and women as "social engineering." His writings also displayed an extreme anti-government prejudice and he termed the basic premises of modern economic and social legislation as "antithetical to freedom."

Even though the nomination showed the president's apparent resolve to use the appointment power to make the court the preserve of the far-right wing, it was approved by the Senate 52-48 on Oct. 15.

**FOR—WRONG      AGAINST—RIGHT**



# HOW YOUR REPRESENTATIVES VOTED IN THE HOUSE IN 1991

State	Rep.	Party	Davis-Bocon	"Fast Track"	Cargo Preference	China MFN	Workplace Fairness	Flight Attendant Duty Time	Extended Unemployment Benefits	Surface Transportation	Labor Votes	Civil Rights	Family and Medical Leave	"Gag Rule"	Campaign Finance Reform	Total All Votes 1991	1991 Percentage	Lifetime Voting Record	Lifetime Right Percentage	
Alabama	1 Callahan S (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	2	10	18	19	
	2 Dickinson B (R)	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	R	R	R	R	1	10	49	14	
	3 Browder G (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	R	R	R	R	9	2	310	14	
	4 Beville T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	R	R	R	R	1	2	11	65	
	5 Cramer B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	R	R	R	R	11	1	209	61	
	6 Erdreich B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	R	R	R	R	10	2	10	83	
	7 Harris C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	R	R	R	R	7	1	93	74	
Alaska	AL Young D (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	W	W	W	W	6	5	124	44	
	Arizona	1 Rhodes J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	W	W	W	W	0	0	5	8
		2 Pastor (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	W	W	W	W	4	0	4	100
		3 Stump B (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	W	W	W	W	0	0	16	7
		4 Ksl J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	W	W	W	W	3	62	5	5
		5 Kolbe J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	W	W	W	W	1	10	8	8
		Arkansas	1 Alexander B (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	R	R	R	R	5	2	228
2 Thornton (D)			W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	R	R	R	R	7	1	11	92
3 Hammerschmidt J (R)	W		W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	W	W	W	W	3	54	297	15	
4 Anthony B (D)	W		W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	R	R	R	R	5	78	59		
California	1 Riggs F (R)		W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	W	W	W	W	3	9	3	25
	2 Heger W (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	2	9	12	18	
	3 Matsui R (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	R	R	R	R	4	2	53	16	
	4 Fazio V (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	R	R	R	R	8	2	175	86	
	5 Pelosi N (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	R	R	R	R	7	1	23	89	
	6 Boxer B (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	R	R	R	R	1	3	178	88	
	7 Miller G (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	9	R	R	R	R	9	5	92	95	
	8 Dellums R (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	R	R	R	R	8	0	116	95	
	9 Stark P (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	12	R	R	R	R	12	0	100	90	
	10 Edwards D (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	12	R	R	R	R	12	0	308	93	
	11 Lantos T (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	R	R	R	R	8	0	246	89	
	12 Campbell T (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	12	R	R	R	R	12	0	100	90	
	13 Mineta N (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	R	R	R	R	7	0	355	94	
	14 Doolittle J (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	W	W	W	W	1	2	10	83	
	15 Condit G (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	W	W	W	W	1	10	24	92	
	16 Panetta L (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	2	2	83	76	
	17 Dooley C (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	W	W	W	W	3	3	57	75	
18 Lehman R (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	W	W	W	W	8	8	115	93		
19 Lagomarsino R (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	W	W	W	W	1	11	35	12		
20 Thomas W (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	W	W	W	W	1	2	167	13		
21 Gallegly E (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	W	W	W	W	1	7	25	17		
22 Moorhead C (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	W	W	W	W	1	8	7	58		
23 Bellentson A (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	W	W	W	W	4	4	22	282		
24 Waxman H (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	W	W	W	W	6	2	177	62		
25 Roybal E (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	W	W	W	W	6	6	246	32		
26 Berman H (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	W	W	W	W	5	2	348	24		
27 Levine M (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	W	W	W	W	5	2	108	14		
28 Dixon J (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	W	W	W	W	0	0	109	11		
29 Waters M (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	W	W	W	W	8	0	188	5		
30 Martinez M (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	W	W	W	W	7	0	11	0		
31 Dymally M (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	W	W	W	W	0	0	100	100		
32 Adreano G (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	W	W	W	W	6	1	138	9		
33 Dreier D (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	W	W	W	W	6	2	282	56		
34 Torres E (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	9	W	W	W	W	9	8	157	2		
35 Lewis J (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	W	W	W	W	7	1	122	3		
36 Brown G (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	2	9	27	188		
37 McCandless A (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	W	W	W	W	1	11	296	31		
38 Dornan R (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	9	W	W	W	W	9	9	4	118		
39 Danneberg W (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	2	9	18	181		
40 Cox C (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	W	W	W	W	7	11	8	10		
41 Lavery B (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	W	W	W	W	1	8	2	33		
42 Rohrabacher D (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	W	W	W	W	6	6	16	144		
43 Packard R (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	2	10	17	10		
44 Cunningham R (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	W	W	W	W	6	4	31	11		
45 Hunter D (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	2	10	9	115		
<b>Colorado</b>																				
1 Schroeder P (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	R	R	R	R	6	2	233	70	
2 Schaefer D (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	R	R	R	R	2	3	54	12	
3 Campbell B (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	R	R	R	R	7	1	52	12	
4 Allard (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	W	W	W	W	0	0	7	0	
5 Hefley J (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	2	6	9	59	
6 Schaefer D (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	2	6	7	59	

# HOUSE VOTES (cont.)

State	Rank	Davis Bacon	'Fast Track'	Cargo Preference	China MFN	Workplace Fairness	Flight Attendant Duty Time	Extended Unemployment Benefits	Surface Transportation	Labor Votes	Civil Rights	Family and Medical Leave	'Gag Rule'	Campaign Finance Reform	Total All Votes 1991	1991 Percentage	Lifetime Voting Record	Lifetime Right Percentage
<b>Connecticut</b>																		
1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10	R	R	R	R	2	83	132	90
2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	12	R	R	R	R	0	100	155	96
3	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	R	R	R	R	1	92	111	92
4	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	3	R	R	R	9	25	33	59	
5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	W	W	W	W	9	25	42	
6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	W	W	W	5	42	62	49	
<b>Delaware</b>																		
1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	R	R	R	R	1	92	96	76
<b>Florida</b>																		
1	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	W	W	W	W	4	33	73	37
2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	W	W	W	W	3	75	9	75
3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	2	83	220	50
4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	9	W	W	W	W	3	216	3	50
5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	5	25	5	14
6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	W	W	W	W	8	18	13	8
7	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	W	W	W	W	3	33	5	14
8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	W	W	W	W	5	58	203	56
9	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	W	W	W	W	11	8	49	283
10	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	W	W	W	W	11	8	25	201
11	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	W	W	W	W	10	2	29	10
12	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	10	2	17	110
13	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	W	W	W	W	2	83	10	13
14	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	W	W	W	W	11	1	17	110
15	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	W	W	W	W	11	1	5	31
16	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	W	W	W	W	10	1	30	5
17	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	10	17	18	143
18	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	W	W	W	W	12	0	120	4
19	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	W	W	W	W	2	80	259	35
20	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	W	W	W	W	7	42	8	28
21	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	10	2	351	81
<b>Georgia</b>																		
1	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	W	W	W	W	7	58	60	47
2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	W	W	W	W	6	4	67	55
3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	W	W	W	W	4	7	81	66
4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	W	W	W	W	7	36	31	85
5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	10	W	W	W	W	2	83	26	10
6	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	W	W	W	W	11	1	92	17
7	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	W	W	W	W	10	2	65	1
8	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	W	W	W	W	5	58	55	57
9	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	W	W	W	W	6	45	57	49
10	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	W	W	W	W	8	67	99	68
11	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	W	W	W	W	4	43	62	43
12	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	W	W	W	W	8	33	62	27
<b>Hawaii</b>																		
1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	R	R	R	R	12	100	12	100
2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	0	R	R	R	R	12	100	16	100
<b>Idaho</b>																		
1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	R	R	R	R	4	64	7	64
2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	4	R	R	R	R	4	67	50	53
<b>Illinois</b>																		
1	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	12	R	R	R	R	0	100	117	100
2	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11	R	R	R	R	1	92	147	97
3	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	W	W	W	W	1	92	230	80
4	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	W	W	W	W	2	82	29	6
5	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9	W	W	W	W	3	75	109	89
6	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	2	W	W	W	W	10	17	44	243
7	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	12	W	W	W	W	0	100	275	12
8	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	3	W	W	W	W	3	73	334	96
9	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	3	W	W	W	W	3	73	334	87
10	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	1	W	W	W	W	0	100	378	92
11	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	2	W	W	W	W	10	17	23	147
<b>North Carolina</b>																		
1	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	W	W	W	W	9	90	180	53
2	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	W	W	W	W	7	58	58	46
3	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	W	W	W	W	5	58	40	26
4	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	W	W	W	W	2	83	55	11
5	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	W	W	W	W	4	64	150	123

## New Jersey

- Andrews R (D)
- Hughes W (D)
- Pallone F (D)
- Smith C (R)
- Roukema M (R)
- Dwyer B (D)
- Rinaldi M (R)
- Roe R (D)
- Tortorelli R (D)
- Payne D (D)
- Gallo D (R)
- Zimmer D (R)
- Saxton H (R)
- Guarnini F (D)

## New Mexico

- Schiff S (R)
- Skeen J (R)
- Richardson B (D)

## New York

- Hochbrueckner G (D)
- Downey T (D)
- Mrazek R (D)
- Lent N (R)
- McGrath R (R)
- Flake F (D)
- Ackerman G (D)
- Scheuer J (D)
- Manton T (D)
- Schumer C (D)
- Towns E (D)
- Owens M (D)
- Solarz S (D)
- Molinaro S (R)
- Green B (R)
- Rangel C (D)
- Weiss T (D)
- Serrano (D)
- Engel E (D)
- Lowey N (D)
- Fish H (R)
- Gilman R (R)
- McNulty M (D)
- Solomon G (R)
- Boehner S (R)
- Wartini D (R)
- Walsh J (R)
- McHugh M (D)
- Horton F (R)
- Slaughter L (D)
- Paxon B (R)
- Lafuze J (D)
- Nowak H (D)
- Houghton A (R)

## North Carolina

- Jones W (D)
- Valentine T (D)
- Lancaster H (D)
- Price D (D)
- Neal S (D)
- Cable H (R)







# 1991 HOW YOUR SENATORS VOTED

State	Senator	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total All Votes 1991	1991 Percentage	Lifetime Voting Record	% Lifetime Right Percentage
<b>Alabama</b>	Heflin H (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	8 4	67	126 72	64
	Shelby R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8 4	67	43 12	78
<b>Alaska</b>	Murkowski F (R)	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5 7	42	40 116	26
	Stevens T (R)	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5 7	42	134 177	43
<b>Arizona</b>	DeConcini D (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	8 4	67	146 80	65
	McCain J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	2 10	17	8 47	15
<b>Arkansas</b>	Bumpers D (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	8 4	67	182 91	67
	Pryor D (D)	R	A	A	A	R	W	W	A	A	A	R	R	4 1	80	118 72	62
<b>California</b>	Cranston A (D)	R	A	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	9 1	90	277 30	90
	Seymour J (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	4 8	33	4 8	33
<b>Colorado</b>	Brown H (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	2 10	17	2 10	17
	Wirth T (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10 2	83	44 11	80
<b>Connecticut</b>	Dodd C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11 1	92	145 11	93
	Lieberman J (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10 2	83	26 5	84
<b>Delaware</b>	Biden J (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10 2	83	224 52	81
	Roth W (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	3 9	25	64 254	20
<b>Florida</b>	Graham B (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9 3	75	43 12	78
	Mack C (R)	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	6 6	50	8 23	26
<b>Georgia</b>	Fowler W (D)	R	A	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7 4	64	40 13	75
	Nunn S (D)	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7 5	58	134 178	43
<b>Hawaii</b>	Specter A (R)	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	4 2	58	4 2	58
		R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	7 5	58	111 50	69
<b>Nevada</b>	Bryan R (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10 2	83	27 4	87
	Reid H (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11 1	92	48 6	89
<b>New Hampshire</b>	Ruddiman W (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	2 10	17	29 132	18
	Smith R (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2 10	17	2 10	17
<b>New Jersey</b>	Bradley B (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9 3	75	163 31	84
	Lautenberg F (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8 4	67	106 11	91
<b>New Mexico</b>	Bingaman J (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8 4	67	95 23	81
	Domenici P (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	2 10	17	69 223	24
<b>New York</b>	D'Amato A (R)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8 4	67	79 82	49
	Moythaban D (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11 1	92	213 20	91
<b>North Carolina</b>	Helms J (R)	W	A	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2 8	20	28 270	9
	Sanford T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	11 1	92	47 7	87
<b>North Dakota</b>	Burdick O (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10 2	83	325 54	86
	Conrad K (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9 3	75	45 10	82
<b>Ohio</b>	Glenn J (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	9 3	75	217 52	81
	Metzenbaum H (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	10 2	83	230 15	94
<b>Oklahoma</b>	Boren D (D)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	5 7	42	83 113	42
	Nickles D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	3 9	25	8 154	5
<b>Oregon</b>	Hatfield M (R)	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7 5	58	165 157	51
	Packwood B (R)	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8 4	67	153 170	47

Nunn S (D)	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	3	3	R	W	R	R	W	7	5	58	134	178	43
<b>Hawaii</b>																				
Akaka D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	W	R	R	R	11	1	92	18	2	90
Inouye D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	W	R	R	R	11	1	92	291	34	90
<b>Idaho</b>																				
Craig L (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	R	R	W	W	W	3	9	25	3	9	25
Synnott S (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	R	R	W	W	W	2	10	17	6	146	4
<b>Illinois</b>																				
Dixon A (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	5	1	W	W	R	R	W	8	4	67	124	37	77
Simon P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	5	1	W	W	R	R	W	9	3	75	71	11	87
<b>Indiana</b>																				
Coats D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	5	W	R	W	W	W	3	9	25	7	24	23
Lugar R (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	R	W	W	W	2	10	17	26	212	11
<b>Iowa</b>																				
Grassley C (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	R	W	W	W	2	10	17	31	132	19
Harkin T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	5	0	R	W	R	A	R	9	1	90	80	8	91
<b>Kansas</b>																				
Dole B (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	R	W	W	W	2	10	17	53	267	17
Kassebaum N (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	R	W	W	W	2	10	17	38	156	20
<b>Kentucky</b>																				
Ford W (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	5	1	W	W	R	R	R	9	3	75	213	64	77
McConnell M (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	R	W	W	W	2	10	17	17	73	19
<b>Louisiana</b>																				
Breaux J (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	4	2	W	R	R	W	R	8	4	67	45	9	83
Johnston B (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	5	1	W	R	R	W	R	9	3	75	149	130	53
<b>Maine</b>																				
Cohen W (R)	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	3	3	W	W	R	W	R	5	7	42	76	122	38
Mitchell G (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	5	1	R	W	R	R	R	10	2	83	149	34	86
<b>Maryland</b>																				
Mikulski B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	W	W	R	R	R	10	2	83	48	4	92
Sarbanes P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	W	W	R	R	R	11	1	92	225	9	96
<b>Massachusetts</b>																				
Kennedy E (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	5	1	R	W	R	R	R	10	2	83	311	25	93
Kerry J (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	5	1	R	W	R	R	R	10	2	83	84	6	93
<b>Michigan</b>																				
Levin C (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	5	1	W	W	R	R	R	9	3	75	184	16	92
Riegle D (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	5	1	R	W	R	R	R	10	2	83	218	16	93
<b>Minnesota</b>																				
Durenberger D (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	5	W	W	R	W	R	4	8	33	86	103	46
Wellstone P (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	5	1	R	W	R	R	R	10	2	83	10	2	83
<b>Mississippi</b>																				
Cochran T (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	1	5	W	R	W	W	W	3	9	25	32	164	16
Lott T (R)	W	A	W	R	W	W	W	1	4	W	R	W	W	W	3	8	27	7	23	23
<b>Missouri</b>																				
Bond C (R)	W	W	W	A	W	W	W	0	5	W	R	W	W	W	3	8	27	13	38	25
Danforth J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	R	W	W	W	3	9	25	73	163	31
<b>Montana</b>																				
Baucus M (D)	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	3	3	W	W	R	R	R	7	5	58	146	51	74
Burns C (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	R	W	W	W	2	10	17	3	28	10
<b>Nebraska</b>																				
Exon J (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	A	4	2	R	W	R	R	W	8	4	67	96	93	51
Kerrey R (D)	R	W	R	R	R	A		1		R	W	R	A		7	78	21	4	4	82

# 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."
- I Not in Congress at time.