

Report on Congress

Labor Protections Added

Does Bush Value Families or Vetoes?

or S. 55 Motor V

Complex Energy Bill Heads for House Floor
Senate Puts Strings On China

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GOP Fails



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In Last Gasp, Balanced Budget Amendment

Veto Roadblock Cleared From 103rd's Path

By Lane Kirkland

Samuel Gompers said it best when he described labor's political mission nearly a century ago: "Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them; oppose our enemies and defeat them, whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or other offices, whether executive, legislative or judicial."

Not words but the record is the measure of how we separate labor's allies from our adversaries. This 1992 AFL-CIO Report on Congress will help trade unionists determine whether their elected representatives support labor's progressive agenda or have taken their stand with those who want to keep working people down.

In 1992, a hostile presidential administration worked with its allies in the Congress to prevent government from acting to address a variety of issues of critical concern to working people and their families.

Consistently, they counseled inaction on the growing recession and worked to stall any attempts to create jobs and stimulate the economy. As millions of Americans continued to face cutbacks in their health care, they frustrated efforts to enact genuine health care reform that would control costs, improve quality and expand access to all. And they have continued to ensure that our government stands idle while millions of American jobs are exported to the low-wage havens of the world.

... With the upcoming change in the White House, we look for the logjam to break early in the 103rd Congress. . .

The election of Bill Clinton and Al Gore as President and Vice President of the United States, accomplished with the support of the trade union movement, offers hope for a new start toward addressing these and other pressing issues for working people.

But we cannot be convinced, even for one moment, that our struggle is over, that our work is done and that the fulfillment of our longstanding goals and aspirations will now magically fall into place.

A Change From Gridlock

The American people, and working people in particular, voted for a change from the inaction and gridlock that has been fomented by vetoes, threats of vetoes, filibusters and threats of filibusters.

With the upcoming change in the White House, we look for the logjam to break early in the 103rd Congress, especially on several major items of unfinished business from the 102nd.

At long last we should see action to end the recession and to bring down the unemployment rate. We will press the Clinton administration to move quickly on a plan to stimulate the economy by immediately creating jobs in the rebuilding

of our crumbling infrastructure.

We anticipate early action on national health care reform. By that we mean a comprehensive program that will control costs, assure quality and guarantee every American access to our health care system.

Under the Clinton administration, we envision enactment of 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 the hazards they encounter at their jobs.

We fully expect that President Clinton will seek to restore some element of fairness to our labor laws. And with his stewardship and support, we will press for the early enactment of our legislation prohibiting employers from hiring permanent replacements for trade unionists who exercise their lawful right to strike.

S. 55 a Filibuster Victim

After passing the House of Representatives by a large margin in the first session of the 102nd Congress, that measure was taken up early in 1992 by the Senate. Unfortunately, however, a majority is not sufficient in the Senate, where the 60 votes needed to break a Republican-led filibuster could not be mustered.

A similar fate befell our efforts to stop the Bush administration from implementing new LM-2 and LM-3 reporting requirements designed by anti-labor forces solely to encumber local unions with burdensome new regulations while providing no benefits for union members. The Senate included language in an appropriations bill suspending the Labor Department's ability to implement the new regulations, but a filibuster by GOP senators proved successful in forcing Senate leaders to remove the language from the bill.

In 1992, thanks to President Bush's continued use of his veto pen to frustrate the majority will of the Congress and of the American people, the United States remains the only industrialized nation without a family and medical leave policy. Since the first veto of that bill two years ago, some 300,000 working Americans with serious medical conditions have had to leave their jobs.

... The Clinton administration will face a formidable challenge as it deals with the legacy of the Reagan-Bush years. . .

The Family and Medical Leave Act is expected to be among the first bills sent to President Clinton for his signature.

For a dozen years the labor movement and the White House were on different ends of the political spectrum. Today, with Bill Clinton's election and with the nation's desire to change direction and to make Washington work for the

people again, we have an excellent chance to achieve many of our legislative goals.

In addition to the unfinished business of the 102nd—a jobs program, health care reform and striker replacement among others—the new Clinton administration will face a wide and formidable range of policy challenges as it deals with the legacy of the Reagan-Bush years.

It must seek to reverse the growing disparity between rich and poor and restore the vitality of the middle class in this country.

It must address the decline in our manufacturing sector, which now accounts for only 17 percent of U.S. jobs.

It must stop the hemorrhage of good-paying jobs to low-wage countries.

It must invigorate our education and training system and return it to world leadership.

And it must alleviate the desperate conditions in our cities, which are plagued by crime, neglect and economic stringency and decay.

Looking ahead toward working with an administration we

helped to elect, the prospects for significant gains in these areas are brighter than they've been for many years. But that is not to say that the road ahead is free and clear for our movement's legislative agenda.

For one, labor's adversaries in the Senate may still have the ability to mount effective filibusters and prevent the passage of AFL-CIO backed legislation. And we still face an uphill battle in our effort to convince both the new administration and members of Congress that the North American Free Trade Agreement is a job-destroyer that benefits only the privileged elements of our society.

As always, our success on NAFTA and other issues will depend on how well trade union activists work at the grassroots and live up to their responsibility to educate and mobilize our members to legislative and political action.

Through strong, persistent activism, we will ultimately win in the pursuit of our legislative agenda because it is the right course for America, because we really do represent the best aspirations of working people, and because *we will not quit*.

Major Issues

In the House of Representatives

1. Extended Unemployment Benefits

In early 1992, partial and total unemployment included about 17.7 million people—a true unemployment rate of 11.5 percent, as opposed to the official 7.3 percent reported at the time. At least 1.8 million of those workers were jobless

for 27 weeks or more and indications showed that total was on its way up for the rest of the year.

The AFL-CIO backed legislation to extend the emergency unemployment benefits program passed in 1991, which was set to expire in July 1992. H.R. 5260 extended those benefits through the end of 1992. It also called for a permanent extended benefits program beginning in FY 1993 and was designed to expand the number of workers who qualify for the regular 26 weeks of unemployment benefits.

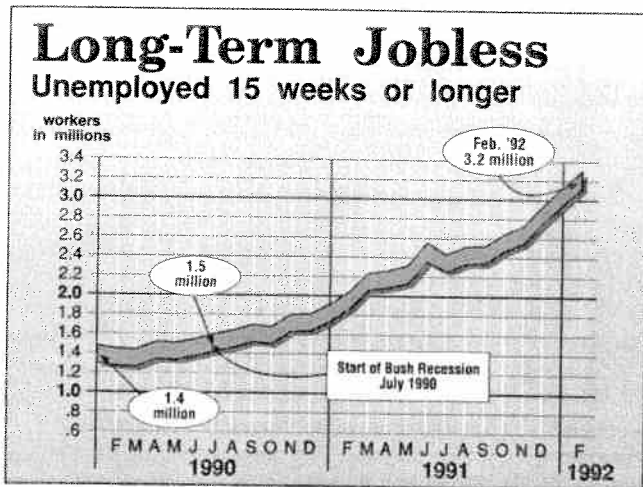
The bill reformed the existing Federal Extended Benefits program by establishing the total state unemployment rate (TUR) as an alternative "trigger." With the existing trigger mechanism, the extended benefits were only triggered in a few states during the recession. This required the Congress to enact the emergency extended benefits program.

Backed by the AFL-CIO, H.R. 5260 was approved on a 261-150 vote June 9. It was signed into law.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

2. Rail Lockout

More than 250,000 railroad employees were locked out of their jobs June 24 when railroad management shut down the nation's railway freight lines. In the days leading up to the lockout, management, and their allies in the White House and Congress, attempted to paint the dispute as a pending



nationwide "strike" by workers which would not only inconvenience the public but also have a major impact on the nation's economic recovery.

The workers in the dispute had not received salary increases for four years. Management offered contract terms which included a cut in real wages and the elimination of seniority and job security for many of the workers.

When the deadline arrived only one strike was called, by one union, at one rail carrier. But 39 of the nation's freight railways, under the umbrella of the Association of American Railroads, locked out all of their employees. The vast majority of the 250,000 workers locked out around the country were members of rail unions which were not on strike.

Under the Railway Labor Act (RLA), which governs labor/management relations in the rail industry, Congress can force workers back to work or to accept the settlement terms recommended by a Presidential Emergency Board.

The House voted on a resolution (H.J. Res. 517) June 25, 248-140, ordering rail workers back to work for a "cooling-off" period with continued negotiations. The resolution did not impose a settlement but did impose a form of binding arbitration opposed by the AFL-CIO.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

3. Trade/Auto Parts

The U.S. auto industry is at a crossroads. The recession in the early 1980s cost hundreds of thousands of auto workers their jobs; the current recession is producing similar dangers. While Japan has opened several new plants in the U.S. to manufacture their automobiles, the transplants are not a substitute for traditional domestic vehicles in terms of jobs generated, technological development supported or U.S. manufactured goods purchased.

The AFL-CIO supported an amendment offered by Rep.

Richard Gephardt (D-MO) to a broad trade bill (H.R. 5100) designed to boost the use of American-made parts by Japanese auto plants in the U.S. The amendment required Japan to live up to an agreement it made with President Bush in January. The core of the agreement reinforced Japan's commitment to use 70 percent American-made parts in vehicles manufactured by Japanese automakers in their U.S. plants.

It also set the stage for a continued Voluntary Restraint Agreement (VRA) on Japanese vehicle exports to the U.S. Under the amendment the United States Trade Representative (USTR) would be required to negotiate a comprehensive auto trade pact with Japan which would include an extension of the current VRA. The VRA would continue as long as Japan has a similar agreement with the European Community.

The amendment passed the House July 8 by a 260-166 vote.

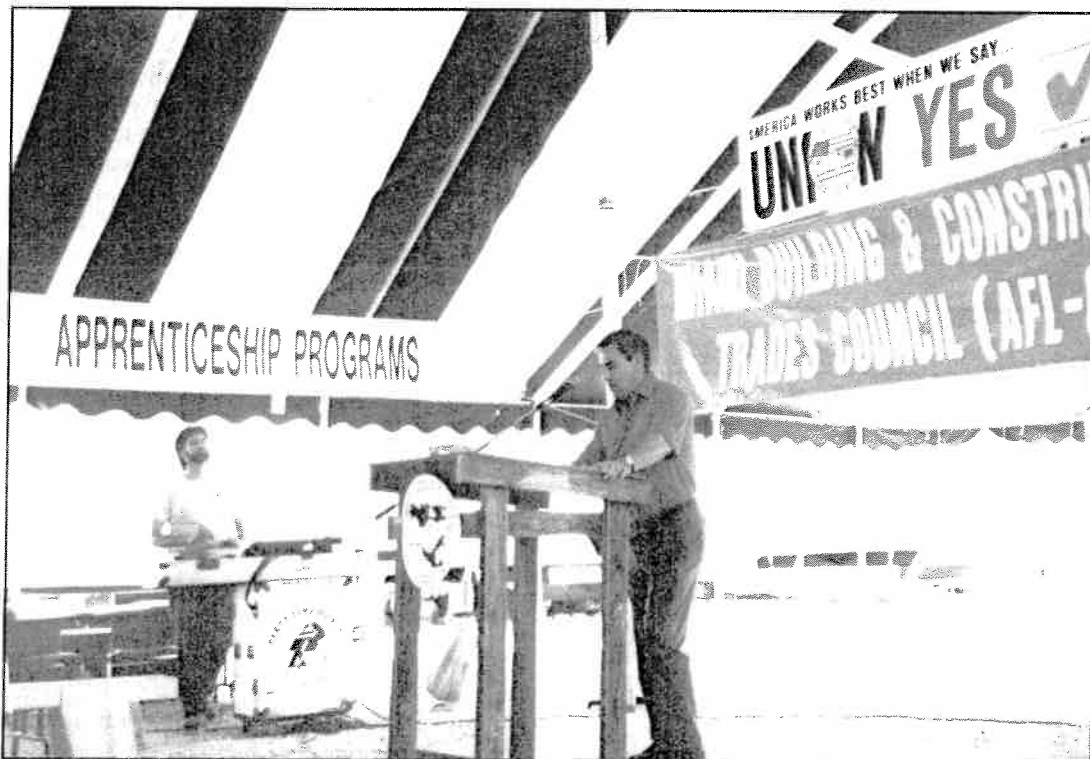
FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

4. Davis-Bacon/"Helpers"

When the House took up H.R. 5620, supplemental appropriations for FY 1992, an amendment was offered to eliminate language in the bill which blocked Labor Department implementation of regulation on construction work "helpers" and apprenticeship programs. The AFL-CIO strongly opposed the DOL regulations and supported language banning their implementation.

The Congress included such a prohibition in an FY 1991 appropriations bill, with the intent of establishing a permanent ban. But the Labor Department put new "helper" regulations into effect in January 1992.

The Davis-Bacon Act requires prevailing wages for "laborers and mechanics" journeymen. The DOL regulations called for a new category of "helpers" designed to



Even though the Davis-Bacon Act and long-standing apprenticeship programs came under attack by labor-foes in Congress, union members continued to help their communities. This AFL-CIO housing assistance center was a response to Hurricane Andrew's destruction in Southern Florida. Pictured above is Building Trades President Robert Georgine.

create a class of workers who, unlike laborers, would work with no formal training and no hope of advancement within the construction industry. Additionally, the result would be to severely reduce the level of employment for laborers, who are in large part minority workers.

The Labor Department also proposed a regulation to disrupt the long-standing operation of apprenticeship programs. The regulations would abolish state apprenticeship councils of employer and employee groups which exist in 26 states and the District of Columbia. The implementation of those regulations was also banned in the FY 1991 appropriations bill.

An amendment lifting the prohibition on the new regulations was defeated in the House July 28 by a 172-241 vote.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

5. ERISA Preemption

Recent court decisions have misconstrued the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) to preempt and void state laws concerning apprenticeship training on public works projects, state laws requiring the payment of prevailing wages on public works projects, and state mechanics' lien laws which enable workers to recover promised wages and benefits for work performed on building and construction projects.

That was why the AFL-CIO supported H.R. 2782 which would restore worker protections at the state level by shielding them from unintended preemption. All 50 states have apprenticeship training laws and mechanics' lien laws. Thirty-one states have laws requiring contractors on public works projects to pay their workers the local prevailing wage.

These long-standing state laws were not intended to be preempted by ERISA. Indeed, ERISA's preemption provisions were intended to protect benefit plans from multiple government regulation by establishing benefit plan regulation as an exclusive concern of the federal government. State apprenticeship training laws, prevailing wage laws, and mechanics' lien laws do not encroach upon the federal government's purview over benefit plan regulation.

On August 4 an amendment to weaken the apprenticeship provisions of H.R. 2782 was defeated 140-266.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

6. Trade—China MFN

Even though China violates basic worker and human rights by imprisoning those who seek freedom of association and profits from exports to the United States made by slave labor, President Bush believed China deserved a no-strings-attached, Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status. MFN trade status grants a country preferred tariffs at the lowest rate.

The AFL-CIO termed it the height of hypocrisy for the United States to wave the banner of human rights with one hand, while using the other hand to sign an MFN trade agreement with a nation which denies its citizens and workers their basic human rights and uses forced labor to manufacture its goods for export.

While the AFL-CIO called for outright denial of MFN for China, it did support a bill which set conditions on China's trade status. H.R. 5318 would have denied MFN status for

**You wouldn't
buy a Christmas toy
from a country
that jails and tortures
nuns and priests
for their religious beliefs,
would you?**



It is truly ironic. While China doesn't tolerate religious freedom, its government relies on billions of American dollars to buy Chinese toys during our religious holidays. What's more, the Chinese government persecutes the religious. It holds millions of people in forced prison labor camps. It exploits children for labor and denies its people human freedoms.

Without your help the Chinese and Tibetan people don't have a prayer. So please, don't buy trolls or any toys made in China.

**If you see this label,
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China for items produced by state-owned facilities if China continued to violate human rights, to sell nuclear weapons and to commit unfair trading practices.

The bill passed both houses but Bush vetoed the bill. The House voted 345-74 to override the veto on Sept. 30. But the Senate failed to override.

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

7. Energy Bill/Miners' Health Care—Nuclear Cleanup

An important part of the AFL-CIO-backed energy bill (H.R. 776) was an amendment designed to shore up health benefits for retired coal miners. More than 120,000 retired miners and their dependents—covered by the UMW Health Benefit Funds—faced the loss of their health coverage without passage of H.R. 776. They had worked for companies that had gone out of business or used legal tricks to avoid their obligations to the retired miners. The bill set up a formula to provide funding for the health benefits.

In addition, the legislation will create tens of thousands of jobs for the decades-long efforts to clean up federal uranium enrichment sites. Many AFL-CIO affiliated unions have represented the workers at these plants for nearly 40 years. Many basic worker protections were contained in the uranium enrichment title, including transition language covering contractual matters such as the employee benefit

package, hiring rights, health care and pension benefits. Also included are provisions protecting the collective bargaining agreement during transition and ensuring coverage of workers by OSHA, the Davis-Bacon Act and the Service Contract Act.

On Oct. 5, the House agreed to the conference report on H.R. 776 by a 363-60 margin.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

8. Balanced Budget Amendment

Backers of a balanced budget amendment to the constitution were willing to play election year politics with this ill-advised issue. Most studies indicated that millions of jobs would be lost, taxes would jump and state and local budget deficits would soar under a balanced budget amendment. But those warnings were ignored by the Bush administration, which undertook a massive effort to win congressional approval for a balanced budget amendment as a panacea to deficit woes.

During the House debate on H.J. Res. 290, which called for a constitutional amendment, the AFL-CIO noted that if a balanced budget amendment were ratified a combination of large tax increases and drastic spending cuts would be required to balance the budget. Various studies showed such action could result in a sharp drop in economic output and the loss of millions of jobs. The reduced spending levels would sharply limit the federal government's ability to fund programs to help those who might lose their jobs. State and local governments, already in fiscal crisis, could see their deficits soar and also be forced to cut services and increase taxes.

A two-thirds majority is needed for a constitutional amend-

ment to win congressional approval. On June 11, the House turned back the proposed amendment by a 280-153 vote.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

9. Voting Rights/Language Assistance

The AFL-CIO strongly supported H.R. 4312, the Voting Rights Language Assistance Act of 1992. Language assistance provisions were added to the Voting Rights Act in 1975 to remedy voting discrimination suffered by Hispanic-American, Asian-American, Indian and Alaskan Native communities. Those provisions called for language help when registering or voting under certain demographic conditions. But those provisions were set to end on August 6. H.R. 4312 extended them for 15 years, the same length as the entire Voting Rights Act.

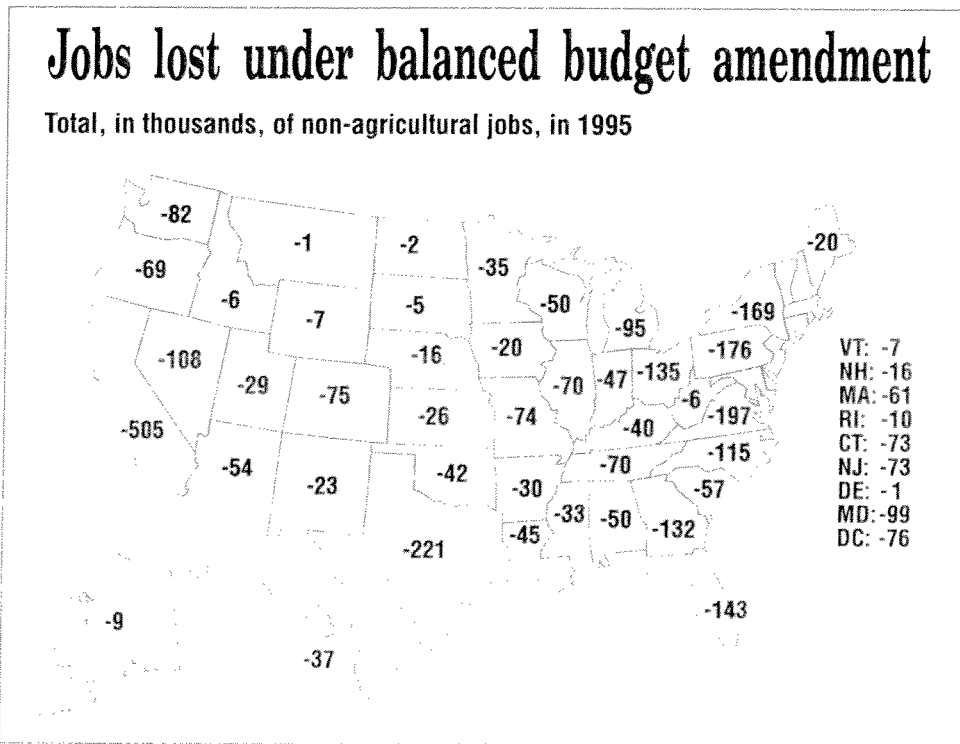
For almost 20 years, the program was an effective means of integrating citizens, whose first language was not English, into the electoral process. The AFL-CIO told the House that the need for these language assistance provisions remains because the U.S. continues to absorb many newcomers who become citizens, but do not yet have the ability to deal with registration and electoral materials in English.

On July 24, the House passed H.R. 4312 by a 237-125 vote.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

10. Family and Medical Leave

President Bush vetoed family and medical leave legislation for the second time in his term, despite the fact large





The AFL-CIO testified at dozens of House and Senate hearings in 1992 in an effort to promote progressive and pro-labor legislation. Pictured above are AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland (left) and Federation Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten.

majorities in both houses backed the bill during the 102nd and the 101st congresses.

The family leave issue has been debated in the Congress since 1985. The United States is the only major industrialized nation without a family and medical leave policy. Thousands of workers have faced the choice of taking care of their sick children or other family members or losing their jobs. The legislation (S. 5) was the product of bipartisan support and compromise. The AFL-CIO, as it has done in the past, backed the bill.

The legislation would grant up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to workers for birth or adoption 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, which covers close to half of the nation's workers.

Bush vetoed the bill and the House failed to override Sept. 30 by a 258-169 vote.

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

11. Cable Television Regulation

Prices have been soaring in the cable TV industry since it was deregulated in 1984—a 56 percent increase from 1988-92 alone. The AFL-CIO strongly supported legislation (S. 12) designed to bring fairness and equity back into the cable (TV) marketplace.

The legislation will protect consumers against unwarranted rate increases by cable companies—most of which operate as monopolies in their communities—provide access to programming for competitors and correct the imbalances against broadcasters. By strengthening the economic viability of free, over-the-air television, this bill also will protect the jobs of

tens of thousands of workers in the broadcast television industry.

Bush vetoed the bill, but the House voted Oct. 5 (308-114) to override the veto and the Senate followed suit, marking the first time a Bush veto was overridden.

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

12. Tax Bill/Urban Aid

In the wake of the deadly and tragic Los Angeles riots, lawmakers began work on an urban aid bill to alleviate some of the causes of the riot and to help that city heal. However, months later that effort had ballooned into a \$28 billion package of tax breaks aimed at corporations and benefits for the wealthy, with little money earmarked for real urban aid.

The bill (H.R. 11) was opposed by the AFL-CIO. It would have established enterprise zones which lead to a dislocation of existing workers without creating new jobs in economically depressed areas.

It also contained several other provisions opposed by the AFL-CIO including a new definition of "leased employees" which would help employers to avoid tax and pension obligations; a provision that would amend the long-standing law governing pilot pension plans and thereby assist Federal Express' efforts to avoid collective bargaining; a tax benefit for intangible assets that would actually encourage further mergers—especially in the food industry—with the result that workers could be fired or required to take lower wages in order to service overwhelming debt that could result from mergers.

The House approved the conference report on the bill Oct. 6 by a 208-202 vote. The bill was later vetoed.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

Major Issues *In the United States Senate*

1. Education—Public Money for Private Schools

In one of the first votes of the second session, the Senate turned back an attempt by President Bush's allies in the Senate to take federal tax dollars—normally earmarked for public schools—and give them to private schools. The Senate action, January 23, was on an amendment to S. 2, the elementary and secondary education bill, which would have set aside \$30 million of federal money for tuition at private schools.

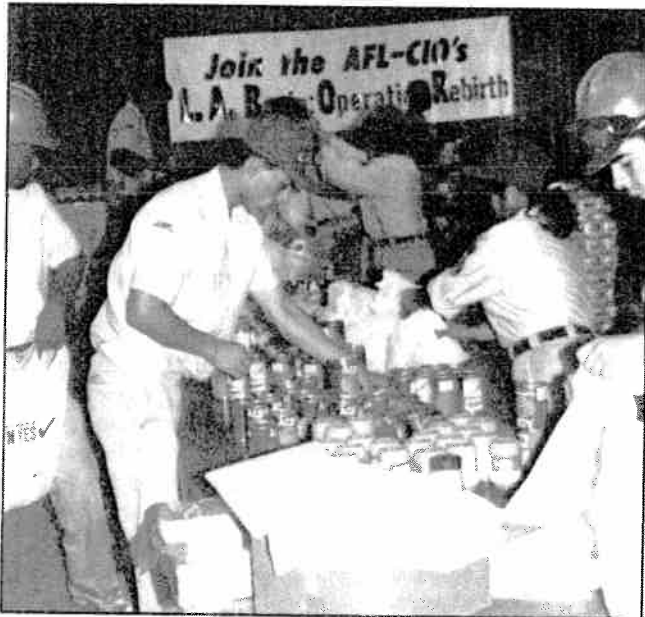
The AFL-CIO opposed the effort saying it made no sense to redirect limited federal resources to private schools at a time when public school districts across the country are in the midst of financial crises. The federal government should not further deplete the scarce dollars it does provide public schools by deciding to underwrite private institutions.

The amendment failed 36-57.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

2. Davis-Bacon/Service Contract Act

In recent years, the Davis-Bacon Act has regularly come under fire, and 1992 was no different. Sen. Don Nickles (R-OK), tried to use the emergency funding bill for riot-torn Los Angeles and flood-damaged Chicago (H.R. 5132) as a platform for his anti-worker crusade. He offered an amendment which would have waived both Davis-Bacon and Service Contract Act provisions for all construction and repair projects under H.R. 5132.

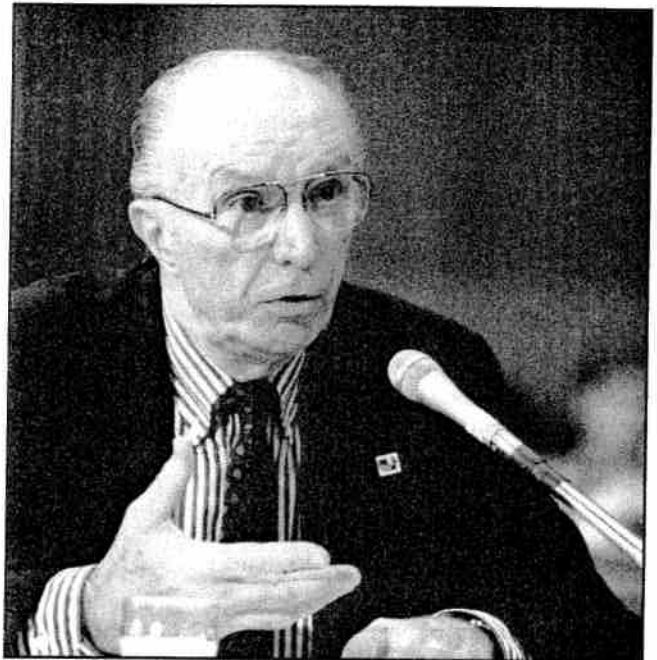


At the same time unions were providing some \$200,000 in donations to help victims of the Los Angeles riots, an attempt was made in the Senate to strip Davis-Bacon and Service Contract Act provisions from an emergency funding bill for riot-torn L.A.

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 lowball 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. The Service Contract Act provides similar protections to Davis-Bacon for service workers under contract to the federal government.

Nickles' amendment was defeated 36-63 May 21.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

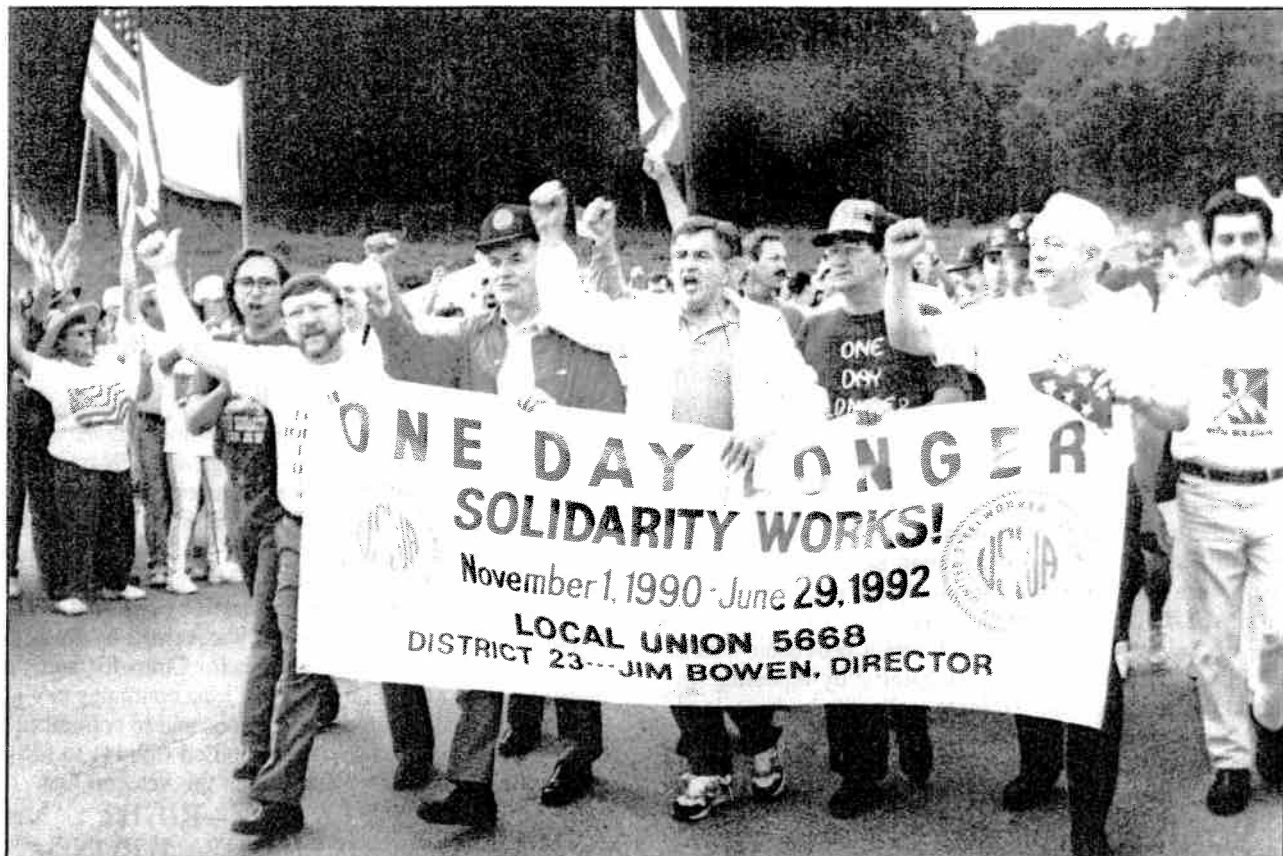


AFL-CIO Secretary Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue was a frequent witness for labor at congressional hearings.

3. Workplace Fairness

The drive for S. 55—to ban the permanent replacement workers—was an intense effort by working people who propelled a massive grassroots drive around the country. Hundreds of thousands of telegrams, phone calls and letters demanding passage of the legislation were directed to lawmakers on Capitol Hill. The business community and its allies undertook an enormous effort to derail S. 55.

The huge increase in recent years in the use of permanent replacements by companies where workers have engaged in lawful economic strikes has severely blunted the effectiveness of the right to strike. Thousands and thousands of workers



Workers at Ravenswood Aluminum Corp. were out of work for 19 months when management at the West Virginia plant locked them out and hired permanent replacement workers. While the Senate failed to pass S. 55, these 1,700 Steelworkers lasted “one day longer” than management and did regain their jobs.

exercised their lawful right to strike only to see themselves lose their jobs to permanent replacement workers.

After an earlier cloture vote failed to end a filibuster against S. 55, the AFL-CIO backed a compromise version offered by Sen. Robert Packwood (R-OR) which centered around the use of mediation and non-binding fact finding to settle disputes.

A cloture attempt to shut off a GOP-lead filibuster against the compromise failed (57-42) June 16. It fell three votes short of the needed super majority of 60 votes to shut off debate.

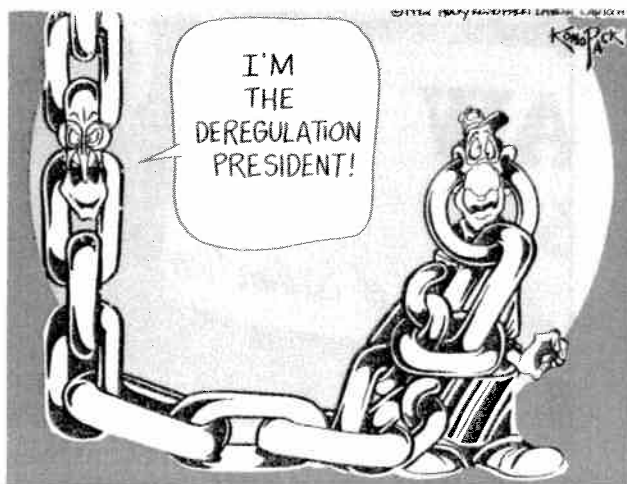
**FOR CLOTURE—RIGHT
AGAINST CLOTURE—WRONG**

4. LM-2 and LM-3 Regulations

Intense pressure from the National Right to Work Committee and other zealous right wing groups resulted in President Bush proposing a change to long-standing union financial reporting regulations which would be extremely burdensome in time and money to local unions, with no apparent benefit for union members. Those new LM-2 and LM-3 reporting requirements were even opposed by the Department of Labor official in charge of the LM-2 and LM-3 program.

The proposed rules would change the type of accounting system now used by some 98 percent of local unions and by requiring a breakdown by substantive category of all union expenses, would increase by more than 2.5 million hours the amount of paperwork needed to file the required LM-2 and LM-3 reports.

The FY 1993 Labor, Health and Human Services appropriations bill (H.R. 5677) included provisions suspending



the Department of Labor's (DOL) ability to implement the new regulations on the LM-2s and LM-3s.

GOP senators engaged in a filibuster against the motion to proceed to the bill in an effort to remove that ban from the appropriations bill. A Sept. 16 cloture vote, which would have ended that filibuster, failed 56-38, to receive the three-fifths needed to end debate. In an effort to get the entire bill to the floor, Senate leaders pulled the language banning the new regulations.

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

5. Tax Bill/Federal Express Pilots' Pensions

H.R. 11 began as a legislative response to the deadly and devastating Los Angeles riots. But the legislation was transformed into a tax giveaway for corporations and wealthy individuals. In fact, funds for tax breaks far outpaced money in the bill earmarked for actual urban aid.

There were many objectionable provisions in the bill which led the AFL-CIO to oppose H.R. 11.

One of the problems in H.R. 11 was a provision which in effect undermines collective bargaining by repealing an important provision that exempts collectively bargained airline pilot pension plans from the non-discrimination rules of ERISA. At the urging of Federal Express a provision deleting this 18-year-old pension regulation was added to H.R. 11 so that Federal Express could continue to fight union efforts to organize its pilots.

When the Senate took up the bill, Sen. Robert Packwood (R-OR) offered an amendment, backed by the AFL-CIO, to strike those provisions from the bill. The amendment was defeated Sept. 23 by a 41-56 vote. The entire bill later was vetoed (see vote #12).

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

6. Trade—China MFN

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The AFL-CIO supported H.R. 5318, although it fell short of the outright denial of MFN sought by the AFL-CIO. It passed the Senate and House but was vetoed by Bush. The bill would have denied MFN status for China for items produced by state-owned facilities if China continues to violate human rights, to sell nuclear weapons and to commit unfair trading practices. But the Senate failed (59-44) to achieve the two-thirds majority to override the veto on Oct. 1.

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



Workers at nuclear facilities, such as these OCAW members from southern Ohio, received collective bargaining, OSHA, Davis-Bacon and Service Contract Act protections in the energy bill.

7. Energy Bill/Miners' Health Care—Nuclear Cleanup

An important part of the AFL-CIO-backed energy bill (H.R. 776) was an amendment designed to shore up health benefits for retired coal miners. Without passage of H.R. 776, more than 120,000 retired miners and their dependents—covered by the UMWA Health Benefit Funds—faced the loss of their health coverage. They had worked for companies that had gone out of business or used legal tricks to avoid their obligations to the retired miners. The bill set up a formula to provide funding for the health benefits.

In addition, the legislation will create tens of thousands of jobs for the decades-long efforts to clean up federal uranium enrichment sites. Many AFL-CIO affiliated unions have represented the workers at these plants for nearly 40 years. Many basic worker protections were contained in the uranium enrichment title, including provisions protecting the collective bargaining agreement during transition and provisions ensuring coverage of workers by OSHA, the Davis-Bacon Act and the Service Contract Act.

On Oct. 8, the Senate approved a cloture motion—to shut off debate on the bill—by an 84-8 vote. The bill was passed and signed into law.

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

8. Balanced Budget Amendment

Backers of a balanced budget amendment to the constitution were willing to play election year politics with this ill-advised issue. Most studies indicated that millions of jobs would be lost, taxes would jump and state and local budget deficits would soar under a balanced budget amendment. But those warnings were ignored by the Bush administration, which undertook a massive effort to win congressional approval for a balanced budget amendment as a panacea to deficit woes.

During the House debate on H.J. Res. 290, which called for a constitutional amendment, the AFL-CIO noted that if a balanced budget amendment were ratified a combination of large tax increases and drastic spending cuts would be required to balance the budget. Various studies showed such action could result in a sharp drop in economic output and the loss of millions of jobs. The reduced spending levels would sharply limit the federal government's ability to fund programs to help those who might lose their jobs. State and local governments, already in fiscal crisis, could see their deficits soar and also be forced to cut services and increase taxes.

Despite the evidence of the disastrous impact, backers of a balanced budget amendment tried to attach it to an unrelated bill (S. 2733). However, twice they failed to win cloture, on June 30 and July 1, by identical 56-39 votes.

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

9. Motor Voter

“Motor voter” legislation could add millions of eligible voters to registration lists. In the Senate, the bill (S. 250)

won the backing of the AFL-CIO and a broad coalition of citizen groups, including the non-partisan League of Women Voters.

The legislation would have enfranchised 70 million Americans who consistently cannot vote because they are not registered. In turn, that would increase the turnout on election day. In 1988 only 50 percent of eligible voters went to the polls. The 1990 off-year elections produced only a 36 percent turnout. S. 250 was designed to expand voter participation in the United States, while also ensuring the integrity of the electoral process.

S. 250 would have allowed people to register to vote when they applied for drivers' licenses and other licenses and permits. It would have also allowed for registration by mail and at various state and federal offices such as employment offices and other agencies. It contained stiff penalties against voter fraud. More than 30 states have similar laws.

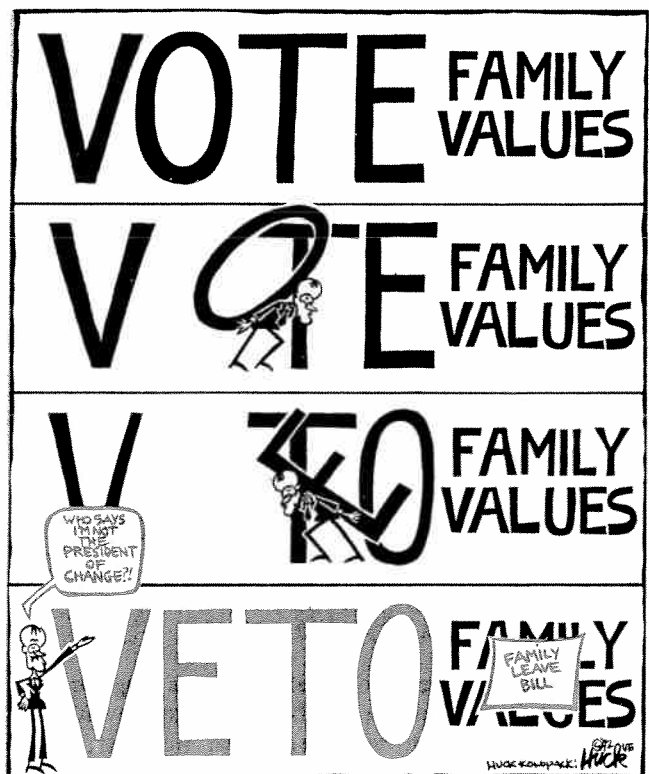
The bill passed both houses by large—but not veto proof—margins and Bush vetoed the bill. The Senate sustained the veto on Oct. 22 by a 62-38 vote.

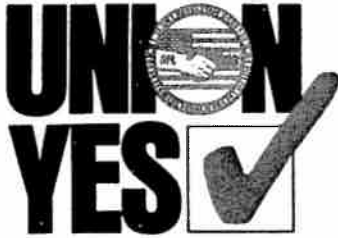
**FOR OVERRIDE—RIGHT
AGAINST OVERRIDE—WRONG**

10. Family and Medical Leave

President Bush vetoed family and medical leave legislation for the second time in his term despite the fact it was supported by large majorities in the House and Senate during the 102nd and the 101st congresses.

The family leave issue has been debated in the Congress since 1985. The United States is the only major industrialized nation without a family and medical leave policy. Thousands of workers have faced the choice of taking care of their sick children or other family members or losing their jobs. S. 5 was the product of bipartisan support and compromise. The AFL-CIO, as it has done in the past, backed the bill.





The legislation called for up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to workers for birth or adoption 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, which covers close to half of the nation's workers. The Senate voted 68-31 to override the veto on Sept. 21. But the House failed to override.

FOR OVERRIDE—RIGHT
AGAINST OVERRIDE—WRONG

11. Cable Television Regulation

The cable TV industry was deregulated in 1984 and prices have been soaring since, a 56 percent increase from 1988 to 1992 alone. The AFL-CIO strongly supported legislation (S. 12) designed to bring fairness and equity back into the cable TV marketplace.

The legislation will protect consumers against unwarranted rate increases by cable companies—most of which operate as monopolies in their communities—provide access to programming for competitors and correct the imbalances against over-the-air broadcasters. By strengthening the economic viability of free, on-the-air television, this bill also will protect the jobs of tens of thousands of workers in the broadcast industry.

Bush vetoed the bill, but the Senate voted Oct. 5, 74-25 to override the veto. The same day the House also overrode the veto, marking the first time a Bush veto was overridden.

FOR OVERRIDE—RIGHT
AGAINST OVERRIDE—WRONG

12. Tax Bill/Urban Aid

In the wake of the deadly and tragic Los Angeles riots, lawmakers began work on an urban aid bill to alleviate some causes of the riot and to help that city heal. However, months later that effort had ballooned into a \$28 billion package of

tax breaks aimed at corporations and benefits for the wealthy, with little money set aside for real urban aid.

The bill, H.R. 11, opposed by the AFL-CIO, would have established enterprise zones which lead to a dislocation of existing workers without creating new jobs in economically depressed areas.

It also contained several other provisions opposed by the AFL-CIO including a new definition of "leased employees" which would help employers to avoid tax and pension obligations; a provision that would amend the long-standing law governing pilot pension plans and thereby assist Federal Express efforts to avoid collective bargaining; a tax benefit for intangible assets that would actually encourage further mergers—especially in the food industry—with the result that workers could be fired or required to take lower wages in order to service overwhelming debt that could result from mergers.

The Senate approved the conference report on the bill Oct. 8 by a 67-22 vote. The bill was later vetoed.

FOR—WRONG **AGAINST—RIGHT**



HOW YOUR REPRESENTATIVES VOTED IN 1992

State	Rep	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total All Votes 1992	1992 Percentage	Lifetime Voting Record	%
Alabama	1	Callahan S (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	27	21	86
	2	Dickinson B (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	88	51	318
	3	Brown G (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	5	27	16
	4	Bevill T (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	8	4	217	138
	5	Cramer B (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7	5	67	101
	6	Erdreich B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	1	101	37
	7	Harris C (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	5	4	54	24
Alaska	AL	Young D (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	8	4	132	162
	1	Rhodes J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	9	8	70
	2	Pastor (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	10	2	14	2
	3	Stump B (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	11	17	231
	4	Kyl J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	8	7	70
	5	Kolbe J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	9	11	98
	6	Kolbe J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	6	11	98
Arkansas	1	Alexander B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	4	0	256	91
	2	Thornton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	5	1	21	2
	3	Matsui R (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	10	1	91	21
	4	Hammerschmidt J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	10	55	307
California	1	Riggs F (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	4	7	7	16
	2	Heger W (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	3	9	15	62
	3	Matsui R (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	6	5	181	28
	4	Fazio V (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	9	3	187	24
Colorado	1	Schroeder P (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	1	92	25
	2	Skaggs D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	127	29
	3	Campbell (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	1	92	319
	4	Cunningham (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	10	2	83	275
	5	Hefley J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	1	92	366
	6	Schaefer D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	8	161	9
	7	Schaefer D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	1	92	181
	8	Schaefer D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	3	8	27	265
	9	Schaefer D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	1	92	30
	10	Schaefer D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	1	92	30
	11	Schaefer D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	1	92	30
	12	Schaefer D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	1	92	30
	13	Schaefer D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	11	1	92	30

Nunan S (D)	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	91	144	179	45
Hawaii																				
Akaka D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	11	1	92	29	3	91
Amodeo D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	11	1	92	302	35	90
Idaho																				
Craig L (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	6	W	W	W	W	W	2	10	17	5	19	21
Symons S (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	6	W	W	W	W	W	2	10	17	8	156	5
Illinois																				
Dixon A (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	1	W	R	R	R	R	10	2	83	134	39	77
Shinn P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	W	R	R	R	R	11	1	92	82	13	87
Indiana																				
Coats D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	6	W	W	R	R	R	4	8	33	11	32	26
Lujan R (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	6	W	W	W	W	W	2	10	17	28	222	7
Iowa																				
Grassley C (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	6	W	W	R	R	R	2	10	17	33	142	19
Harkin T (D)	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	R	10	1	91	90	9	91
Kansas																				
Dole B (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	6	W	W	W	W	W	3	10	17	55	277	17
Kassasbaum N (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	6	W	W	W	W	W	3	9	25	41	165	20
Kentucky																				
Ford W (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	11	1	92	224	65	78
McConnell M (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	6	W	W	W	W	A	2	9	18	19	82	19
Louisiana																				
Breaux J (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	5	2	W	R	R	R	R	8	4	67	53	13	80
Johnston B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	5	2	W	R	R	R	R	9	3	75	158	133	54
Maine																				
Cohen W (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	2	5	W	W	R	R	R	4	8	33	80	130	38
Mitchell G (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	1	W	R	R	R	R	10	2	83	159	26	86
Maryland																				
Mikulski B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	11	1	92	59	5	92
Sarbanes P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	11	1	92	236	10	96
Massachusetts																				
Kennedy E (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	11	1	92	322	26	93
Kerry J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	1	R	R	R	R	R	10	2	83	94	8	92
Michigan																				
Levin C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	11	1	92	195	17	92
Riegle D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	R	11	1	92	239	17	93
Minnesota																				
Durenberger D (R)	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	2	5	W	R	R	R	R	6	6	50	92	109	46
Wellstone P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	6	1	R	R	R	R	R	11	1	92	21	3	88
Mississippi																				
Cocharn T (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	1	6	W	W	W	W	R	2	10	17	34	174	16
Loft T (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	1	6	W	W	W	W	R	2	10	17	9	33	21
Missouri																				
Bond C (R)	A	W	W	W	W	R	W	1	4	W	W	R	R	A	3	6	33	16	44	27
Danforth J (R)	A	W	W	W	W	W	A	1	4	W	W	R	R	A	3	9	25	76	172	31
Montana																				
Baucus M (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	5	2	R	R	R	R	R	9	3	75	155	54	74
Burns C (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	2	3	R	W	W	W	R	3	9	25	6	37	14
Nebraska																				
Exton J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	1	R	R	R	R	R	10	2	83	106	95	53
Kerrey R (R)	A	D	D	D	D	D	D	1	1	R	R	R	R	R	10	2	83	106	95	53

Pennsylvania																				
Speicher A (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	W	R	R	R	R	10	2	83	121	52	70
Worford (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	W	R	R	R	R	11	1	92	19	2	90
Rhode Island																				
Chafee J (R)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	1	6	W	W	R	R	W	2	10	17	111	137	45
Pell C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	1	A	R	R	R	W	9	2	82	347	35	91
South Carolina																				
Hollings E (D)	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	5	2	W	W	W	R	W	6	6	50	201	139	59
Thurmond S (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	2	5	W	W	W	W	W	3	9	25	52	368	12
South Dakota																				
Daschle T (D)	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	6	1	W	R	R	R	W	9	3	75	54	12	79
Presler L (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	1	6	W	W	W	W	W	2	10	17	60	136	31
Tennessee																				
Core A (D)	R	R	R	A	A	A	A	3	0	R	R	R	R	A	7	0	100	78	11	88
Sasser J (D)	R	R	R	A	W	A	A	6	1	R	R	R	R	W	10	2	83	197	47	81
Texas																				
Bentsen L (D)	R	A	R	R	W	R	R	5	1	R	R	R	R	W	9	2	82	175	137	56
Graham P (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	1	6	W	W	W	W	W	1	11	8	6	95	6
Utah																				
Gara J (R)	A	W	W	W	W	W	R	1	5	W	W	W	W	W	1	10	9	31	257	11
Hatch O (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	1	6	W	W	W	W	W	2	10	17	34	210	14
Vermont																				
Jeffords J (R)	R	W	W	A	R	W	A	2	3	W	R	R	R	A	5	4	56	19	21	48
Leahy P (D)	R	R	R	A	R	R	A	6	0	W	R	R	R	A	10	0	100	243	45	84
Virginia																				
Robb C (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	6	1	W	R	R	R	W	9	3	75	30	13	70
Warner J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	1	6	W	W	W	W	W	2	10	17	40	174	19
Washington																				
Adams B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	W	11	1	92	58	8	88
Gorton S (R)	A	R	R	W	R	R	R	3	3	W	W	W	W	W	4	7	36	8	34	19
West Virginia																				
Byrd R (D)	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	7	0	R	R	R	R	W	11	1	92	312	105	75
Ricketts J (D)	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	6	0	R	R	R	R	W	10	1	91	90	12	88
Wisconsin																				
Kasten B (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	A	6	0	W	R	R	R	A	2	8	20	44	128	26
Kohl H (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	7	0	W	R	R	R	A	10	2	83	52	11	74
Wyoming																				
Simpson A (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	1	6	W	W	W	R	W	2	10	17	17	193	8
Wallace M (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	2	5	W	W	W	W	R	3	9	25	23	219	10

Key to Symbols

- R Voted Right or was paired Right.
- W Voted Wrong or was paired Wrong.
- A Absent and not paired or voted "present."
- I Not in Senate at time.