



1994 Report on Congress

1994 was a "big disappointment for America's working families," AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said. A filibuster killed the Workplace Fairness bill in the Senate. Despite its threat to U.S. jobs, GATT won congressional approval. OSHA reform did not make it out of committee. Inside is a wrap up of key House and Senate votes from the second session of the 103rd Congress.



Disappointing Session of 103rd Congress Is A Harbinger of Labor's Tough Fights Ahead

By Lane Kirkland

For all its potential, the second session of the 103rd Congress was a big disappointment for America's working families.

Over the course of 1994, our hopes for long-awaited passage of several major initiatives—health care reform, OSHA reform and a ban on the permanent replacement of strikers—were dashed amid a concerted, rear guard action by the business lobby and their allies on the right. Meanwhile, on the heels of NAFTA, Congress continued to ignore worker rights concerns in pursuit of “free-trade-at-all-costs” as it passed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade during a special session in November.

With the 1994 elections looming over the session, it soon became apparent why progress on major legislation was so difficult to achieve. Republican legislators used every possible means of stalling the advancement of these proposals so that they and their party's candidates could proclaim that “Congress doesn't work” and that they should be put in charge. Moreover, the majority party was beset by a fifth column of self-described “pro-business” Democrats who turned their backs on working people when their support was needed most.

As a result of these factors, health care reform—a centerpiece of President Clinton's 1992 campaign—was watered down to the point where it no longer resembled the comprehensive reform labor was fighting for. The opposition's delaying tactics and filibuster threats were aided by special interest groups spending \$300 million on a campaign to frighten the public with distorted television, radio and newspaper ads. Late in the session, proposals lacking universal coverage, cost control and employer mandates—elements that are so critical to the success of any health care package—became the only bills with any chance of passage at all. At that point, it became clear that labor would once again have to defer its dream of a health care system that provides all Americans with affordable, quality care.

The same forces that fought the hardest to stop the health care effort were also largely responsible for killing the Workplace Fairness Act through a Senate filibuster. Despite the disappointing outcome, we have every right to be proud of labor's effort to enact the ban on permanent replacement of strikers. It marked the only time in recent history that *any* representative group—essentially alone and with little help or support from anyone else—ever got majorities in both houses of Congress to support one of their major initiatives.

We fought the good fight. We were on the right side of the issue. And only the existence of the filibuster rule in the Senate has enabled a minority of flinty, right-wing ideologues—in service to the worst employers in the country—to carry the day.

The session was not entirely lacking in positive results. Following the previous year's successes on Family and Medical Leave, Hatch Act reform, “motor voter” legislation and deficit reduction measures, Congress passed into law three major education bills supported by the AFL-CIO: school-to-work legislation, the Goals 2000 bill and the Neighborhood Schools Act. Additionally, the labor movement met with success in staving off a balanced budget constitutional amendment, initiatives to destroy progressive federal laws through “unfunded mandates” lan-

guage, and the perennial amendments aimed at weakening or eliminating Davis-Bacon requirements.

By helping union activists and members determine which members of Congress have earned their support in future elections, this 1994 AFL-CIO Report on Congress is intended to be a valuable tool in the pursuit of labor's legislative and political goals. Using it to track your representatives, you will find that what matters most is not their party affiliation, but rather *how they voted on the issues*. That is and always has been the critical test.

Unfortunately, while the lesson of 1994 is that labor needs still more friends and fewer enemies in the Congress, the election results will mean considerably rougher sailing for workers in the months ahead. Members of the new Republican majority in both houses of Congress have proclaimed that they have a broad mandate not only to oppose progressive legislation, but also for further dismantling the government programs and agencies that are responsible for keeping our communities and workplaces safe and for protecting workers and consumers from the un-tender mercies of the marketplace.

...Republican legislators used every means possible to stall or kill labor legislation...

Furthermore, we can certainly expect that labor's enemies, emboldened by their additional strength in the next session of Congress, will step up their assaults on the rights of working people to join unions and to act collectively in pursuit of their goals.

Labor will vigorously respond to this onslaught. Nothing in the election results provided any indication that working Americans have abandoned their hope for safer workplaces, fair trade policies, a stronger voice on the job and decent health care for all. There is no evidence that the vast majority of Americans expect their government to shower money and license on the rich and the powerful.

We have an obligation to stand up for the 14 million members of AFL-CIO unions, their families and the millions of other working Americans who look to the AFL-CIO to give voice to their aspirations for justice, dignity and the opportunity to achieve a better life for themselves and their children.

We cannot hope to fulfill that obligation without maintaining strong legislative and political action programs in 1995 and beyond. Exit polls from the 1994 elections showed the members of union households voted almost two-to-one in favor of labor's endorsed candidates for Congress. (We can assume that the ratio strictly among union *members* was even higher.) In spite of the disappointing election outcome, we must continue to organize, mobilize and educate our members on the issues that so deeply affect their lives on and off the job.

Perhaps the greatest virtue of living in a democracy is that election results are always provisional. The people always get another shot, and we'll have our next chance in two years. In the meantime, you can be sure that AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will be steadfast in defense of working people everywhere.

Major Issues In the House of Representatives

1. Goals 2000—Educate America Act

The AFL-CIO strongly endorsed one of the most ambitious major education and training bills in years, H.R. 1804, Goals 2000, the Educate America Act. The bill will, for the first time, establish skill and performance standards for students and includes labor participation in developing some of those standards.

Goals 2000 gives America a rational system of education that starts with the essentials—clear, high academic standards for what students should know and be able to do. The legislation will also provide a major stimulus to education reform efforts in the states. H.R. 1804 will also assure that the national skill standards provisions are balanced and developed in partnership with labor, business, and educators.

The legislation establishes voluntary national education standards, which are broad descriptions of the knowledge and skills students should acquire in a particular subject area. The bill also sets student performance standards, which are what a student must know and be able to demonstrate proficiency.

The legislation also establishes a skill standards board which will be charged with studying the national labor market and identifying broad clusters of major occupations that involve one or more industries in the United States. After identifying an occupational cluster, the board would then facilitate the establishment of voluntary labor/business/education partnerships to develop skill standards systems.

Backed by the AFL-CIO, it passed the House March 23 by a 306-121 vote.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

2. Black Lung Benefits

Black lung disease continues to strike thousands of coal miners every year. But Bush-Reagan era restrictions on the Black Lung Benefits Act are so stringent that only four per-



cent of those who apply for benefits have them granted. That is why the AFL-CIO supported legislation to make the process more equitable for miners and their spouses seeking benefits as a result of the debilitating disease.

"Twenty-five years ago, Congress made a historic commitment to eradicate black lung disease and to compensate its victims and their families. Today, however, the black lung program is in a shambles," AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten said in a letter to the House.

The bill (H.R. 2108) would place reasonable limits on the amount of medical evidence that can be submitted by the opponents to a claim; eliminate unfair obstacles to receiving widow's and survivor's benefits; and end the practice of demanding repayment of benefits received by applicants during the appeals process, which can last as long as seven or eight years.

The legislation was passed by the House May 19 by a 252-166 vote.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

3. OSHA, MSHA Budget Raid

During consideration of the FY 1995 Labor/HHS appropriations bill (H.R. 4606), an amendment opposed by the AFL-CIO, was offered which would have stripped some \$47.5 million from various DOL programs, including OSHA, MSHA and the Pension and Welfare Benefits Administration (PWBA). The amendment was an effort to strip workplace enforcement programs of funds which would have seriously cut the enforcement capabilities of each agency.

"Under the amendment, OSHA's ability to support vital health and safety matters affecting American workers would suffer. Both OSHA and MSHA inspections and compliance programs would be hard hit. The PWBA is responsible for the enforcement of laws for over 730,000 private pension plans impacting an estimated 200 million participants," AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten said in a letter to the House.

GOP authors of the amendment claimed the money would be used to establish community and rural health care centers, but the move was actually an attempt to cripple workplace enforcement programs. Initially approved by the House, the amendment was brought up for reconsideration and it failed June 29 by a 211-217 vote.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

4. Maritime Security Act—Tonnage Tax

During consideration of legislation designed to boost U.S.-flag shipping and American shipyards, the AFL-CIO backed an amendment to use a tonnage tax as a funding mechanism for the bill.

This legislation was designed to address two fundamental problems facing the U.S. merchant marine. It provides for the support of the merchant marine as well as improving U.S. shipyards. H.R. 4003 is the funding mechanism for H.R.

2151, the Maritime Security and Competitiveness Act, that passed the House in 1993.

The need for this measure is the direct result of foreign shippers and governments who use unfair subsidies and engage in unfair practices which undermine the U.S. maritime industry. Efforts to end this abuse internationally have not been successful and, therefore, H.R. 4003 is necessary to maintain a U.S.-flag fleet and shipbuilding capability.

The tonnage tax, developed by the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, could raise some \$1.3 billion over 10 years which would help both ship operators and ship builders. It was approved by a 268-153 vote August 2.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

5. Education Neighborhood Schools

The bill (H.R. 6) is a five-year re-authorization for the programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, and also reforms the way the federal government gives money to public schools. The bill will increasingly target school districts with higher concentrations of poor students, though no school district will lose money in 1996.

About \$12.6 billion a year would be authorized, or \$63 billion over five years. ESEA funds comprise the federal government's primary assistance to the nation's primary and secondary schools.

The House and Senate passed significantly different bills, particularly in their Chapter I formula funding—about \$7 billion a year—to assist educationally deprived students. But conferees, after much wrangling combined elements of both formulas. The House passed the conference report Sept. 30 by a 262-132 vote.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

6. GATT

After a comprehensive evaluation, the AFL-CIO strongly opposed the Uruguay Round GATT agreement and urged Congress to reject the agreement because it offers little, if anything, that is positive for working people and their communities.

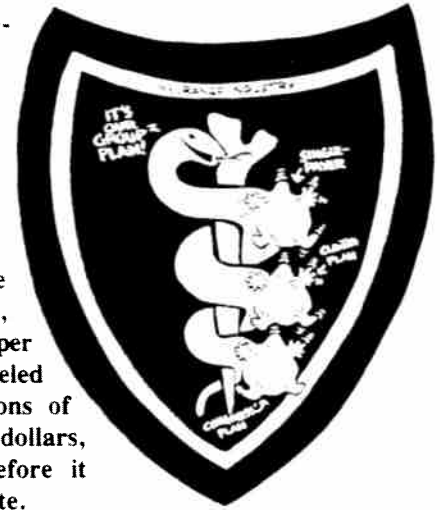
The Federation's opposition to GATT was based on several reasons including: the loss of tens of thousands of U.S. textile and apparel industry jobs; the weakening of U.S. trade laws which are designed to combat unfair trade practices; the subjugation of U.S. trade policy and some U.S. laws to decisions from the new World Trade Organization (WTO).

"Millions of American workers have already suffered greatly from the damaging effects of unfair and inequitable trade. For many Americans, the agreements will mean enormous economic disruption and job loss," the AFL-CIO Executive Council said.

The GATT implementing legislation will do nothing to alleviate the United States' huge annual trade deficit, which, this year, is expected to be the second highest in the nation's history at close to \$150 billion. It will also limit the ability of the U.S. government to fashion policies and take actions that could bring some relief from growing trade deficits.

"The Uruguay Round did nothing to address the cruelest and most prevalent unfair trade practice of all—the suppression of worker rights by governments seeking a low-wage, low-standard 'comparative advantage' on the world market," the Council said.

Health care reform was high on the legislative agenda in 1994. But opposition stalling tactics, filibuster threats and a deceptive and distorted T.V., radio and newspaper ad campaign fueled by tens of millions of special interest dollars, killed reform before it could get to a vote.



But on Dec. 1, the Senate approved the implementing legislation by a 76-24 vote.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

7. Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment

A myriad of private and public studies show that a balanced budget constitutional amendment could wreak havoc upon the American economy, force deep, deep cuts in basic government services, including defense preparedness, and boost Americans' taxes. But that failed to stop its backers who pushed hard for it in the House in 1994.

H.J. Res. 103 would have prohibited budget deficits starting in 2001. It also required a three-fifths vote in each house to approve deficit spending or to raise taxes. That in effect would put minorities in control of the government's \$1.5 trillion budget and seriously undermine Congress' fiscal powers to help maintain national economic stability.

A Treasury Department study showed that to meet a mandate of a balanced budget in the year 2000, huge tax increases would be required along with deep cuts in defense spending, Social Security and almost all other important programs.

The study said the average American could face an annual federal income tax increase of \$728. Defense cutbacks of about \$270 billion along with the reduction of 275,000 troops would be required over five years, along with abandoning many weapons programs.

"This amendment would cause great damage to the economy and to the important services that government provides to American workers and their families," AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten said in a letter to House members.

Opposed by the AFL-CIO as "quick-fix" and economic sham H.J. Res. 103, which required a two-thirds majority to pass, was defeated in the House March 17 271-152.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

8. Budget Resolution-Budget Cuts

In 1993, the largest deficit reduction plan in history capped discretionary spending at levels below inflation, even though that forced cuts in many important government pro-

grams. In addition, the FY 1995 budget resolution (H. Con. Res. 218), which is the blueprint for the fiscal year, held the deficit to about \$174 billion, the smallest since 1989. It contained no new taxes.

During Senate deliberations on the resolution, that body voted to force an additional \$26 billion in discretionary spending cuts that were not in the original House-passed version. Ironically the move to slash the spending came when the federal deficit was shrinking more rapidly than expected and the overall economy was growing.

If forced to cut the \$26 billion, spending for defense, domestic and foreign aid programs would have to be slashed. Most of the money would have to come from defense programs, which many military experts say has already been hard hit.

The House action was on a motion, opposed by the AFL-CIO, to instruct its conferees on the budget resolution to accept those cuts that the Senate made. The House rejected (202-216) the motion April 14.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

9. MFN for China

The AFL-CIO was opposed to the administration's decision to extend Most Favored Nation (MFN) trading status

to China because of that nation's lack of progress in improving its worker and human rights policy.

To counter the administration's flawed China trade policy, the Federation backed a bill, H.R. 4590, which would directly tie the worker/human rights issue to MFN trade benefits for China. When it granted the MFN extension the administration also "de-linked" future MFN extensions for China from progress in the human rights arena.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland called the MFN extension "a disappointing setback to those who are risking their lives and liberty for the values and principles that America was created to advance." The Chinese government has continued to arrest, imprison, torture and shoot citizens who dare to speak out for democracy and trade union rights," he added.

In addition, Chinese activists have provided new evidence of the continued export to the U.S. of goods made by forced labor. In 1993 the Chinese government signed a memorandum of understanding with the U.S. dealing with forced labor exports, but those products are still being shipped to the U.S.

This legislation, backed by the AFL-CIO, set certain human and workers rights conditions for continued Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status for China. It was defeated August 8 by a 158-270 vote.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

Major Issues

In the United States Senate

1. Federal Worker Buyouts

The Clinton administration and Congress, in an effort to streamline government, called for a reduction of some 252,000 federal workers over the next five years. Buyouts for federal employees would be used as incentives for early retirement or to encourage workers to leave the government voluntarily. It was hoped that enough federal workers would take advantage of the buyout options, up to \$25,000, so that layoffs could be avoided.

The House first passed H.R. 3345 in February by a 391-17 vote. But the following day the Senate approved an amended version by voice vote which called for the savings from the workforce reduction be used to pay for new anti-crime programs. That led to a dispute between the House and Senate. Many federal agencies, which were operating under tight budgets in 1994, were faced with the possibility of laying off employees if the buyout legislation was stalled.

A House/Senate conference reported a compromise version of the bill, but a GOP-led filibuster threatened to stall action on the conference report. A cloture vote failed 58-41 March 24. Cloture was later achieved and the bill was passed and signed into law.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

2. Education—Goals 2000

The AFL-CIO backed one of the most ambitious major education and training bills in years, H.R. 1804, Goals 2000,

the Educate America Act. The bill will, for the first time, establish skill and performance standards for students. It assures that the national skill standards provisions are balanced and developed in partnership with labor, business, and educators. The legislation will also provide a major stimulus to education reform efforts in the states.

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Backed by the AFL-CIO, it passed the Senate March 25 63-22.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

3. Davis-Bacon

In the last several years, anti-labor members of Congress, backed by such anti-union groups as the Association of Building Contractors (ABC), have escalated their campaign

to repeal one of the nation's first fair-wage standard laws—the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act.

The Davis-Bacon Act was designed to outlaw wage exploitation in federal construction contracts by preventing the federal government from undercutting local area labor standards.

Along with protecting workers, the Davis-Bacon Act provides important safeguards for businesses, the federal government and the taxpayer. By establishing a wage-rate floor, the law provides local builders with a fair chance to compete for government projects on the basis of skill and efficiency, rather than losing this work to disreputable competitors who could underbid by paying substandard wages. The government and taxpayers, in turn, are protected from fly-by-night contractors whose substandard wages would attract substandard workers and result in shoddy construction work, requiring still more tax dollars for higher repair costs and additional maintenance over the life of the project. These are some of the basic reasons—still valid today—which led Congress to pass the Davis-Bacon Act more than 60 years ago, and which moved some 40 state legislatures to enact their own "little Davis-Bacon Acts" for state-funded construction projects.

During consideration of the Safe Drinking Water Act (S. 2019) several anti-Davis-Bacon amendments were offered. One by Sen. Alan Simpson (R-WY) would have allowed states to exempt certain communities from Davis-Bacon requirements for any construction or repair work under the bill. That was defeated 45-53 on May 19.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

4. Product Liability

Every year thousands of workers suffer occupational injuries and diseases as a direct result of defects in the products with which they work. Whether working on unsafe machinery or with other defective "products used in a trade or business," workers injured as a result of the working conditions have found that product liability litigation affords their only recourse for full redress of their injuries. S. 687 would have unfairly limited the legal rights of these workers while at the same time, affording special interest protection to the manufacturers of defective products.

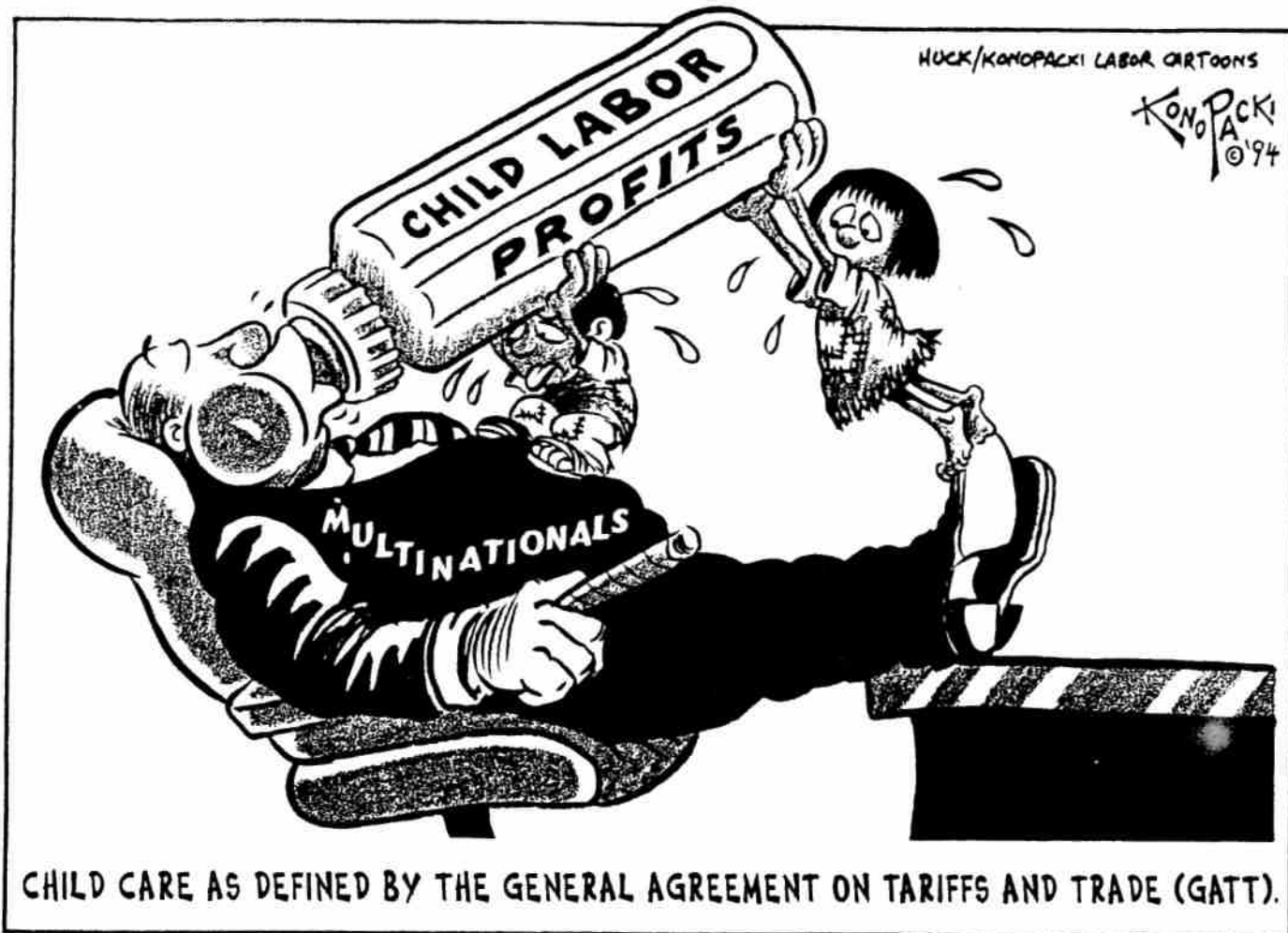
The legislation, opposed by the AFL-CIO, would have curtailed the ability of workers to be made whole for losses they suffer when injured by a defective product.

"S. 687 is one-sided legislation whose provisions uniformly make it far more difficult for workers or consumers injured by defective products to vindicate their rights. Such an approach undermines the product liability system's two principal social functions—providing fair and timely recompense to individuals who are harmed by unsafe products, and imposing economic disincentives to the production of unsafe products," AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten said.

The AFL-CIO was particularly concerned with the adverse effects S. 687 would have on the rights of injured workers eligible to receive workers compensation. These injured workers would be precluded from making "any settlement with or accepting any payment from the manufacturer or product seller without the written consent of the employer

Union members rallied across from the White House in support of S. 55, the Workplace Fairness bill.





and no release to or agreement with the manufacturer or product seller shall be valid or enforceable for any purpose without such consent." That is an open invitation to employers to frustrate settlement and force litigation.

A cloture motion to limit debate on the bill failed by a 57-41 vote June 29.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

5. Workplace Fairness

The Workplace Fairness bill would have banned the use of permanent replacement workers by employers during an economic strike. While U.S. labor law says a worker cannot be fired for striking, the courts have said he or she may be permanently replaced, a difference in name alone.

The use of permanent replacements is part of a strategy being pursued by too many employers in this country—an effort to break unions and drive down costs by slashing wages and benefits and replacing higher-paid workers with low-wage workers, contingent workers and part time workers.

"The system of industrial relations has been tarnished and compromised significantly by the whole issue of permanent replacement of striking workers. Who are the workers who have been replaced? They are workers who are fighting for increased economic opportunity. They are workers who are fighting for safer working conditions. They are workers who are fighting for greater security for themselves and their families," Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) said during the debate.

The business community and its allies, in almost hysterical

and fantasy-filled arguments, painted a picture of hundreds of strikes, lasting dozens of weeks, shutting America's factories and small businesses and sending the U.S. economy into ruins if S. 55 was approved. They claimed it would give labor an unfair and powerful advantage over a fatally weakened management.

Opponents of the bill staged a filibuster and a motion to invoke cloture and end debate failed by a 53-47 (a 60 vote super majority was needed) vote July 12, in effect killing the bill. The AFL-CIO backed cloture.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

6. GATT

After a comprehensive evaluation, the AFL-CIO strongly opposed the Uruguay Round GATT agreement and urged Congress to reject the agreement because it offers little, if anything, that is positive for working people and their communities.

The Federation's opposition to GATT was based on several reasons including: the loss of tens of thousands of U.S. textile and apparel industry jobs; the weakening of U.S. trade laws which are designed to combat unfair trade practices; the subjugation of U.S. trade policy and some U.S. laws to decisions from the new World Trade Organization (WTO).

"Millions of American workers have already suffered greatly from the damaging effects of unfair and inequitable trade. For many Americans, the agreements will mean enormous economic disruption and job loss," the AFL-CIO Executive Council said.

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The GATT implementing legislation will do nothing to alleviate the United States' huge annual trade deficit, which, this year, is expected to be the second highest in the nation's history at close to \$150 billion. It will also limit the ability of the U.S. government to fashion policies and take actions that could bring some relief from growing trade deficits.

"The Uruguay Round did nothing to address the cruelest and most prevalent unfair trade practice of all—the suppression of worker rights by governments seeking a low-wage, low-standard 'comparative advantage' on the world market," the Council said.

But on Dec. 1, the Senate approved the implementing legislation by a 76-24 vote.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

7. Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment

The push for a constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget "proves that the days of quack medicine and vaudeville magic shows are not yet in the past," Sen. Robert Byrd (D-WV) said when the Senate took up a resolution calling for such a measure.

"The AFL-CIO vehemently opposed S.J. Res. 41. This amendment could cause great damage to the economy and to important services that government provides to American workers and their families. The AFL-CIO believes that the S.J. Res. 41 is pernicious symbolism," AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten said in a letter to Senate members.

Under the terms of the proposed amendment (which requires a two-thirds majority in each house and ratification by three-quarters of the states), no deficit spending would be allowed except in times of war or imminent war, or by a 60 percent vote of both houses. The resolution would seriously undermine Congress' fiscal powers to help maintain national economic stability.

A Treasury Department study showed that to meet a man-

date of a balanced budget in the year 2000, huge tax increases would be required along with deep cuts in defense spending, Social Security and almost all other important programs.

It was defeated in the Senate March 1 by a 63-37 vote.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

8. 'Unfunded Mandates'

Unfunded mandates became a rallying cry for opponents of federal regulations from workplace safety to environmental rules laws to even civil rights laws. They claim such laws are an undue financial burden on state and local governments. In a nutshell, an unfunded mandate is any provision of a federal law or regulation that requires a state or local government to do anything which costs it any money.

The drive to ban unfunded mandates puts decades of progress in civil rights, environmental, health, welfare, public safety, minimum wage and worker protection laws at risk.

Labor-oriented bills, such as OSHA reform, could be held hostage by an unfunded mandate ban. Many of last year's bills sought to exempt state and local governments from compliance with new laws, as well as new and revised regulations, that do not have full funding to pay the costs incurred by state and local governments.

A battleground for the issue was the Safe Drinking Water Act (S. 2019) which is aimed at providing American citizens nationwide with clean and reliable drinking water, the federal government will foot most of the bill for enforcement and monitoring. But state and local governments must also shoulder some of the fiscal responsibility for providing clean and safe drinking water which meets national standards.

During consideration of the bill, an amendment was offered which would have allowed communities to avoid penalties for non-compliance with the act if such non-compliance was the result of an unfunded mandate. Opposed by the AFL-CIO, this amendment was tabled 56-43 on May 17.

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

HOW YOUR SENATORS VOTED IN 1994

Alabama		Federal Worker Buyouts		Education—Goals 2000		Davis-Bacon		Product Liability		Workplace Fairness		GATT		Labor Votes		Balanced Budget Amendment		Unfunded Mandates		Total All Votes 1994		1994 Percentage		Lifetime Voting Record		Lifetime Right Percentage	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	R	W	7	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	%	R	W	%	R	W	%
Herlin H. (D)	R	R	W	A	R	R	R	5	1	W	W	A	5	3	63	149	79	65									
Shelby R. (D)	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	5	0	W	A	5	1	63	63	21	75										
Alaska																											
Murkowski F. (R)	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	0	7	0	45	138	25										
Siverson T. (R)	R	A	W	W	W	W	R	2	3	W	W	3	4	43	147	194	43										
Arizona																											
DeConcini D. (D)	R	R	A	W	A	R	W	4	1	W	R	5	2	71	167	88	65										
McCain J. (R)	W	A	W	W	W	W	W	0	5	W	W	0	7	0	14	71	16										
Arkansas																											
Bumpers D. (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	3	3	R	R	5	3	63	204	100	67										
Pyott D. (D)	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	2	4	R	R	4	4	50	138	82	63										
California																											
Boxer R. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	5	1	R	R	7	1	88	17	2	89										
Furstenburg D. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	4	2	W	R	5	3	63	16	3	84										
Colorado																											
Brown H. (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	1	5	W	W	1	7	13	6	37	14										
Campbell B. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	6	0	W	R	7	1	88	15	3	83										
Connecticut																											
Dodd C. (D)	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	4	2	R	R	6	2	75	171	16	91										
Lieberman J. (D)	R	A	R	R	W	R	W	3	2	R	R	5	2	71	50	11	82										
Delaware																											
Biden J. (D)	A	R	R	R	R	R	W	4	1	R	R	6	1	86	251	54	82										
Rohb W. (R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	2	4	W	R	3	5	38	72	276	21										
Florida																											
Cabhan B. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	5	1	W	R	6	2	75	67	19	78										
Mark F. (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	R	0	8	0	10	51	16										
Georgia																											
Coverdell P. (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	6	W	W	0	8	0	0	19	0										
Summers D. (D)	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	2	4	W	W	2	6	25	152	190	44										
Hawaii																											
McCaskle D. (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	5	1	R	W	0	8	0	46	5	0										

Yaska D (D) Inouye D (D)	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	5	1	5	1	R R	R R	R R	7	1	1	86	46	5	90
Idaho Craig E (R) Kempthorne D (R)	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	1	5	1	5	W W	W W	W W	1	7	1	113	8	35	19
Illinois Shoemaker-Brown C (D) Simpson P (D)	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	5	1	5	1	W R	W R	W R	6	2	2	75	14	5	74
Indiana Coats D (R) Eagar R (R)	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	0	6	0	6	W W	W W	W W	0	8	8	0	13	49	21
Iowa Grassley C (R) Harkin T (D)	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	0	6	5	1	R R	R R	R R	0	8	7	1	80	33	161
Kansas Dole R (R) Karschbaum N (R)	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	0	6	0	6	W W	W W	W W	0	8	7	1	13	44	181
Kentucky Ford W (D) McConnell M (R)	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	5	1	6	1	W R	W R	W R	6	2	8	0	75	240	68
Louisiana Breaux J (D) Johnston B (D)	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	5	1	5	1	W W	W W	W W	5	3	2	75	67	18	79
Maine Leahy W (R) Michener G (D)	W R	A R	W R	R R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	W R	1	4	5	1	W R	R R	R R	2	5	1	29	86	142	38
Maryland <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>4</td> <td>2</td> <td>5</td> <td>1</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>R R</td> <td>6</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>88</td> <td>75</td> <td>7</td> <td>92</td>	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	4	2	5	1	R R	R R	R R	6	2	1	88	75	7	92
Massachusetts Kennedy E (D) Kerrey J (D)	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	5	1	5	1	R R	R R	R R	7	1	1	88	138	29	92
Michigan Leahy C (D) Kegle D (D)	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	5	1	1	1	R R	R R	R R	7	1	1	86	212	19	92
Minnesota Thurberger D (R) Westhouse P (D)	W R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	2	4	2	4	W R	W R	W R	3	5	5	100	98	121	45
Mississippi Cochran T (R) Leahy T (R)	W W	A W	W W	R W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	1	5	5	5	W W	W W	W W	1	7	7	13	36	191	16
Missouri Bond C (R) Hansborth J (R)	W R	R W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	1	5	6	0	W W	W W	W W	1	7	8	13	18	60	23
Montana Bartons M (D) Horn C (R)	W R	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	6	0	1	5	R R	R R	R R	8	0	7	100	171	57	75
Nebraska Fuson J (D) Kerrey R (D)	R R	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	4	2	5	1	W R	R R	R R	5	3	1	63	119	101	54

Rhode Island Specter A (R) Wofford D (D)	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	3	3	5	1	W W	W W	W W	5	2	2	38	129	63	67
South Carolina Hollings E (D) Thurmond S (R)	R R	A R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	4	1	1	5	W R	W R	W R	5	2	6	71	216	142	60
South Dakota Daschle T (D) Presler J (R)	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	4	2	1	5	W W	W W	W W	5	3	3	61	69	16	81
Tennessee Mathews H (D) Nesner J (D)	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	2	4	2	4	R W	R W	R W	3	5	4	36	11	8	58
Texas Gram P (R) Hutchison K (R)	W A	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	0	5	0	6	W W	W W	W W	0	7	0	0	6	113	5
Utah Bennett R (R) Hatch O (R)	W A	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	0	5	0	6	W W	W W	W W	0	7	0	0	0	15	0
Vermont Jeffords J (R) Leahy P (D)	W R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	3	3	0	0	W R	R R	R R	4	4	0	50	27	31	47
Virginia Robb C (D) Warner J (R)	R R	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	4	2	1	5	W R	W R	W R	5	3	6	63	44	18	71
Washington Gordon S (R) Murray P (D)	W R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	1	5	1	5	W R	W R	W R	1	7	1	11	12	49	20
West Virginia Byrd R (D) Rochebaker J (D)	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	4	2	2	2	R R	R R	R R	6	2	2	75	129	107	75
Wisconsin Feringood R (D) Kohl H (D)	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	6	0	2	0	R R	R R	R R	8	0	3	100	18	1	95
Wyoming Simpson A (R) Wallace M (R)	W A	W W	R W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	W W	1	4	5	5	W W	W W	W W	1	6	7	14	18	209	8

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.

