A REPORT ON CONGRESS

By Lane Kirkland

FROM START to finish the 1985 congressional session was noted by labor's three major issues—the federal deficit, taxes and trade. In each area the Reagan Administration, which only months earlier had won a landslide national election, demonstrated a lack of leadership and proved incapable of giving direction to congressional deliberations. Congress too, wrangled with itself, seeking to force action on the nation's massive fiscal problems without raising new revenue.

Despite the political climate, working men and women won major victories in 1985, thanks to successful lobbying campaigns that saw the entire labor movement bring the power of constituent pressure to bear. The biggest such victory was the federation's year-long lobbying campaign to kill the Administration's twin proposals to tax employee benefits and eliminate the deductibility of state and local taxes. The President's so-called tax simplification bill tried to pack the pockets of Americans by proposing a new tax to the entire range of employee benefits—health and dental insurance, educational benefits, profit-sharing plans, legal services, workers' compensation benefits, black lung benefits and unemployment compensation. Moreover, the bill would have imposed double taxation on taxes paid to state and local government by denying their deductibility on the federal tax form. Such a proposal would have seriously undercut the ability of these governmental entities to raise needed revenues to fund much vital public services.

A three-pronged attack of pressure action backed up by AFL-CIO Legislative Action Committees in selected congressional districts, a massive direct-mail program and on-the-ground lobbying in Congress brought about a major victory. Once again, the lesson learned—as it was in labor's 1984 win on0n banking legislation—was that when back-home lobbying by rank-and-file union members is teamed with a Capitol Hill effort, it can make the difference—and win.

By the time the Administration's proposals were made clear on Capitol Hill, labor's grassroots lobbying had made itself felt. The benefits bill was defeated; the so-called undefeated the 1985 Social Security tax cut proposal, the Administration's new proposal to raise Social Security taxes by $11 billion.

Labor's 1985 report card on Congress tabulates the votes on major issues of concern to the AFL-CIO in the first session of the 99th Congress.

House members have been judged on 17 key issues—nine "right," eight "wrong"—on the basis of the position the AFL-CIO took on the legislation. Senators have been rated on 23 key votes.

The tables also include the cumulative voting record and cumulative "right" percentage of each member since election to the House or Senate. With the voting records are brief descriptions of the issues. Some of the highlights:

Issues of prime importance to labor are the first eight votes in the House and the first six votes in the Senate. In the tabulations they are the votes listed in the left of the rules.

Another win came when labor secured a conservative-backed bill to overturn a pro-labor decision by the Supreme Court and thus free state and local governments from the overtime pay requirements of the federal minimum wage law. Labor's bill was substituted when the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions, working in tandem with state and local municipal lobbyists, fashioned a compromise measure later signed into law which left the underlying court decision intact.

Labor's biggest setback came, surprisingly, when the usual bipartisan, pro-worker conservative coalition turned up with new allies to first cripple and then kill a plant closing bill.

As always, we need your help. Let us know about the actions of your elected officials whenever you encounter important issues, or provide a positive example of leadership on behalf of working families. Your voice counts!
1. Plant Closing Protections for Workers, Communities

Suddenly plant closings have occurred with alarming frequency in this country throughout the past decade, often with no advance notice or community awareness. Between 1979 and 1984, five million workers were permanently displaced from their jobs by abrupt plant closings for which they received no warning. The impact on communities and in plant shutdowns has been devastating in economic, social and personal terms. Workers who lose their jobs or a plant closing are often unable to find reemployment or are forced to work at a fraction of their former wages. Family life is disrupted and family health and physical problems occur within households. Studies have shown that the suicide rate among displaced workers is almost 30 times the national average. The incidence of heart disease, mental illness and other ailments is also much higher than normal.

To ease the pain of plant closings, the AFL-CIO supported legislation that would require employers of 50 workers or more to give three months advance notice before a permanent plant closing. The bill also required an employer to meet with representatives of the workers to discuss possible alternatives to the plant-closing plans. To enforce the new law, the Secretary of Labor was directed to seek injunctive relief within 10 days if presented with reasonable cause to believe that an employer had ordered a plant closing in violation of this Act. The bill also gives authority to the Secretary of Labor to cease and desist orders that would protect the company's competitive interests.

The bill was passed by a vote of 215-193, on Oct. 14, the House approved the Senate amendment.

For—Wrong Against—Right

2. Plant Closing Protections for Workers, Communities II

The final plant closing bill still had to give displaced workers and simply give them sufficient notice to find a job. To address this issue, the bill set a three-month period where a worker could work for up to three months to find another job. The bill also allowed workers to be notified of the plant closing's plans.

For—Wrong Against—Wrong

3. Saving U.S. Textile and Apparel Jobs

Public outcry over record-level U.S. trade deficits and the loss of American textile and apparel jobs forced the House to consider two bills in the 1980s. The first bill, H.R. 8469, was introduced by Rep. Thomas Bliley (R-Va.) in 1986. The bill was aimed at reducing the number of textile workers by providing grants to states that reduced their textile workforce. The second bill, H.R. 2038, was introduced by Rep. Edward Roybal (D-Calif.) in 1987. The bill was designed to provide aid to states that reduced their textile workforce.

For—Right Against—Wrong

4. Union Members’ Political Rights

In recent years, the Supreme Court has handed down rulings stemming from suits filed by the anti-union National Right to Work Committee which severely limited the expenditure of union dues for certain activities. These activities included such legitimate and vital functions as lobbying, political action, judicial review and even organizing.

In the 99th Congress, conservative Republicans tried to expand the scope of the anti-union National Right to Work Committee's and the Supreme Court's decision. A proposed amendment to the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) to implement these decisions, even though the FEC does not have the statutory authority to interpret law decisions rendered under the Railway Labor Act or a state collective bargaining law or to determine what a union may or may not do with regard to state and local legislative and political activities. For this reason the House agreed to a procedural motion by Rep. Edward Roybal (D-Calif.) which struck the amendment as being non-germane. The Roybal motion was approved by a 233-186 vote on July 30.

For—Wrong Against—Wrong

5. Pay Equity for Women

Equal pay for work of comparable value is a major issue for the American labor movement. In recent years, labor's concern for pay equity has evidenced itself in legislative and judicial efforts to assure that women workers are not the victims of wage discrimination caused by pay classifications which fail to compensate them adequately for their level of skills. In the House, the pay equity bill was sponsored by Rep. Mary Rose Oskar (D-Ore.) to advance the cause of pay equity for women at the federal level by providing for an independent study to determine whether the federal government salary structure undervalues jobs that are filled primarily by women. If a determination were made that pay discrimination existed, the bill required development of legislative proposals to close the pay gap.

For—Wrong Against—Wrong

6. Preserving Maritime Ships and Jobs

By 1985 the U.S. maritime fleet had become a relic of the once formidable force that had played a key role in winning World War II. The merchant fleet, which had ranked second among global maritime powers in 1950, slid to a dismal 14th position by 1985. During these decades of neglect, thousands of U.S. jobs in shipbuilding and ship construction were lost to lower-wage foreign competitors.

The increasingly heavy reliance on foreign flag vessels for shipment of U.S. exports also contributed significantly to the record-level U.S. trade deficit and undermined U.S. national security by jeopardizing defense sea-lift capabilities necessary to backstop the nation's global concerns. In 1983 one of the few laws designed to assure a strong merchant marine—the 1954 Cargo Preference Act—became the target of agricultural exporters in the 99th Congress.

The House passed the bill with the required two-thirds majority.

For—Wrong Against—Right

7. Rescuing a Railroad and Railroad Jobs

In 1970, when Congress established Amtrak as a government-owned national railroad passenger system, it recognized that a balanced transportation system was a critical national need—vital to commerce, freedom of movement and national defense. Amtrak now provides an important alternative to congested highways and airports, can carry more people more efficiently in all kinds of weather than any other mode of travel, and leaves America's dependence on the vagaries of the international oil market. Today the Amtrak system carries some 40 million passengers throughout 44 states.

The 1985 Reagan budget, however, proposed to eliminate completely all Amtrak subsidies. The elimination of this subsidy would have cost more than 25,000 railroad workers their jobs and wiped out ticket sales and passenger service in the United States, with a particularly harsh impact in northeastern states. The proposed layoffs would have carried a federal government price tag of up to $2.1 billion severance pay—while the government would have taken an additional $5.2 billion financial loss in the sale or scrapping of Amtrak equipment. The House Public Works Committee rejected Reagan's proposal to destroy Amtrak and recommended the President's $13.5 billion budget outlay.

For—Wrong Against—Right
in South Africa

Since 1958, the AFL-CIO has repeatedly expressed its outrage in Congress, international forums and elsewhere over the South African government's long-standing racial policy of apartheid. Under the so-called South Africa—
who represent nearly 75 percent of the population—enjoy a severely repressed economy and are subjected to the same racial restrictions as white South Africans. The widespread and growing international condemnation of apartheid has led countries to impose sanctions against the South African government. In 1979, the United States and the United Kingdom, among others, imposed a trade embargo on South Africa.

15. Environmental Protection for Workers and Their Families

In 1980, Congress recognized that abandoned toxic waste dumps are a major environmental and health problem. As a response, Congress created a $1.5 billion, five-year cleanup program to be administered by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The program was designed to clean up abandoned toxic waste sites that pose a significant danger to the public health and safety of nearby communities.

The AFL-CIO strongly supported the Superfund reauthorization legislation. The bill, which was signed into law by President Reagan, authorized a five-year, $7.5 billion program that was expected to clean up 3,000 toxic waste sites. The program was designed to provide funding for the removal and disposal of toxic waste and to provide for the monitoring and long-term care of the sites that are cleaned up.

16. Environmental Protection for Workers and Their Families

A second controversy regarding the Superfund legislation concerned how funding would be provided to finance the multi-billion-dollar cleanup efforts. The House Ways & Means Committee had approved a funding formula which included a combination of fees on pollutants, general revenue funding, and a value-added tax on manufactured goods. This tax would be levied on the sale of all manufactured goods at the rate of 1.5 percent per dollar of sales revenue. The tax would be levied on a broad range of goods, from raw materials to final products, and would be designed to generate funds for the program.

During floor consideration of the bill, the AFL-CIO switched to an alternative approach proposed by Rep. Thomas Downey (D-N.Y.), which would have provided for the establishment of a tax on polluters. The tax would have been levied on industries that generate pollution, with a provision to raise an equal amount of money per pollution unit. The tax was designed to provide a more efficient and equitable way of financing the program.

17. Guarding Food Stamps for the Poor

A major supplemental benefit program to help feed the families of long-term jobless workers is the food stamp program. Today some 50 percent of food stamp recipients live below the poverty line. About 30 percent of these recipients are children. In 1980, Congress approved an amendment to the 1980 farm bill that would increase food stamp benefits for low-income families.

During floor consideration of the bill, the AFL-CIO offered an amendment to increase food stamp benefits for low-income families. The amendment would have increased food stamp benefits by a dollar per week for each member of a family. The amendment was rejected by a vote of 213-239 on the House rejected the amendment on Oct. 17.
1. Saving U.S. Textile and Apparel Jobs

Along with many other U.S. economic sectors, the textile and apparel industries have been badly battered by the flood tide of imports. Despite trade agreements negotiated in 1974 to provide for orderly growth, textile imports exploded to 12% of the U.S. market in 1973 to 43 percent today. As a result, since 1980, 300,000 jobs have disappeared in this industries alone. The estimated $150 billion 1985 U.S. trade deficit was $16.2 billion or 11 percent of the total. To reverse this trend, the APL-CIO urged legislation to enforce the textile trade treaty originally negotiated in 1974. Limits on the rate of increase in imports to this nation would be established in consultation with smaller, economically developing nations. Contrary to claims by importers and retailers that U.S. consumers would face higher prices, evidence before Congress showed that men's, women's, and children's garments cost no more at home-made in the U.S. The bill, which had strong bipartisan congressional support, was approved by the Senate by an overwhelming 60-39 vote on Nov. 2nd. Despite this clear margin of support, President Reagan vetoed the bill.

For—Right Against—Wrong

2. Protecting Fair Wages for Construction Workers

The 1931 Davis-Bacon Act required that workers on fed- eral-aid construction projects will be paid at wage rates that prevail in their area of the country. For 50 years, no Administration has assured that contractors who uphold labor standards have a fair chance to compete for government projects. As a result, wages being undercut by firms exporting goods and taxpayers from fly-by-night operators seeking to win contracts with outdated construction standards too often attract cheap labor. During 1985 debate on a Defense Dept. authorization bill, Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) moved to delete from the bill a committee-approved provision sponsored by Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) that exempts workers from the fair-wage standards of the Davis-Bacon law. By a tie 49-49 vote on June 4, the Republican-controlled Senate rejected the Humphrey amendment.

For—Right Against—Wrong

3. Preserving Maritime Ships and Jobs

By 1985 the U.S. maritime fleet had become a role of the once-formidable force that played such a key role in winning World War II. The U.S. merchant fleet had reached second-ranking status among global mariners in 1950, and to a Journal 14th place by 1985. During these decades of neglect, thousands of U.S. merchant marine jobs and ship construction jobs were lost to the lure of low-cost foreign labor. The survival of a strong U.S. merchant marines industry faces the threat of Before the 1985 Maritime Jobs and Ships Jobs Act, the U.S. share of the merchant marine fleet had fallen below 10%. The Act to save U.S. shipbuilding and ship repair jobs included two key measures: 1) tax incentives for shipbuilding and ship repair jobs; and 2) wage protection for U.S. shipbuilders and ship repairers.

For—Right Against—Wrong

4. Rescuing a Railroad and Railroad Jobs

In 1978 when Congress established Amtrak to be a government-run national railroad passenger service, the federal government paid $1 billion to purchase the beaten-down Amtrak. Since then Amtrak has been a costly burden on the federal budget, but a valuable asset to the international market. Today the Amtrak system carries some 49 million passengers throughout 44 states.

For—Right Against—Wrong

5. Saving Jobless Benefits for the Unemployed I

With unemployment exceeding seven percent for most of 1985 and more than 3 million workers unemployed or underemployed, the APL-CIO urged legislation to extend the federal program of supplemental unemployment benefits—available after regular state unemployment compensation is exhausted. Congress has acted, providing extended benefits to about 600,000 jobless workers. But the agreement failed a cut-off of benefits, the Senate debate on the legislation to phase out the PSB program, Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) sponsored an amendment to extend the supplemental federal benefits program. with the President promising to sign on. The amendment was defeated by a 6-3 vote on April 3.

For—Right Against—Wrong

6. Saving Jobless Benefits for the Unemployed II

In a second key vote on unemployment benefits, Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) led a movement to liberalize extended jobless benefits. This program targets an extra 13 weeks of compensation to jobless workers in states with unemployment rates in excess of 6 percent. However, restrictions imposed on the program since 1981 allowed only three states to receive additional benefits. When Congress passed President Reagan's amendment, it too the amendments would allow states to provide these federally funded benefits to those who have lost their job and have been unemployed for 13 weeks. By a 53-32 vote, on Apr. 3, the Senate killed the Levin amendment.

For—Right Against—Wrong

7. Stopping Postage Rate Increases for Union Journals

Since 1972, postal rates for the publications of non-profit groups such as unions and churches have skyrocketed by over 1,200 percent. As a result, these increasing costs have forced many unions to reduce the frequency of their publication. This, in turn, has restricted the ability of unions to communicate with their members. In 1985, the Reagan administration recommended that postal rates be cut from 6 to 10 cents per ounce. The result would be another increase in postage rates in excess of 100 percent per ounce. The rate increase would cause an additional processing problem for mass mailers, libraries, and other mass mailers. The Postal Rate Commission has rejected this proposal, and instead recommended that postal rates be raised to 9 cents per ounce. The motion was passed by Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) to table and thereby kill the Reams amendment. For—table Right Against—table—Wrong

8. Maintaining Jobs for the Unemployed

One of the nation's long-standing job-creation ministries was the Economic Development Administration (EDA) program established by the 1965 act to provide grants to poor communities to help attract new business investment or to revive failing industries in their areas. For the last two decades, this program has provided funds to finance public works projects earmarked for the repair and development of public infrastructure, including roads, water and sewer systems, education and health facilities. Much of the work of the EDA has been targeted to areas that the Economic Development Administration (EDA) has long been a target of Congress as a result of the 1983 Economic Development Act. In 1980, EDA funding had been cut by the Reagan Administration from $500 million to less than $260 million for the 1985 fiscal year.

In 1985 the Republican-controlled Senate Budget Committee accepted the President's recommendation for EDA budget for the 1986 fiscal year. But for some Republicans that wasn't enough. During Senate debate on the Commerce Dept. appropriation bill Sen. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa) offered an amendment that would cut the EDA budget by $6 million. The amendment would have left the EDA with $260 million for the 1986 fiscal year.

For—Wrong Against—Right

9. Importing Foreign Workers

During Senate debate on immigration reform legislation designed to curb the influx of illegal aliens, Sen. Pete Wilson (R-Calif.) offered an amendment to eliminate the dis- credited "bracero" program. Killed by Congress in 1964, this program permitted the importation of hundreds of thousands of foreign agricultural workers during World War II, but subsequently displaced U.S. farm and migrant workers and undercut American working standards. Foreign farm workers were exposed to some of the worst conditions of exploitation in our nation's history. Under the Wilson amendments, up to 30,000 foreign workers could be imported for up to nine months each year for agricultural work. These workers would not be allowed to work more than 300 hours per year in entry into the United States, and their employers would not have to look for available domestic workers before hiring imported workers. Further, the U.S. government would have no right to supervise the program insofar as protecting job opportunities for Americans workers and protect customs and standards for foreign workers. The bracero program cruelly pits desperate foreign workers against desperate unemployed domestic workers in U.S. fields and on U.S. farms. It too may be used by growers as a tool to depress farm worker organizing efforts. Despite strong labor opposition, the amendment was approved by a 51-44 vote on Sept. 17.

For—Wrong Against—Right

10. Seeking Fairness in Federal Budget Programs

The right-wing assault on federal spending continued in 1985. The Republican-controlled Senate Budget Committee slashed $56 billion in fed- eral spending for an array of domestic programs, including education, transportation, employment ser- vices, government, social security, Medicare and other pro- grams for the elderly and disabled, cultural activities, health, and public housing for the poor, and economic development. Thirteen programs were targeted for outright elimination.

When this one-sided Republican budget came to the Sen- ate floor, several days were spent in maneuvering and cast rec- ord votes. But the "political position" system was a critical national need—vital to commerce, freedom of movement and national defense. Amtrak now provides an impor- tant alternative to congested highways and airports, can car- ry people more efficiently in all kinds of weather, and is a less vulnerable than any other mode of travel that depends on the vagaries of the international market. Today the Amtrak system carries some 49 million passengers throughout 44 states.

For—Right Against—Wrong
11. Gramm-Rudman Budget Amendment

Four years of budget cuts required by the Gramm-Rudman Amendment have come back to haunt the government in 1985 in the form of the highest budget deficit—over $20 billion—in U.S. history. This dubious achievement—a budget deficit that exceeded the total accumulated deficits of every President from George Washington to Jimmy Carter—continued to take its toll on the economy's international competitiveness as the huge budget deficit is a major cause of an oversupplied U.S. dollar which pushes exports out of foreign markets.

While the Democratic House fashioned a reasonable budget compromise, the Republican-controlled Senate refused to budge from their party line except to exempt social security cuts. Although the Administration eventually pushed through a seven-year program cut, the deficit crisis worsened because the President refused either to raise taxes or to cut defense spending.

Last year in the Senate, there was a bill to raise the public debt limit to over $2 trillion, conserva-
tives put the Senate on the horns of a dilemma over whether to accept no deficit-cutting measure or to accept a small deficit-cutting measure. The party line in the Senate on this issue was that the Gramm-Rudman Amendment threatened to do more harm than good to the economy.

For—Wrong Against—Right

12. Giving the President Line-item Veto Authority

As Reagan budget deficits ran wild in 1985, the Senate sought to buy him new constitutional authorities to make his cuts less arbitrary. The line-item veto would allow the President for two years to review congressionally approved tax and spending programs and cut items within a bill that he deemed inappropriate or wasteful. The Senate's line-item veto would be vested in the President only for an entire bill, whereas the House version would be vested by Congress and would allow the President to veto individual provisions. The AFL-CIO opposed the line-item veto because it would primarily affect domestic, non-defense programs; unemployment insurance; and the programs of a growing number of social programs. The AFL-CIO was unsuccessful in its efforts to negotiate appropriate levels of spending, and the President signed a bill that cuts corporate tax rates in half by 1985 and 70% by 1990. Under the Democratic Senate, the President could only veto an entire bill, but he has no authority to "cut and paste" specific provisions.

For—Wrong Against—Right

13. Restoring Fair Corporate Taxes

The corporate share of tax revenue to operate the federal government has declined from 1950 to 1985. In 1985, 8.5 percent of gross national product was contributed to federal costs. This was the lowest percentage of GNP since 1920. In 1984, 900,000 corporations paid no taxes at all. In fact, many corporations earning billions of dollars in profits were not paying taxes, but received hundreds of millions of dollars in handouts or in future write-offs from the federal government.

During floor deliberations on the federal budget, senators had reported that the United States has the highest corporate tax rates in the world. Senator Robert Dole (R-Kan.) advocated a reversion to the 1980 tax law which cut corporate taxes in half. However, the Senate did not pass a bill to reduce corporate taxes. The Senate did pass a bill to raise the corporate tax rate to 20% in 1985 and 25% in 1986.

For—Wrong Against—Right

14. Restoring Education and Job-Training Funds

President Reagan's efforts to slash federal aid to public schools has worsened education problems at the time that many states have sought to resolve serious deficiencies in their educational systems. State budget cuts have forced the cancellation of special teaching programs and tightened the squeeze on local school districts.

For—Wrong Against—Right

15. Protecting the Purchasing Power of Social Security

Since the Republicans took control of the Senate in 1980, conservative Republicans have tried to cut social security benefits. The 1985 social security bill was aimed at reducing the social security benefits that the elderly receive. The bill would have reduced the Social Security benefits received by the elderly by 4.5% over the next five years. The Senate passed a bill that would reduce the Social Security benefits by 4.5% over the next five years. The bill passed 54-47, with a motion by Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.) to table the bill.

For—Wrong Against—Right

16. Safeguarding Health Care for the Elderly and the Poor

The conservative assault on federal spending also targeted federal health care programs for the elderly, disabled, and poor. The final budget bill adopted by the Senate included the deep Medicare and Medicaid benefit reductions, 

For—Wrong Against—Right

17. Guarding Food Stamps for the Poor

A major supplemental benefit program to help feed the families of long-term poor workers is the federal food stamp program. The program has long been a target of conservatives, who have been cutting it by $1 billion since 1980. Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) engineered a sizable back-door cutback in the program in 1985 through his Agriculture Committee. Sen. Helms and his committee held hearings to determine eligibility for food stamps, any federal assistance to the poor for paying energy bills would be counted as income. This ignored international evidence showing a federal program of low-income energy assistance for the poor which now guarantees that an amount of income would be counted as income in determining food-stamp eligibility. The Helms provision would have forced some 12 million low-income people to lose food-stamp benefits during the winter months. It would have hit hardest at the poorest food-stamp recipients because they receive more energy assis-

For—Wrong Against—Right

18. Retaining Community Development and Jobs Programs

Federal job training programs are scheduled to be eliminated in 1985, but Congress has been urged to maintain these programs. The AFL-CIO has been a target of the Reagan budget cuts and has been successful in securing amendments to the 1984 allocation to retain funding for job training programs. The Reagan budget cuts are aimed at reducing federal spending on job training programs. The Reagan administration has been successful in its efforts to reduce federal spending on job training programs.

For—Wrong Against—Right

19. Fighting Inflation in South Africa

Since 1985 the AFL-CIO has repeatedly expressed its outrage in Congress, international forums and elsewhere over the South African government's longstanding racial policy of apartheid. The South African government—representing nearly 75 percent of the nation's population—enforces a racially enforced policy of racial discrimination and segregation that has long been recognized as a violation of the South African government's human rights.

For—Wrong Against—Right

20. Environmental Protection for Workers and Their Families

In 1980 Congress recognized that abandoned toxic waste dumps are a major environmental and health hazard. In response, Congress created a "Superfund"—a $4 billion five-year cleanup plan to be administered by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in cooperation with affected states. In 1984, the Reagan Administration's proposed budget for the Superfund cleanup plan was cut to $2 billion. The Senate passed a bill authorizing the Superfund cleanup plan, but it was held in conference by the House and Senate. The conference committee agreed to a $3.4 billion five-year Superfund cleanup plan, with $1.5 billion of the funds to be used for remediation activities and $1.9 billion for administrative expenses. The Senate approved the conference committee's report on June 12, 1985, by a vote of 90-11, with a motion to clot the bill and the filibuster left three votes short of the 60 votes required.

For—Wrong Against—Right

21. Promoting Democracy Abroad

In 1983, Congress authorized the creation of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED)—a nationally funded, private, non-profit organization open to public scrutiny whose function is to help free nations in developing countries to design the promotion of democratic institutions abroad. The AFL-CIO, which won support from the Reagan administration to fund the National Endowment for Democracy, succeeded in its efforts to retain its support for the organization. For—Wrong Against—Right

For—Wrong Against—Right
### Key to Symbols

- **R**: Voted Right or was paired Right.
- **W**: Voted Wrong or was paired Wrong.
- **A**: Absent and not paired or voted "present."

Number before each name shows congressional district.
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Key to Symbols:
- R: Republican vote or majority
- D: Democratic vote or majority