

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights



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LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ISSUES VOTING RECORD FOR 98TH CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, D.C., OCTOBER 30--The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 165 national organizations representing minorities, women, the disabled, labor, religious groups, and senior citizens, seeking to advance civil rights through enactment and enforcement of federal legislation, released today its Voting Record for the 98th Congress.

Six Senators and 57 Representatives compiled a perfect voting record, while two Senators and six Representatives voted against the Conference position on every key vote tabulated. Comparison figures for the 97th Congress show that five Senators and 61 Representatives scored 100 percent, while seven Senators and 27 Representative compiled zero ratings.

The tabulations indicate that the House, in particular, had a good civil rights record with almost two-thirds of the Representatives scoring 50 percent or better, compared to approximately one half of the Representatives in the 97th Congress. In the Senate, 50 Senators scored 50 percent or better, about the same as in the 97th Congress.

The bi-annual report card reflects the coalition's concerns for civil rights and social justice legislation. Among the issues included in the current Voting Records are the Civil Rights Act of 1984, the Equal Rights Amendment, the Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday Bill, school desegregation, immigration reform, job training programs, the Civil Rights Commission, and legal services.

In releasing the report, Ralph G. Neas, Executive Director of the Conference stated that "while the Reagan Administration continued to compile the worst civil rights record of any administration in more than half a century, the 98th Congress established a moderately good record on civil rights. Although there were a couple of major disappointments, the bipartisan congressional majority on civil rights passed a number of significant measures and, just as important, prevented once again the Radical Right from enacting any of its legislative agenda.

"After seven successive Congresses failed to pass legislation establishing a Martin Luther King Holiday, the 98th Congress succeeded in grand style. With little assistance from the Administration, Congress passed the bill by votes of 338-90 and 78-22. The veto proof measure was sent to President Reagan for his signature.

"In addition, overwhelming bipartisan majorities in the House and in the Senate passed the Women's Retirement Equity Act, the Voting Rights for Disabled and Senior Citizens Act, the Child Support Enforcement Amendments, the Vocational Education Act, and increased funding and protections for the Legal Services Corporation.

"Even the legislative priorities that failed were supported by substantial bipartisan majorities. For example, the Equal Rights Amendment, commanded 278 votes in the House (65 percent), but fell six votes short of the requisite two-thirds majority.

"On legislation to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission, two-thirds of the Congress repudiated President Reagan's unprecedented attempts to fire commissioners without cause. But, regrettably, after Congress carefully forged a compromise which would have protected the independence of the Commission, President Reagan repudiated the agreement and "stacked" the Commission. By firing five commissioners who dared to disagree with him on virtually every civil rights issue, President Reagan gutted the independence of the Civil Rights Commission.

"The Civil Rights Act of 1984, which died on October 2, also garnered a strong bipartisan consensus in both Houses. Introduced in the wake of the Grove City College Supreme Court decision, the measure would have restored broad coverage of our civil rights laws and prevented the federal government from subsidizing discrimination against women, minorities, the disabled, and senior citizens.

The House promptly passed the legislation by the overwhelming vote of 375-32. In the Senate, two-thirds of the Senators backed the bill. But, unfortunately, Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, contrary to his assurances, refused to bring the Civil Rights Act of 1984 to the Senate floor in September. Forced to "last resort" tactics, Senators Edward Kennedy and Bob Packwood attempted to attach the bill to the Continuing Appropriations Resolution. Despite several notable procedural victories, the measure ultimately fell victim to a Radical Right filibuster and to the rush towards adjournment.

"The successes of the 98th Congress are attributable to the same factors that enabled the civil rights community to help enact a strong and effective Voting Rights Act Extension in the 97th Congress. First, all the legislative efforts were

bipartisan. The civil rights coalition understands the fundamental and historic reality that, to be successful, civil rights legislation must be bipartisan. The victories in the face of Administration opposition also underscored the extremism of the Reagan Administration on civil rights and the understandable tendency of congressional Republicans to distance themselves from the Administration.

"Second, and most important, have been the massive coalition efforts mounted on behalf of these struggles to defend the Constitution and to promote equality of opportunity. They took place not only in Washington, D.C., but also, more significantly in virtually every Congressional district in the country. These campaigns, the broadest and most comprehensive since the mid-1960's, have been the exciting and untold stories of the 97th and 98th Congresses.

"However, while the Radical Right failed to enact its legislative priorities, we must state emphatically that its assaults on the Constitution are far from over. There remains the very real threat of a Second Post-Reconstruction. Therefore, as we seek to make further progress, we must also continue to rewin battles fought long ago in order to preserve the accomplishments of the past twenty-five years.

"Most assuredly, those committed to equality of opportunity for all citizens must remain ever vigilant. And, most importantly, we must continue to work together as a coalition as hard and as effectively as we have in the past two Congresses."

Copies of the Voting Record are available at the Conference Headquarters, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

A CIVIL RIGHTS VOTING RECORD

FOR THE

98TH CONGRESS

JANUARY 1983 - OCTOBER 1984

SENATE

(SOME KEY ISSUES)

1. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. HOLIDAY

Passage of the bill to declare the third Monday in January a legal holiday honoring Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Passed 78-22 on October 19, 1983.

Right -- For.

Wrong -- Against

2. JOB TRAINING

Motion by Senator Howard Baker to table (kill) the Quayle Amendment to add \$36 million (to the Labor, Health and Human Services, Education Appropriations bill) for programs under the Job Training Partnership Act. Motion agreed to 50-44 on October 4, 1983.

Right -- Against

Wrong -- For

3. LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

Appropriations Committee amendment to Commerce, Justice, State Appropriations Bill to provide \$297.55 million for the Legal Services Corporation and to specify that none of the funds could be used to promulgate or enforce regulations without 15 days advance notice to the Appropriations committees of both houses. Amendment adopted 78-22 on June 28, 1984.

Right -- For

Wrong -- Against

4. SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Motion by Senator Howard Baker to table (kill) the Helms Amendment to bar the Justice Department from spending any funds appropriated in the bill to bring any legal action to require directly or indirectly school busing for desegregation. Motion rejected 25-52 on October 21, 1983.

Right -- For

5. IMMIGRATION REFORM AND CONTROL ACT

Although the Leadership Conference did not adopt a position on S. 529, the Immigration and Reform and Control Act, it did oppose provisions which would jeopardize basic civil rights. The Conference supported an amendment by Senator Gary Hart to provide remedies for persons who believe they encountered discrimination in employment as a result of a new scheme of sanctions against employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens. Amendment rejected 29-59 on May 17, 1983.

Right -- For

Wrong -- Against

6. IMMIGRATION REFORM AND CONTROL ACT

Amendment by Senator Alan Cranston to allow judicial review of the denial of legalization. Rejected 20-75 on May 18, 1983.

Right -- For

Wrong -- Against

7. CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1984

Judgment of the Senate whether the amendment by Senator Robert Byrd to attach S. 25 the Civil Rights Act of 1984 (legislation to restore our major civil rights laws to pre-Grove City v. Bell coverage), to the continuing appropriations resolution was germane. Ruled germane 51-48 on September 27, 1984.

Right -- For

Wrong -- Against

8. CIVIL RIGHTS OF 1984

Motion to invoke cloture on the Byrd Amendment to the Continuing Resolution. Motion agreed to 92-4 on September 29, 1984.

Right -- For

Wrong -- Against

9. CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1984

Motion by Senator Robert Packwood to table (kill) the Byrd Amendment (the Civil Ric Act of 1984) to the Continuing Resolution. Motion agreed to 53-45 on October 2, 1984.

Right -- Against

Wrong -- For

10. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION ACT

Motion by Senator Strom Thurmond to table (kill) the Jepsen Amendment to make permanent the ban of federal funding of abortion, bar federal insurance coverage for abortion, encourage states to pass new anti-abortion laws, and grant expedited Supreme Court review for challenges to new anti-abortion laws.

Although the Leadership Conference does not have a position on abortion, the Conference joined the sponsors of the legislation in opposing all substantive amendments to the legislation. Motion agreed to 42-34 on November $\overline{14}$, 1983.

Right -- For

11. MEDICARE

Motion by Senator Robert Dole to table (kill) the Kennedy Amendment to the GOP-leadership deficit plan eliminating the increases in Part B, covering out-of-pocket patient costs, in medicare premiums and deductible. Motion agreed to 58-36 on

Right -- Against

Wrong -- For

12. EDUCATION, NUTRITION, AND JOB TRAINING

Motion by Senator Mark Hatfield to strike from the House Supplemental Appropriation Bill the "Wright Amendment" which restored a portion of the domestic spending cuts made in 1981 by adding approximately \$955 million primarily for education, women, infants, and children nutrition program (WIC), school lunch, and breakfast programs, and job training. Motion agreed to 53-46 on November 10, 1983.

Right -- Against

Wrong -- For

KEY

- R Senator voted Right or was paired Right
- W Senator voted Wrong or was paired Wrong
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- (*) Not in Congress
 - V Vacancy
 - D Democrat
 - R Republican
- Ind Independent
- AL At Large

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A CIVIL RIGHTS VOTING RECORD

FOR THE

98TH CONGRESS

JANUARY 1983 - OCTOBER 1984

HOUSE

(SOME KEY ISSUES)

1. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. HOLIDAY

Motion to suspend the House rules and pass legislation to designate the third Monday of every January as a federal holiday in honor of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Motion agreed to 338-90 (two-thirds vote required) on August 2, 1983.

Right -- For

Wrong -- Against

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2. EMERGENCY SCHOOL AID ACT

Motion to suspend the House rules and pass legislation to authorize a program of grants to local school districts in fiscal 1984-86 to help them offset the costs of school desegregation. Motion agreed to 299-120 (two-thirds vote required) on June 7, 1983.

Right -- For

Wrong -- Against

3. U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Amendment by Rep. Don Edwards to permit removal of members of the Civil Rights Commission only for neglect of duty or malfeasance in office. Amendment adopted 286-128 on August 4, 1983.

Right -- For

Wrong -- Against

4. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

Motion by Rep. Neil Smith to have the House recede from its disagreement on the State, Justice, Commerce, Appropriations bill and accept a Senate Amendment, as amend by the conference committee, providing \$11.89 million for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. Because it was necessary for the House to signal the Senate and the President that it would only vote an independent Commission, the Leadership Conference urged members to vote against the motion. Motion rejected 170-235 on November 9, 198

Right -- Against

Wrong -- For

5. EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Motion by Rep. Peter Rodino to suspend the rules and pass the Equal Rights Amendment. Motion rejected 278-147 (two-thirds vote needed) on November 15, 1983.

Right -- For

Wrong -- Against

6. IMMIGRATION REFORM AND CONROL ACT

Reform and Control Act, it did oppose provisions which would jeopardize basic civil rights. The Conference supported an amendment by Rep. Barney Frank to establish a norigin or alienage, and to provide remedies for such discrimination because of national adopted 404-9 on June 12, 1984.

Right -- For

Wrong -- Against

7. IMMIGRATION REFORM AND CONTROL ACT

Amendment by Rep. Bill McCollum to streamline procedures for handling asylum deportation or exclusion cases by barring most "class action" lawsuits and by deleting a requirement that aliens be notified of certain procedural rights. Amendment adopts 208-192 on June 13, 1984.

Right -- Against

Wrong -- For

8. IMMIGRATION REFORM AND CONTROL ACT

Amendment by Rep. Leon Panetta to create a new, flexible temporary foreign worker program for the agriculture industry permitting growers to apply to the attorney gene for workers within 72 hours of need and allowing workers to move from employer to employer within a defined "agricultural region," remaining in the United States for up to 11 months. Amendment adopted 228-172 on June 14, 1984.

Right -- Against

Wrong -- For

9. LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

Motion by Rep. Neil Smith that the House recede from its disagreement to the Senate amendment and concur with an amendment to provide \$305 million for the Legal Services Corporation and requiring the LSC board of directors to inform the House and Senate Appropriations Committees before promulgating or implementing any new regulations. Motion agreed to 278-138 on August 8, 1984.

Right -- For

Wrong -- Against

10. CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1984

Adoption of the House Rule providing for House floor consideration of the Civil Rights Act of 1984 (legislation to restore our major civil rights laws to pre-Grove City College v. Bell coverage). Adopted 224-136 on June 21, 1984.

Right -- For

11. CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1984

Appeal by Rep. William Dennemeyer of the Chair's ruling that the Bartlett Amendment declaring members of Congress to be recipients of federal financial assistation coverage under the bill was out of order. Although the Leadership Conference has long supported efforts to have Congress covered by civil rights provisions, the Conference joined the sponsors of the legislation in opposing all substantive amendments to the bill. Sponsors wanted simply to restore pre-Grove City coverage of our major civil rights statutes. Ruling of the Chair upheld 277-125 on June 26, 1984

Right -- For

Wrong -- Against

12. CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1984

Amendment by Rep. Mark Siljander to define the word "person" under the Age Discrition Act of 1975 to include unborn children from the moment of conception. Although the Leadership Conference does not have a position on abortion, the Conference joined the sponsors of the legislation in opposing all substantive amendments to the bill. Amendment rejected 186-219 on June 26, 1984.

RIGHT -- Against

Wrong -- For

13. CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1984

Final Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1984. Passed 375-32 on June 26, 1984.

Right -- For

Wrong -- Against

14. SOCIAL SECURITY ACT AMENDMENTS

Amendment by Rep. J.V. Pickle to gradually raise the normal social security retir ment age from 65 to 67 after the year 2000, and to delete provisions that would reduce benefit levels beginning in the year 2000 and raise payroll taxes beginning in the year 2015. Amendment adopted 230-200 on March 9, 1983.

Right -- Against

Wrong -- For

15. EDUCATION, NUTRITION, JOB TRAINING

Amendment by Rep. Jim Wright to restore a portion of the domestic spending cuts made in 1981 by adding approximately \$955 million for education, nutrition and job training programs. Amendment adopted 254-155 on November 8, 1983.

Right -- For

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ALABAMA Edwards (R) Dickinson (R) Nichols (D) Bevill (D) Flippo (D) Erdreich (D) Shelby (D)	R W R R R	W R R R R R R R	W W R R R	W O W W R	W W R R R	R R R R R R	W W W W W	W W R R R R	W W R R O W	0 W R R R R	R W R R R R	R R W R R	W R R R R	W W R R W	W W R R R	27 27 47 80 60 87 40
ALASKA Young (R)	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	0	47
ARIZONA McCain (R) Udall (D) Stump (D) Rudd (R) McNulty (D)	W R W W R	W R W W R	R R W W	R 0 W W R	W R W R	R R W R	W R W W R	W R W W R	W R W W R	0 R W R	W R W W R	W R W W R	R R W R	W W W W	W R W W R	27 87 0 7 93
ARKANSAS Alexander (D) Bethune (R) Hammerschmidt (R) Anthony (D)	R R W R	R R	R	R	R W W O	R R R	W	W			W	R W O	R R	W		73 40 20 53
CALIFORNIA Bosco (D) Chappie (R) Matsui (D) Fazio (D) Burton (D) Boxer (D) Miller (D) Dellums (D) Stark (D) Edwards (D) Lantos (D) Zschau (R) Mineta (D) Shumway (R) Coelho (D) Panetta (D) Pashayan (R) Lehman (D) Lagomarsino (R) Thomas (R) Fiedler (R) Moorhead (R) Beilenson (D) Waxman (D) Roybal (D) Berman (D)	1	WAR IN FEFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFF	V R F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F	VILLER REPORTER FOR THE VILLE STATE OF THE FOR THE VILLE STATE OF THE	RRRRRRRRRRW FF V FF V FF V FF V FF V FF	RRRFFFFFFFFILLLIARRWRRWRR	REFERENCE IN THE TRANSPORT OF THE TRANSP	V W W R R R F F F F F I I I I I I I I I I I I	WRRRRRR FFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFF	WAR REFERENCE TO THE STATE OF T	Y RR RR RR FFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFF	WRR REFERENCE TO THE TOTAL TRANSPORT OF THE TERMS OF THE	R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R	WWRR REFERENCE TO THE TENT OF	W R R R R R R R R	27 80 13 40 27 7 93 100 87

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FLORIDA (cont.) Lewis (R) Mack (R) Mica (D) Shaw (R) Smith (D) Lehman (D) Pepper (D) Fascell (D)	R R R R R R R R	W W R W R R R R	W R W O R R	W W W R R R	R R R R R R R	R R R R R R R R	W W W O R R	W W R W R R R	W W W R R R	W R W O R R	W W R R R R	W W W R R R	R R R R O R	R W R W R R	R W R R R R	40 27 73 20 80 93 100
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Smith (D)		R	W	R	R	R	R	V		V R			•••	•		W	W	27	
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Rogers (R)			W '			W	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R		W	R	73	
Hopkins (R)	V	Y	W 1			W	R	W	W		W	R	W	R	i	R	W	33	
Perkins (D)	F	₹	R 1			R	R	W	W	R W	W	₩	W	R	,	W	W	20	
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Moore (R)	R		R					Ÿ	W	R	R	R	R	R	W		W	67	
Breaux (D)	W	R	t W					W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R		W	80	
Long (D)	R	R						w	W	r R	R O	W	W	R	H		W	33	
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MASSACHUSETTS Conte (R) Boland (D) Early (D) Frank (D) Shannon (D) Mavroules (D) Markey (D) O'Neill (D)	R R R R R	F F F F	\	र । २ । २ । २	R O R	R R R R R R R R	R O R R R R R	R R O R O R	R 0 0 R 0 0 R	R R R R R R	R 0 R 0 0 R	R R R O R	W W R O W	R R F C F	! ! !	R O R R R R	W R O R R R	87 67 67 93 60 80 100
Moakley (D) Studds (D) Donnelly (D)	F F	t !	R	R	R R R	R R R	R R R	0 R R	R R R	R R R	R R R	R R R	W R W	1	₹ ₹	R W R	R R R	87 93 87
MICHIGAN Conyers (D) Pursell (R) Wolpe (D) Siljander (R) Sawyer (R) Carr (D) Kildee (D) Traxler (D) Vander Jagt (R) Albosta (D) Davis (R) Bonior (D) Crockett (D) Hertel (D) Ford (D) Dingell (D) Levin (D) Broomfield (R)		₩ २ २ २ २ २ २ २ 8 8 8 8 8	R R W R R	RRRWWRRRWRRRRRRRW	RORWWRRRWRRRRRRW	RRRWORRRWRRRRRRW	R R R O R R R R R R R R R R R R R	R R O R	W R O R R	R R R R R	R W R O F F C	W W R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R	W W C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C		RR RR RR OOR OR RR RR RR	RWRWWRRRWRRRRRRRRW	RWRWWRRRWRRRRRRRR	100 53 100 13 40 100 93 87 20 87 60 73 93 87 87 100 27
MINNESOTA Penny (D) Weber (R) Frenzel (R) Vento (D) Sabo (D) Sikorski (D) Stangeland (R) Oberstar(D)		R R R R R R R	R W R R R R	R O R R R R W R	R W R R R R	R R R R R	R R R R R	WE WE REAL FROM THE REAL FROM	V W V () R F R F R F V V	V WOOD REAL PROPERTY OF THE PR	V V R 1 R 1 R 1	W R I R I W	V 1 O 1 R R	R O R R W W	R R R R R R R	W W R R R	R R W	93 20 100 100 93 13 73

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MISSOURI Clay (D) Young (D) Gephardt (D) Skelton (D) Wheat (D) Coleman (R) Taylor (R) Emerson (R) Volkmer (D)	R R R R R R	\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \	?	R R R R R W W R	R R R R W W	R W R W R W	R R R R R R R R R	R R O R W W	R R R R W W	0 R R W R W	R R R R R W	R W W	R R W	R R R	R R R W W	! !	R R R R W W W	93 80 93 67 100 40 13 20 73
MONTANA Williams (D) Marlenee(R)	F		R R	R W	R W	R W	R W	R W	R O								R W	100
NEBRASKA Bereuter (R) Daub (R) Smith R)	F F	₹	R W W	R W W	0 W W	R R R	R R R	W	W	₩	' () 4	/ 4	/ F	۱ ۱	V V	W W W	40 27 20
NEVADA Reid (D) Vucanovich (R) NEW HAMPSHIRE D'Amours (D)	1	W R	R W	R W R	R W R	W W R	R R	R	' W	/ W	/ \ R 1	W 1	V 1	Y	R 1	₹ ₩ R	R W R	87 13 87
Gregg (R) NEW JERSEY Florio (D) Hughes (D) Howard (D) Smith (R) Roukema (R) Dwyer (D) Rinaldo (R) Roe (D) Torricelli (D) Rodino (D) Minish (D) Courter (R) Guarini (D) Forsythe (R)		W RRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRR	W RRRRWRRRRRRRW	R R	R R R W O	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 R R R R R R R R R R R R	1 R R F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F	1 F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F	R	R IRR IIRR IIRR IIRR IIRR IIRR IIRR II	R	R R R R W W R R W W R R	R R R R R R R R R R R	W RRRWWRRRRRWRW	W OWORRRRRRRWRV	93 93 87 53 53 100 80 93 80 100 93 47 93

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NEW MEXICO Lujan (R)	W R	W	0 W	W	R W	0 R	W	W	W	W	W	W R	R R	W		N N	13 27
Skeen (R) Richardson (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	"R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R R		R	93
NEW YORK																	
Carney (R)	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	,	W	20
Downey (D) Mrazek (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	0	R	R	R	W		R	87
Lent (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	0	0	0	R		R	80
McGrath (R)	R R	W	R R	W	O W	R R	W	W	W	W	0	0	0	W W		W W	20
Addabbo (D)	R	R	R	R R	R	R	R	R	R	0	0 R	0 R	R	R		n R	20 93
Ackerman (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		R	100
Scheuer (D)	0	R	R	R	R	R	W	0	R	R	R	R	R	R		R	80
Ferraro (D)	R	0	R	R	R	R	0	0	R	0	R	R	R	R		R	73
Schumer (D) Towns (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	0	R	R	R	R		R	93
Owens (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	0	0	0	0	R		R	73
Solarz (D)	R R	R R	R R	R O	R R	R R	0 R	R R	R R	0	R R	R R	R R	R R		R R	87
Molinari (R)	W	W	W	0	0	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	R R	R R		Ô	87 27
Green (R)	R	R	Ŕ	W	Ř	R	Ř	R	R	R	R	R.	R			R	87
Rangel (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		R	100
Weiss (D) Garcia (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		R	100
Biaggi (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	0	R	0	R	R	R	R		0	80
Ottinger (D)	R	R R	R R	R	R	R R	R R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		R	100
Fish (R)	R R	R	R	R R	R W	R	R	R W	R R	R O	R R	R R	R R	R W		R W	100 67
Gilman (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R			Ř	67 93
Stratton (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	Ř	R	R	R	R	R			0	80
Solomon (R)	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	V	¥	W	20
Boehlert (R) Martin (R)	R	·R		R	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R			R	80
Wortley (R)	W	R		W	W	R	0	W	₩	W	W	W	R			W	20
McHugh (D)	R	R			R	R	W	W	W	W	0	0				W R	27
Horton (R)	R R				R R	R R	R W			R O	R R		R R			R	93
Conable (R)	W														N N	W	67 60
Kemp (R)	R					R									N	W	40
LaFalce (D)	R														₹	R	87
Nowak (D) Lundine (D)	R														7	R	93
Editative (b)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	F	1	W	R	93
NORTH CAROLINA																	
Jones (D)	R	R	R	. W	R	0	W	W	R	. R	R	R	F	} 1	W	R	67
Valentine (D)	F		R	R	W	R	W	W	/ W	0	R	R			W	R	60
Whitley (D) Andrews (D)	F														W	R	73
Neal (D)	F														R	R	87
Britt (D)	F							•							0 R	O R	73 100
Rose (D)	F														R	R	60
Helfner (D)	F														W	R	80
Martin (R)	V) W	/ R		V V	V R	1 () Y		l 1	₹	W	W	27
Brovniii (B)																	
Broyhill (R) Clarke (D)	F F							_				t F	t 1	₹	W	W	40

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NORTH DAKOTA Dorgan (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	R		R	87
OHIO			•••	•••	••	•	•	"	•	•		11	п	п	r,	07
Luken (D)	R	R	R	R	w	D	D	117			_		_	_	_	0.0
Gradison (R)	R		R	W	W R	R R	R W	W	R R	. R	R W	W	R	R	R	80
Hall (D)	R			R	R	R	R	W	R	. п R	π R	W R	R R	₩ R	W R	40 93
Oxley (R)	R	W		0	W	R	W	W	W	Ö	W	R	R	W	W	27
Latta (R)	W		W	W	W	R	0	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	13
McEwen (R) DeWine (R)	R			W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	27
Kindness (R)	R		W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	20
Kaptur (D)	W R			0	W	W	W	R	R	0	0	W	W	W	W	13
Miller (R)	W		R	R W	R	R R	R W	R W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100
Eckart (D)	R			R	R	R	R	R	R	W R	W R	W R	R R	R R	W R	20 93
Kasich (R)	R			W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	20
Pease (D)	R			R	R	R	R	R	R	Ř	Ř	R	R	R	"R	100
Seiberling (D) Wylie (R)	R			R	R	R	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	93
Regula (R)	R			W	W	R	W	W	R	0	W	W	R	W	W	27
Williams (R)	R R			W	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	60
Applegate (D)	W			R R	R R	R R	0 W	R R	R	0	W	W	R	R	0	60
Feighan (D)	 R			R	R	R	R	R	R R	R R	R R	₩ R	R	.R	R	80
Oakar (D)	. R			R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R R	R R	R R	93 87
Stokes (D)	R	R	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	ĸ	R	R	R	93
OKLAHOMA														•	-,	
Jones (D)	R	R	R	ם	0	_		_		_	_	_				
Synar (D)	R	R	R	R R	R R	R R	W R	R R	W R	R	R	R	R	W	R	80
Watkins (D)	R		R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R R	R R	R R	R R	W	R	93 73
McCurdy (D)	R		R	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	R R	73 73
Edwards (R)	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	w	Ö	27
English (R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	₩	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	60
OREGON																
AuCoin (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	0	R	р	0	11/	_	
Smith, R. (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R W	R R	W	R W	80 13
Wyden (D)	R	R		R	R	R	Ř	R	Ř	R R	ĸ	"R	R	"R	" R	100
Weaver (D)	0		R	R	R	0	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	87
Smith, D. (R)	W	W	W	0	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	Ŵ	7
PENNSYLVANIA																
Foglietta (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	n	100
Gray (D)	R		R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R R	100 100
Borski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	0	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	87
Kolter (D) Schulze (R)	R	0		R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	87
Yatron (D)	. R	R	0	0	W	R	W	W	W	W	0	0	0	W	₩	20
Edgar (D)	R R	R R	R R	R R	W R	R R	₩ R	W	R	0	R	W	R	R	0	60
Kostmayer (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	R R	100
Shuster (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	100 7
McDade (R)	R	R	W	₩	W	R	W	R	R	Ř	ö	ö	ö	R	w	47
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PENNSYLVANIA (cont.) Harrison (D) Murtha (D) Coughlin (R) Coyne (D) Ritter (R) Walker (R) Gekas (R) Walgren (D) Goodling (R) Gaydos (D) Ridge (R) Murphy (D) Clinger (R)	R R R R R R R R R R R R R	R R R W W R R W R R R	W R R R	R W R R W W W W R R R	R W R R W W R R R W R R R	RRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRR	R R R W R W R W R R R	R W W W W R W R W R W R	R R W R W O R W R R R R	0 0 W R W W R O R W R W	R R R W W R W R W R W	W W R W W R W W W	; ; ;	{ { { {	R R W R W W R R R W R W	R R W R W W R W O W R	87 67 53 93 20 27 40 93 33 53 67 87
RHODE ISLAND St. Germain (D) Schneider (R)	" O R	R R	0	R	W R	R R	R R	W R	R R	" R 0	R W	W R	' 1	R R	R R	R R	67 87
SOUTH CAROLINA Hartnett (R) Spence (R) Derrick (D) Campbell (R) Spratt (D) Tallon (D)	R W R W R	Y F	V W R R V W R R	R W R	W W R W R	R R R R R	W W W R W	O W W W	W W W R	W W R W R		V F C	! ! }	W R R O R	W W R W R	W W R W R	13 13 80 7 93 80
SOUTH DAKOTA Daschle (D)	R	F	₹ F	. 0	R	R	R	₩	R	R	R	: 1	٧	R	₩	R	73
TENNESSEE Quillen (R) Duncan (R) Lloyd (D) Cooper (D) Boner (D) Gore (D) Sundquist (R) Jones (D) Ford (D)	\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\	:	R 1 W 1 R 1	V W	W W R R W	R R R	W W W W W W	R R R W W	R R W R	R W R	Y F	Y	¥ ¥ ¥ R W R	R R R R R R R R R	\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\	\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\	20 33 67 73 87 80 13 80 93
TEXAS Hall, S. (D) Wilson (D) Bartlett (R) Hall, R. (D) Bryant (D) Gramm (R) Archer (R) Fields (R) Brooks (D) Pickle (D)	1	R V R	R W R R W W	W N R N R f W N W N W N	R F V W R R R O V V V V V R R F	R F F R F R F R F R F R F R F R F R F R	R 1 R 1	V R V W R R V V V V V V V V V	R R W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W	L F V V F C C C V C V V V	R W R O O W W		W R W R W R R	W R R R R R W R R	W W W R W W	W R R O W W	27 87 13 60 93 13 7 7 87

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TEXAS (cont.)																· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Leath (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	0	R	W	R	W	0	27
Wright (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	93
Hightower (D)	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	47
Patman (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	W.	R	R	R	67
de la Garza (D)	R	0	R	0	R	R	R	W	R.	R	R	W	R	W	R	67
Coleman (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	9 3
Stenholm (D)	W	W	R	W	W	R	·W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	3 3
Leland (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	0	Ŗ	R	0	R	R	R	R	0	80
Hance (D)	R	R	R	0	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	`-R	67
Gonzalez (D)	R	R		R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100
Loeffler (R)	W	W		W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7
Paul (R)	W	W		0	0	W	0	0	W	W	W	W	W	W	0	0
Kazen (D)	R	R		R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	80
Frost (D)	R	R		R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100
Andrews (D)	R R	R R		R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	93
Vandergriff (D) Ortiz (D)	R R	R		₩ R	W R	R R	R R	R R	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	67
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UTAH																
Hansen (R)	W	γ			W	R	W			W	W	W	W	W	W	7
Marriott (R)	W	F			W	R	W	0		0	W	W	R	W	W	20
Nielson (R)	W	Y	W W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	7
VERMONT																
Jeffords (R)	W	F	R	R	R	R	R	0	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	67
VIRGINIA																
Bateman (R)	W	1	V V	/ W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	20
Whitehurst (R)	W	. F	S A	/ W	R	R	W	W	R	0	W	W	R	W	W	33
Bliley (R)	R	. 1	V V		W	R	W	W	/ W	W	W	W	R	W	W	20
Sisisky (D)	R		R F	-			_	W	/ R	R	R	R	R	R	R	80
Daniel (D)	W		N V									W			W W	20
Olin (D)	R		R F										R	W	R	80
Robinson (R)	Ä		W V										W			7
Parris (R)	R		R V													33
Boucher (D)	R			R												93
Wolf (R)	R	(R I	Y \	/ W	Ŕ	W	<i>i</i> (O A	V W	W	W	R	. W	W	27
WASHINCTON					,											
Pritchard (R)	F	₹	R f	₹ () R	R	Y Y	/	V () (R	R	R	!	0	53
Swift (D)	F	₹	R I	٦ F	R	R				? R						100
Bonker (D)	F			R F		t R	l F) (87
Morrison (R)	F			W V				R۱		? 1					/ R	53
Foley (D)	F			R F						? F			F			93
Dicks (D)	F			R F						R F		R				93
Lowry (D)	F				0 F					R F						80
Chandler (R)	f	₹	W	w ۱	V F	R	(Y	٧ ١	W I	R V	Y W	/ R	t F	8 Y	v R	47

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WEST VIRGINIA																
Mollohan (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	87
Staggers (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	87
Wise (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	0	R	R	· R	R	R	93
Rahall (D)	R	R	R	0	R	R	R	W	R	0	R	R	R	R	R	80
WISCONSIN																
Aspin (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	0	R	R	0	R	R	R	R	R	87
Kastenmeier (D)	R	R	R	R	R		R		R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100
Gunderson (R)	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	, W	W	53
Kleczka (D)	*	*	*	*	*	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	55 *		88
Moody (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R			100
Petri (R)	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R		W	33
Obey (D)	R	R	R	R			R	R	R	R	R	R	R			100
Roth (R)	N	l R	l W	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	R			33
*Sensenbrenner (R)	W	/ R	R W	W	W	0	0	0	W	0	0	0	0	W	W	7
WYOMING																
Cheney (R)	F	? /	y y	V V	/ W	R	l W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	0	20

^{*}Congressman Sensenbrenner was hospitalized during part of the 1984 summer session.

February 21, 1995

Walker Wamp Watts (OK) Weldon (FL)

Weldon (PA) Waller White WhitGold Wicker

Wolf Young (AK) Young (FL) Zellit Limmer

NOT VOTING-10

Horski Crapo de la Garza

Metcail Callegly Conzelez Lawis (GA)

2111

Mrs. MORELLA changed her vote

from "aye" to "no."
Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi changed his vote from "no" to "aye.

So the amendment in the nature of a substitute was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

2113

The CHAIRMAN, Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose. and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. WALKER) having assumed the chair, Mr. McINNIS. Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 831) to amond the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend the deduction for the health insurance costs of self-employed individuals, to repeal the provision permitting nonrecognition of gain on sales and exchanges effectuating policies of the Federal Communications Commission, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 88, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, the previous question is or-dered and the amendment is adopted.

The question is on the engressment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time and was read the third time.

motion to recommit offered by Mr. Stark Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I offer a

motion to recommit. The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. STARK. I am opposed to the bill in its present form, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. STARK moves to recommit the bill H.R. 831 to the Committee on ways and Means with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendment:

At the end of the bill insert the following: SEC. S. REPEAL OF MAXIMUM PERIOD OF MANDA-TORY CONTINUATION COVE UNDER GROUP HEALTH PLANS.

(a) In GENERAL -Section 102 of the Internai Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by redesignating subsection (o) as subsection (p) and by inserting after subsection (n) the fol-IOMIDS DEM enpsention:

"(0) GROUP HEALTH PLANS NOT PROVIDING CONTINUATION HEALTH EXTENDED ERAGE.-

"(1) In GENERAL .- No deduction shall be allowed under this chapter for any amount paid or incurred by an employer for any group health plan to which section (980H applies if such plan fails to provide extended continuation coverage with respect to any qualified beneficiary (as defined in section

"(2) EXTENDED CONTINUATION COVERAGE. For purposes of paragraph (1), the term 'extended continuation coverage, means cov erage which would be required to be provided under section 4960B but for subsection (f)(2)(B)(1) thereof.".

EFFECTIVE DATE. The amondment (p) made by this section shall apply with respect to qualifying events (as. defined in section 4980B of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) occurring before, on, or after the date of the ensetment of this Act, but shall not apply if the period of continuation coverage required under section 4980B of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to the qualifying event has expired before such date.

Mr. STARK (during the reading). Mr. Speaker. I ask unanimous consent that the motion to recommit be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore, is there objection to the request of the gentieman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, as I indicated, I am upposed to H.R. 831 in its present form. We can do better and we can go home tonight, and without any cost to the Pederal Government and without any cost to American employers we can lift the fear from 31/2 or 4 million American families, the fear that they may lose their extended coverage which they received under a bill that we passed unanimously.

This is a bill we passed unanimously in the Ways and Means Committee in 1985, under which over 85 million Americans have had continuation of group health insurance after they lost their employer- or would have lost their employer-based health insurance because of a change in family status, because of disability, because of a transfer, because a branch factory or factory closed.

This is a bipartisan amendment which adds to every word in the Republican bill. And all it does is extend permanently these extensions that are known as COBRA to nearly 4 million Americans so that the time clock will stop ticking and they will stop worrying about losing this protection.

Lot me quickly address two concerns and they have only been raised modestly. One concern is it will take a little extra time. It will take 6 minutes of your time tonight, ladios and gentlemen. for a quick vote to add this amendment and to bring to thousands of people in your districts the peace of mind that their insurance will not end if they are currently under a group insurance plan with extended coverages.

Second, it has been claimed that employers might be saddled with additional costs under a complicated thing known as adverse selection. That is not true. The reverse is true.

Four million people becoming uninsured will add more costs through cost

shifting to the total cost of all of our paying for health care coverage than a few people who might try and game the system. There will be no change in rate to employers. They will continue their same payment. The employee will pay 102 percent of the coverage instead of perhaps the 20 or 30 percent that he or she is paying now. It is as if I am paying \$101 a month for Blue Cross under my Federal plan, just like many of you. If I were disabled and had to leave and did not have the generous continuation, I would then have to pay 400some dollars plus \$8 a month to the Clerk to bill me and I could continue my Blue Cross low option.

I want to extend that peace of mind to every American. And as I say, this does not have a partisan difference in

I sak Members' support for this so we can walk out of here tonight. This is a bipartisan bill. I subject this is a bipartisan motion to recommit, and I would ask Members to think about the people that will receive the good news that they will have a small tax deduction. those who are self-employed. Let us expand that. Both sides of the aisle have talked about the desirability of portability. This is not quite portability, but it is a step, it is a modest step toward getting the kind of health reform that we agreed last year was needed.

This is a modest proposal that was agreed to in some of the bills last year on both sides of the aisle.

□ 2120

So for a few minutes of inconven ience tonight, for one extra vote to night. You can go home and say this that for the 3,600,000 to 4 million peopl in America who sometime in the nex 18 to 20 months will lose their healt insurance—they are paying for it out t their own pookets, at no cost to th Federal budget, at no cost to their en ployer-we can extend that privilege.

If there ever was a time for us ; come together to help those people, is tonight.

Ladies and gentlemen. I implore yo we have our own Members who ha children who are not covered becau they are over 22 and they have to go health insurance, buy COBRA insu ance.

We have many cases throughout t land where this insurance will h. families. I urge you to think tonic that we have no partisan difference. have no cost to the budget, we can o: help a few Americans who will be d perate to find health insurance if we not.

Mr. Speaker, as stated, I am opposed H.A. 831 in its present form.

We can do better. We can do better American workers-without cost to the Fec Government, without cost to employers, WICHOUT GOTEY.

Both the reason for moving this motion. the remedy it contains, are very simple.

The purpose of this motion is simply to Americans keep the health insurance erage they have when they lose their k