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Minimum Wage

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BETTER JOBS AND WAGES: A Democratic Agenda for 1995

Since 1979, household incomes have swelled by \$826 billion, in 1993 dollars. But about 98 percent of the increase has gone to the top fifth. Everyone else--80 percent of American households--has shared just 2 percent of the income gains. The typical American family is living on less than it did fifteen years ago, adjusted for inflation. The problem is not that some of us are getting rich. The problem is that most of us are getting nowhere.

During the three decades after the Second World War, nearly everyone's income rose as the economy grew. A vast expansion of the middle class was accompanied by rising incomes for both the rich and the poor. Millions of Americans were raised to believe in a simple bargain: Anybody who worked hard and played by the rules could earn a better life for themselves and their families. Growing together was the way it worked in America. But today, we are no longer growing together. We are growing apart--and at a quickening pace.

The fault line in the American workforce is based on education and skills. Every year of training beyond high school--whenever it occurs in the course of a career, and whether or not it leads to a degree--boosts average earning power by six to twelve percent. The right skills don't guarantee a good job in the new economy, and certainly not job security. But it is getting harder to have either without some post-secondary training. The three-fourths of American workers without college degrees have suffered the sharpest drop in wages and benefits. Fifteen years ago, a male college graduate typically earned 49 percent more than a man whose formal education ended with a high-school diploma--not too large a difference for the two groups to share the label "middle class." But by 1993 the average male college graduate was earning 83 percent more than his high-school counterpart--a difference so great that they no longer inhabited common territory. Women are divided along similar, although less stark, lines.

The current recovery--solidified by recent success at getting our economic house in order--has put us on track for meeting or exceeding the President's pledge of 8 million new jobs. But our success on the job quantity challenge highlights the stakes of the job quality challenge. We must restore the American birthright of a fair chance to get ahead for anyone who works hard and plays by the rules. This means that all Americans must be equipped to earn their own prosperity in the new economy, and protected against losing their place in the middle class through no fault of their own. Some elements of the better jobs and wages agenda are already accomplished or in progress; others form urgent goals for 1995.

1. Tax Reform to Favor Skill Investments

Current tax policy gives advantages to investments in physical and financial capital, real estate, and skill investments (by firms and by individuals) focussed on current jobs--but not for education and training investments by individuals to gain new skills for middle-class jobs.

In his December 14 call for a Middle Class Bill of Rights, the President proposed to fix this flaw in tax policy. Under the President's proposal, Americans could deduct from their taxable income the money they spend on post-secondary education for themselves or their families. Up to \$5,000 of education spending per year will be deductible starting in 1996, rising to \$10,000 in 1999. Taxpayers would not have to itemize their deductions to get the education and training deduction. And education expenses would not be subject to the 2-percent "floor" on miscellaneous deductions. To focus the tax cut on the middle class, deductibility is gradually phased out over the income range of \$100,000 to \$120,000 for a couple filing jointly, and between \$70,000 and \$90,000 for individuals.

○ About 15 million Americans get post-secondary education or training each year. This does not include parents of actual or prospective college students, who form a major potential constituency for a lifelong learning tax cut. The most recent data (from 1991) show over 85 percent of these students coming from families earning less than \$75 thousand.

○ A mid-November poll found that two-thirds of adults had a highly favorable response to the idea of tax breaks for spending on education or training for oneself or one's family. Only one-half responded so favorably to the idea of a \$500 tax credit for families with children. A December poll, following the President's Middle Class Bill of Rights Proposal, found that 84 percent supported tuition tax deductibility, compared with 78 percent favoring a \$500 per child tax credit and 56 percent favoring capital gains tax cuts. Paying for school is a potent kitchen-table issue.

2. A Shift from Programs to Empowerment in Education and Training

Reforming the tax code to reflect the importance of skill investments is necessary, but not sufficient, to boost the earning power of working Americans. Other elements of a campaign of human investment are already underway, propelled by a strong bipartisan consensus in the last Congress on the importance of education and job training. Each year, 130,000 additional children are able to enroll in Head Start, a proven first step on the path of lifelong learning. School systems throughout America have millions of dollars in new incentives to improve their performance, in line with voluntary national standards of excellence. Within a few years, a half-million youth apprentices a year will move from the classroom to a skilled job with a future. Three and a half million people who take out education loans each year can now borrow at lower interest rates -- and can repay their loans at the pace their future income allows. We are transforming the old unemployment insurance system into a reemployment system, ensuring that this year alone an additional 150,000 Americans who have lost their jobs will get the skills or the job-search help they need to find new ones.

The next step--and another key element of the President's proposal for a Middle Class Bill of Rights--is the Learning and Earning Initiative. Seven core principles together define a radical restructuring of existing approaches to employment and training.

○ **Individual Empowerment.** Instead of going where some bureaucracy sends them, individuals should be empowered with resources so they can choose for themselves what skills they need to boost their earning power. The Learning and Earning Initiative bypasses bureaucracies and puts buying power directly into individuals' hands, so they can get skills at the time, at the place, and in the way that makes sense for them.

■ Unemployed and low-income workers, who often can't benefit from the tuition tax deductions President Clinton proposed as part of the Middle Class Bill of Rights, can get Skill Scholarships worth up to \$2,620 per year, for up to two years, that they can use as they choose for learning new skills.

■ Both tuition tax breaks and Skill Scholarships will be supplemented by Individual Education Accounts. These low-cost loans will be available to any person, with flexible repayment options including "pay as you can," to enable every American to invest in their skills and repay at the pace their future income allows.

○ **Leaner Government.** The Learning and Earning Initiative eliminates over 50 separate programs, replacing them with an integrated system that minimizes red tape and maximizes individual choice.

○ **Good Data to Guide Choices.** A skill-building system rooted in individual choice requires good data to inform decisions about what skills to get and where to learn them. Reforms woven throughout the initiative--and centered on the networks of One-Stop Career Centers already under construction in the States--will give workers and job seekers access to reliable information on jobs, careers, and the success records of training institutions, so that they can make good choices to improve their futures.

○ **Accountability.** Too often today, training providers aren't held accountable for results. The Learning and Earning Initiative will fix this by emphasizing individual choice and competition so that individuals can pick providers who deliver; by providing good performance data so people know what training pays off; and by setting quality standards for training providers to cut off the frauds and the incompetents.

○ **State Flexibility.** Washington doesn't have all the answers. States should have the flexibility to reflect local conditions and respect local priorities. The Learning and Earning Initiative gives states the freedom to tailor training programs and delivery systems as they see fit. Most federal rules dictating administrative procedures will be wiped out. States can get waivers from most of the rules that remain, and will be able to plow the savings back into individual training.

○ **Private-Sector Partnership.** At base, the Learning and Earning Initiative isn't about government. It's about jobs, and that means the private sector has a central role. Business and labor will be full partners in designing and running training, job-search, and information services. New awards will recognize excellence in creating workplaces that expand opportunity by capitalizing on and rewarding worker skills.

○ **Paths from School to Work.** Preparing America's youth for the world of work, including disadvantaged youth, is a vital task that is too often done badly today. To fix this, employment and training programs for young people, including vocational education, will be folded into the school-to-work movement already underway in every State. The youth component of the Learning and Earning Initiative represents a major extension of the system building and consolidation unleashed by the School to Work Opportunities Act of 1994-- including a school-to-work "second chance" to replace most existing youth employment and training programs.

3. Restoring the minimum wage to make work pay

Skill-building initiatives are essential. But they are not enough to ensure better jobs and higher incomes for minimum-wage workers. The real value of the minimum wage is now 33 percent lower than it was in 1979. If the minimum wage does not increase again, by 1996 it will sink to its lowest real level since 1955. The declining minimum wage accounts for an estimated 20 percent of the increase in inequality among males since 1979, and for 30 percent of increased inequality among women. In Putting People First, President Clinton promised to index the minimum wage to prevent a decline in its purchasing power and to "make work pay." Since its last increase, in April 1991, the real value of the minimum wage has declined by 45 cents.

○ Two-thirds of minimum-wage workers are adults. The dramatic increase in wage inequality over the last 15 years has meant that many prime-age workers who define themselves as middle-class are earning wages at, or near, the minimum wage.

○ The notion that the minimum wage mostly affects teenage part-timers is a myth. The average minimum-wage earner brings in 40 percent of his or her family's labor income.

○ Recent research finds no convincing evidence of significant adverse employment consequences of moderate increases in the minimum wage.

○ A large majority of Republicans (including Newt Gingrich) voted to increase the minimum wage to \$4.25 in 1989

○ A 1992 Time-CNN poll found that 74% of the public favored raising the minimum wage to make work a more attractive alternative to welfare. A December Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll found that raising the minimum wage is favored by 75 percent and opposed by 20 percent.

○ The recent expansion in the EITC only partially offsets the erosion in the value of the minimum wage. In the best scenario (for a married couple with a year-round minimum-wage earner) the EITC brings the after-tax hourly wage rate up to \$5.14 in 1994 -- not enough to escape poverty, even with full-time, year-round work. The phase-out of the EITC

raises the marginal tax rate for some workers, and may discourage work. The minimum wage makes every hour of work pay.

4. Protecting hard-working Americans from falling out of the middle class

To complement efforts to boost the earning power of working Americans, we must ensure that they aren't robbed of their middle-class status through no fault of their own. Today, millions of Americans are vulnerable to losing everything they've worked for by being cut out of health-care coverage and getting sick, or by seeing the pension promises they've earned being broken.

Health care: Our inability to pass health care reform legislation in the 103rd Congress did not eliminate the problem. Health care reform remains as urgent as ever. Today, 39 million Americans are uninsured. Every day we wait to take action, more families live in jeopardy of losing their coverage due to illness or job loss--and with their coverage, losing their grasp on middle-class security. At the same time, increase costs and decreasing coverage burden government budgets at the federal, state, and local levels.

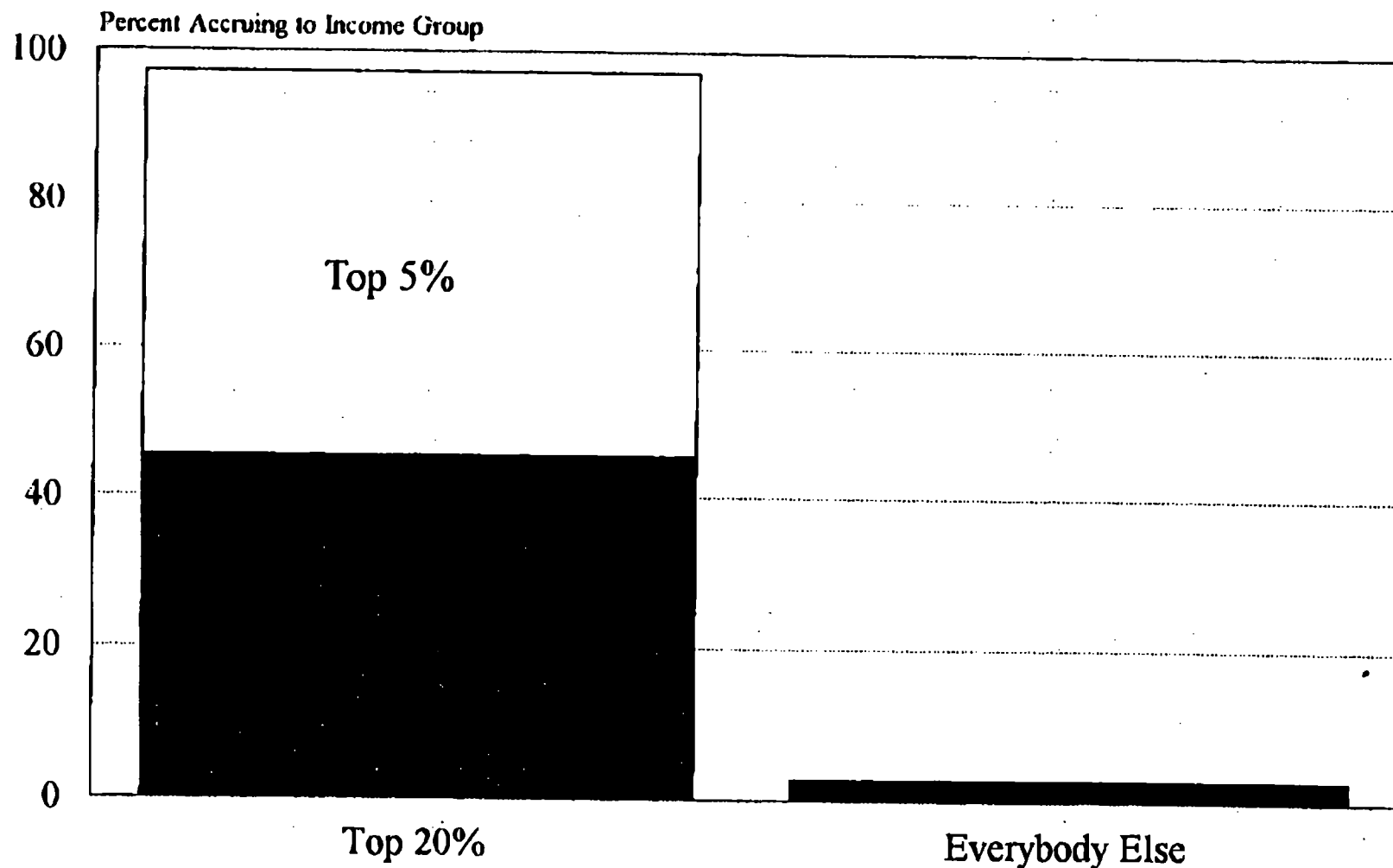
The President remains committed to health-care coverage for all Americans. As he reaffirmed in his December 27th letter to the Congressional leadership, he believes we should work systematically to achieve this goal. The Administration plans to work with Congress to take the first steps by passing measures to reform the insurance market, making coverage available and affordable for children and unemployed workers. At the same time, we must make sure that those currently covered by Medicare and Medicaid remain protected. And we must reduce the costs of health care if we are to keep the federal deficit on a downward path.

Pension security: Being denied the pension rightly earned by a lifetime of hard work is one of the cruelest risks faced by ordinary Americans. Early in the Administration, a task force investigated pension security. It learned that the problem of underfunding in pension plans is chronic and persistent. The gap between pension promises and pension-fund assets widened from \$27 billion in 1987 to \$53 billion in 1992. In mid-1994 there were 1.2 million workers and retirees in underfunded plans at troubled companies (and 8 million in all underfunded plans) and the deficit of the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation stood at \$2.9 billion.

Recognizing that the problem would not go away, the Administration and Congress took action. Reform legislation was drafted to tighten funding requirements, give the PBGC better tools to enforce the law and prevent companies from walking away from pension promises, and putting the burden of insuring against underfunding on the plans causing the biggest problems. The legislation also improved participants information about the status of their plans. Congress passed the Retirement Protection Act of 1994 as part of the legislation implementing the Uruguay Round trade agreements under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. This risk to ordinary working people has now been greatly reduced, giving us a good first step and a model for the rest of the better jobs and wages agenda.

1979 to 1992 -- Who Got the Growth?

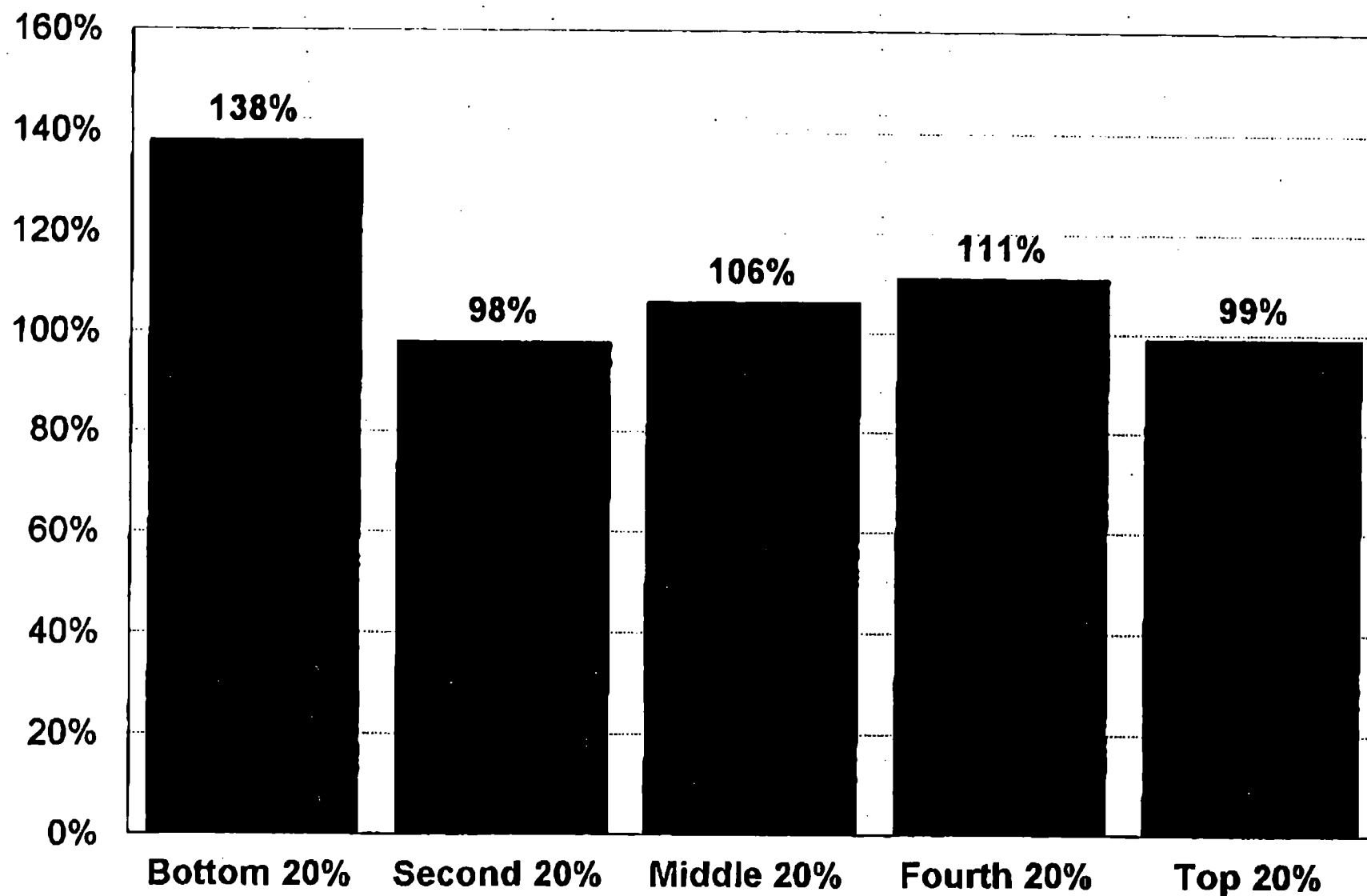
Shares of Average Household Income Growth



Source: Based on data from the Census Bureau, Current Population Survey. Household income is in constant 1992 dollars, and adjusted by CPI-U-X1, and population is normalized to a constant level.

1950 to 1978 -- Growing Together

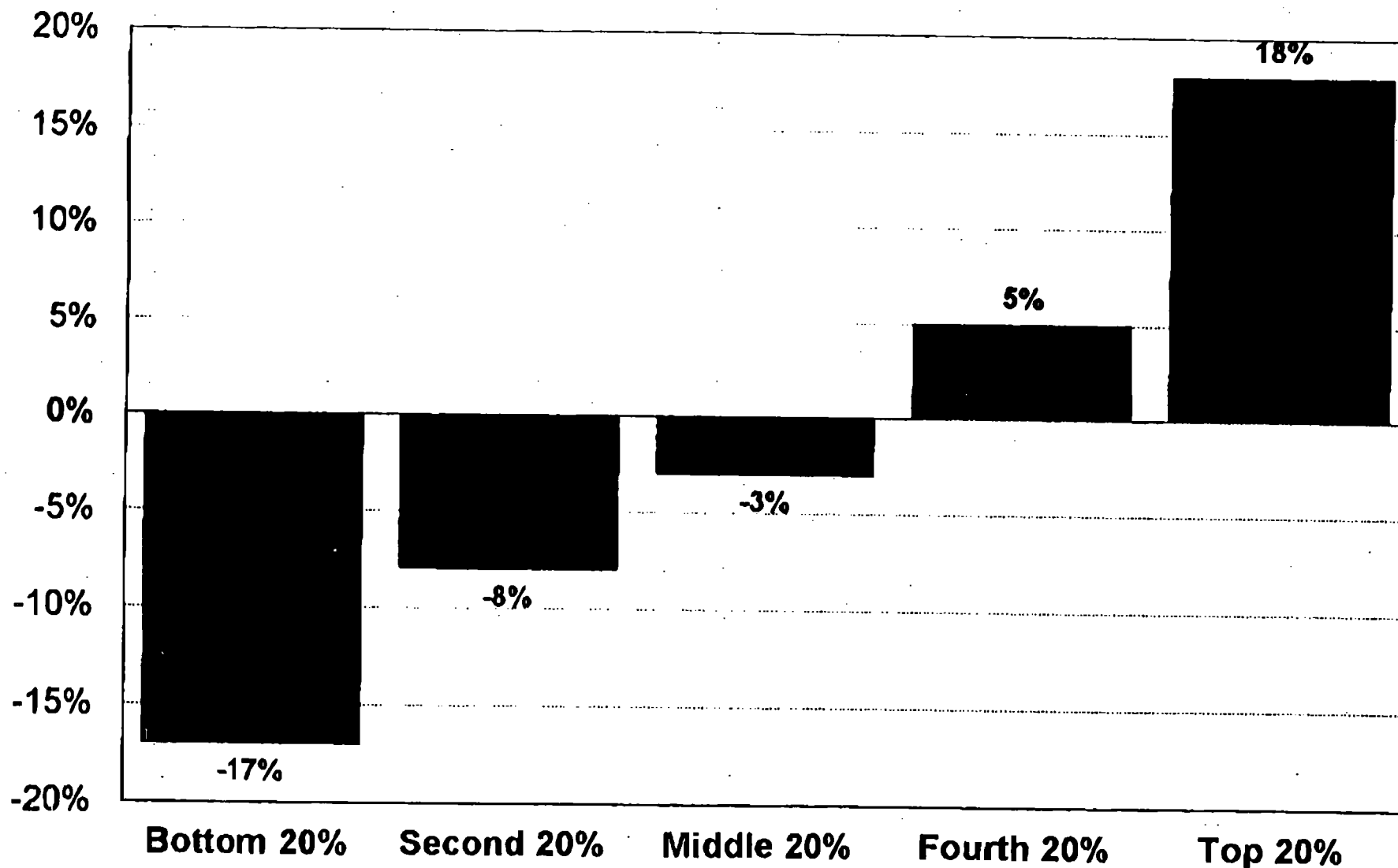
Real Family Income Growth By Quintile



SOURCE: Census Bureau, DOL calculations. All data converted to 1993 dollars.

1979 to 1993 -- Growing Apart

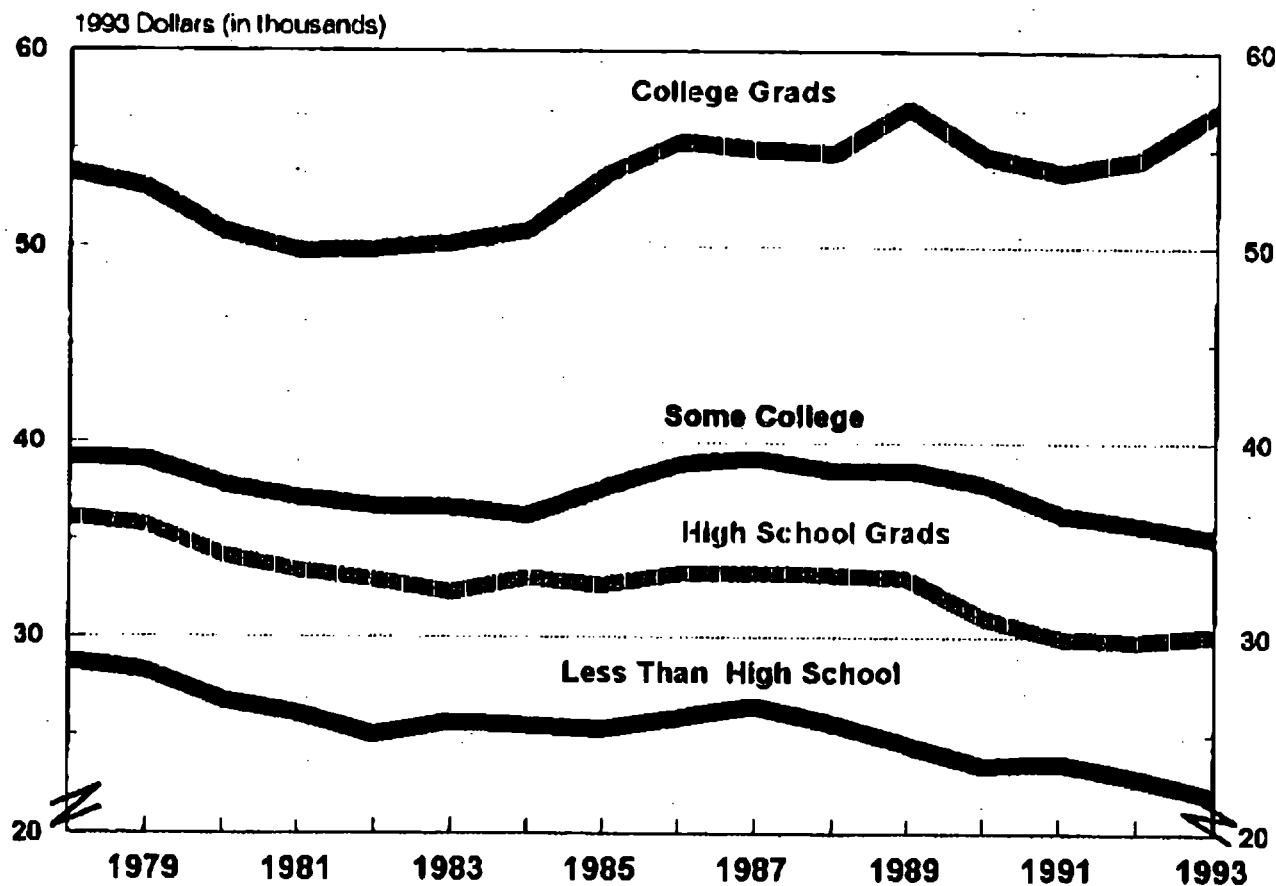
Real Family Income Growth By Quintile



SOURCE: Census Bureau, DOL calculations. All data converted to 1993 dollars.

Skills Matter More

Average Annual Earnings of Men by Educational Attainment



Note: Workers 25 years of age and older, working year round, full time. Data on educational attainment for 1991 through 1993 are not directly comparable to those from prior years. Numbers for 1993 used 1990 population weights, whereas data for other years used 1980 population weights.

Source: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey

To: Grey Billings 4.6603
Daschle..

Kathy Gilley 5.4188

Craig Hanna 5.7414

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H.R. 2710 by MURPHY (D-PA) -- Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1989 (Pub. L. 101-157, approved 11/17/89)

11/01/89 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1324: 382-37

(DEM: 247-2; REP: 135-35)

(House passed H.R. 2710, to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage.)

-----Among 382 Members Who Voted 'YES'-----

ACKERMAN (D-NY)	HALL, TONY (D-OH)	PARKER (D-MS)
BEILENSEN (D-CA)	HALL, RALPH (D-TX)	PAYNE, DONALD (D-NJ)
BERMAN (D-CA)	HAMILTON (D-IN)	PAYNE, LEWIS (D-VA)
BEVILL (D-AL)	HAYES, JAMES A. (D-LA)	PELOSI (D-CA)
BONIOR (D-MI)	HEFNER (D-NC)	PICKETT (D-VA)
BORSKI (D-PA)	HOYER (D-MD)	POSHARD (D-IL)
BOUCHER (D-VA)	JACOBS (D-IN)	RAHALL (D-WV)
BROWDER (D-AL)	JOHNSON, TIMOTHY P. (D-SD)	RANGEL, CHARLES (D-NY)
BROWN, GEORGE (D-CA)	JOHNSTON, HARRY (D-FL)	RICHARDSON (D-NM)
BRYANT, JOHN (D-TX)	KANJORSKI (D-PA)	ROSE (D-NC)
CARDIN (D-MD)	KAPTUR (D-OH)	SABO (D-MN)
CHAPMAN (D-TX)	KENNEDY, JOSEPH (D-MA)	SAWYER (D-OH)
CLAY (D-MO)	KENNELLY (D-CT)	SCHROEDER (D-CO)
CLEMENT (D-TN)	KILDEE (D-MI)	SCHUMER (D-NY)
COLEMAN, RONALD (D-TX)	KLECZKA (D-WI)	SISISKY (D-VA)
COLLINS, CARLISS (D-IL)	LAFALCE (D-NY)	SKAGGS (D-CO)
CONDIT (D-CA)	LANTOS (D-CA)	SKELTON (D-MO)
COSTELLO (D-IL)	LAUGHLIN (D-TX)	SLAUGHTER, LOUISE (D-NY)
COYNE, WILLIAM (D-PA)	LEVIN, SANDER (D-MI)	SPRATT (D-SC)
DE LA GARZA (D-TX)	LEWIS, JOHN (D-GA)	STARK (D-CA)
DEFAZIO (D-OR)	LIPINSKI (D-IL)	STENHOLM (D-TX)
DELLUMS (D-CA)	LOWEY (D-NY)	STOKES (D-OH)
DICKS (D-WA)	MANTON (D-NY)	STUDDS (D-MA)
DINGELL (D-MI)	MARKEY (D-MA)	TANNER (D-TN)
DIXON, JULIAN (D-CA)	MARTINEZ (D-CA)	TAUZIN (D-LA)
DURBIN (D-IL)	MATSUI (D-CA)	TAYLOR, GENE (D-MS)
ENGEL (D-NY)	MCDERMOTT (D-WA)	TORRES (D-CA)
EVANS, LANE (D-IL)	MCNULTY (D-NY)	TORRICELLI (D-NJ)
FAZIO (D-CA)	MFUME (D-MD)	TOWNS (D-NY)
FLAKE (D-NY)	MINETA (D-CA)	TRAFICANT (D-OH)
FOGLIETTA (D-PA)	MOLLOHAN (D-WV)	VENTO (D-MN)
FRANK, BARNEY (D-MA)	MONTGOMERY (D-MS)	VISCLOSKEY (D-IN)
FROST (D-TX)	MURTHA (D-PA)	VOLKMER (D-MO)
GEJDENSON (D-CT)	NEAL, RICHARD (D-MA)	WAXMAN (D-CA)
GEPHARDT (D-MO)	OBERSTAR (D-MN)	WILLIAMS, PAT (D-MT)
GEREN (D-TX)	OBEY (D-WI)	WILSON, CHARLES (D-TX)
GIBBONS (D-FL)	ORTIZ (D-TX)	WISE (D-WV)
GONZALEZ (D-TX)	OWENS, MAJOR (D-NY)	WYDEN (D-OR)
GORDON (D-TN)	PALLONE (D-NJ)	YATES (D-IL)

-----Among 37 Members Who Voted 'NO'-----

MILLER, GEORGE (D-CA)

-----Among 14 Members Who Were 'NOT VOTING'-----

CONYERS (D-MI)

FORD, HAROLD (D-TN)

MOAKLEY (D-MA)

H.R.2710 by MURPHY (D-PA) -- Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1989 (Pub. L. 101-157, approved 11/17/89)

11/01/89 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1324, 382-37

(DEM: 247-2; REP: 135-35)

(House passed H.R. 2710, to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage.)

-----Among 382 Members Who Voted 'YES'-----

BALLENGER (R-NC)	KASICH (R-OH)	SCHAEFER (R-CO)
BATEMAN (R-VA)	KOLBE (R-AZ)	SCHIFF (R-NM)
BEREUTER (R-NE)	LEACH, JAMES (R-IA)	SENSENBRENNER (R-WI)
BILIRAKIS (R-FL)	LEWIS, JERRY (R-CA)	SHAW (R-FL)
BLILEY (R-VA)	LIGHTFOOT (R-IA)	SHAYS (R-CT)
BOEHLERT (R-NY)	MCCRERY (R-LA)	SHUSTER (R-PA)
CLINGER (R-PA)	MCDADE (R-PA)	SKEEN (R-NM)
COBLE (R-NC)	MEYERS (R-KS)	SMITH, CHRISTOPHER (R-NJ)
DUNCAN, JR. (R-TN)	MOORHEAD (R-CA)	SMITH, LAMAR (R-TX)
EMERSON (R-MO)	MORELLA (R-MD)	SOLOMON (R-NY)
FIELDS, JACK (R-TX)	MYERS (R-IN)	SPENCE (R-SC)
GEKAS (R-PA)	PACKARD (R-CA)	STEARNS (R-FL)
GILLMOR (R-OH)	PETRI (R-WI)	THOMAS, WILLIAM (R-CA)
GILMAN (R-NY)	PORTER (R-IL)	UPTON (R-MI)
GINGRICH (R-GA)	QUILLEN (R-TN)	VUCANOVICH (R-NV)
GOODLING (R-PA)	REGULA (R-OH)	WALKER (R-PA)
GUNDERSON (R-WI)	ROBERTS, PAT (R-KS)	WALSH (R-NY)
HASTERT (R-IL)	ROGERS (R-KY)	WELDON (R-PA)
HERGER (R-CA)	ROS-LEHTINEN (R-FL)	WOLF (R-VA)
HOUGHTON (R-NY)	ROTH, TOBY (R-WI)	YOUNG, DON (R-AK)
HYDE (R-IL)	ROUKEMA (R-NJ)	YOUNG, BILL (R-FL)
JOHNSON, NANCY (R-CT)	SAXTON (R-NJ)	

-----Among 37 Members Who Voted 'NO'-----

ARCHER (R-TX)	CRANE (R-IL)	HEFLEY (R-CO)
ARMEY (R-TX)	DELAY (R-TX)	HUNTER (R-CA)
BAKER (R-LA)	DORNAN, ROBERT (R-CA)	LIVINGSTON (R-LA)
BARTON (R-TX)	DREIER, DAVID (R-CA)	MCCOLLUM (R-FL)
BUNNING (R-KY)	FAWELL (R-IL)	OXLEY (R-OH)
BURTON (R-IN)	GALLEGLY (R-CA)	PAXON (R-NY)
CALLAHAN (R-AL)	GOSS (R-FL)	ROHRBACHER (R-CA)
COMBEST (R-TX)	HANCOCK (R-MO)	STUMP (R-AZ)
COX, CHRISTOPHER (R-CA)	HANSEN (R-UT)	

*Conservative members speak in unison
in support!*

*0207-067
2/1/89*

** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 292 ** HR2710. Minimum-Wage Increase - Passage. Passage of the bill (thus clearing the measure for the president) to increase the minimum wage from \$3.35 an hour to \$4.25 an hour over two years and to provide for a temporary training wage - equal to 85 percent of the minimum wage - for employees aged 16 to 19. Passed 89-8: R 36-8; D 53-0 (ND 36-0, SD 17-0), Nov. 8, 1989. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 3053)

*** YEAS (89) *****

DEMOCRATS (53)

Adams B (WA)	Ford W (KY)	Metzenbaum H (OH)
Bentsen L (TX)	Fowler W (GA)	Mikulski B (MD)
Biden J (DE)	Glenn J (OH)	Mitchell G (ME)
Bingaman J (NM)	Gore A (TN)	Moynihan D (NY)
Boren D (OK)	Graham B (FL)	Nunn S (GA)
Bradley B (NJ)	Harkin T (IA)	Pell C (RI)
Breaux J (LA)	Heflin H (AL)	Pryor D (AR)
Bryan R (NV)	Hollings E (SC)	Reid H (NV)
Bumpers D (AR)	Inouye D (HI)	Riegle D (MI)
Burdick Q (ND)	Johnston J (LA)	Robb C (VA)
Byrd R (WV)	Kennedy E (MA)	Rockefeller J (WV)
Conrad K (ND)	Kerrey B (NE)	Sanford T (NC)
Cranston A (CA)	Kerry J (MA)	Sarbanes P (MD)
Daschle T (SD)	Kohl H (WI)	Sasser J (TN)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Lautenberg F (NJ)	Shelby R (AL)
Dixon A (IL)	Leahy P (VT)	Simon P (IL)
Dodd C (CT)	Levin C (MI)	Wirth T (CO)
Exon J (NE)	Lieberman J (CT)	

REPUBLICANS (36)

Bond C (MO)	Gorton S (WA)	McConnell M (KY)
Boschwitz R (MN)	Gramm P (TX)	Murkowski F (AK)
Burns C (MT)	Grassley C (IA)	Packwood B (OR)
Chafee J (RI)	Hatfield M (OR)	Pressler L (SD)
Coats D (IN)	Heinz J (PA)	Roth W (DE)
Cochran T (MS)	Jeffords J (VT)	Rudman W (NH)
Cohen W (ME)	Kassebaum N (KS)	Simpson A (WY)
D'Amato A (NY)	Kasten B (WI)	Specter A (PA)
Danforth J (MO)	Lott T (MS)	Stevens T (AK)
Dole B (KS)	Lugar R (IN)	Thurmond S (SC)
Domenici P (NM)	McCain J (AZ)	Warner J (VA)
Durenberger D (MN)	McClure J (ID)	Wilson P (CA)

*** NAYS (8) *****

REPUBLICANS (8)

Armstrong W (CO)	Helms J (NC)	Nickles D (OK)
Garn J (UT)	Humphrey G (NH)	Symms S (ID)
Hatch O (UT)	Mack C (FL)	

*** NOT VOTING (3) *****

DEMOCRATS (2)

Baucus M (MT) ?	Matsunaga S (HI) ?
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REPUBLICANS (1)

Wallop M (WY) -

Senate votes

**** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 291 **** HR2710. Minimum-Wage Increase - Training Wage. Thurmond, R-S.C., motion to table (kill) the Gramm, R-Texas, amendment to strike the exclusion from the training wage - a temporary subminimum wage that employers could pay to employees aged 16 to 19 - for employers of migrant and seasonal agricultural workers. Motion agreed to 63-35: R 15-30; D 48-5 (ND 36-0, SD 12-5), Nov. 8, 1989. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 3053)

***** YEAS (63) *******

DEMOCRATS (48)

Adams B (WA)	Ford W (KY)	Metzenbaum H (OH)
Biden J (DE)	Fowler W (GA)	Mikulski B (MD)
Bingaman J (NM)	Glenn J (OH)	Mitchell G (ME)
Bradley B (NJ)	Gore A (TN)	Moynihan D (NY)
Breaux J (LA)	Graham B (FL)	Nunn S (GA)
Bryan R (NV)	Harkin T (IA)	Pell C (RI)
Bumpers D (AR)	Hollings E (SC)	Pryor D (AR)
Burdick Q (ND)	Inouye D (HI)	Reid H (NV)
Byrd R (WV)	Kennedy E (MA)	Riegle D (MI)
Conrad K (ND)	Kerrey B (NE)	Robb C (VA)
Cranston A (CA)	Kerry J (MA)	Rockefeller J (WV)
Daschle T (SD)	Kohl H (WI)	Sanford T (NC)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Lautenberg F (NJ)	Sarbanes P (MD)
Dixon A (IL)	Leahy P (VT)	Sasser J (TN)
Dodd C (CT)	Levin C (MI)	Simon P (IL)
Exon J (NE)	Lieberman J (CT)	Wirth T (CO)

REPUBLICANS (15)

Chafee J (RI)	Domenici P (NM)	Lugar R (IN)
Cohen W (ME)	Durenberger D (MN)	Packwood B (OR)
D'Amato A (NY)	Hatfield M (OR)	Rudman W (NH)
Danforth J (MO)	Heinz J (PA)	Stevens T (AK)
Dole B (KS)	Jeffords J (VT)	Wilson P (CA)

***** NAYS (35) *******

DEMOCRATS (5)

Bentsen L (TX)	Heflin H (AL)	Shelby R (AL)
Boren D (OK)	Johnston J (LA)	

REPUBLICANS (30)

Armstrong W (CO)	Hatch O (UT)	Murkowski F (AK)
Bond C (MO)	Helms J (NC)	Nickles D (OK)
Boschwitz R (MN)	Humphrey G (NH)	Pressler L (SD)
Burns C (MT)	Kassebaum N (KS)	Roth W (DE)
Coats D (IN)	Kasten B (WI)	Simpson A (WY)
Cochran T (MS)	Lott T (MS)	Specter A (PA)
Garn J (UT)	Mack C (FL)	Symms S (ID)
Gorton S (WA)	McCain J (AZ)	Thurmond S (SC)
Gramm P (TX)	McClure J (ID)	Wallop M (WY)
Grassley C (IA)	McConnell M (KY)	Warner J (VA)

***** NOT VOTING (2) *******

DEMOCRATS (2)

Baucus M (MT) ?	Matsunaga S (HI) ?
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**** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 290 **** HR2710. Minimum-Wage Increase - Small Business. Mitchell, D-Maine, motion to table (kill) the Symms, R-Idaho, amendment to provide that Congress shall not increase the business costs for small businesses by enacting legislation that requires additional paperwork, capital expenditures, compliance costs or taxes. Motion agreed to 64-34: R 14-31; D 50-3 (ND 34-2, SD 16-1), Nov. 8, 1989. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 3053)

***** YEAS (64) ******

DEMOCRATS (50)

Adams B (WA)	Fowler W (GA)	Mikulski B (MD)
Bentsen L (TX)	Glenn J (OH)	Mitchell G (ME)
Biden J (DE)	Gore A (TN)	Moynihan D (NY)
Bingaman J (NM)	Graham B (FL)	Nunn S (GA)
Boren D (OK)	Harkin T (IA)	Pell C (RI)
Bradley B (NJ)	Hollings E (SC)	Pryor D (AR)
Breaux J (LA)	Inouye D (HI)	Reid H (NV)
Bryan R (NV)	Johnston J (LA)	Riegle D (MI)
Bumpers D (AR)	Kennedy E (MA)	Robb C (VA)
Burdick Q (ND)	Kerrey B (NE)	Rockefeller J (WV)
Byrd R (WV)	Kerry J (MA)	Sanford T (NC)
Cranston A (CA)	Kohl H (WI)	Sarbanes P (MD)
Daschle T (SD)	Lautenberg F (NJ)	Sasser J (TN)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Leahy P (VT)	Shelby R (AL)
Dixon A (IL)	Levin C (MI)	Simon P (IL)
Dodd C (CT)	Lieberman J (CT)	Wirth T (CO)
Ford W (KY)	Metzenbaum H (OH)	

REPUBLICANS (14)

Chafee J (RI)	Durenberger D (MN)	Lugar R (IN)
Cohen W (ME)	Hatfield M (OR)	Packwood B (OR)
Danforth J (MO)	Heinz J (PA)	Roth W (DE)
Dole B (KS)	Jeffords J (VT)	Rudman W (NH)
Domenici P (NM)	Kassebaum N (KS)	

***** NAYS (34) ******

DEMOCRATS (3)

Conrad K (ND)	Exon J (NE)	Heflin H (AL)
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REPUBLICANS (31)

Armstrong W (CO)	Hatch O (UT)	Nickles D (OK)
Bond C (MO)	Helms J (NC)	Pressler L (SD)
Boschwitz R (MN)	Humphrey G (NH)	Simpson A (WY)
Burns C (MT)	Kasten B (WI)	Specter A (PA)
Coats D (IN)	Lott T (MS)	Stevens T (AK)
Cochran T (MS)	Mack C (FL)	Symms S (ID)
D'Amato A (NY)	McCain J (AZ)	Thurmond S (SC)
Garn J (UT)	McClure J (ID)	Wallop M (WY)
Gorton S (WA)	McConnell M (KY)	Warner J (VA)
Gramm P (TX)	Murkowski F (AK)	Wilson P (CA)
Grassley C (IA)		

***** NOT VOTING (2) ******

DEMOCRATS (2)

Baucus M (MT) ?	Matsunaga S (HI) ?
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**** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 68 **** **HR2. Minimum-Wage Increase -**
Conference Report. Adoption of the conference report (thus
clearing the measure for the president) on the bill to raise the
minimum wage from \$3.35 an hour to \$4.55 over three years, and
to provide for a 60-day training wage -- equal to 85 percent of
the minimum -- for workers who have not worked a total of 60
days. Adopted 63-37: R 10-35; D 53-2 (ND 38-0, SD 15-2), May 17,
1989. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.
(Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 1188)

***** YEAS (63) *******

DEMOCRATS (53)

Adams B (WA)	Ford W (KY)	Metzenbaum H (OH)
Baucus M (MT)	Fowler W (GA)	Mikulski B (MD)
Bentsen L (TX)	Glenn J (OH)	Mitchell G (ME)
Biden J (DE)	Gore A (TN)	Moynihan D (NY)
Bingaman J (NM)	Graham B (FL)	Nunn S (GA)
Bradley B (NJ)	Harkin T (IA)	Pell C (RI)
Breaux J (LA)	Heflin H (AL)	Pryor D (AR)
Bryan R (NV)	Inouye D (HI)	Reid H (NV)
Bumpers D (AR)	Johnston J (LA)	Riegle D (MI)
Burdick Q (ND)	Kennedy E (MA)	Robb C (VA)
Byrd R (WV)	Kerrey B (NE)	Rockefeller J (WV)
Conrad K (ND)	Kerry J (MA)	Sanford T (NC)
Cranston A (CA)	Kohl H (WI)	Sarbanes P (MD)
Daschle T (SD)	Lautenberg F (NJ)	Sasser J (TN)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Leahy P (VT)	Shelby R (AL)
Dixon A (IL)	Levin C (MI)	Simon P (IL)
Dodd C (CT)	Lieberman J (CT)	Wirth T (CO)
Exon J (NE)	Matsunaga S (HI)	

REPUBLICANS (10)

Chafee J (RI)	Hatfield M (OR)	Packwood B (OR)
Cohen W (ME)	Heinz J (PA)	Pressler L (SD)
D'Amato A (NY)	Jeffords J (VT)	Specter A (PA)
Durenberger D (MN)		

***** NAYS (37) *******

DEMOCRATS (2)

Boren D (OK)	Hollings E (SC)
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REPUBLICANS (35)

Armstrong W (CO)	Grassley C (IA)	Murkowski F (AK)
Bond C (MO)	Hatch O (UT)	Nickles D (OK)
Boschwitz R (MN)	Helms J (NC)	Roth W (DE)
Burns C (MT)	Humphrey G (NH)	Rudman W (NH)
Coats D (IN)	Kassebaum N (KS)	Simpson A (WY)
Cochran T (MS)	Kasten B (WI)	Stevens T (AK)
Danforth J (MO)	Lott T (MS)	Symms S (ID)
Dole B (KS)	Lugar R (IN)	Thurmond S (SC)
Domenici P (NM)	Mack C (FL)	Wallop M (WY)
Garn J (UT)	McCain J (AZ)	Warner J (VA)
Gorton S (WA)	McClure J (ID)	Wilson P (CA)
Gramm P (TX)	McConnell M (KY)	

** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 39 ** HR2. Minimum-Wage Increase - Passage. Passage of the bill to boost the minimum wage from \$3.35 an hour to \$4.55 over three years and to provide for a 60-day training wage -- equal to 85 percent of the minimum -- for workers with minimal job experience. Passed 62-37: R 10-35; D 52-2 (ND 38-0, SD 14-2), April 12, 1989. (Prior to passage, the Senate substituted the text of S4 for that of HR2.) A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 814)

*** YEAS (62) *****

DEMOCRATS (52)

Adams B (WA)	Ford W (KY)	Metzenbaum H (OH)
Baucus M (MT)	Fowler W (GA)	Mikulski B (MD)
Bentsen L (TX)	Glenn J (OH)	Mitchell G (ME)
Biden J (DE)	Graham B (FL)	Moynihan D (NY)
Bingaman J (NM)	Harkin T (IA)	Nunn S (GA)
Bradley B (NJ)	Heflin H (AL)	Pell C (RI)
Breaux J (LA)	Inouye D (HI)	Pryor D (AR)
Bryan R (NV)	Johnston J (LA)	Reid H (NV)
Bumpers D (AR)	Kennedy E (MA)	Riegle D (MI)
Burdick Q (ND)	Kerrey B (NE)	Robb C (VA)
Byrd R (WV)	Kerry J (MA)	Rockefeller J (WV)
Conrad K (ND)	Kohl H (WI)	Sanford T (NC)
Cranston A (CA)	Lautenberg F (NJ)	Sarbanes P (MD)
Daschle T (SD)	Leahy P (VT)	Sasser J (TN)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Levin C (MI)	Shelby R (AL)
Dixon A (IL)	Lieberman J (CT)	Simon P (IL)
Dodd C (CT)	Matsunaga S (HI)	Wirth T (CO)
Exon J (NE)		

REPUBLICANS (10)

Chafee J (RI)	Hatfield M (OR)	Packwood B (OR)
Cohen W (ME)	Heinz J (PA)	Pressler L (SD)
D'Amato A (NY)	Jeffords J (VT)	Specter A (PA)
Durenberger D (MN)		

*** NAYS (37) *****

DEMOCRATS (2)

Boren D (OK)	Hollings E (SC)
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REPUBLICANS (35)

Armstrong W (CO)	Grassley C (IA)	Murkowski F (AK)
Bond C (MO)	Hatch O (UT)	Nickles D (OK)
Boschwitz R (MN)	Helms J (NC)	Roth W (DE)
Burns C (MT)	Humphrey G (NH)	Rudman W (NH)
Coats D (IN)	Kassebaum N (KS)	Simpson A (WY)
Cochran T (MS)	Kasten B (WI)	Stevens T (AK)
Danforth J (MO)	Lott T (MS)	Symms S (ID)
Dole B (KS)	Lugar R (IN)	Thurmond S (SC)
Domenici P (NM)	Mack C (FL)	Wallop M (WY)
Garn J (UT)	McCain J (AZ)	Warner J (VA)
Gorton S (WA)	McClure J (ID)	Wilson P (CA)
Gramm P (TX)	McConnell M (KY)	

*** NOT VOTING (1) *****

DEMOCRATS (1)

Gore A (TN) +

**** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 38 ** S4. Minimum-Wage Increase -**
Recommittal Motion. Dole, R-Kan., motion to recommit to the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee the bill to boost the minimum wage with instructions to report it back to the Senate as follows: President Bush's wage proposal -- which would raise the wage to \$4.25 and provide a six-month training wage for all new hires -- plus all of the amendments previously adopted by the Senate. Motion rejected 43-56: R 40-5; D 3-51 (ND 0-38, SD 3-13), April 12, 1989. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 814)

***** YEAS (43) *******

DEMOCRATS (3)

Boren D (OK)

Hollings E (SC)

Johnston J (LA)

REPUBLICANS (40)

Armstrong W (CO)

Bond C (MO)

Boschwitz R (MN)

Burns C (MT)

Chafee J (RI)

Coats D (IN)

Cochran T (MS)

D'Amato A (NY)

Danforth J (MO)

Dole B (KS)

Domenici P (NM)

Garn J (UT)

Gorton S (WA)

Gramm P (TX)

Grassley C (IA)

Hatch O (UT)

Helms J (NC)

Humphrey G (NH)

Jeffords J (VT)

Kassebaum N (KS)

Kasten B (WI)

Lott T (MS)

Lugar R (IN)

Mack C (FL)

McCain J (AZ)

McClure J (ID)

McConnell M (KY)

Murkowski F (AK)

Nickles D (OK)

Pressler L (SD)

Roth W (DE)

Rudman W (NH)

Simpson A (WY)

Specter A (PA)

Stevens T (AK)

Symms S (ID)

Thurmond S (SC)

Wallop M (WY)

Warner J (VA)

Wilson P (CA)

***** NAYS (56) *******

DEMOCRATS (51)

Adams B (WA)

Baucus M (MT)

Bentsen L (TX)

Biden J (DE)

Bingaman J (NM)

Bradley B (NJ)

Breaux J (LA)

Bryan R (NV)

Bumpers D (AR)

Burdick Q (ND)

Byrd R (WV)

Conrad K (ND)

Cranston A (CA)

Daschle T (SD)

DeConcini D (AZ)

Dixon A (IL)

Dodd C (CT)

Exon J (NE)

Ford W (KY)

Fowler W (GA)

Glenn J (OH)

Graham B (FL)

Harkin T (IA)

Heflin H (AL)

Inouye D (HI)

Kennedy E (MA)

Kerrey B (NE)

Kerry J (MA)

Kohl H (WI)

Lautenberg F (NJ)

Leahy P (VT)

Levin C (MI)

Lieberman J (CT)

Matsunaga S (HI)

Metzenbaum H (OH)

Mikulski B (MD)

Mitchell G (ME)

Moynihan D (NY)

Nunn S (GA)

Pell C (RI)

Pryor D (AR)

Reid H (NV)

Riegle D (MI)

Robb C (VA)

Rockefeller J (WV)

Sanford T (NC)

Sarbanes P (MD)

Sasser J (TN)

Shelby R (AL)

Simon P (IL)

Wirth T (CO)

REPUBLICANS (5)

Cohen W (ME)

Durenberger D (MN)

Hatfield M (OR)

Heinz J (PA)

Packwood B (OR)

***** NOT VOTING (1) *******

DEMOCRATS (1)

Gore A (TN) -

** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 37 ** S4. Minimum-Wage Increase -
 'Comp' Time. Mitchell, D-Maine, motion to table (kill) the
 Wallop, R-Wyo., amendment to allow hourly wage workers to
 voluntarily agree to take comp time -- paid time off -- rather
 than overtime pay when they work more than 40 hours a week.
 Motion agreed to 66-33: R 16-29; D 50-4 (ND 36-2, SD 14-2),
 April 12, 1989. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 814)
 Item Key: 5007

*** YEAS (66) *****

DEMOCRATS (50)

Adams B (WA)	Ford W (KY)	Metzenbaum H (OH)
Biden J (DE)	Glenn J (OH)	Mikulski B (MD)
Bingaman J (NM)	Graham B (FL)	Mitchell G (ME)
Boren D (OK)	Harkin T (IA)	Moynihan D (NY)
Bradley B (NJ)	Heflin H (AL)	Nunn S (GA)
Breaux J (LA)	Hollings E (SC)	Pell C (RI)
Bryan R (NV)	Inouye D (HI)	Pryor D (AR)
Bumpers D (AR)	Johnston J (LA)	Reid H (NV)
Burdick Q (ND)	Kennedy E (MA)	Riegle D (MI)
Byrd R (WV)	Kerrey B (NE)	Robb C (VA)
Conrad K (ND)	Kerry J (MA)	Rockefeller J (WV)
Cranston A (CA)	Kohl H (WI)	Sanford T (NC)
Daschle T (SD)	Lautenberg F (NJ)	Sarbanes P (MD)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Leahy P (VT)	Sasser J (TN)
Dixon A (IL)	Levin C (MI)	Shelby R (AL)
Dodd C (CT)	Lieberman J (CT)	Simon P (IL)
Exon J (NE)	Matsunaga S (HI)	

REPUBLICANS (16)

Boschwitz R (MN)	Gorton S (WA)	Packwood B (OR)
Chafee J (RI)	Grassley C (IA)	Roth W (DE)
Cohen W (ME)	Hatfield M (OR)	Rudman W (NH)
D'Amato A (NY)	Heinz J (PA)	Specter A (PA)
Domenici P (NM)	Jeffords J (VT)	Stevens T (AK)
Durenberger D (MN)		

*** NAYS (33) *****

DEMOCRATS (4)

Baucus M (MT)	Fowler W (GA)	Wirth T (CO)
Bentsen L (TX)		

REPUBLICANS (29)

Armstrong W (CO)	Helms J (NC)	Murkowski F (AK)
Bond C (MO)	Humphrey G (NH)	Nickles D (OK)
Burns C (MT)	Kassebaum N (KS)	Pressler L (SD)
Coats D (IN)	Kasten B (WI)	Simpson A (WY)
Cochran T (MS)	Lott T (MS)	Symms S (ID)
Danforth J (MO)	Lugar R (IN)	Thurmond S (SC)
Dole B (KS)	Mack C (FL)	Wallop M (WY)
Garn J (UT)	McCain J (AZ)	Warner J (VA)
Gramm P (TX)	McClure J (ID)	Wilson P (CA)
Hatch O (UT)	McConnell M (KY)	

*** NOT VOTING (1) *****

DEMOCRATS (1)

Gore A (TN) ?

**** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 36 ** S4. Minimum-Wage Increase -**
Davis-Bacon Act. Mitchell, D-Maine., motion to table (kill) the
 Nickles, R-Okla., amendment to provide that the Davis-Bacon Act
 -- which sets wage standards for federal contracts -- apply only
 to contractors and subcontractors whose annual gross income is
 more than \$500,000. Motion agreed to 61-38: R 10-35; D 51-3 (ND
 38-0, SD 13-3), April 12, 1989. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p.
 814)

***** YEAS(61) *******

DEMOCRATS (51)

Adams B (WA)	Exon J (NE)	Lieberman J (CT)
Baucus M (MT)	Ford W (KY)	Matsunaga S (HI)
Bentsen L (TX)	Fowler W (GA)	Metzenbaum H (OH)
Biden J (DE)	Glenn J (OH)	Mikulski B (MD)
Bingaman J (NM)	Graham B (FL)	Mitchell G (ME)
Bradley B (NJ)	Harkin T (IA)	Moynihan D (NY)
Breaux J (LA)	Heflin H (AL)	Pell C (RI)
Bryan R (NV)	Hollings E (SC)	Pryor D (AR)
Bumpers D (AR)	Inouye D (HI)	Reid H (NV)
Burdick Q (ND)	Johnston J (LA)	Riegle D (MI)
Byrd R (WV)	Kennedy E (MA)	Rockefeller J (WV)
Conrad K (ND)	Kerrey B (NE)	Sanford T (NC)
Cranston A (CA)	Kerry J (MA)	Sarbanes P (MD)
Daschle T (SD)	Kohl H (WI)	Sasser J (TN)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Lautenberg F (NJ)	Shelby R (AL)
Dixon A (IL)	Leahy P (VT)	Simon P (IL)
Dodd C (CT)	Levin C (MI)	Wirth T (CO)

REPUBLICANS (10)

Chafee J (RI)	Hatfield M (OR)	Packwood B (OR)
D'Amato A (NY)	Heinz J (PA)	Specter A (PA)
Danforth J (MO)	Murkowski F (AK)	Stevens T (AK)
Durenberger D (MN)		

***** NAYS (38) *******

DEMOCRATS (3)

Boren D (OK)	Nunn S (GA)	Robb C (VA)
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REPUBLICANS (35)

Armstrong W (CO)	Grassley C (IA)	McConnell M (KY)
Bond C (MO)	Hatch O (UT)	Nickles D (OK)
Boschwitz R (MN)	Helms J (NC)	Pressler L (SD)
Burns C (MT)	Humphrey G (NH)	Roth W (DE)
Coats D (IN)	Jeffords J (VT)	Rudman W (NH)
Cochran T (MS)	Kassebaum N (KS)	Simpson A (WY)
Cohen W (ME)	Kasten B (WI)	Symms S (ID)
Dole B (KS)	Lott T (MS)	Thurmond S (SC)
Domenici P (NM)	Lugar R (IN)	Wallop M (WY)
Garn J (UT)	Mack C (FL)	Warner J (VA)
Gorton S (WA)	McCain J (AZ)	Wilson P (CA)
Gramm P (TX)	McClure J (ID)	

***** NOT VOTING (1) *******

DEMOCRATS (1)

Gore A (TN) ?

** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 35 ** S4. Minimum-Wage Increase - Medicare Catastrophic Coverage. Nickles, R-Okla., amendment to express the sense of the Senate that its Finance Committee should review the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988 (PL 100-360), specifically including its financing mechanism. Adopted 97-2: R 43-2; D 54-0 (ND 38-0, SD 16-0), April 12, 1989. (Stories, pp. 814, 828)

*** YEAS (97) *****

DEMOCRATS (54)

Adams B (WA)	Exon J (NE)	Matsunaga S (HI)
Baucus M (MT)	Ford W (KY)	Metzenbaum H (OH)
Bentsen L (TX)	Fowler W (GA)	Mikulski B (MD)
Biden J (DE)	Glenn J (OH)	Mitchell G (ME)
Bingaman J (NM)	Graham B (FL)	Moynihan D (NY)
Boren D (OK)	Harkin T (IA)	Nunn S (GA)
Bradley B (NJ)	Heflin H (AL)	Pell C (RI)
Breaux J (LA)	Hollings E (SC)	Pryor D (AR)
Bryan R (NV)	Inouye D (HI)	Reid H (NV)
Bumpers D (AR)	Johnston J (LA)	Riegle D (MI)
Burdick Q (ND)	Kennedy E (MA)	Robb C (VA)
Byrd R (WV)	Kerrey B (NE)	Rockefeller J (WV)
Conrad K (ND)	Kerry J (MA)	Sanford T (NC)
Cranston A (CA)	Kohl H (WI)	Sarbanes P (MD)
Daschle T (SD)	Lautenberg F (NJ)	Sasser J (TN)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Leahy P (VT)	Shelby R (AL)
Dixon A (IL)	Levin C (MI)	Simon P (IL)
Dodd C (CT)	Lieberman J (CT)	Wirth T (CO)

REPUBLICANS (43)

Armstrong W (CO)	Grassley C (IA)	McConnell M (KY)
Bond C (MO)	Hatch O (UT)	Murkowski F (AK)
Boschwitz R (MN)	Hatfield M (OR)	Nickles D (OK)
Burns C (MT)	Heinz J (PA)	Packwood B (OR)
Chafee J (RI)	Helms J (NC)	Pressler L (SD)
Coats D (IN)	Humphrey G (NH)	Roth W (DE)
Cochran T (MS)	Jeffords J (VT)	Simpson A (WY)
Cohen W (ME)	Kassebaum N (KS)	Specter A (PA)
D'Amato A (NY)	Kasten B (WI)	Stevens T (AK)
Danforth J (MO)	Lott T (MS)	Symms S (ID)
Dole B (KS)	Lugar R (IN)	Thurmond S (SC)
Domenici P (NM)	Mack C (FL)	Wallop M (WY)
Garn J (UT)	McCain J (AZ)	Warner J (VA)
Gorton S (WA)	McClure J (ID)	Wilson P (CA)
Gramm P (TX)		

*** NAYS (2) *****

REPUBLICANS (2)

Durenberger D (MN)	Rudman W (NH)
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*** NOT VOTING (1) *****

DEMOCRATS (1)

Gore A (TN) ?

** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 34 ** S4. Minimum-Wage Increase - Budget-Act Waiver. Kasten, R-Wis., motion to waive sections 303 and 311 (which prohibit "budget-busting" measures and the passage of revenue bills before the adoption of a budget resolution) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 to permit consideration of the Kasten amendment to delay for one year the effective date of Section 89 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986. Motion rejected 56-42: R 42-2; D 14-40 (ND 9-29, SD 5-11), April 12, 1989. A three-fifths majority vote (60) of the total Senate is required to waive the Budget Act. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 814)

*** YEAS (56) *****

DEMOCRATS (14)

Bingaman J (NM)	Fowler W (GA)	Kerrey B (NE)
Bumpers D (AR)	Glenn J (OH)	Kerry J (MA)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Harkin T (IA)	Lautenberg F (NJ)
Dixon A (IL)	Heflin H (AL)	Shelby R (AL)
Exon J (NE)	Hollings E (SC)	

REPUBLICANS (42)

Armstrong W (CO)	Grassley C (IA)	McConnell M (KY)
Bond C (MO)	Hatch O (UT)	Murkowski F (AK)
Boschwitz R (MN)	Hatfield M (OR)	Nickles D (OK)
Burns C (MT)	Heinz J (PA)	Pressler L (SD)
Coats D (IN)	Helms J (NC)	Roth W (DE)
Cochran T (MS)	Humphrey G (NH)	Rudman W (NH)
Cohen W (ME)	Jeffords J (VT)	Simpson A (WY)
D'Amato A (NY)	Kassebaum N (KS)	Specter A (PA)
Danforth J (MO)	Kasten B (WI)	Stevens T (AK)
Dole B (KS)	Lott T (MS)	Symms S (ID)
Domenici P (NM)	Lugar R (IN)	Thurmond S (SC)
Durenberger D (MN)	Mack C (FL)	Wallop M (WY)
Garn J (UT)	McCain J (AZ)	Warner J (VA)
Gorton S (WA)	McClure J (ID)	Wilson P (CA)

*** NAYS (42) *****

DEMOCRATS (40)

Adams B (WA)	Ford W (KY)	Moynihan D (NY)
Baucus M (MT)	Graham B (FL)	Nunn S (GA)
Bentsen L (TX)	Inouye D (HI)	Pell C (RI)
Biden J (DE)	Johnston J (LA)	Pryor D (AR)
Boren D (OK)	Kennedy E (MA)	Reid H (NV)
Bradley B (NJ)	Kohl H (WI)	Riegle D (MI)
Breaux J (LA)	Leahy P (VT)	Robb C (VA)
Bryan R (NV)	Levin C (MI)	Rockefeller J (WV)
Burdick Q (ND)	Lieberman J (CT)	Sanford T (NC)
Byrd R (WV)	Matsunaga S (HI)	Sarbanes P (MD)
Conrad K (ND)	Metzenbaum H (OH)	Sasser J (TN)
Cranston A (CA)	Mikulski B (MD)	Simon P (IL)
Daschle T (SD)	Mitchell G (ME)	Wirth T (CO)
Dodd C (CT)		

REPUBLICANS (2)

Chafee J (RI)	Packwood B (OR)
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*** NOT VOTING (2) *****

DEMOCRATS (1)

Gore A (TN) ?

REPUBLICANS (1)

Gramm P (TX) ?

**** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 33 ** S4. Minimum-Wage Increase -**
Earned-Income Tax Credit. Boschwitz, R-Minn., amendment to
 express the sense of the Senate that the earned-income tax
 credit for the working poor be amended to vary by family size
 and income. Adopted 97-1: R 44-1; D 53-0 (ND 37-0, SD 16-0),
 April 12, 1989. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 814)

***** YEAS (97) *******

DEMOCRATS (53)

Adams B (WA)	Exon J (NE)	Matsunaga S (HI)
Baucus M (MT)	Ford W (KY)	Metzenbaum H (OH)
Bentsen L (TX)	Fowler W (GA)	Mikulski B (MD)
Biden J (DE)	Glenn J (OH)	Mitchell G (ME)
Bingaman J (NM)	Graham B (FL)	Moynihan D (NY)
Boren D (OK)	Harkin T (IA)	Nunn S (GA)
Bradley B (NJ)	Heflin H (AL)	Pell C (RI)
Breaux J (LA)	Hollings E (SC)	Pryor D (AR)
Bryan R (NV)	Inouye D (HI)	Reid H (NV)
Bumpers D (AR)	Johnston J (LA)	Riegle D (MI)
Burdick Q (ND)	Kennedy E (MA)	Robb C (VA)
Byrd R (WV)	Kerrey B (NE)	Sanford T (NC)
Conrad K (ND)	Kerry J (MA)	Sarbanes P (MD)
Cranston A (CA)	Kohl H (WI)	Sasser J (TN)
Daschle T (SD)	Lautenberg F (NJ)	Shelby R (AL)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Leahy P (VT)	Simon P (IL)
Dixon A (IL)	Levin C (MI)	Wirth T (CO)
Dodd C (CT)	Lieberman J (CT)	

REPUBLICANS (44)

Armstrong W (CO)	Gramm P (TX)	Murkowski F (AK)
Bond C (MO)	Grassley C (IA)	Nickles D (OK)
Boschwitz R (MN)	Hatch O (UT)	Packwood B (OR)
Burns C (MT)	Hatfield M (OR)	Pressler L (SD)
Chafee J (RI)	Heinz J (PA)	Roth W (DE)
Coats D (IN)	Helms J (NC)	Rudman W (NH)
Cochran T (MS)	Humphrey G (NH)	Simpson A (WY)
Cohen W (ME)	Jeffords J (VT)	Specter A (PA)
D'Amato A (NY)	Kassebaum N (KS)	Stevens T (AK)
Danforth J (MO)	Kasten B (WI)	Symms S (ID)
Dole B (KS)	Lott T (MS)	Thurmond S (SC)
Domenici P (NM)	Lugar R (IN)	Wallop M (WY)
Durenberger D (MN)	Mack C (FL)	Warner J (VA)
Garn J (UT)	McCain J (AZ)	Wilson P (CA)
Gorton S (WA)	McConnell M (KY)	

***** NAYS (1) *******

REPUBLICANS (1)

McClure J (ID)

***** NOT VOTING (2) *******

DEMOCRATS (2)

Gore A (TN) ? Rockefeller J (WV) ?

.. ** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 32 ** S4. Minimum-Wage Increase -
Internal Revenue Code Section 89. Lott, R-Miss., amendment to
express the sense of the Senate that the House of
Representatives adopt and send to the Senate a bill to repeal or
modify substantially Section 89 of the Internal Revenue Code,
regarding non-discrimination in employee benefits, effective
Dec. 31, 1989. Adopted 98-0: R 44-0; D 54-0 (ND 38-0, SD 16-0),
April 12, 1989. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 814)

*** YEAS(98) *****

DEMOCRATS (54)

Adams B (WA)	Exon J (NE)	Matsunaga S (HI)
Baucus M (MT)	Ford W (KY)	Metzenbaum H (OH)
Bentsen L (TX)	Fowler W (GA)	Mikulski B (MD)
Biden J (DE)	Glenn J (OH)	Mitchell G (ME)
Bingaman J (NM)	Graham B (FL)	Moynihan D (NY)
Boren D (OK)	Harkin T (IA)	Nunn S (GA)
Bradley B (NJ)	Heflin H (AL)	Pell C (RI)
Breaux J (LA)	Hollings E (SC)	Pryor D (AR)
Bryan R (NV)	Inouye D (HI)	Reid H (NV)
Bumpers D (AR)	Johnston J (LA)	Riegle D (MI)
Burdick Q (ND)	Kennedy E (MA)	Robb C (VA)
Byrd R (WV)	Kerrey B (NE)	Rockefeller J (WV)
Conrad K (ND)	Kerry J (MA)	Sanford T (NC)
Cranston A (CA)	Kohl H (WI)	Sarbanes P (MD)
Daschle T (SD)	Lautenberg F (NJ)	Sasser J (TN)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Leahy P (VT)	Shelby R (AL)
Dixon A (IL)	Levin C (MI)	Simon P (IL)
Dodd C (CT)	Lieberman J (CT)	Wirth T (CO)

REPUBLICANS (44)

Armstrong W (CO)	Gramm P (TX)	McConnell M (KY)
Bond C (MO)	Grassley C (IA)	Murkowski F (AK)
Boschwitz R (MN)	Hatch O (UT)	Nickles D (OK)
Burns C (MT)	Hatfield M (OR)	Packwood B (OR)
Chafee J (RI)	Heinz J (PA)	Pressler L (SD)
Coats D (IN)	Helms J (NC)	Rudman W (NH)
Cochran T (MS)	Humphrey G (NH)	Simpson A (WY)
Cohen W (ME)	Jeffords J (VT)	Specter A (PA)
D'Amato A (NY)	Kassebaum N (KS)	Stevens T (AK)
Danforth J (MO)	Kasten B (WI)	Symms S (ID)
Dole B (KS)	Lott T (MS)	Thurmond S (SC)
Domenici P (NM)	Lugar R (IN)	Wallop M (WY)
Durenberger D (MN)	Mack C (FL)	Warner J (VA)
Garn J (UT)	McCain J (AZ)	Wilson P (CA)
Gorton S (WA)	McClure J (ID)	

*** NOT VOTING (2) *****

DEMOCRATS (1)

Gore A (TN) ?

REPUBLICANS (1)

Roth W (DE) ?

**** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 31 ** S4. Minimum-Wage Increase - Social Security Earnings Test.** Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment to amend the Social Security Act to increase the monthly earnings-test limit and to express the sense of the Congress that the earnings test be phased out by the year 2000 for persons who have reached retirement age. Adopted 86-11: R 44-0; D 42-11 (ND 30-7, SD 12-4), April 12, 1989. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 814)

***** YEAS (86) *******

DEMOCRATS (42)

Adams B (WA)	Dodd C (CT)	Leahy P (VT)
Baucus M (MT)	Exon J (NE)	Levin C (MI)
Biden J (DE)	Ford W (KY)	Lieberman J (CT)
Bingaman J (NM)	Fowler W (GA)	Metzenbaum H (OH)
Breaux J (LA)	Glenn J (OH)	Mikulski B (MD)
Bryan R (NV)	Graham B (FL)	Nunn S (GA)
Bumpers D (AR)	Harkin T (IA)	Pell C (RI)
Burdick Q (ND)	Heflin J (AL)	Pryor D (AR)
Byrd R (WV)	Hollings E (SC)	Reid H (NV)
Conrad K (ND)	Johnston J (LA)	Rockefeller J (WV)
Cranston A (CA)	Kerrey B (NE)	Sanford T (NC)
Daschle T (SD)	Kerry J (MA)	Sarbanes P (MD)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Kohl H (WI)	Shelby R (AL)
Dixon A (IL)	Lautenberg F (NJ)	Simon P (IL)

REPUBLICANS (44)

Armstrong W (CO)	Gramm P (TX)	McConnell M (KY)
Bond C (MO)	Grassley C (IA)	Murkowski F (AK)
Boschwitz R (MN)	Hatch O (UT)	Nickles D (OK)
Burns C (MT)	Hatfield M (OR)	Packwood B (OR)
Chafee J (RI)	Heinz J (PA)	Pressler L (SD)
Coats D (IN)	Helms J (NC)	Rudman W (NH)
Cochran T (MS)	Humphrey G (NH)	Simpson A (WY)
Cohen W (ME)	Jeffords J (VT)	Specter A (PA)
D'Amato A (NY)	Kassebaum N (KS)	Stevens T (AK)
Danforth J (MO)	Kasten B (WI)	Symms S (ID)
Dole B (KS)	Lott T (MS)	Thurmond S (SC)
Domenici P (NM)	Lugar R (IN)	Wallop M (WY)
Durenberger D (MN)	Mack C (FL)	Warner J (VA)
Garn J (UT)	McCain J (AZ)	Wilson P (CA)
Gorton S (WA)	McClure J (ID)	

***** NAYS (11) *******

DEMOCRATS (11)

Bentsen L (TX)	Kennedy E (MA)	Robb C (VA)
Boren D (OK)	Mitchell G (ME)	Sasser J (TN)
Bradley B (NJ)	Moynihan D (NY)	Wirth T (CO)
Inouye D (HI)	Riegle D (MI)	

***** NOT VOTING (3) *******

DEMOCRATS (2)

Gore A (TN) ?	Matsunaga S (HI) ?
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REPUBLICANS (1)

Roth W (DE) ?

** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 30 ** S4. Minimum-Wage Increase - GOP Substitute. Hatch, R-Utah, substitute for the Graham, D-Fla., amendment to raise the minimum wage from \$3.35 per hour. The substitute, proposed by President Bush, would raise the minimum to \$4.25 over three years and allow employers to pay a training wage -- pegged at 80 percent of the minimum -- to new hires during the first six months on the job. Rejected 41-58: R 38-6; D 3-52 (ND 0-38, SD 3-14), April 11, 1989. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 814)
Item Key: 5000

*** YEAS (41) *****

DEMOCRATS (3)

Boren D (OK) Hollings E (SC) Johnston J (LA)

REPUBLICANS (38)

Armstrong W (CO)	Gramm P (TX)	Murkowski F (AK)
Bond C (MO)	Grassley C (IA)	Nickles D (OK)
Boschwitz R (MN)	Hatch O (UT)	Pressler L (SD)
Burns C (MT)	Humphrey G (NH)	Roth W (DE)
Chafee J (RI)	Jeffords J (VT)	Rudman W (NH)
Coats D (IN)	Kassebaum N (KS)	Simpson A (WY)
Cochran T (MS)	Kasten B (WI)	Stevens T (AK)
D'Amato A (NY)	Lott T (MS)	Symms S (ID)
Danforth J (MO)	Lugar R (IN)	Thurmond S (SC)
Dole B (KS)	Mack C (FL)	Wallop M (WY)
Domenici P (NM)	McCain J (AZ)	Warner J (VA)
Garn J (UT)	McClure J (ID)	Wilson P (CA)
Gorton S (WA)	McConnell M (KY)	

*** NAYS (58) *****

DEMOCRATS (52)

Adams B (WA)	Ford W (KY)	Metzenbaum H (OH)
Baucus M (MT)	Fowler W (GA)	Mikulski B (MD)
Bentsen L (TX)	Glenn J (OH)	Mitchell G (ME)
Biden J (DE)	Gore A (TN)	Moynihan D (NY)
Bingaman J (NM)	Graham B (FL)	Nunn S (GA)
Bradley B (NJ)	Harkin T (IA)	Pell C (RI)
Breaux J (LA)	Heflin H (AL)	Pryor D (AR)
Bryan R (NV)	Inouye D (HI)	Reid H (NV)
Bumpers D (AR)	Kennedy E (MA)	Riegle D (MI)
Burdick Q (ND)	Kerrey B (NE)	Robb C (VA)
Byrd R (WV)	Kerry J (MA)	Rockefeller J (WV)
Conrad K (ND)	Kohl H (WI)	Sanford T (NC)
Cranston A (CA)	Lautenberg F (NJ)	Sarbanes P (MD)
Daschle T (SD)	Leahy P (VT)	Sasser J (TN)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Levin C (MI)	Shelby R (AL)
Dixon A (IL)	Lieberman J (CT)	Simon P (IL)
Dodd C (CT)	Matsunaga S (HI)	Wirth T (CO)
Exon J (NE)		

REPUBLICANS (6)

Cohen W (ME)	Heinz J (PA)	Packwood B (OR)
Hatfield M (OR)	Helms J (NC)	Specter A (PA)

*** NOT VOTING (1) *****

REPUBLICANS (1)

Durenberger D (MN) ?

** 1989 CQ SENATE VOTE 29 ** S4. Minimum-Wage Increase - Graham Amendment. Graham, D-Fla., amendment to, among other things, boost the minimum wage from \$3.35 an hour to \$4.55 by Sept. 30, 1991, and to provide for a 60-day training wage -- equal to 85 percent of the minimum -- for new employees who have not worked a total of 60 days and at least 30 consecutive days with one employer. No more than 25 percent of an employer's workers could be on the training wage at a time, and the training-wage provision would expire Sept. 30, 1992. Adopted 61-39: R 8-37; D 53-2 (ND 38-0, SD 15-2), April 11, 1989. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 814)
Item Key: 4999

*** YEAS (61) *****

DEMOCRATS (53)

Adams B (WA)	Exon J (NE)	Metzenbaum H (OH)
Baucus M (MT)	Ford W (KY)	Mikulski B (MD)
Bentsen L (TX)	Fowler W (GA)	Mitchell G (ME)
Biden J (DE)	Glenn J (OH)	Moynihan D (NY)
Bingaman J (NM)	Gore A (TN)	Nunn S (GA)
Boren D (OK)	Graham B (FL)	Pell C (RI)
Bradley B (NJ)	Harkin T (IA)	Pryor D (AR)
Breaux J (LA)	Heflin H (AL)	Reid H (NV)
Bryan R (NV)	Inouye D (HI)	Riegle D (MI)
Bumpers D (AR)	Kennedy E (MA)	Robb C (VA)
Burdick Q (ND)	Kerrey B (NE)	Rockefeller J (WV)
Byrd R (WV)	Kerry J (MA)	Sanford T (NC)
Conrad K (ND)	Kohl H (WI)	Sarbanes P (MD)
Cranston A (CA)	Lautenberg F (NJ)	Sasser J (TN)
Daschle T (SD)	Leahy P (VT)	Shelby R (AL)
DeConcini D (AZ)	Levin C (MI)	Simon P (IL)
Dixon A (IL)	Lieberman J (CT)	Wirth T (CO)
Dodd C (CT)	Matsunaga S (HI)	

REPUBLICANS (8)

Cohen W (ME)	Heinz J (PA)	Pressler L (SD)
Durenberger D (MN)	Jeffords J (VT)	Specter A (PA)
Hatfield M (OR)	Packwood B (OR)	

*** NAYS (39) *****

DEMOCRATS (2)

Hollings E (SC)	Johnston J (LA)
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REPUBLICANS (37)

Armstrong W (CO)	Gramm P (TX)	McConnell M (KY)
Bond C (MO)	Grassley C (IA)	Murkowski F (AK)
Boschwitz R (MN)	Hatch O (UT)	Nickles D (OK)
Burns C (MT)	Helms J (NC)	Roth W (DE)
Chafee J (RI)	Humphrey G (NH)	Rudman W (NH)
Coats D (IN)	Kassebaum N (KS)	Simpson A (WY)
Cochran T (MS)	Kasten B (WI)	Stevens T (AK)
D'Amato A (NY)	Lott T (MS)	Symms S (ID)
Danforth J (MO)	Lugar R (IN)	Thurmond S (SC)
Dole B (KS)	Mack C (FL)	Wallop M (WY)
Domenici P (NM)	McCain J (AZ)	Warner J (VA)
Garn J (UT)	McClure J (ID)	Wilson P (CA)
Gorton S (WA)		

**** 1989 CQ HOUSE VOTE 324 **** **HR2710. Minimum-Wage Increase/Passage.** Passage of the bill to increase the minimum wage from \$3.35 an hour to \$4.25 an hour over two years and to provide for a temporary training wage equal to 85 percent of the minimum for employees aged 16 to 19. Passed 382-37: R 135-35; D 247-2 (ND 168-1, SD 79-1), Nov. 1, 1989. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 2942)
Item Key: 5558

***** YEAS (382) *******

DEMOCRATS (247)		
Ackerman G (NY)	Glickman D (KS)	Olin J (VA)
Akaka D (HI)	Gonzalez H (TX)	Ortiz S (TX)
Alexander B (AR)	Gordon B (TN)	Owens M (NY)
Anderson G (CA)	Gray W (PA)	Owens W (UT)
Andrews M (TX)	Guarini F (NJ)	Pallone F (NJ)
Annunzio F (IL)	Hall R (TX)	Panetta L (CA)
Anthony B (AR)	Hall T (OH)	Parker M (MS)
Applegate D (OH)	Hamilton L (IN)	Patterson L (SC)
Aspin L (WI)	Harris C (AL)	Payne D (NJ)
Atkins C (MA)	Hatcher C (GA)	Payne L (VA)
AuCoin L (OR)	Hawkins A (CA)	Pease D (OH)
Barnard D (GA)	Hayes C (IL)	Pelosi N (CA)
Bates J (CA)	Hayes J (LA)	Penny T (MN)
Beilenson A (CA)	Hefner W (NC)	Pickett O (VA)
Bennett C (FL)	Hoagland P (NE)	Pickle J (TX)
Berman H (CA)	Hochbrueckner G (NY)	Poshard G (IL)
Bevill T (AL)	Hoyer S (MD)	Price D (NC)
Bilbray J (NV)	Hubbard C (KY)	Rahall N (WV)
Boggs L (LA)	Huckaby J (LA)	Rangel C (NY)
Bonior D (MI)	Hughes W (NJ)	Ray R (GA)
Borski R (PA)	Hutto E (FL)	Richardson B (NM)
Bosco D (CA)	Jacobs A (IN)	Roe R (NJ)
Boucher R (VA)	Jenkins E (GA)	Rose C (NC)
Boxer B (CA)	Johnson T (SD)	Rostenkowski D (IL)
Brennan J (ME)	Johnston H (FL)	Rowland J (GA)
Browder G (AL)	Jones B (GA)	Roybal E (CA)
Brown G (CA)	Jones W (NC)	Russo M (IL)
Bruce T (IL)	Jontz J (IN)	Sabo M (MN)
Bryant J (TX)	Kanjorski P (PA)	Sangmeister G (IL)
Bustamante A (TX)	Kaptur M (OH)	Sarpalius B (TX)
Byron B (MD)	Kastenmeier R (WI)	Savage G (IL)
Campbell B (CO)	Kennedy J (MA)	Sawyer T (OH)
Cardin B (MD)	Kennelly B (CT)	Scheuer J (NY)
Carper T (DE)	Kildee D (MI)	Schroeder P (CO)
Carr B (MI)	Klecza G (WI)	Schumer C (NY)
Chapman J (TX)	Kolter J (PA)	Sharp P (IN)
Clarke J (NC)	Kostmayer P (PA)	Sikorski G (MN)
Clay W (MO)	LaFalce J (NY)	Sisisky N (VA)
Clement B (TN)	Lancaster H (NC)	Skaggs D (CO)
Coleman R (TX)	Lantos T (CA)	Skelton I (MO)
Collins C (IL)	Laughlin G (TX)	Slattey J (KS)
Condit G (CA)	Leath M (TX)	Slaughter L (NY)
Cooper J (TN)	Lehman R (CA)	Smith L (FL)
Costello J (IL)	Lehman W (FL)	Smith N (IA)
Coyne W (PA)	Levin S (MI)	Solarz S (NY)
Crockett G (MI)	Levine M (CA)	Spratt J (SC)
Darden G (GA)	Lewis J (GA)	Staggers H (WV)
de la Garza E (TX)	Lipinski W (IL)	Stallings R (ID)
DeFazio P (OR)	Lloyd M (TN)	Stark P (CA)

House
Vote

Dellums R (CA)
 Derrick B (SC)
 Dicks N (WA)
 Dingell J (MI)
 Dixon J (CA)
 Donnelly B (MA)
 Dorgan B (ND)
 Downey T (NY)
 Durbin R (IL)
 Dwyer B (NJ)
 Dymally M (CA)
 Dyson R (MD)
 Early J (MA)
 Eckart D (OH)
 Edwards D (CA)
 Engel E (NY)
 English G (OK)
 Erdreich B (AL)
 Espy M (MS)
 Evans L (IL)
 Fascell D (FL)
 Fazio V (CA)
 Feighan E (OH)
 Flake F (NY)
 Flippo R (AL)
 Foglietta T (PA)
 Ford W (MI)
 Frank B (MA)
 Frost M (TX)
 Gaydos J (PA)
 Gejdenson S (CT)
 Gephardt R (MO)
 Geren P (TX)
 Gibbons S (FL)

Long J (IN)
 Lowey N (NY)
 Luken T (OH)
 Manton T (NY)
 Markey E (MA)
 Martinez M (CA)
 Matsui R (CA)
 Mavroules N (MA)
 Mazzoli R (KY)
 McCloskey F (IN)
 McCurdy D (OK)
 McDermott J (WA)
 McHugh M (NY)
 McMillen T (MD)
 McNulty M (NY)
 Mfume K (MD)
 Mineta N (CA)
 Mollohan A (WV)
 Montgomery G (MS)
 Moody J (WI)
 Morrison B (CT)
 Mrazek R (NY)
 Murphy A (PA)
 Murtha J (PA)
 Nagle D (IA)
 Natcher W (KY)
 Neal R (MA)
 Neal S (NC)
 Nelson B (FL)
 Nowak H (NY)
 Oakar M (OH)
 Oberstar J (MN)
 Obey D (WI)

Stenholm C (TX)
 Stokes L (OH)
 Studds G (MA)
 Swift A (WA)
 Synar M (OK)
 Tallon R (SC)
 Tanner J (TN)
 Tauzin W (LA)
 Taylor G (MS)
 Thomas L (GA)
 Torres E (CA)
 Torricelli R (NJ)
 Towns E (NY)
 Traficant J (OH)
 Traxler B (MI)
 Udall M (AZ)
 Unsoeld J (WA)
 Valentine T (NC)
 Vento B (MN)
 Visclosky P (IN)
 Volkmer H (MO)
 Walgren D (PA)
 Watkins W (OK)
 Waxman H (CA)
 Weiss T (NY)
 Wheat A (MO)
 Whitten J (MS)
 Williams P (MT)
 Wilson C (TX)
 Wise B (WV)
 Wolpe H (MI)
 Wyden R (OR)
 Yates S (IL)

REPUBLICANS (135)

Ballenger C (NC)
 Bateman H (VA)
 Bereuter D (NE)
 Bilirakis M (FL)
 Bliley T (VA)
 Boehlert S (NY)
 Broomfield W (MI)
 Brown H (CO)
 Buechner J (MO)
 Chandler R (WA)
 Clinger W (PA)
 Coble H (NC)
 Coleman E (MO)
 Conte S (MA)
 Coughlin L (PA)
 Craig L (ID)
 DeWine M (OH)
 Dickinson B (AL)
 Douglas C (NH)
 Duncan J (TN)
 Edwards M (OK)
 Emerson B (MO)
 Fields J (TX)
 Fish H (NY)
 Gallo D (NJ)
 Gekas G (PA)
 Gillmor P (OH)

Inhofe J (OK)
 James C (FL)
 Johnson N (CT)
 Kasich J (OH)
 Kolbe J (AZ)
 Lagomarsino R (CA)
 Leach J (IA)
 Lent N (NY)
 Lewis J (CA)
 Lewis T (FL)
 Lightfoot J (IA)
 Lowery B (CA)
 Machtley R (RI)
 Madigan E (IL)
 Martin D (NY)
 Martin L (IL)
 McCandless A (CA)
 McCrery J (LA)
 McDade J (PA)
 McGrath R (NY)
 McMillan A (NC)
 Meyers J (KS)
 Michel R (IL)
 Miller C (OH)
 Miller J (WA)
 Moorhead C (CA)
 Morella C (MD)

Rogers H (KY)
 Ros-Lehtinen I (FL)
 Roth T (WI)
 Roukema M (NJ)
 Rowland J (CT)
 Saiki P (HI)
 Saxton H (NJ)
 Schaefer D (CO)
 Schiff S (NM)
 Schneider C (RI)
 Schuette B (MI)
 Schulze R (PA)
 Sensenbrenner F (WI)
 Shaw E (FL)
 Shays C (CT)
 Shuster B (PA)
 Skeen J (NM)
 Slaughter D (VA)
 Smith B (OR)
 Smith C (NJ)
 Smith D (OR)
 Smith L (TX)
 Smith P (VT)
 Smith V (NE)
 Snowe O (ME)
 Solomon G (NY)
 Spence F (SC)

Gilman B (NY)	Morrison S (WA)	Stangeland A (MN)
Gingrich N (GA)	Myers J (IN)	Stearns C (FL)
Goodling B (PA)	Nielson H (UT)	Sundquist D (TN)
Gradison B (OH)	Packard R (CA)	Tauke T (IA)
Grandy F (IA)	Parris S (VA)	Thomas B (CA)
Grant B (FL)	Pashayan C (CA)	Thomas C (WY)
Green B (NY)	Petri T (WI)	Upton F (MI)
Gunderson S (WI)	Porter J (IL)	Vander Jagt G (MI)
Hammerschmidt J (AR)	Pursell C (MI)	Vucanovich B (NV)
Hastert D (IL)	Quillen J (TN)	Walker R (PA)
Henry P (MI)	Ravenel A (SC)	Walsh J (NY)
Herger W (CA)	Regula R (OH)	Weber V (MN)
Hiler J (IN)	Rhodes J (AZ)	Weldon C (PA)
Holloway C (LA)	Ridge T (PA)	Whittaker B (KS)
Hopkins L (KY)	Rinaldo M (NJ)	Wolf F (VA)
Horton F (NY)	Ritter D (PA)	Wyllie C (OH)
Houghton A (NY)	Roberts P (KS)	Young C (FL)
Hyde H (IL)	Robinson T (AR)	Young D (AK)

*** NAYS (37) *****

DEMOCRATS (2)	
Miller G (CA)	Perkins C (KY)

REPUBLICANS (35)

Archer B (TX)	Dannemeyer W (CA)	Ireland A (FL)
Armey D (TX)	DeLay T (TX)	Kyl J (AZ)
Baker R (LA)	Dornan R (CA)	Livingston B (LA)
Bartlett S (TX)	Dreier D (CA)	Lukens D (OH)
Barton J (TX)	Fawell H (IL)	Marlenee R (MT)
Bunning J (KY)	Frenzel B (MN)	McCollum B (FL)
Burton D (IN)	Gallegly E (CA)	Oxley M (OH)
Callahan S (AL)	Goss P (FL)	Paxon B (NY)
Campbell T (CA)	Hancock M (MO)	Rohrabacher D (CA)
Combest L (TX)	Hansen J (UT)	Smith R (NH)
Cox C (CA)	Hefley J (CO)	Stump B (AZ)
Crane P (IL)	Hunter D (CA)	

*** NOT VOTING (15) *****

DEMOCRATS (9)		
Brooks J (TX) ?	Foley T (WA) S	Hertel D (MI) ?
Conyers J (MI) ?	Ford H (TN) +	Moakley J (MA) ?
Florio J (NJ) ?	Garcia R (NY) +	Yatron G (PA) ?

REPUBLICANS (6)

Bentley H (MD) +	Davis R (MI) ?	Molinari G (NY) ?
Courter J (NJ) ?	McEwen B (OH) ?	Shumway N (CA) ?

KEY -- Special Categories of Not Voting

# Paired For	X Paired Against
+ Announced For	- Announced Against
P Voted Present	C Voted Present to avoid possible conflict of interest.
S Speaker exercised discretion not to vote	
? Did not vote or make position known	

There are no more items to read.

**** 1989 CQ HOUSE VOTE 86 **** **HR2. Minimum-Wage Increase -**
Veto Override. Passage, over President Bush's June 13 veto, of
the bill to raise the minimum wage from \$3.35 an hour to \$4.55
over three years, and to provide for a 60-day training wage --
equal to 85 percent of the minimum -- for workers who have not
worked a total of 60 days. Rejected 247-178: R 20-150; D 227-28
(ND 171-3, SD 56-25), June 14, 1989. A two-thirds majority of
those present and voting (284 in this case) of both houses is
required to override a veto. A "nay" was a vote supporting the
president's position. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 1465)
Item Key: 5130

***** YEAS(247) *******

DEMOCRATS (226)

Ackerman G (NY)	Gejdenson S (CT)	Nowak H (NY)
Akaka D (HI)	Gephardt R (MO)	Oakar M (OH)
Alexander B (AR)	Gibbons S (FL)	Oberstar J (MN)
Anderson G (CA)	Glickman D (KS)	Obey D (WI)
Andrews M (TX)	Gonzalez H (TX)	Olin J (VA)
Annunzio F (IL)	Gordon B (TN)	Ortiz S (TX)
Anthony B (AR)	Gray W (PA)	Owens M (NY)
Applegate D (OH)	Guarini F (NJ)	Owens W (UT)
Aspin L (WI)	Hall T (OH)	Pallone F (NJ)
Atkins C (MA)	Hamilton L (IN)	Panetta L (CA)
AuCoin L (OR)	Harris C (AL)	Payne D (NJ)
Bates J (CA)	Hatcher C (GA)	Pease D (OH)
Beilenson A (CA)	Hawkins A (CA)	Pelosi N (CA)
Bennett C (FL)	Hayes C (IL)	Perkins C (KY)
Berman H (CA)	Hayes J (LA)	Pickett O (VA)
Bevill T (AL)	Hefner W (NC)	Pickle J (TX)
Bilbray J (NV)	Hertel D (MI)	Poshard G (IL)
Boggs L (LA)	Hoagland P (NE)	Price D (NC)
Bonior D (MI)	Hochbrueckner G (NY)	Rahall N (WV)
Borski R (PA)	Hoyer S (MD)	Rangel C (NY)
Bosco D (CA)	Hughes W (NJ)	Richardson B (NM)
Boucher R (VA)	Jacobs A (IN)	Roe R (NJ)
Boxer B (CA)	Jenkins E (GA)	Rose C (NC)
Brennan J (ME)	Johnson T (SD)	Rostenkowski D (IL)
Brooks J (TX)	Johnston H (FL)	Roybal E (CA)
Browder G (AL)	Jones B (GA)	Russo M (IL)
Brown G (CA)	Jones W (NC)	Sabo M (MN)
Bruce T (IL)	Jontz J (IN)	Sangmeister G (IL)
Bryant J (TX)	Kanjorski P (PA)	Savage G (IL)
Bustamante A (TX)	Kaptur M (OH)	Sawyer T (OH)
Cardin B (MD)	Kastenmeier R (WI)	Scheuer J (NY)
Carper T (DE)	Kennedy J (MA)	Schroeder P (CO)
Carr B (MI)	Kennelly B (CT)	Schumer C (NY)
Clarke J (NC)	Kildee D (MI)	Sharp P (IN)
Clay W (MO)	Klecza G (WI)	Sikorski G (MN)
Clement B (TN)	Kolter J (PA)	Sisisky N (VA)
Coelho T (CA)	Kostmayer P (PA)	Skaggs D (CO)
Coleman R (TX)	LaFalce J (NY)	Skelton I (MO)
Conyers J (MI)	Lantos T (CA)	Slattey J (KS)
Costello J (IL)	Lehman R (CA)	Slaughter L (NY)
Coyne W (PA)	Lehman W (FL)	Smith L (FL)
Crockett G (MI)	Leland M (TX)	Smith N (IA)
Darden G (GA)	Levin S (MI)	Solarz S (NY)
de la Garza E (TX)	Levine M (CA)	Staggers H (WV)
DeFazio P (OR)	Lewis J (GA)	Stallings R (ID)
Dellums R (CA)	Lipinski W (IL)	Stark P (CA)
Dicks N (WA)	Lloyd M (TN)	Stokes L (OH)

Dingell J (MI)
Dixon J (CA)
Donnelly B (MA)
Dorgan B (ND)
Downey T (NY)
Durbin R (IL)
Dwyer B (NJ)
Dymally M (CA)
Dyson R (MD)
Early J (MA)
Eckart D (OH)
Edwards D (CA)
Engel E (NY)
Erdreich B (AL)
Espy M (MS)
Evans L (IL)
Fascell D (FL)
Fazio V (CA)
Feighan E (OH)
Flake F (NY)
Flippo R (AL)
Florio J (NJ)
Foglietta T (PA)
Ford H (TN)
Ford W (MI)
Frank B (MA)
Frost M (TX)
Garcia R (NY)
Gaydos J (PA)

REPUBLICANS (21)

Boehlert S (NY)
Conte S (MA)
Davis R (MI)
Gilman B (NY)
Horton F (NY)
Johnson N (CT)
Leach J (IA)

Long J (IN)
Lowey N (NY)
Luken T (OH)
Manton T (NY)
Markey E (MA)
Martinez M (CA)
Matsui R (CA)
Mavroules N (MA)
McCloskey F (IN)
McDermott J (WA)
McHugh M (NY)
McMillen T (MD)
McNulty M (NY)
Mfume K (MD)
Miller G (CA)
Mineta N (CA)
Moakley J (MA)
Mollohan A (WV)
Moody J (WI)
Morrison B (CT)
Mrazek R (NY)
Murphy A (PA)
Murtha J (PA)
Nagle D (IA)
Natcher W (KY)
Neal R (MA)
Neal S (NC)
Nelson B (FL)

Machtley R (RI)
Martin L (IL)
McDade J (PA)
Morella C (MD)
Ridge T (PA)
Rinaldo M (NJ)
Robinson T (AR)

Studds G (MA)
Swift A (WA)
Synar M (OK)
Tallon R (SC)
Tanner J (TN)
Torres E (CA)
Torricelli R (NJ)
Towns E (NY)
Traficant J (OH)
Traxler B (MI)
Udall M (AZ)
Unsoeld J (WA)
Vento B (MN)
Visclosky P (IN)
Volkmer H (MO)
Walgren D (PA)
Watkins W (OK)
Waxman H (CA)
Weiss T (NY)
Wheat A (MO)
Williams P (MT)
Wilson C (TX)
Wise B (WV)
Wolpe H (MI)
Wright J (TX)
Wyden R (OR)
Yates S (IL)
Yatron G (PA)

Rowland J (CT)
Schneider C (RI)
Shays C (CT)
Smith C (NJ)
Smith P (VT)
Solomon G (NY)
Walsh J (NY)

*** NAYS (178) *****

DEMOCRATS (28)
Barnard D (GA)
Byron B (MD)
Campbell B (CO)
Chapman J (TX)
Cooper J (TN)
Derrick B (SC)
English G (OK)
Hall R (TX)
Huckaby J (LA)
Hutto E (FL)

Lancaster H (NC)
Leath M (TX)
Mazzoli R (KY)
McCurdy D (OK)
Montgomery G (MS)
Parker M (MS)
Patterson L (SC)
Payne L (VA)
Penny T (MN)

Ray R (GA)
Rowland J (GA)
Sarpalius B (TX)
Spratt J (SC)
Stenholm C (TX)
Tauzin W (LA)
Thomas L (GA)
Valentine T (NC)
Whitten J (MS)

REPUBLICANS (150)

Archer B (TX)
Armey D (TX)
Baker R (LA)
Ballenger C (NC)
Bartlett S (TX)
Barton J (TX)
Bateman H (VA)
Bentley H (MD)
Bereuter D (NE)
Bilirakis M (FL)

Gunderson S (WI)
Hammerschmidt J (AR)
Hancock M (MO)
Hansen J (UT)
Hastert D (IL)
Hefley J (CO)
Henry P (MI)
Herger W (CA)
Hiler J (IN)
Holloway C (LA)

Petri T (WI)
Porter J (IL)
Pursell C (MI)
Quillen J (TN)
Ravenel A (SC)
Regula R (OH)
Rhodes J (AZ)
Ritter D (PA)
Roberts P (KS)
Rogers H (KY)

**** 1989 CQ HOUSE VOTE 52 **** **HR2. Minimum-Wage Increase -**
Conference Report. Adoption of the conference report on the bill
to raise the minimum wage from \$3.35 an hour to \$4.55 over three
years and to provide for a 60-day training wage -- equal to 85
percent of the minimum -- for workers who have not worked a
total of 60 days. Adopted 247-172: R 22-146; D 225-26 (ND 169-3,
SD 56-23), May 11, 1989. A ``nay'' was a vote supporting the
president's position. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 1111)
Item Key: 5069

***** YEAS(247) *******

DEMOCRATS (224)

Akaka D (HI)	Gephardt R (MO)	Nelson B (FL)
Alexander B (AR)	Gibbons S (FL)	Nowak H (NY)
Anderson G (CA)	Glickman D (KS)	Oakar M (OH)
Andrews M (TX)	Gonzalez H (TX)	Oberstar J (MN)
Annunzio F (IL)	Gordon B (TN)	Obey D (WI)
Anthony B (AR)	Gray W (PA)	Olin J (VA)
Applegate D (OH)	Guarini F (NJ)	Ortiz S (TX)
Aspin L (WI)	Hall T (OH)	Owens M (NY)
Atkins C (MA)	Hamilton L (IN)	Owens W (UT)
AuCoin L (OR)	Harris C (AL)	Pallone F (NJ)
Bates J (CA)	Hatcher C (GA)	Panetta L (CA)
Beilenson A (CA)	Hawkins A (CA)	Payne D (NJ)
Bennett C (FL)	Hayes C (IL)	Pease D (OH)
Berman H (CA)	Hayes J (LA)	Pelosi N (CA)
Bevill T (AL)	Hefner W (NC)	Perkins C (KY)
Bilbray J (NV)	Hertel D (MI)	Pickett O (VA)
Boggs L (LA)	Hoagland P (NE)	Pickle J (TX)
Bonior D (MI)	Hochbrueckner G (NY)	Poshard G (IL)
Borski R (PA)	Hoyer S (MD)	Price D (NC)
Bosco D (CA)	Hubbard C (KY)	Rahall N (WV)
Boucher R (VA)	Hughes W (NJ)	Rangel C (NY)
Boxer B (CA)	Jacobs A (IN)	Richardson B (NM)
Brennan J (ME)	Jenkins E (GA)	Roe R (NJ)
Browder G (AL)	Johnson T (SD)	Rose C (NC)
Brown G (CA)	Johnston H (FL)	Rostenkowski D (IL)
Bruce T (IL)	Jones B (GA)	Russo M (IL)
Bryant J (TX)	Jones W (NC)	Sabo M (MN)
Cardin B (MD)	Jontz J (IN)	Sangmeister G (IL)
Carper T (DE)	Kanjorski P (PA)	Savage G (IL)
Carr B (MI)	Kaptur M (OH)	Sawyer T (OH)
Clarke J (NC)	Kastenmeier R (WI)	Scheuer J (NY)
Clay W (MO)	Kennedy J (MA)	Schroeder P (CO)
Clement B (TN)	Kennelly B (CT)	Schumer C (NY)
Coelho T (CA)	Kildee D (MI)	Sharp P (IN)
Coleman R (TX)	Klecza G (WI)	Sikorski G (MN)
Collins C (IL)	Kolter J (PA)	Sisisky N (VA)
Conyers J (MI)	Kostmayer P (PA)	Skaggs D (CO)
Costello J (IL)	LaFalce J (NY)	Skelton I (MO)
Coyne W (PA)	Lantos T (CA)	Slattey J (KS)
Crockett G (MI)	Lehman R (CA)	Slaughter L (NY)
Darden G (GA)	Lehman W (FL)	Smith L (FL)
de la Garza E (TX)	Leland M (TX)	Smith N (IA)
DeFazio P (OR)	Levin S (MI)	Solarz S (NY)
Dellums R (CA)	Levine M (CA)	Staggers H (WV)
Dicks N (WA)	Lewis J (GA)	Stallings R (ID)
Dingell J (MI)	Lipinski W (IL)	Stark P (CA)
Dixon J (CA)	Lloyd M (TN)	Stokes L (OH)
Donnelly B (MA)	Long J (IN)	Studds G (MA)
Dorgan B (ND)	Lowey N (NY)	Swift A (WA)

Downey T (NY)
Durbin R (IL)
Dwyer B (NJ)
Dymally M (CA)
Dyson R (MD)
Early J (MA)
Eckart D (OH)
Edwards D (CA)
Engel E (NY)
Erdreich B (AL)
Espy M (MS)
Evans L (IL)
Fascell D (FL)
Feighan E (OH)
Flake F (NY)
Flipppo R (AL)
Florio J (NJ)
Foglietta T (PA)
Foley T (WA)
Ford H (TN)
Ford W (MI)
Frank B (MA)
Frost M (TX)
Garcia R (NY)
Gaydos J (PA)
Gejdenson S (CT)

Luken T (OH)
Manton T (NY)
Markey E (MA)
Martinez M (CA)
Matsui R (CA)
Mavroules N (MA)
McCloskey F (IN)
McCurdy D (OK)
McDermott J (WA)
McHugh M (NY)
McMillen T (MD)
McNulty M (NY)
Mfume K (MD)
Miller G (CA)
Mineta N (CA)
Moakley J (MA)
Mollohan A (WV)
Moody J (WI)
Morrison B (CT)
Mrazek R (NY)
Murphy A (PA)
Murtha J (PA)
Nagle D (IA)
Natcher W (KY)
Neal R (MA)
Neal S (NC)

Synar M (OK)
Tallon R (SC)
Tanner J (TN)
Torres E (CA)
Torricelli R (NJ)
Towns E (NY)
Traficant J (OH)
Traxler B (MI)
Unsoeld J (WA)
Vento B (MN)
Visclosky P (IN)
Volkmer H (MO)
Walgren D (PA)
Watkins W (OK)
Waxman H (CA)
Weiss T (NY)
Wheat A (MO)
Whitten J (MS)
Williams P (MT)
Wilson C (TX)
Wise B (WV)
Wolpe H (MI)
Wyden R (OR)
Yates S (IL)
Yatron G (PA)

REPUBLICANS (23)

Bentley H (MD)
Boehlert S (NY)
Conte S (MA)
Davis R (MI)
Gilman B (NY)
Horton F (NY)
Johnson N (CT)
Leach J (IA)

Machtley R (RI)
Martin L (IL)
McDade J (PA)
Morella C (MD)
Pashayan C (CA)
Ridge T (PA)
Rinaldo M (NJ)
Robinson T (AR)

Rowland J (CT)
Schneider C (RI)
Shays C (CT)
Smith C (NJ)
Smith P (VT)
Walsh J (NY)
Young D (AK)

*** NAYS (172) *****

DEMOCRATS (26)

Byron B (MD)
Campbell B (CO)
Chapman J (TX)
Cooper J (TN)
Derrick B (SC)
English G (OK)
Hall R (TX)
Huckaby J (LA)
Hutto E (FL)

Lancaster H (NC)
Laughlin G (TX)
Leath M (TX)
Mazzoli R (KY)
Montgomery G (MS)
Parker M (MS)
Patterson L (SC)
Payne L (VA)
Penny T (MN)

Ray R (GA)
Rowland J (GA)
Sarpalius B (TX)
Spratt J (SC)
Stenholm C (TX)
Tauzin W (LA)
Thomas L (GA)
Valentine T (NC)

REPUBLICANS (146)

Archer B (TX)
Armey D (TX)
Baker R (LA)
Ballenger C (NC)
Bartlett S (TX)
Barton J (TX)
Bereuter D (NE)
Bilirakis M (FL)
Bliley T (VA)
Broomfield W (MI)
Brown H (CO)
Buechner J (MO)
Bunning J (KY)
Burton D (IN)

Hammerschmidt J (AR)
Hancock M (MO)
Hansen J (UT)
Hastert D (IL)
Hefley J (CO)
Henry P (MI)
Herger W (CA)
Hiler J (IN)
Holloway C (LA)
Hopkins L (KY)
Houghton A (NY)
Hunter D (CA)
Hyde H (IL)
Inhofe J (OK)

Quillen J (TN)
Ravenel A (SC)
Regula R (OH)
Rhodes J (AZ)
Ritter D (PA)
Roberts P (KS)
Rogers H (KY)
Rohrabacher D (CA)
Roth T (WI)
Roukema M (NJ)
Saiki P (HI)
Saxton H (NJ)
Schaefer D (CO)
Schiff S (NM)

Callahan S (AL)
 Campbell T (CA)
 Chandler R (WA)
 Clinger W (PA)
 Coble H (NC)
 Coleman E (MO)
 Combest L (TX)
 Coughlin L (PA)
 Cox C (CA)
 Craig L (ID)
 Crane P (IL)
 Dannemeyer W (CA)
 DeLay T (TX)
 DeWine M (OH)
 Dornan R (CA)
 Douglas C (NH)
 Dreier D (CA)
 Duncan J (TN)
 Emerson B (MO)
 Fawell H (IL)
 Fields J (TX)
 Fish H (NY)
 Frenzel B (MN)
 Gallegly E (CA)
 Gallo D (NJ)
 Gekas G (PA)
 Gillmor P (OH)
 Gingrich N (GA)
 Goodling B (PA)
 Goss P (FL)
 Gradison B (OH)
 Grandy F (IA)
 Grant B (FL)
 Green B (NY)
 Gunderson S (WI)

Ireland A (FL)
 James C (FL)
 Kasich J (OH)
 Kolbe J (AZ)
 Kyl J (AZ)
 Lagomarsino R (CA)
 Lent N (NY)
 Lewis J (CA)
 Lewis T (FL)
 Lightfoot J (IA)
 Livingston B (LA)
 Lowery B (CA)
 Lukens D (OH)
 Marlenee R (MT)
 Martin D (NY)
 McCandless A (CA)
 McCollum B (FL)
 McCrery J (LA)
 McEwen B (OH)
 McGrath R (NY)
 McMillan A (NC)
 Meyers J (KS)
 Michel R (IL)
 Miller C (OH)
 Miller J (WA)
 Morrison S (WA)
 Myers J (IN)
 Nielson H (UT)
 Oxley M (OH)
 Packard R (CA)
 Parris S (VA)
 Paxon B (NY)
 Petri T (WI)
 Porter J (IL)
 Pursell C (MI)

Schuetz B (MI)
 Schulze R (PA)
 Sensenbrenner F (WI)
 Shaw E (FL)
 Shumway N (CA)
 Shuster B (PA)
 Skeen J (NM)
 Slaughter D (VA)
 Smith B (OR)
 Smith D (OR)
 Smith L (TX)
 Smith L (MS)
 Smith R (NH)
 Smith V (NE)
 Snowe O (ME)
 Solomon G (NY)
 Spence F (SC)
 Stangeland A (MN)
 Stearns C (FL)
 Stump B (AZ)
 Sundquist D (TN)
 Tauke T (IA)
 Thomas B (CA)
 Thomas C (WY)
 Upton F (MI)
 Vander Jagt G (MI)
 Vucanovich B (NV)
 Walker R (PA)
 Weber V (MN)
 Weldon C (PA)
 Whittaker B (KS)
 Wolf F (VA)
 Wylie C (OH)
 Young C (FL)

*** NOT VOTING (16) *****

DEMOCRATS (9)

Ackerman G (NY) ?
 Barnard D (GA) X
 Brooks J (TX) ?

Bustamante A (TX) #
 Fazio V (CA) #
 Pepper C (FL) ?

Roybal E (CA) #
 Udall M (AZ) ?
 Wright J (TX) S

REPUBLICANS (7)

Bateman H (VA) ?
 Courter J (NJ) X
 Dickinson B (AL) X

Edwards M (OK) ?
 Madigan E (IL) ?

Molinari G (NY) ?
 Moorhead C (CA) ?

KEY -- Special Categories of Not Voting

Paired For X Paired Against
 + Announced For - Announced Against
 P Voted Present C Voted Present to avoid
 possible conflict of interest.
 S Speaker exercised discretion not to vote
 ? Did not vote or make position known

**** 1989 CQ HOUSE VOTE 31 **** **HR2. Minimum-Wage Increase -**
 Instruction of Conferees. Dannemeyer, R-Calif., motion to
 instruct the House conferees on the bill raising the federal
 minimum wage from \$3.35 an hour to \$4.55 to agree to a
 sense-of-the-Senate amendment (included in the Senate-passed
 version of the bill) that the Senate Finance Committee should
 hold hearings to review the financing mechanism of the 1988 law
 (PL 100-360) providing catastrophic health-insurance coverage
 for Medicare recipients. Motion agreed to 408-0: R 164-0; D
 244-0 (ND 167-0, SD 77-0), April 18, 1989. (Minimum-wage
 provisions, 1989 Weekly Report p. 920; catastrophic health
 insurance, p. 901)
 Item Key: 5034

***** YEAS(408) *******

DEMOCRATS (243)

Ackerman G (NY)	Gejdenson S (CT)	Olin J (VA)
Akaka D (HI)	Gibbons S (FL)	Ortiz S (TX)
Alexander B (AR)	Glickman D (KS)	Owens M (NY)
Anderson G (CA)	Gonzalez H (TX)	Owens W (UT)
Andrews M (TX)	Gordon B (TN)	Pallone F (NJ)
Annunzio F (IL)	Gray W (PA)	Panetta L (CA)
Anthony B (AR)	Guarini F (NJ)	Parker M (MS)
Applegate D (OH)	Hall R (TX)	Patterson L (SC)
Aspin L (WI)	Hall T (OH)	Payne L (VA)
Atkins C (MA)	Hamilton L (IN)	Pease D (OH)
AuCoin L (OR)	Hatcher C (GA)	Pelosi N (CA)
Barnard D (GA)	Hawkins A (CA)	Penny T (MN)
Bates J (CA)	Hayes C (IL)	Perkins C (KY)
Beilenson A (CA)	Hayes J (LA)	Pickett O (VA)
Bennett C (FL)	Hefner W (NC)	Pickle J (TX)
Berman H (CA)	Hertel D (MI)	Poshard G (IL)
Bevill T (AL)	Hochbrueckner G (NY)	Price D (NC)
Bilbray J (NV)	Hoyer S (MD)	Rahall N (WV)
Boggs L (LA)	Hubbard C (KY)	Rangel C (NY)
Bonior D (MI)	Huckaby J (LA)	Ray R (GA)
Borski R (PA)	Hughes W (NJ)	Richardson B (NM)
Bosco D (CA)	Hutto E (FL)	Roe R (NJ)
Boxer B (CA)	Jacobs A (IN)	Rose C (NC)
Brennan J (ME)	Jenkins E (GA)	Rostenkowski D (IL)
Brooks J (TX)	Johnson T (SD)	Rowland J (GA)
Browder G (AL)	Johnston H (FL)	Roybal E (CA)
Brown G (CA)	Jones B (GA)	Russo M (IL)
Bruce T (IL)	Jones W (NC)	Sabo M (MN)
Bryant J (TX)	Jontz J (IN)	Sangmeister G (IL)
Bustamante A (TX)	Kanjorski P (PA)	Sarpalius B (TX)
Byron B (MD)	Kaptur M (OH)	Savage G (IL)
Campbell B (CO)	Kastenmeier R (WI)	Sawyer T (OH)
Cardin B (MD)	Kennedy J (MA)	Scheuer J (NY)
Carper T (DE)	Kennelly B (CT)	Schroeder P (CO)
Carr B (MI)	Kildee D (MI)	Schumer C (NY)
Chapman J (TX)	Kleczka G (WI)	Sharp P (IN)
Clarke J (NC)	Kostmayer P (PA)	Sikorski G (MN)
Clay W (MO)	LaFalce J (NY)	Sisisky N (VA)
Clement B (TN)	Lantos T (CA)	Skaggs D (CO)
Coelho T (CA)	Leath M (TX)	Skelton I (MO)
Coleman R (TX)	Lehman W (FL)	Slattery J (KS)
Collins C (IL)	Leland M (TX)	Slaughter L (NY)
Conyers J (MI)	Levin S (MI)	Smith L (FL)
Costello J (IL)	Levine M (CA)	Smith N (IA)
Crockett G (MI)	Lewis J (GA)	Solarz S (NY)

Darden G (GA)
de la Garza E (TX)
DeFazio P (OR)
Dellums R (CA)
Derrick B (SC)
Dicks N (WA)
Dingell J (MI)
Dixon J (CA)
Donnelly B (MA)
Dorgan B (ND)
Downey T (NY)
Durbin R (IL)
Dwyer B (NJ)
Dyson R (MD)
Early J (MA)
Eckart D (OH)
Edwards D (CA)
Engel E (NY)
English G (OK)
Erdreich B (AL)
Espy M (MS)
Evans L (IL)
Fascell D (FL)
Fazio V (CA)
Feighan E (OH)
Flake F (NY)
Flippo R (AL)
Florido J (NJ)
Foglietta T (PA)
Foley T (WA)
Ford H (TN)
Ford W (MI)
Frank B (MA)
Frost M (TX)
Garcia R (NY)
Gaydos J (PA)

REPUBLICANS (165)

Archer B (TX)
Armey D (TX)
Baker R (LA)
Ballenger C (NC)
Bartlett S (TX)
Barton J (TX)
Bateman H (VA)
Bentley H (MD)
Bereuter D (NE)
Bilirakis M (FL)
Bliley T (VA)
Boehlert S (NY)
Broomfield W (MI)
Brown H (CO)
Buechner J (MO)
Bunning J (KY)
Burton D (IN)
Callahan S (AL)
Campbell T (CA)
Clinger W (PA)
Coble H (NC)
Coleman E (MO)
Combest L (TX)
Conte S (MA)
Coughlin L (PA)
Courter J (NJ)

Lipinski W (IL)
Lloyd M (TN)
Long J (IN)
Luken T (OH)
Manton T (NY)
Markey E (MA)
Martinez M (CA)
Matsui R (CA)
Mavroules N (MA)
Mazzoli R (KY)
McCloskey F (IN)
McCurdy D (OK)
McDermott J (WA)
McHugh M (NY)
McMillen T (MD)
McNulty M (NY)
Mfume K (MD)
Miller G (CA)
Mineta N (CA)
Moakley J (MA)
Mollohan A (WV)
Montgomery G (MS)
Moody J (WI)
Morrison B (CT)
Mrazek R (NY)
Murphy A (PA)
Murtha J (PA)
Nagle D (IA)
Natcher W (KY)
Neal R (MA)
Neal S (NC)
Nelson B (FL)
Nowak H (NY)
Oakar M (OH)
Oberstar J (MN)
Obey D (WI)

Green B (NY)
Gunderson S (WI)
Hammerschmidt J (AR)
Hancock M (MO)
Hastert D (IL)
Hefley J (CO)
Henry P (MI)
Herger W (CA)
Hiler J (IN)
Holloway C (LA)
Hopkins L (KY)
Houghton A (NY)
Hyde H (IL)
Inhofe J (OK)
Ireland A (FL)
Johnson N (CT)
Kasich J (OH)
Kolbe J (AZ)
Kyl J (AZ)
Lagomarsino R (CA)
Leach J (IA)
Lent N (NY)
Lewis J (CA)
Lewis T (FL)
Lightfoot J (IA)
Livingston B (LA)

Spratt J (SC)
Stallings R (ID)
Stark P (CA)
Stenholm C (TX)
Stokes L (OH)
Studds G (MA)
Swift A (WA)
Synar M (OK)
Tallon R (SC)
Tanner J (TN)
Tauzin W (LA)
Thomas L (GA)
Torres E (CA)
Torricelli R (NJ)
Townes E (NY)
Traficant J (OH)
Traxler B (MI)
Udall M (AZ)
Unsoeld J (WA)
Valentine T (NC)
Vento B (MN)
Visclosky P (IN)
Volkmer H (MO)
Walgren D (PA)
Watkins W (OK)
Waxman H (CA)
Weiss T (NY)
Wheat A (MO)
Whitten J (MS)
Williams P (MT)
Wilson C (TX)
Wise B (WV)
Wolpe H (MI)
Wyden R (OR)
Yates S (IL)
Yatron G (PA)

Pursell C (MI)
Quillen J (TN)
Ravenel A (SC)
Regula R (OH)
Rhodes J (AZ)
Ridge T (PA)
Rinaldo M (NJ)
Ritter D (PA)
Roberts P (KS)
Robinson T (AR)
Rogers H (KY)
Rohrabacher D (CA)
Roth T (WI)
Roukema M (NJ)
Rowland J (CT)
Saiki P (HI)
Saxton H (NJ)
Schaefer D (CO)
Schiff S (NM)
Schuette B (MI)
Schulze R (PA)
Sensenbrenner F (WI)
Shaw E (FL)
Shays C (CT)
Shumway N (CA)
Shuster B (PA)

Cox C (CA)	Lukens D (OH)	Skeen J (NM)
Craig L (ID)	Machtley R (RI)	Slaughter D (VA)
Crane P (IL)	Madigan E (IL)	Smith B (OR)
Dannemeyer W (CA)	Marlenee R (MT)	Smith C (NJ)
Davis R (MI)	Martin D (NY)	Smith D (OR)
DeLay T (TX)	Martin L (IL)	Smith L (MS)
DeWine M (OH)	McCollum B (FL)	Smith L (TX)
Dickinson B (AL)	McCrery J (LA)	Smith P (VT)
Dornan R (CA)	McDade J (PA)	Smith R (NH)
Douglas C (NH)	McEwen B (OH)	Smith V (NE)
Dreier D (CA)	McGrath R (NY)	Snowe O (ME)
Duncan J (TN)	McMillan A (NC)	Solomon G (NY)
Edwards M (OK)	Meyers J (KS)	Spence F (SC)
Emerson B (MO)	Michel R (IL)	Stangeland A (MN)
Fawell H (IL)	Miller C (OH)	Stearns C (FL)
Fields J (TX)	Miller J (WA)	Stump B (AZ)
Fish H (NY)	Molinari G (NY)	Sundquist D (TN)
Frenzel B (MN)	Moorhead C (CA)	Tauke T (IA)
Gallegly E (CA)	Morella C (MD)	Thomas B (CA)
Gallo D (NJ)	Morrison S (WA)	Upton F (MI)
Gekas G (PA)	Myers J (IN)	Vander Jagt G (MI)
Gillmor P (OH)	Nielson H (UT)	Vucanovich B (NV)
Gilman B (NY)	Oxley M (OH)	Walker R (PA)
Gingrich N (GA)	Packard R (CA)	Walsh J (NY)
Goodling B (PA)	Parris S (VA)	Weber V (MN)
Goss P (FL)	Pashayan C (CA)	Wolf F (VA)
Gradison B (OH)	Paxon B (NY)	Wylie C (OH)
Grandy F (IA)	Petri T (WI)	Young C (FL)
Grant B (FL)	Porter J (IL)	Young D (AK)

*** NAYS (0) *****

*** NOT VOTING (26) *****

DEMOCRATS (16)		
Boucher R (VA) ?	Hoagland P (NE) +	Lowey N (NY) ?
Cooper J (TN) ?	Kolter J (PA) ?	Payne D (NJ) ?
Coyne W (PA) ?	Lancaster H (NC) ?	Pepper C (FL) ?
Dymally M (CA) ?	Laughlin G (TX) ?	Staggers H (WV) ?
Gephardt R (MO) ?	Lehman R (CA) ?	Wright J (TX) S
Harris C (AL) ?		

REPUBLICANS (10)		
Chandler R (WA) ?	James C (FL) +	Schneider C (RI) ?
Hansen J (UT) ?	Lowery B (CA) ?	Weldon C (PA) ?
Horton F (NY) ?	McCandless A (CA) +	Whittaker B (KS) ?
Hunter D (CA) ?		

KEY -- Special Categories of Not Voting

# Paired For	X Paired Against
+ Announced For	- Announced Against
P Voted Present	C Voted Present to avoid possible conflict of interest.
S Speaker exercised discretion not to vote	
? Did not vote or make position known	

**** 1989 CQ HOUSE VOTE 16 **** **HR2. Minimum-Wage Increase -**
Passage. Passage of the bill to, among other things, boost the
 minimum wage from its current \$3.35 an hour to \$4.55 over three
 years and to provide for a two-month training wage -- equal to
 85 percent of the minimum -- for employees who have never held a
 job before. The training-wage provision would expire Sept. 30,
 1992. Passed 248-171: R 22-147; D 226-24 (ND 169-3, SD 57-21),
 March 23, 1989. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's
 position. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 641)
 Item Key: 4993

***** YEAS (248) *******

DEMOCRATS (225)

Ackerman G (NY)	Frost M (TX)	Natcher W (KY)
Akaka D (HI)	Garcia R (NY)	Neal R (MA)
Alexander B (AR)	Gaydos J (PA)	Neal S (NC)
Anderson G (CA)	Gejdenson S (CT)	Nelson B (FL)
Andrews M (TX)	Gephardt R (MO)	Nowak H (NY)
Annunzio F (IL)	Gibbons S (FL)	Oakar M (OH)
Anthony B (AR)	Glickman D (KS)	Oberstar J (MN)
Applegate D (OH)	Gonzalez H (TX)	Obey D (WI)
Aspin L (WI)	Gordon B (TN)	Olin J (VA)
Atkins C (MA)	Gray W (PA)	Owens M (NY)
AuCoin L (OR)	Guarini F (NJ)	Owens W (UT)
Bates J (CA)	Hall T (OH)	Pallone F (NJ)
Beilenson A (CA)	Hamilton L (IN)	Panetta L (CA)
Bennett C (FL)	Harris C (AL)	Payne D (NJ)
Berman H (CA)	Hatcher C (GA)	Pease D (OH)
Bevill T (AL)	Hawkins A (CA)	Pelosi N (CA)
Bilbray J (NV)	Hayes C (IL)	Perkins C (KY)
Boggs L (LA)	Hayes J (LA)	Pickett O (VA)
Bonior D (MI)	Hefner W (NC)	Pickle J (TX)
Borski R (PA)	Hertel D (MI)	Poshard G (IL)
Bosco D (CA)	Hoagland P (NE)	Price D (NC)
Boucher R (VA)	Hochbrueckner G (NY)	Rahall N (WV)
Boxer B (CA)	Hoyer S (MD)	Rangel C (NY)
Brennan J (ME)	Hubbard C (KY)	Richardson B (NM)
Brooks J (TX)	Hughes W (NJ)	Roe R (NJ)
Brown G (CA)	Jacobs A (IN)	Rose C (NC)
Bruce T (IL)	Jenkins E (GA)	Rostenkowski D (IL)
Bryant J (TX)	Johnson T (SD)	Roybal E (CA)
Bustamante A (TX)	Johnston H (FL)	Russo M (IL)
Cardin B (MD)	Jones B (GA)	Sabo M (MN)
Carper T (DE)	Jones W (NC)	Sangmeister G (IL)
Carr B (MI)	Jontz J (IN)	Sawyer T (OH)
Chapman J (TX)	Kanjorski P (PA)	Scheuer J (NY)
Clarke J (NC)	Kaptur M (OH)	Schroeder P (CO)
Clay W (MO)	Kastenmeier R (WI)	Schumer C (NY)
Clement B (TN)	Kennedy J (MA)	Sharp P (IN)
Coelho T (CA)	Kennelly B (CT)	Sikorski G (MN)
Collins C (IL)	Kildee D (MI)	Sisisky N (VA)
Conyers J (MI)	Kleczka G (WI)	Skaggs D (CO)
Cooper J (TN)	Kolter J (PA)	Skelton I (MO)
Costello J (IL)	Kostmayer P (PA)	Slattey J (KS)
Coyne W (PA)	LaFalce J (NY)	Slaughter L (NY)
Crockett G (MI)	Lantos T (CA)	Smith L (FL)
Darden G (GA)	Lehman R (CA)	Smith N (IA)
de la Garza E (TX)	Lehman W (FL)	Solarz S (NY)
DeFazio P (OR)	Leland M (TX)	Staggers H (WV)
Dellums R (CA)	Levin S (MI)	Stallings R (ID)
Dicks N (WA)	Levine M (CA)	Stark P (CA)

Dingell J (MI)
Dixon J (CA)
Donnelly B (MA)
Dorgan B (ND)
Downey T (NY)
Durbin R (IL)
Dwyer B (NJ)
Dymally M (CA)
Dyson R (MD)
Early J (MA)
Eckart D (OH)
Edwards D (CA)
Engel E (NY)
Erdreich B (AL)
Espy M (MS)
Evans L (IL)
Fascell D (FL)
Fazio V (CA)
Feighan E (OH)
Flake F (NY)
Flippo R (AL)
Florio J (NJ)
Foglietta T (PA)
Foley T (WA)
Ford H (TN)
Ford W (MI)
Frank B (MA)

Lewis J (GA)
Lipinski W (IL)
Lloyd M (TN)
Lowey N (NY)
Manton T (NY)
Markey E (MA)
Martinez M (CA)
Matsui R (CA)
Mavroules N (MA)
Mazzoli R (KY)
McCloskey F (IN)
McCurdy D (OK)
McDermott J (WA)
McHugh M (NY)
McMillen T (MD)
McNulty M (NY)
Mfume K (MD)
Miller G (CA)
Mineta N (CA)
Moakley J (MA)
Mollohan A (WV)
Moody J (WI)
Morrison B (CT)
Mrazek R (NY)
Murphy A (PA)
Murtha J (PA)
Nagle D (IA)

Stokes L (OH)
Studds G (MA)
Swift A (WA)
Synar M (OK)
Tallon R (SC)
Tanner J (TN)
Torres E (CA)
Torricelli R (NJ)
Towns E (NY)
Traficant J (OH)
Traxler B (MI)
Udall M (AZ)
Unsoeld J (WA)
Vento B (MN)
Visclosky P (IN)
Volkmer H (MO)
Walgren D (PA)
Watkins W (OK)
Weiss T (NY)
Wheat A (MO)
Whitten J (MS)
Williams P (MT)
Wise B (WV)
Wolpe H (MI)
Wyden R (OR)
Yates S (IL)
Yatron G (PA)

REPUBLICANS (23)

Bentley H (MD)
Boehlert S (NY)
Conte S (MA)
Davis R (MI)
Gilman B (NY)
Horton F (NY)
Johnson N (CT)
Leach J (IA)

Machtley R (RI)
Martin L (IL)
McDade J (PA)
Morella C (MD)
Pashayan C (CA)
Ridge T (PA)
Rinaldo M (NJ)
Robinson T (AR)

Rowland J (CT)
Schneider C (RI)
Shays C (CT)
Smith C (NJ)
Smith P (VT)
Walsh J (NY)
Young D (AK)

*** NAYS (171) *****

DEMOCRATS (24)

Barnard D (GA)
Byron B (MD)
Campbell B (CO)
Derrick B (SC)
English G (OK)
Hall R (TX)
Huckaby J (LA)
Hutto E (FL)

Lancaster H (NC)
Laughlin G (TX)
Leath M (TX)
Montgomery G (MS)
Parker M (MS)
Patterson L (SC)
Payne L (VA)
Penny T (MN)

Ray R (GA)
Rowland J (GA)
Sarpalius B (TX)
Spratt J (SC)
Stenholm C (TX)
Tauzin W (LA)
Thomas L (GA)
Valentine T (NC)

REPUBLICANS (147)

Archer B (TX)
Armey D (TX)
Baker R (LA)
Ballenger C (NC)
Bartlett S (TX)
Barton J (TX)
Bateman H (VA)
Bereuter D (NE)
Bilirakis M (FL)
Bliley T (VA)
Broomfield W (MI)
Brown H (CO)
Buechner J (MO)

Green B (NY)
Gunderson S (WI)
Hammerschmidt J (AR)
Hancock M (MO)
Hansen J (UT)
Hastert D (IL)
Hefley J (CO)
Henry P (MI)
Herger W (CA)
Hiler J (IN)
Holloway C (LA)
Hopkins L (KY)
Houghton A (NY)

Paxon B (NY)
Petri T (WI)
Porter J (IL)
Pursell C (MI)
Quillen J (TN)
Ravenel A (SC)
Regula R (OH)
Rhodes J (AZ)
Ritter D (PA)
Roberts P (KS)
Rogers H (KY)
Rohrabacher D (CA)
Roth T (WI)

Bunning J (KY)	Hunter D (CA)	Roukema M (NJ)
Burton D (IN)	Inhofe J (OK)	Saiki P (HI)
Callahan S (AL)	Ireland A (FL)	Saxton H (NJ)
Campbell T (CA)	James C (FL)	Schaefer D (CO)
Chandler R (WA)	Kasich J (OH)	Schiff S (NM)
Clinger W (PA)	Kolbe J (AZ)	Schuetz B (MI)
Coble H (NC)	Kyl J (AZ)	Schulze R (PA)
Coleman E (MO)	Lagomarsino R (CA)	Sensenbrenner F (WI)
Combest L (TX)	Lent N (NY)	Shaw E (FL)
Coughlin L (PA)	Lewis J (CA)	Shumway N (CA)
Cox C (CA)	Lewis T (FL)	Shuster B (PA)
Craig L (ID)	Lightfoot J (IA)	Skeen J (NM)
Dannemeyer W (CA)	Livingston B (LA)	Slaughter D (VA)
DeLay T (TX)	Lowery B (CA)	Smith B (OR)
DeWine M (OH)	Lukens D (OH)	Smith L (MS)
Dickinson B (AL)	Madigan E (IL)	Smith L (TX)
Dornan R (CA)	Marlenee R (MT)	Smith R (NH)
Douglas C (NH)	Martin D (NY)	Smith V (NE)
Dreier D (CA)	McCandless A (CA)	Snowe O (ME)
Duncan J (TN)	McCollum B (FL)	Solomon G (NY)
Edwards M (OK)	McCrery J (LA)	Spence F (SC)
Emerson B (MO)	McEwen B (OH)	Stangeland A (MN)
Fawell H (IL)	McGrath R (NY)	Stearns C (FL)
Fields J (TX)	McMillan A (NC)	Stump B (AZ)
Fish H (NY)	Meyers J (KS)	Sundquist D (TN)
Frenzel B (MN)	Michel R (IL)	Tauke T (IA)
Gallegly E (CA)	Miller C (OH)	Thomas B (CA)
Gallo D (NJ)	Miller J (WA)	Upton F (MI)
Gekas G (PA)	Molinari G (NY)	Vander Jagt G (MI)
Gillmor P (OH)	Moorhead C (CA)	Vucanovich B (NV)
Gingrich N (GA)	Morrison S (WA)	Walker R (PA)
Goodling B (PA)	Myers J (IN)	Weber V (MN)
Goss P (FL)	Nielson H (UT)	Weldon C (PA)
Gradison B (OH)	Oxley M (OH)	Whittaker B (KS)
Grandy F (IA)	Packard R (CA)	Wolf F (VA)
Grant B (FL)	Parris S (VA)	Young C (FL)

*** NOT VOTING (13) *****

DEMOCRATS (8)		
Coleman R (TX) ?	Pepper C (FL) #	Wilson C (TX) ?
Luken T (OH) #	Savage G (IL) ?	Wright J (TX) S
Ortiz S (TX) ?	Waxman H (CA) #	
REPUBLICANS (5)		
Courter J (NJ) X	Hyde H (IL) X	Wylie C (OH) ?
Crane P (IL) X	Smith D (OR) ?	

KEY -- Special Categories of Not Voting

# Paired For	X Paired Against
+ Announced For	- Announced Against
P Voted Present	C Voted Present to avoid possible conflict of interest.
S Speaker exercised discretion not to vote	
? Did not vote or make position known	

**** 1989 CQ HOUSE VOTE 15 **** **HR2. Minimum-Wage Increase -**
Penalties. Miller, D-Calif., amendment to boost civil penalties
for employers who violate the Fair Labor Standards Act, which
establishes the minimum wage. Employers who illegally pay less
than the minimum would have to pay back wages plus interest; any
employer who violates the law more than once in a three-year
period would be required to pay three times the unpaid wages.
Rejected 98-321: R 0-169; D 98-152 (ND 88-84, SD 10-68), March
23, 1989. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 641)

***** YEAS (98) *******

DEMOCRATS (98)

Atkins C (MA)	Frank B (MA)	Owens M (NY)
Bates J (CA)	Garcia R (NY)	Pallone F (NJ)
Beilenson A (CA)	Gejdenson S (CT)	Panetta L (CA)
Berman H (CA)	Gephardt R (MO)	Payne D (NJ)
Bonior D (MI)	Gonzalez H (TX)	Pease D (OH)
Boxer B (CA)	Gray W (PA)	Pelosi N (CA)
Brennan J (ME)	Hayes C (IL)	Perkins C (KY)
Bryant J (TX)	Hertel D (MI)	Rahall N (WV)
Cardin B (MD)	Hoyer S (MD)	Rangel C (NY)
Clay W (MO)	Jones W (NC)	Rostenkowski D (IL)
Coelho T (CA)	Jontz J (IN)	Russo M (IL)
Conyers J (MI)	Kennedy J (MA)	Sabo M (MN)
Costello J (IL)	Kennelly B (CT)	Scheuer J (NY)
Coyne W (PA)	Kildee D (MI)	Schroeder P (CO)
Crockett G (MI)	Kleczka G (WI)	Schumer C (NY)
de la Garza E (TX)	Kolter J (PA)	Skaggs D (CO)
DeFazio P (OR)	Kostmayer P (PA)	Smith L (FL)
Dellums R (CA)	Lehman R (CA)	Stark P (CA)
Dicks N (WA)	Leland M (TX)	Stokes L (OH)
Donnelly B (MA)	Levine M (CA)	Studds G (MA)
Downey T (NY)	Lewis J (GA)	Synar M (OK)
Durbin R (IL)	Lipinski W (IL)	Torres E (CA)
Early J (MA)	Markey E (MA)	Torricelli R (NJ)
Edwards D (CA)	Matsui R (CA)	Towns E (NY)
Engel E (NY)	McCloskey F (IN)	Traficant J (OH)
Evans L (IL)	McDermott J (WA)	Udall M (AZ)
Fazio V (CA)	Mfume K (MD)	Unsoeld J (WA)
Flake F (NY)	Miller G (CA)	Vento B (MN)
Florio J (NJ)	Moakley J (MA)	Walgren D (PA)
Foglietta T (PA)	Morrison B (CT)	Weiss T (NY)
Foley T (WA)	Mrazek R (NY)	Wheat A (MO)
Ford H (TN)	Neal R (MA)	Yates S (IL)
Ford W (MI)	Oakar M (OH)	

***** NAYS (321) *******

DEMOCRATS (151)

Ackerman G (NY)	Guarini F (NJ)	Nowak H (NY)
Akaka D (HI)	Hall R (TX)	Oberstar J (MN)
Alexander B (AR)	Hall T (OH)	Obey D (WI)
Anderson G (CA)	Hamilton L (IN)	Olin J (VA)
Andrews M (TX)	Harris C (AL)	Owens W (UT)
Annunzio F (IL)	Hatcher C (GA)	Parker M (MS)
Anthony B (AR)	Hawkins A (CA)	Patterson L (SC)
Applegate D (OH)	Hayes J (LA)	Payne L (VA)
Aspin L (WI)	Hefner W (NC)	Penny T (MN)
AuCoin L (OR)	Hoagland P (NE)	Pickett O (VA)
Barnard D (GA)	Hochbrueckner G (NY)	Pickle J (TX)
Bennett C (FL)	Hubbard C (KY)	Poshard G (IL)

Bevill T (AL)
 Bilbray J (NV)
 Boggs L (LA)
 Borski R (PA)
 Bosco D (CA)
 Boucher R (VA)
 Brooks J (TX)
 Brown G (CA)
 Bruce T (IL)
 Bustamante A (TX)
 Byron B (MD)
 Campbell B (CO)
 Carper T (DE)
 Carr B (MI)
 Chapman J (TX)
 Clarke J (NC)
 Clement B (TN)
 Collins C (IL)
 Cooper J (TN)
 Darden G (GA)
 Derrick B (SC)
 Dingell J (MI)
 Dixon J (CA)
 Dorgan B (ND)
 Dwyer B (NJ)
 Dymally M (CA)
 Dyson R (MD)
 Eckart D (OH)
 English G (OK)
 Erdreich B (AL)
 Espy M (MS)
 Fascell D (FL)
 Feighan E (OH)
 Flippo R (AL)
 Frost M (TX)
 Gaydos J (PA)
 Gibbons S (FL)
 Glickman D (KS)
 Gordon B (TN)

Huckaby J (LA)
 Hughes W (NJ)
 Hutto E (FL)
 Jacobs A (IN)
 Jenkins E (GA)
 Johnson T (SD)
 Johnston H (FL)
 Jones B (GA)
 Kanjorski P (PA)
 Kaptur M (OH)
 Kastenmeier R (WI)
 LaFalce J (NY)
 Lancaster H (NC)
 Lantos T (CA)
 Laughlin G (TX)
 Leath M (TX)
 Lehman W (FL)
 Levin S (MI)
 Lloyd M (TN)
 Lowey N (NY)
 Manton T (NY)
 Martinez M (CA)
 Mavroules N (MA)
 Mazzoli R (KY)
 McCurdy D (OK)
 McHugh M (NY)
 McMillen T (MD)
 McNulty M (NY)
 Mineta N (CA)
 Mollohan A (WV)
 Montgomery G (MS)
 Moody J (WI)
 Murphy A (PA)
 Murtha J (PA)
 Nagle D (IA)
 Natcher W (KY)
 Neal S (NC)
 Nelson B (FL)

Price D (NC)
 Ray R (GA)
 Richardson B (NM)
 Roe R (NJ)
 Rose C (NC)
 Rowland J (GA)
 Roybal E (CA)
 Sangmeister G (IL)
 Sarpalius B (TX)
 Sawyer T (OH)
 Sharp P (IN)
 Sikorski G (MN)
 Sisisky N (VA)
 Skelton I (MO)
 Slattery J (KS)
 Slaughter L (NY)
 Smith N (IA)
 Solarz S (NY)
 Spratt J (SC)
 Staggers H (WV)
 Stallings R (ID)
 Stenholm C (TX)
 Swift A (WA)
 Tallon R (SC)
 Tanner J (TN)
 Tauzin W (LA)
 Thomas L (GA)
 Traxler B (MI)
 Valentine T (NC)
 Visclosky P (IN)
 Volkmer H (MO)
 Watkins W (OK)
 Whitten J (MS)
 Williams P (MT)
 Wise B (WV)
 Wolpe H (MI)
 Wyden R (OR)
 Yatron G (PA)

REPUBLICANS (170)

Archer B (TX)
 Armey D (TX)
 Baker R (LA)
 Ballenger C (NC)
 Bartlett S (TX)
 Barton J (TX)
 Bateman H (VA)
 Bentley H (MD)
 Bereuter D (NE)
 Bilirakis M (FL)
 Bliley T (VA)
 Boehlert S (NY)
 Broomfield W (MI)
 Brown H (CO)
 Buechner J (MO)
 Bunning J (KY)
 Burton D (IN)
 Callahan S (AL)
 Campbell T (CA)
 Chandler R (WA)
 Clinger W (PA)
 Coble H (NC)
 Coleman E (MO)

Hancock M (MO)
 Hansen J (UT)
 Hastert D (IL)
 Hefley J (CO)
 Henry P (MI)
 Herger W (CA)
 Hiler J (IN)
 Holloway C (LA)
 Hopkins L (KY)
 Horton F (NY)
 Houghton A (NY)
 Hunter D (CA)
 Inhofe J (OK)
 Ireland A (FL)
 James C (FL)
 Johnson N (CT)
 Kasich J (OH)
 Kolbe J (AZ)
 Kyl J (AZ)
 Lagomarsino R (CA)
 Leach J (IA)
 Lent N (NY)
 Lewis J (CA)

Pursell C (MI)
 Quillen J (TN)
 Ravenel A (SC)
 Regula R (OH)
 Rhodes J (AZ)
 Ridge T (PA)
 Rinaldo M (NJ)
 Ritter D (PA)
 Roberts P (KS)
 Robinson T (AR)
 Rogers H (KY)
 Rohrabacher D (CA)
 Roth T (WI)
 Roukema M (NJ)
 Rowland J (CT)
 Saiki P (HI)
 Saxton H (NJ)
 Schaefer D (CO)
 Schiff S (NM)
 Schneider C (RI)
 Schuette B (MI)
 Schulze R (PA)
 Sensenbrenner F (WI)

Combest L (TX)	Lewis T (FL)	Shaw E (FL)
Conte S (MA)	Lightfoot J (IA)	Shays C (CT)
Coughlin L (PA)	Livingston B (LA)	Shumway N (CA)
Cox C (CA)	Lowery B (CA)	Shuster B (PA)
Craig L (ID)	Lukens D (OH)	Skeen J (NM)
Dannemeyer W (CA)	Machtley R (RI)	Slaughter D (VA)
Davis R (MI)	Madigan E (IL)	Smith B (OR)
DeLay T (TX)	Marlenee R (MT)	Smith C (NJ)
DeWine M (OH)	Martin D (NY)	Smith L (TX)
Dickinson B (AL)	Martin L (IL)	Smith L (MS)
Dornan R (CA)	McCandless A (CA)	Smith P (VT)
Douglas C (NH)	McCollum B (FL)	Smith R (NH)
Dreier D (CA)	McCrery J (LA)	Smith V (NE)
Duncan J (TN)	McDade J (PA)	Snowe O (ME)
Edwards M (OK)	McEwen B (OH)	Solomon G (NY)
Emerson B (MO)	McGrath R (NY)	Spence F (SC)
Fawell H (IL)	McMillan A (NC)	Stangeland A (MN)
Fields J (TX)	Meyers J (KS)	Stearns C (FL)
Fish H (NY)	Michel R (IL)	Stump B (AZ)
Frenzel B (MN)	Miller C (OH)	Sundquist D (TN)
Galleghy E (CA)	Miller J (WA)	Tauke T (IA)
Gallo D (NJ)	Molinari G (NY)	Thomas B (CA)
Gekas G (PA)	Moorhead C (CA)	Upton F (MI)
Gillmor P (OH)	Morella C (MD)	Vander Jagt G (MI)
Gilman B (NY)	Morrison S (WA)	Vucanovich B (NV)
Gingrich N (GA)	Myers J (IN)	Walker R (PA)
Goodling B (PA)	Nielson H (UT)	Walsh J (NY)
Goss P (FL)	Oxley M (OH)	Weber V (MN)
Gradison B (OH)	Packard R (CA)	Weldon C (PA)
Grandy F (IA)	Parris S (VA)	Whittaker B (KS)
Grant B (FL)	Pashayan C (CA)	Wolf F (VA)
Green B (NY)	Paxon B (NY)	Young C (FL)
Gunderson S (WI)	Petri T (WI)	Young D (AK)
Hammerschmidt J (AR)	Porter J (IL)	

*** NOT VOTING (13) *****

DEMOCRATS (8)		
Coleman R (TX) ?	Pepper C (FL) ?	Wilson C (TX) ?
Luken T (OH) ?	Savage G (IL) ?	Wright J (TX) S
Ortiz S (TX) ?	Waxman H (CA) ?	
REPUBLICANS (5)		
Courter J (NJ) ?	Hyde H (IL) ?	Wylie C (OH) ?
Crane P (IL) ?	Smith D (OR) ?	

KEY -- Special Categories of Not Voting

# Paired For	X Paired Against
+ Announced For	- Announced Against
P Voted Present	C Voted Present to avoid possible conflict of interest.
S Speaker exercised discretion not to vote	
? Did not vote or make position known	

**** 1989 CQ HOUSE VOTE 14 **** **HR2. Minimum-Wage Increase -**
Murphy Substitute. Murphy, D-Pa., substitute to the Education
 and Labor Committee bill to raise the minimum wage from its
 current \$3.35 an hour to \$4.65 over three years. The measure
 would, among other things, increase the hourly wage to \$4.55
 over three years and provide for a two-month training wage --
 equal to 85 percent of the minimum -- for employees who have
 never held a job before. The training-wage provision would
 expire Sept. 30, 1992. Adopted 240-179: R 19-151; D 221-28 (ND
 164-7, SD 57-21), March 23, 1989. A "nay" was a vote supporting
 the president's position. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 641)
 Item Key: 4991

***** YEAS(240) *******

DEMOCRATS (220)

Ackerman G (NY)	Frost M (TX)	Nagle D (IA)
Akaka D (HI)	Garcia R (NY)	Natcher W (KY)
Alexander B (AR)	Gaydos J (PA)	Neal R (MA)
Anderson G (CA)	Gejdenson S (CT)	Neal S (NC)
Andrews M (TX)	Gephardt R (MO)	Nelson B (FL)
Annunzio F (IL)	Gibbons S (FL)	Nowak H (NY)
Anthony B (AR)	Glickman D (KS)	Oakar M (OH)
Applegate D (OH)	Gonzalez H (TX)	Oberstar J (MN)
Aspin L (WI)	Gordon B (TN)	Obey D (WI)
Atkins C (MA)	Gray W (PA)	Olin J (VA)
AuCoin L (OR)	Guarini F (NJ)	Owens M (NY)
Bates J (CA)	Hall T (OH)	Owens W (UT)
Beilenson A (CA)	Hamilton L (IN)	Pallone F (NJ)
Bennett C (FL)	Harris C (AL)	Panetta L (CA)
Berman H (CA)	Hatcher C (GA)	Payne D (NJ)
Bevill T (AL)	Hawkins A (CA)	Pease D (OH)
Bilbray J (NV)	Hayes C (IL)	Pelosi N (CA)
Boggs L (LA)	Hayes J (LA)	Perkins C (KY)
Bonior D (MI)	Hefner W (NC)	Pickett O (VA)
Borski R (PA)	Hertel D (MI)	Pickle J (TX)
Bosco D (CA)	Hoagland P (NE)	Poshard G (IL)
Boucher R (VA)	Hochbrueckner G (NY)	Price D (NC)
Boxer B (CA)	Hoyer S (MD)	Rahall N (WV)
Brennan J (ME)	Hubbard C (KY)	Rangel C (NY)
Brooks J (TX)	Hughes W (NJ)	Richardson B (NM)
Brown G (CA)	Jacobs A (IN)	Roe R (NJ)
Bruce T (IL)	Jenkins E (GA)	Rose C (NC)
Bryant J (TX)	Johnson T (SD)	Rostenkowski D (IL)
Bustamante A (TX)	Johnston H (FL)	Rowland J (GA)
Cardin B (MD)	Jones B (GA)	Sabo M (MN)
Carper T (DE)	Jones W (NC)	Sangmeister G (IL)
Carr B (MI)	Jontz J (IN)	Sawyer T (OH)
Chapman J (TX)	Kanjorski P (PA)	Scheuer J (NY)
Clarke J (NC)	Kaptur M (OH)	Schroeder P (CO)
Clay W (MO)	Kastenmeier R (WI)	Schumer C (NY)
Clement B (TN)	Kennedy J (MA)	Sharp P (IN)
Coelho T (CA)	Kennelly B (CT)	Sikorski G (MN)
Collins C (IL)	Kildee D (MI)	Sisisky N (VA)
Conyers J (MI)	Klecza G (WI)	Skaggs D (CO)
Costello J (IL)	Kolter J (PA)	Skelton I (MO)
Coyne W (PA)	Kostmayer P (PA)	Slattey J (KS)
Crockett G (MI)	LaFalce J (NY)	Slaughter L (NY)
Darden G (GA)	Lantos T (CA)	Smith L (FL)
de la Garza E (TX)	Lehman R (CA)	Smith N (IA)
DeFazio P (OR)	Lehman W (FL)	Solarz S (NY)
Dellums R (CA)	Leland M (TX)	Staggers H (WV)

Dicks N (WA)
Dingell J (MI)
Dixon J (CA)
Donnelly B (MA)
Dorgan B (ND)
Downey T (NY)
Durbin R (IL)
Dwyer B (NJ)
Dymally M (CA)
Dyson R (MD)
Early J (MA)
Eckart D (OH)
Edwards D (CA)
Engel E (NY)
Erdreich B (AL)
Espy M (MS)
Evans L (IL)
Fascell D (FL)
Fazio V (CA)
Feighan E (OH)
Flake F (NY)
Flippo R (AL)
Florio J (NJ)
Foglietta T (PA)
Foley T (WA)
Ford H (TN)
Ford W (MI)
Frank B (MA)

Levin S (MI)
Levine M (CA)
Lewis J (GA)
Lipinski W (IL)
Lloyd M (TN)
Lowey N (NY)
Manton T (NY)
Markey E (MA)
Martinez M (CA)
Matsui R (CA)
Mavroules N (MA)
Mazzoli R (KY)
McCloskey F (IN)
McCurdy D (OK)
McDermott J (WA)
McHugh M (NY)
McMillen T (MD)
McNulty M (NY)
Mfume K (MD)
Mineta N (CA)
Moakley J (MA)
Mollohan A (WV)
Moody J (WI)
Morrison B (CT)
Mrazek R (NY)
Murphy A (PA)
Murtha J (PA)

Stallings R (ID)
Stokes L (OH)
Studds G (MA)
Swift A (WA)
Synar M (OK)
Tallon R (SC)
Tanner J (TN)
Torres E (CA)
Torricelli R (NJ)
Towns E (NY)
Traficant J (OH)
Traxler B (MI)
Udall M (AZ)
Unsoeld J (WA)
Vento B (MN)
Visclosky P (IN)
Volkmer H (MO)
Walgren D (PA)
Watkins W (OK)
Wheat A (MO)
Whitten J (MS)
Williams P (MT)
Wise B (WV)
Wolpe H (MI)
Wyden R (OR)
Yates S (IL)
Yatron G (PA)

REPUBLICANS (20)

Boehlert S (NY)
Conte S (MA)
Davis R (MI)
Gilman B (NY)
Horton F (NY)
Johnson N (CT)
Leach J (IA)

Machtley R (RI)
McDade J (PA)
Morella C (MD)
Pashayan C (CA)
Ridge T (PA)
Rinaldo M (NJ)
Robinson T (AR)

Rowland J (CT)
Schneider C (RI)
Shays C (CT)
Smith C (NJ)
Walsh J (NY)
Young D (AK)

*** NAYS (179) *****

DEMOCRATS (28)
Barnard D (GA)
Byron B (MD)
Campbell B (CO)
Cooper J (TN)
Derrick B (SC)
English G (OK)
Hall R (TX)
Huckaby J (LA)
Hutto E (FL)
Lancaster H (NC)

Laughlin G (TX)
Leath M (TX)
Miller G (CA)
Montgomery G (MS)
Parker M (MS)
Patterson L (SC)
Payne L (VA)
Penny T (MN)
Ray R (GA)

Russo M (IL)
Sarpalius B (TX)
Spratt J (SC)
Stark P (CA)
Stenholm C (TX)
Tauzin W (LA)
Thomas L (GA)
Valentine T (NC)
Weiss T (NY)

REPUBLICANS (151)

Archer B (TX)
Armey D (TX)
Baker R (LA)
Ballenger C (NC)
Bartlett S (TX)
Barton J (TX)
Bateman H (VA)
Bentley H (MD)
Bereuter D (NE)
Bilirakis M (FL)

Gunderson S (WI)
Hammerschmidt J (AR)
Hancock M (MO)
Hansen J (UT)
Hastert D (IL)
Hefley J (CO)
Henry P (MI)
Herger W (CA)
Hiler J (IN)
Holloway C (LA)

Porter J (IL)
Pursell C (MI)
Quillen J (TN)
Ravenel A (SC)
Regula R (OH)
Rhodes J (AZ)
Ritter D (PA)
Roberts P (KS)
Rogers H (KY)
Rohrabacher D (CA)

Bliley T (VA)	Hopkins L (KY)	Roth T (WI)
Broomfield W (MI)	Houghton A (NY)	Roukema M (NJ)
Brown H (CO)	Hunter D (CA)	Saiki P (HI)
Buechner J (MO)	Inhofe J (OK)	Saxton H (NJ)
Bunning J (KY)	Ireland A (FL)	Schaefer D (CO)
Burton D (IN)	James C (FL)	Schiff S (NM)
Callahan S (AL)	Kasich J (OH)	Schuetz B (MI)
Campbell T (CA)	Kolbe J (AZ)	Schulze R (PA)
Chandler R (WA)	Kyl J (AZ)	Sensenbrenner F (WI)
Clinger W (PA)	Lagomarsino R (CA)	Shaw E (FL)
Coble H (NC)	Lent N (NY)	Shumway N (CA)
Coleman E (MO)	Lewis J (CA)	Shuster B (PA)
Combest L (TX)	Lewis T (FL)	Skeen J (NM)
Coughlin L (PA)	Lightfoot J (IA)	Slaughter D (VA)
Cox C (CA)	Livingston B (LA)	Smith B (OR)
Craig L (ID)	Lukens D (OH)	Smith D (OR)
Dannemeyer W (CA)	Madigan E (IL)	Smith L (TX)
DeLay T (TX)	Marlenee R (MT)	Smith L (MS)
DeWine M (OH)	Martin D (NY)	Smith P (VT)
Dickinson B (AL)	Martin L (IL)	Smith R (NH)
Dornan R (CA)	McCandless A (CA)	Smith V (NE)
Douglas C (NH)	McCollum B (FL)	Snowe O (ME)
Dreier D (CA)	McCrery J (LA)	Solomon G (NY)
Duncan J (TN)	McEwen B (OH)	Spence F (SC)
Edwards M (OK)	McGrath R (NY)	Stangeland A (MN)
Emerson B (MO)	McMillan A (NC)	Stearns C (FL)
Fawell H (IL)	Meyers J (KS)	Stump B (AZ)
Fields J (TX)	Michel R (IL)	Sundquist D (TN)
Fish H (NY)	Miller C (OH)	Tauke T (IA)
Frenzel B (MN)	Miller J (WA)	Thomas B (CA)
Gallegly E (CA)	Molinari G (NY)	Upton F (MI)
Gallo D (NJ)	Moorhead C (CA)	Vander Jagt G (MI)
Gekas G (PA)	Morrison S (WA)	Vucanovich B (NV)
Gillmor P (OH)	Myers J (IN)	Walker R (PA)
Gingrich N (GA)	Nielson H (UT)	Weber V (MN)
Goodling B (PA)	Oxley M (OH)	Weldon C (PA)
Goss P (FL)	Packard R (CA)	Whittaker B (KS)
Gradison B (OH)	Parris S (VA)	Wolf F (VA)
Grandy F (IA)	Paxon B (NY)	Wyllie C (OH)
Grant B (FL)	Petri T (WI)	Young C (FL)
Green B (NY)		

*** NOT VOTING (13) *****

DEMOCRATS (9)

Coleman R (TX) ?	Pepper C (FL) #	Waxman H (CA) #
Luken T (OH) #	Roybal E (CA) #	Wilson C (TX) ?
Ortiz S (TX) ?	Savage G (IL) ?	Wright J (TX) S

REPUBLICANS (4)

Courter J (NJ) X	Hyde H (IL) X	Lowery B (CA) X
Crane P (IL) X		

KEY -- Special Categories of Not Voting

# Paired For	X Paired Against
+ Announced For	- Announced Against
P Voted Present	C Voted Present to avoid possible conflict of interest.
S Speaker exercised discretion not to vote	
? Did not vote or make position known	

**** 1989 CQ HOUSE VOTE 13 **** **HR2. Minimum-Wage Increase - GOP**
 Substitute. Goodling, R-Pa., substitute to the Education and Labor Committee bill to raise the minimum wage from its current \$3.35 an hour to \$4.65 over three years. The GOP substitute, which was proposed by President Bush, would have, among other things, limited the wage increase to \$4.25 over three years and allowed employers to pay a lower, training wage -- pegged at 80 percent of the minimum -- to any new hire during the first six months on the job. Rejected 198-218: R 154-16; D 44-202 (ND 6-163, SD 38-39), March 23, 1989. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position. (Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 641)
 Item Key: 4990

***** YEAS(198) ******

DEMOCRATS (44)

Andrews M (TX)	Hatcher C (GA)	Payne L (VA)
Barnard D (GA)	Hayes J (LA)	Penny T (MN)
Boucher R (VA)	Huckaby J (LA)	Pickett O (VA)
Byron B (MD)	Hutto E (FL)	Ray R (GA)
Campbell B (CO)	Jenkins E (GA)	Rowland J (GA)
Carr B (MI)	Jones B (GA)	Sarpalius B (TX)
Chapman J (TX)	Lancaster H (NC)	Sisisky N (VA)
Clement B (TN)	Laughlin G (TX)	Spratt J (SC)
Cooper J (TN)	Leath M (TX)	Stallings R (ID)
Darden G (GA)	Mazzoli R (KY)	Stenholm C (TX)
Derrick B (SC)	McCurdy D (OK)	Tallon R (SC)
English G (OK)	Montgomery G (MS)	Tauzin W (LA)
Flippo R (AL)	Owens W (UT)	Thomas L (GA)
Hall R (TX)	Parker M (MS)	Valentine T (NC)
Harris C (AL)	Patterson L (SC)	

REPUBLICANS (154)

Archer B (TX)	Hansen J (UT)	Pursell C (MI)
Armey D (TX)	Hastert D (IL)	Quillen J (TN)
Baker R (LA)	Hefley J (CO)	Ravenel A (SC)
Ballenger C (NC)	Henry P (MI)	Regula R (OH)
Bartlett S (TX)	Herger W (CA)	Rhodes J (AZ)
Bateman H (VA)	Hiler J (IN)	Ritter D (PA)
Bentley H (MD)	Holloway C (LA)	Roberts P (KS)
Bereuter D (NE)	Hopkins L (KY)	Rogers H (KY)
Bilirakis M (FL)	Houghton A (NY)	Rohrabacher D (CA)
Bliley T (VA)	Hunter D (CA)	Roth T (WI)
Broomfield W (MI)	Inhofe J (OK)	Roukema M (NJ)
Brown H (CO)	Ireland A (FL)	Saiki P (HI)
Buechner J (MO)	James C (FL)	Saxton H (NJ)
Bunning J (KY)	Johnson N (CT)	Schaefer D (CO)
Burton D (IN)	Kasich J (OH)	Schiff S (NM)
Callahan S (AL)	Kolbe J (AZ)	Schuette B (MI)
Campbell T (CA)	Kyl J (AZ)	Schulze R (PA)
Chandler R (WA)	Lagomarsino R (CA)	Sensenbrenner F (WI)
Clinger W (PA)	Lent N (NY)	Shaw E (FL)
Coble H (NC)	Lewis J (CA)	Shumway N (CA)
Coleman E (MO)	Lewis T (FL)	Shuster B (PA)
Combest L (TX)	Lightfoot J (IA)	Skeen J (NM)
Coughlin L (PA)	Livingston B (LA)	Slaughter D (VA)
Cox C (CA)	Lowery B (CA)	Smith B (OR)
Craig L (ID)	Lukens D (OH)	Smith D (OR)
Dannemeyer W (CA)	Machtley R (RI)	Smith L (MS)
DeLay T (TX)	Madigan E (IL)	Smith L (TX)
DeWine M (OH)	Marlenee R (MT)	Smith P (VT)
Dornan R (CA)	Martin D (NY)	Smith R (NH)
Douglas C (NH)	Martin L (IL)	Smith V (NE)

Dreier D (CA)
 Duncan J (TN)
 Edwards M (OK)
 Emerson B (MO)
 Fawell H (IL)
 Fields J (TX)
 Fish H (NY)
 Frenzel B (MN)
 Gallegly E (CA)
 Gallo D (NJ)
 Gekas G (PA)
 Gillmor P (OH)
 Gingrich N (GA)
 Goodling B (PA)
 Goss P (FL)
 Gradison B (OH)
 Grandy F (IA)
 Grant B (FL)
 Green B (NY)
 Gunderson S (WI)
 Hammerschmidt J (AR)
 Hancock M (MO)

McCandless A (CA)
 McCollum B (FL)
 McCrery J (LA)
 McEwen B (OH)
 McMillan A (NC)
 Meyers J (KS)
 Michel R (IL)
 Miller C (OH)
 Miller J (WA)
 Molinari G (NY)
 Moorhead C (CA)
 Morrison S (WA)
 Myers J (IN)
 Nielson H (UT)
 Oxley M (OH)
 Packard R (CA)
 Parris S (VA)
 Pashayan C (CA)
 Paxon B (NY)
 Petri T (WI)
 Porter J (IL)

Snowe O (ME)
 Solomon G (NY)
 Spence F (SC)
 Stangeland A (MN)
 Stearns C (FL)
 Stump B (AZ)
 Sundquist D (TN)
 Tauke T (IA)
 Thomas B (CA)
 Upton F (MI)
 Vander Jagt G (MI)
 Vucanovich B (NV)
 Walker R (PA)
 Walsh J (NY)
 Weber V (MN)
 Weldon C (PA)
 Whittaker B (KS)
 Wolf F (VA)
 Wylie C (OH)
 Young C (FL)
 Young D (AK)

*** NAYS (218) *****

DEMOCRATS (201)

Ackerman G (NY)
 Akaka D (HI)
 Anderson G (CA)
 Annunzio F (IL)
 Anthony B (AR)
 Applegate D (OH)
 Aspin L (WI)
 Atkins C (MA)
 AuCoin L (OR)
 Bates J (CA)
 Beilenson A (CA)
 Bennett C (FL)
 Berman H (CA)
 Beville T (AL)
 Bilbray J (NV)
 Boggs L (LA)
 Bonior D (MI)
 Borski R (PA)
 Bosco D (CA)
 Boxer B (CA)
 Brennan J (ME)
 Brooks J (TX)
 Brown G (CA)
 Bruce T (IL)
 Bryant J (TX)
 Bustamante A (TX)
 Cardin B (MD)
 Carper T (DE)
 Clarke J (NC)
 Clay W (MO)
 Coelho T (CA)
 Collins C (IL)
 Costello J (IL)
 Coyne W (PA)
 Crockett G (MI)
 de la Garza E (TX)
 DeFazio P (OR)
 Dellums R (CA)
 Dicks N (WA)

Gaydos J (PA)
 Gejdenson S (CT)
 Gephardt R (MO)
 Gibbons S (FL)
 Glickman D (KS)
 Gonzalez H (TX)
 Gordon B (TN)
 Gray W (PA)
 Guarini F (NJ)
 Hall T (OH)
 Hamilton L (IN)
 Hawkins A (CA)
 Hayes C (IL)
 Hefner W (NC)
 Hertel D (MI)
 Hoagland P (NE)
 Hochbrueckner G (NY)
 Hoyer S (MD)
 Hubbard C (KY)
 Hughes W (NJ)
 Jacobs A (IN)
 Johnson T (SD)
 Johnston H (FL)
 Jones W (NC)
 Jontz J (IN)
 Kanjorski P (PA)
 Kaptur M (OH)
 Kastenmeier R (WI)
 Kennedy J (MA)
 Kennelly B (CT)
 Kildee D (MI)
 Kleczka G (WI)
 Kolter J (PA)
 Kostmayer P (PA)
 LaFalce J (NY)
 Lantos T (CA)
 Lehman R (CA)
 Lehman W (FL)
 Leland M (TX)

Neal S (NC)
 Nelson B (FL)
 Nowak H (NY)
 Oakar M (OH)
 Oberstar J (MN)
 Obey D (WI)
 Olin J (VA)
 Owens M (NY)
 Pallone F (NJ)
 Panetta L (CA)
 Payne D (NJ)
 Pease D (OH)
 Pelosi N (CA)
 Perkins C (KY)
 Pickle J (TX)
 Poshard G (IL)
 Price D (NC)
 Rahall N (WV)
 Richardson B (NM)
 Roe R (NJ)
 Rose C (NC)
 Rostenkowski D (IL)
 Roybal E (CA)
 Russo M (IL)
 Sabo M (MN)
 Sangmeister G (IL)
 Sawyer T (OH)
 Scheuer J (NY)
 Schroeder P (CO)
 Schumer C (NY)
 Sharp P (IN)
 Sikorski G (MN)
 Skaggs D (CO)
 Skelton I (MO)
 Slattey J (KS)
 Slaughter L (NY)
 Smith L (FL)
 Smith N (IA)
 Solarz S (NY)

Dingell J (MI)
Dixon J (CA)
Donnelly B (MA)
Dorgan B (ND)
Downey T (NY)
Durbin R (IL)
Dwyer B (NJ)
Dymally M (CA)
Dyson R (MD)
Early J (MA)
Eckart D (OH)
Edwards D (CA)
Engel E (NY)
Erdreich B (AL)
Espy M (MS)
Evans L (IL)
Fascell D (FL)
Fazio V (CA)
Feighan E (OH)
Flake F (NY)
Florio J (NJ)
Foglietta T (PA)
Foley T (WA)
Ford H (TN)
Ford W (MI)
Frank B (MA)
Frost M (TX)
Garcia R (NY)

Levin S (MI)
Levine M (CA)
Lewis J (GA)
Lipinski W (IL)
Lloyd M (TN)
Lowey N (NY)
Manton T (NY)
Markey E (MA)
Matsui R (CA)
Mavroules N (MA)
McCloskey F (IN)
McDermott J (WA)
McHugh M (NY)
McMillen T (MD)
McNulty M (NY)
Mfume K (MD)
Miller G (CA)
Mineta N (CA)
Moakley J (MA)
Mollohan A (WV)
Moody J (WI)
Morrison B (CT)
Mrazek R (NY)
Murphy A (PA)
Murtha J (PA)
Nagle D (IA)
Natcher W (KY)
Neal R (MA)

Staggers H (WV)
Stark P (CA)
Stokes L (OH)
Studds G (MA)
Swift A (WA)
Synar M (OK)
Tanner J (TN)
Torres E (CA)
Torricelli R (NJ)
Townes E (NY)
Traficant J (OH)
Traxler B (MI)
Udall M (AZ)
Unsoeld J (WA)
Vento B (MN)
Visclosky P (IN)
Volkmer H (MO)
Walgren D (PA)
Watkins W (OK)
Weiss T (NY)
Wheat A (MO)
Whitten J (MS)
Williams P (MT)
Wise B (WV)
Wolpe H (MI)
Wyden R (OR)
Yates S (IL)
Yatron G (PA)

REPUBLICANS (17)

Barton J (TX)
Boehlert S (NY)
Conte S (MA)
Davis R (MI)
Gilman B (NY)
Horton F (NY)

Leach J (IA)
McDade J (PA)
McGrath R (NY)
Morella C (MD)
Ridge T (PA)
Rinaldo M (NJ)

Robinson T (AR)
Rowland J (CT)
Schneider C (RI)
Shays C (CT)
Smith C (NJ)

*** NOT VOTING (16) *****

DEMOCRATS (12)

Alexander B (AR) ?
Coleman R (TX) ?
Conyers J (MI) ?
Luken T (OH) X

Martinez M (CA) ?
Ortiz S (TX) ?
Pepper C (FL) X
Rangel C (NY) X

Savage G (IL) ?
Waxman H (CA) X
Wilson C (TX) ?
Wright J (TX) S

REPUBLICANS (4)

Courter J (NJ) #
Crane P (IL) #

Dickinson B (AL) #

Hyde H (IL) #

KEY -- Special Categories of Not Voting

Paired For X Paired Against
+ Announced For - Announced Against
P Voted Present C Voted Present to avoid
 possible conflict of interest.
S Speaker exercised discretion not to vote
? Did not vote or make position known

**** 1989 CQ HOUSE VOTE 10 **** **HR2. Minimum-Wage Increase -**
Procedural Motion. Moakley, D-Mass., motion to order the
previous question (thus ending debate and the possibility of
amendment) on the rule (HRes111) to provide for House floor
consideration of the bill to increase the minimum wage from its
current \$3.35 an hour to \$4.65 over three years. Motion agreed
to 238-177: R 1-167; D 237-10 (ND 168-1, SD 69-9), March 22,
1989. The rule subsequently was adopted by voice vote. Opponents
of the rule had wanted to amend it to permit consideration of a
proposal by Petri, R-Wis., to replace the proposed minimum-wage
increase with an expansion of the earned-income tax credit.
(Story, 1989 Weekly Report p. 641)
Item Key: 4988

***** YEAS(238) *******

DEMOCRATS (236)

Ackerman G (NY)	Frank B (MA)	Nelson B (FL)
Akaka D (HI)	Frost M (TX)	Nowak H (NY)
Alexander B (AR)	Garcia R (NY)	Oakar M (OH)
Anderson G (CA)	Gaydos J (PA)	Oberstar J (MN)
Andrews M (TX)	Gejdenson S (CT)	Obey D (WI)
Annunzio F (IL)	Gephardt R (MO)	Olin J (VA)
Anthony B (AR)	Gibbons S (FL)	Owens M (NY)
Applegate D (OH)	Glickman D (KS)	Owens W (UT)
Aspin L (WI)	Gonzalez H (TX)	Pallone F (NJ)
Atkins C (MA)	Gordon B (TN)	Panetta L (CA)
AuCoin L (OR)	Gray W (PA)	Parker M (MS)
Barnard D (GA)	Guarini F (NJ)	Patterson L (SC)
Bates J (CA)	Hall T (OH)	Payne D (NJ)
Beilenson A (CA)	Harris C (AL)	Payne L (VA)
Bennett C (FL)	Hatcher C (GA)	Pease D (OH)
Berman H (CA)	Hawkins A (CA)	Pelosi N (CA)
Bevill T (AL)	Hayes C (IL)	Penny T (MN)
Bilbray J (NV)	Hefner W (NC)	Perkins C (KY)
Boggs L (LA)	Hertel D (MI)	Pickett O (VA)
Bonior D (MI)	Hoagland P (NE)	Pickle J (TX)
Borski R (PA)	Hochbrueckner G (NY)	Poshard G (IL)
Bosco D (CA)	Hoyer S (MD)	Price D (NC)
Boucher R (VA)	Hubbard C (KY)	Rahall N (WV)
Boxer B (CA)	Hughes W (NJ)	Rangel C (NY)
Brennan J (ME)	Jacobs A (IN)	Ray R (GA)
Brooks J (TX)	Jenkins E (GA)	Richardson B (NM)
Brown G (CA)	Johnson T (SD)	Roe R (NJ)
Bruce T (IL)	Johnston H (FL)	Rose C (NC)
Bryant J (TX)	Jones B (GA)	Rostenkowski D (IL)
Bustamante A (TX)	Jones W (NC)	Rowland J (GA)
Byron B (MD)	Jontz J (IN)	Roybal E (CA)
Campbell B (CO)	Kanjorski P (PA)	Russo M (IL)
Cardin B (MD)	Kaptur M (OH)	Sabo M (MN)
Carper T (DE)	Kastenmeier R (WI)	Sangmeister G (IL)
Carr B (MI)	Kennedy J (MA)	Sarpalius B (TX)
Chapman J (TX)	Kennelly B (CT)	Sawyer T (OH)
Clarke J (NC)	Kildee D (MI)	Scheuer J (NY)
Clay W (MO)	Klecza G (WI)	Schroeder P (CO)
Clement B (TN)	Kolter J (PA)	Schumer C (NY)
Coelho T (CA)	Kostmayer P (PA)	Sharp P (IN)
Collins C (IL)	LaFalce J (NY)	Sikorski G (MN)
Conyers J (MI)	Lancaster H (NC)	Sisisky N (VA)
Cooper J (TN)	Lantos T (CA)	Skaggs D (CO)
Costello J (IL)	Laughlin G (TX)	Skelton I (MO)
Coyne W (PA)	Lehman R (CA)	Slattery J (KS)

Crockett G (MI)
Darden G (GA)
de la Garza E (TX)
DeFazio P (OR)
Dellums R (CA)
Derrick B (SC)
Dicks N (WA)
Dingell J (MI)
Dixon J (CA)
Donnelly B (MA)
Dorgan B (ND)
Downey T (NY)
Durbin R (IL)
Dwyer B (NJ)
Dymally M (CA)
Dyson R (MD)
Early J (MA)
Eckart D (OH)
Edwards D (CA)
Engel E (NY)
English G (OK)
Erdreich B (AL)
Espy M (MS)
Evans L (IL)
Fascell D (FL)
Fazio V (CA)
Feighan E (OH)
Flake F (NY)
Flippo R (AL)
Florio J (NJ)
Foglietta T (PA)
Foley T (WA)
Ford H (TN)
Ford W (MI)

REPUBLICANS (2)
Morella C (MD)

Lehman W (FL)
Leland M (TX)
Levin S (MI)
Levine M (CA)
Lewis J (GA)
Lipinski W (IL)
Lloyd M (TN)
Lowey N (NY)
Manton T (NY)
Markey E (MA)
Martinez M (CA)
Matsui R (CA)
Mavroules N (MA)
Mazzoli R (KY)
McCloskey F (IN)
McCurdy D (OK)
McDermott J (WA)
McHugh M (NY)
McMillen T (MD)
McNulty M (NY)
Mfume K (MD)
Miller G (CA)
Mineta N (CA)
Moakley J (MA)
Mollohan A (WV)
Montgomery G (MS)
Moody J (WI)
Morrison B (CT)
Mrazek R (NY)
Murphy A (PA)
Murtha J (PA)
Nagle D (IA)
Natcher W (KY)
Neal S (NC)

Robinson T (AR)

Slaughter L (NY)
Smith L (FL)
Solarz S (NY)
Staggers H (WV)
Stallings R (ID)
Stark P (CA)
Stokes L (OH)
Studds G (MA)
Swift A (WA)
Synar M (OK)
Tanner J (TN)
Thomas L (GA)
Torres E (CA)
Torricelli R (NJ)
Townes E (NY)
Traficant J (OH)
Udall M (AZ)
Unsoeld J (WA)
Valentine T (NC)
Vento B (MN)
Visclosky P (IN)
Volkmer H (MO)
Walgren D (PA)
Watkins W (OK)
Weiss T (NY)
Wheat A (MO)
Whitten J (MS)
Williams P (MT)
Wise B (WV)
Wolpe H (MI)
Wyden R (OR)
Yates S (IL)
Yatron G (PA)

*** NAYS (177) *****

DEMOCRATS (10)
Hall R (TX)
Hamilton L (IN)
Hayes J (LA)
Huckaby J (LA)

Hutto E (FL)
Leath M (TX)
Spratt J (SC)

Stenholm C (TX)
Tallon R (SC)
Tauzin W (LA)

REPUBLICANS (167)
Archer B (TX)
Armey D (TX)
Baker R (LA)
Ballenger C (NC)
Bartlett S (TX)
Barton J (TX)
Bateman H (VA)
Bentley H (MD)
Bereuter D (NE)
Bilirakis M (FL)
Bliley T (VA)
Boehlert S (NY)
Broomfield W (MI)
Brown H (CO)
Buechner J (MO)
Bunning J (KY)
Burton D (IN)

Hansen J (UT)
Hastert D (IL)
Hefley J (CO)
Henry P (MI)
Herger W (CA)
Hiler J (IN)
Holloway C (LA)
Hopkins L (KY)
Horton F (NY)
Houghton A (NY)
Hunter D (CA)
Hyde H (IL)
Inhofe J (OK)
Ireland A (FL)
James C (FL)
Johnson N (CT)
Kasich J (OH)

Quillen J (TN)
Ravenel A (SC)
Regula R (OH)
Rhodes J (AZ)
Ridge T (PA)
Rinaldo M (NJ)
Ritter D (PA)
Roberts P (KS)
Rogers H (KY)
Rohrabacher D (CA)
Roth T (WI)
Roukema M (NJ)
Rowland J (CT)
Saiki P (HI)
Schaefer D (CO)
Schiff S (NM)
Schneider C (RI)

Callahan S (AL)
 Campbell T (CA)
 Chandler R (WA)
 Clinger W (PA)
 Coble H (NC)
 Coleman E (MO)
 Combest L (TX)
 Conte S (MA)
 Coughlin L (PA)
 Cox C (CA)
 Craig L (ID)
 Davis R (MI)
 DeLay T (TX)
 DeWine M (OH)
 Dickinson B (AL)
 Dornan R (CA)
 Douglas C (NH)
 Dreier D (CA)
 Duncan J (TN)
 Edwards M (OK)
 Emerson B (MO)
 Fawell H (IL)
 Fields J (TX)
 Fish H (NY)
 Frenzel B (MN)
 Gallegly E (CA)
 Gallo D (NJ)
 Gekas G (PA)
 Gillmor P (OH)
 Gilman B (NY)
 Gingrich N (GA)
 Goodling B (PA)
 Goss P (FL)
 Grandy F (IA)
 Grant B (FL)
 Green B (NY)
 Gunderson S (WI)
 Hammerschmidt J (AR)
 Hancock M (MO)

Kolbe J (AZ)
 Kyl J (AZ)
 Lagomarsino R (CA)
 Leach J (IA)
 Lent N (NY)
 Lewis J (CA)
 Lewis T (FL)
 Lightfoot J (IA)
 Livingston B (LA)
 Lowery B (CA)
 Lukens D (OH)
 Machtley R (RI)
 Madigan E (IL)
 Marlenee R (MT)
 Martin D (NY)
 Martin L (IL)
 McCandless A (CA)
 McCollum B (FL)
 McCrery J (LA)
 McDade J (PA)
 McEwen B (OH)
 McGrath R (NY)
 McMillan A (NC)
 Meyers J (KS)
 Michel R (IL)
 Miller C (OH)
 Miller J (WA)
 Molinari G (NY)
 Moorhead C (CA)
 Morrison S (WA)
 Myers J (IN)
 Nielson H (UT)
 Oxley M (OH)
 Packard R (CA)
 Pashayan C (CA)
 Paxton B (NY)
 Petri T (WI)
 Porter J (IL)
 Pursell C (MI)

Schuette B (MI)
 Schulze R (PA)
 Sensenbrenner F (WI)
 Shaw E (FL)
 Shays C (CT)
 Shumway N (CA)
 Shuster B (PA)
 Skeen J (NM)
 Slaughter D (VA)
 Smith B (OR)
 Smith C (NJ)
 Smith D (OR)
 Smith L (MS)
 Smith L (TX)
 Smith P (VT)
 Smith R (NH)
 Smith V (NE)
 Snowe O (ME)
 Solomon G (NY)
 Spence F (SC)
 Stangeland A (MN)
 Stearns C (FL)
 Stump B (AZ)
 Sundquist D (TN)
 Tauke T (IA)
 Thomas B (CA)
 Upton F (MI)
 Vander Jagt G (MI)
 Vucanovich B (NV)
 Walker R (PA)
 Walsh J (NY)
 Weber V (MN)
 Weldon C (PA)
 Whittaker B (KS)
 Wolf F (VA)
 Wylie C (OH)
 Young C (FL)
 Young D (AK)

*** NOT VOTING (17) *****

DEMOCRATS (11)
 Coleman R (TX) ?
 Luken T (OH) #
 Neal R (MA) ?
 Ortiz S (TX) ?

Pepper C (FL) #
 Savage G (IL) ?
 Smith N (IA) ?
 Traxler B (MI) ?

Waxman H (CA) ?
 Wilson C (TX) ?
 Wright J (TX) S

REPUBLICANS (6)
 Courter J (NJ) X
 Crane P (IL) X

Dannemeyer W (CA) -
 Gradison B (OH) ?

Parris S (VA) ?
 Saxton H (NJ) ?

KEY -- Special Categories of Not Voting

Paired For X Paired Against
 + Announced For - Announced Against
 P Voted Present C Voted Present to avoid
 possible conflict of interest.
 S Speaker exercised discretion not to vote
 ? Did not vote or make position known

Pat-

FYI

Legislative action

in 1989.

LGL

Minimum-Wage Impasse Finally Ended

A nearly decade-long stalemate between Republican administrations and Congress ended Nov. 8, when the Senate cleared for the president's signature legislation (HR 2710 — PL 101-157) to raise the hourly minimum wage. The final vote was 89-8. (*Vote 292, p. 54-S*)

President Bush signed the bill Nov. 17.

Organized labor, the Bush administration and House and Senate leaders had already agreed to a compromise by Nov. 1, when the House, on a resounding 382-37 vote, passed the bill to raise the minimum wage from \$3.35 an hour to \$4.25 an hour over two years, and to set up a lower "training wage" for teenage employees. (*Vote 324, p. 108-H*)

On June 13, Bush had vetoed an earlier Democratic-sponsored bill (HR 2) to raise the minimum wage to \$4.55 over three years. But the House on June 14 failed on a 247-178 vote to override the veto, falling 37 votes shy of the two-thirds majority needed to thwart Bush. (*Vote 86, p. 32-H; minimum-wage veto message, p. 29-C*)

That vote convinced senior strategists in Congress and organized labor that pressing the point for mere political advantage would be futile. Democratic leaders began looking for a compromise with Bush, who, unlike his predecessor Ronald Reagan, had offered a specific proposal to increase the minimum wage for the first time since 1981.

BACKGROUND

The nationwide uniform minimum wage was established by the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938, when it was set at 25 cents an hour. The last increase took place in 1981, when the wage was raised from \$3.10.

Reagan had refused throughout his two terms in office to consider an increase in the minimum wage.

Bush was therefore the first president in nearly a decade to propose an increase. But Bush had steadfastly insisted that he would accept a hike to no more than \$4.25 an hour over three years. And he also pegged that acceptance on Congress' inclusion of another provision to let employers pay a lower "training wage" to all newly hired workers during their first six months on the job.

During the 1988 presidential race and for much of the year thereafter, Democrats and organized labor leaders tried to tar Bush with the issue. But even before he had vetoed HR 2, their momentum seemed to falter. In early 1989 proponents jettisoned their earlier demand for automatic raises and reluctantly agreed to the principle of a training wage.

A coalition of labor, civil rights and women's groups spent tens of thousands of dollars on radio advertising urging Bush to sign HR 2 and coordinated a letter-writing protest by low-wage workers.

Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell, D-Maine, pointedly contrasted Bush's tough stand on the issue with his support for a cut in the capital-gains tax, which was widely viewed as a break for the wealthy. (*Capital gains, p. 113*)

But Bush scored his own political points by referring to economic studies indicating that a wage hike of the scale sought by Democrats would be counterproductive, putting upward pressure on prices and forcing firms to fire minimum-wage employees or cancel plans to hire new workers.

After Bush vetoed HR 2, Democrats finally signaled their willingness to compromise, and restless Capitol Hill

Republicans then began prodding Bush to seek a deal that would break the protracted partisan stalemate. According to Bill Goodling, R-Pa., ranking minority member of the House Education and Labor Committee, GOP lawmakers who backed the Bush veto were "uneasy" about the president's position and "don't want to go to the wall a second time."

Finally, White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, who met Oct. 24 to discuss the visit to the United States of Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, agreed to negotiate a solution to the minimum-wage standoff.

That talk broke the ground for rapid negotiations that resulted in House and Senate approval of HR 2710.

The only real dissent in the final hours of Senate debate came from conservative Republicans. Steve Symms, R-Idaho, who had delayed action on the measure by trying to attach a cut in the capital-gains tax rate to the wage measure, called it "another job-thwarting, unproductive, inhumane Band-Aid."

But Bush and Labor Secretary Elizabeth H. Dole beseeched senators to keep the bill free of amendments. The Senate easily killed two Republican proposals designed to ease the legislation's impact on small businesses and farmers.

Final Provisions

HR 2710, the compromise measure approved by Congress, raises the minimum wage to \$4.25 an hour by April 1, 1991. Under a provision that expires in 1993, teenagers 16 to 19 could be paid a training wage for their first three months of employment. That subminimum wage could be extended another three months if the teenager took a second job and was still being trained.

Democrats gave in on their earlier insistence that the training wage apply only to "first-hire workers" — those working their very first job. Both the vetoed Democratic proposal and the House committee-approved version of HR 2710 permitted employers to pay a subminimum wage only to workers with less than two months of total job experience. The administration said that proposal was unworkable.

But the compromise legislation also fell short of Bush's earlier plan to apply the training wage to all "new-hire" workers, regardless of how old they were or how long they had been employed in the past. Critics said such an approach could trap workers indefinitely in temporary, training-wage jobs.

The administration did succeed in taking out a provision in the bill that would have set up a minimum-wage review board by 1992 to recommend changes in the minimum-wage rate. Republicans saw this board as an attempt at "back-door indexing" of the minimum wage to future inflation increases.

The compromise retained an exemption from the minimum-wage increase for certain small businesses with gross sales under \$500,000 a year.

THE COMPROMISE SUCCEEDS

Key supporters of HR 2, which would have raised the minimum hourly wage from \$3.35 to \$4.55 within the next three years, were ready to put the hotly contested issue

behind them. Bush's whiplike veto of their bill June 13 — and House Democrats' inability to override that veto the next day — convinced senior strategists in Congress and organized labor that pressing the point for mere political advantage was futile.

"It's clear Bush will veto anything over \$4.25," said Bob McGlotten, chief lobbyist for the AFL-CIO, which had made the wage boost a top priority the past two sessions of Congress. "At this particular point, we're not interested in playing politics. We want an increase."

Little more than a month before there was bold talk among Democrats and labor leaders of trying to embarrass Bush by sending him a new bill that merely shaved a nickel or a dime off the original \$1.20-an-hour increase in HR 2. House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., and Mitchell vowed only minutes after Bush vetoed HR 2 on June 13 to send the president another wage-hike bill right away.

But as party strategists acknowledged, attempts to brand Bush as insensitive to ordinary workers had fallen flat. "Nobody has hassled the president over this veto," said an aide to Rep. Austin J. Murphy, D-Pa., a prime mover of HR 2. "Nobody."

There was no longer any particular rush to act on a new bill because proponents of HR 2, still smarting from their defeat in the veto battle, were reluctant to hand Bush another quick victory.

Beyond that, the White House was little disposed to bargain. Indeed, Bush seemed to welcome the chance to veto HR 2 to prove his mettle in the legislative arena.

In an interview two weeks before the June 13 veto, chief White House lobbyist Frederick D. McClure said that by holding the line on minimum wage, Bush would prove his resolve to thwart other Democratic-sponsored labor initiatives, such as the bid to require firms to give unpaid leave to parents of newborn or sick children. (*Parental leave*, p. 348)

Yet new Democratic efforts to make a deal appeared to force Bush's hand. Particularly in the House, both Republican legislators uneasy with Bush's hard-line position and conservative Democrats who bucked their leadership on the issue were anxious to find a middle ground.

Some House Republicans embarked on their own search for compromise. A bill (HR 2637) introduced by Goodling would have combined a three-year raise in the minimum wage to \$4.25 an hour with a four-month training wage.

Business lobbyists feared a band of Goodling-led moderate Republicans would break ranks with the White House if given an opportunity to vote on a package of this sort. All but 20 House Republicans backed Bush on June 14 when the House fell 37 votes shy on a vote to override his veto.

Even formerly unbending White House officials began to speak as if the door to a compromise were opening at least a crack. In a June 30 interview, lobbyist McClure hinted that the White House might reconsider its training-wage request if Democrats accepted Bush's proposal on the hourly minimum. "If that happens, perhaps we'll have to look at it again," McClure said.

Many Democrats and labor leaders, while they had fought long and hard for 30 cents more than Bush's \$4.25 hourly maximum, were finally willing to settle for the president's figure, which would amount to a 90-cent increase in the minimum wage.

Two key items remained in dispute, however. The AFL-CIO wanted to attain the \$4.25 mark within two years, rather than three years as proposed by Bush.

In addition, the president's opponents were reluctant to soften the much more restrictive approach to the training wage taken in HR 2, which would have allowed firms to pay a subminimum wage only to workers with fewer than 60 days of total job experience.

Even so, a House Democratic leadership aide in July said both the phase-in period and the training wage were negotiable.

Murphy, chairman of House Education and Labor's Labor Standards Subcommittee, introduced HR 2710, to raise the hourly minimum to \$4.25 over two years. The bill included the same 60-day training-wage provision as HR 2.

Yet an aide to Murphy said his boss could live with a three-year phase-in period. If so, that would isolate the training wage as the only bone of contention between House Democratic leaders and the White House.

In the Senate, Labor and Human Resources Chairman Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., introduced a bill identical to HR 2. But an aide said Kennedy's door remained "open to compromise."

However, obstacles to a compromise remained in House Education and Labor. Strongly wedded to a traditional liberal Democratic ideology, a majority of the committee had in the past repudiated Murphy's efforts to reach accommodations on contentious labor-management issues.

Meanwhile, several of the 28 conservative Democrats who sided with Bush against HR 2 called on party leaders to accept, at the least, Bush's call for a three-year phase-in of a \$4.25-an-hour minimum. A two-year time frame remains "totally unacceptable," said Rep. Charles W. Stenholm, D-Texas.

On the other hand, a package combining \$4.25 over three years with a three-month training wage would be "overridable," said Timothy J. Penny, D-Minn., one of three non-Southern House Democrats voting to sustain the president's veto of HR 2.

In any event, the Bush team hardly seemed anxious to bargain right away. Pleading a tight schedule, Labor Secretary Dole begged off an invitation to testify on the matter before a joint meeting of the House and Senate Labor committees.

Penny said many Democrats and labor leaders had simply fallen out of step with the American public on the minimum-wage issue. "We're pretending it's just as critical as it was in the 1930s," when a nationwide minimum wage was set for the first time in 1938 at 25 cents an hour.

HR 2710 — HOUSE ACTION

The House Education and Labor Subcommittee on Labor Standards on Sept. 14 approved a new proposal to raise the hourly minimum wage. But even though the package scaled back earlier legislation opposed by the White House, Bush administration officials called the plan "unacceptable" and said it would invite a second veto.

As a result, the House Democratic leadership suggested that it would seek changes to make the new legislation more palatable to Bush and his congressional allies on this issue.

The subcommittee's action only "starts the process," said an aide to Foley, adding that no specific revisions had been embraced by the leadership.

By a party-line vote of 7-4, the Labor Standards Subcommittee approved HR 2710 to raise the hourly minimum wage from \$3.35 to \$4.25 within two years. The measure also permitted employers to pay a subminimum "training wage" to workers with fewer than 60 days of prior job experience.

In a letter to labor whip Pat Williams, D-Mont., Labor Secretary Dole said the tack taken in HR 2710 "continues to be unacceptable to the president, and would call for a veto."

Meanwhile, restless Capitol Hill Republicans began prodding Bush to seek a compromise with Democrats that might finally break the protracted partisan stalemate. And, according to a key Republican legislator, top White House officials were receptive.

Bush's public position had not shifted since his veto of HR 2. But senior White House officials were privately signaling a willingness to scale back the president's training-wage proposal, according to Goodling.

"I think the White House is ready to compromise on the training wage," Goodling told several reporters on Sept. 19. Goodling said the White House would likely agree to a revised plan to permit firms to pay a subminimum wage to new hires for three months. Employers would then be allowed to pay the lower wage for another three months only if they could show they were providing "meaningful, worthwhile" training to the worker, Goodling said.

Asked why the White House would consider a compromise, Goodling said GOP lawmakers who backed the Bush veto are "uneasy" about this position.

Similarly, some Senate Republicans were also anxious to settle the dispute. Pete V. Domenici, N.M., one of 35 GOP senators to vote against passage of HR 2, said Sept. 20 that he had encouraged Sununu to come to the bargaining table.

He added that Minority Leader Bob Dole, Kan., had also talked to senior administration officials and that, while no agreements had been reached, the White House was willing to explore possible compromises.

Acting on a voice vote, the full Education and Labor Committee on Sept. 19 approved HR 2710 (H Rept 101-260). Although Republicans voiced strong opposition to the package, they did not insist on a roll-call vote.

Saying committee Democrats had made a significant concession on the wage rate, Education and Labor Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins, D-Calif., declared, "As far as most of us are concerned, we've gone as far as we can possibly go."

However, Labor Secretary Dole told the committee's leaders that HR 2710 would trigger a second Bush veto.

Democrats were divided on how to proceed. Although Hawkins wanted to bring his committee's proposal to a floor vote, others said this would be a mistake if, as many thought likely, the package failed to win a veto-proof margin of victory.

Floor Action

In the end, U.S. workers may have had Solidarity's Walesa to thank for the first increase in the minimum wage in nine years.

The Polish labor leader's imminent arrival in the United States in November provided a symbolic context for ending a yearlong power struggle between Bush and congressional Democrats.

A White House source said Sununu and Kirkland first agreed to negotiate a solution to the standoff holding up a minimum-wage increase during an Oct. 24 meeting to discuss Walesa's visit to the United States, scheduled for Nov. 13.

That talk broke the ground for rapid negotiations that resulted Nov. 1 in the House's approving HR 2710, by a resounding vote of 382-37. (Vote 324, p. 108-H)

Although one senior Democratic staffer speculated that the political embarrassment of vetoing a minimum-wage bill close to Walesa's visit may have helped prompt Bush to break the stalemate with labor, there were broader pressures on both sides to cut a deal.

Republicans and conservative Democrats in Congress — as well as senior members of the Bush administration — were growing increasingly concerned that it would be politically difficult and unpopular to again turn back minimum-wage legislation after it had been scaled back considerably from the bill Bush vetoed on June 13. That earlier Democratic initiative would have raised the hourly minimum to \$4.55 over three years.

Unlike that measure, however, HR 2710 toed the line drawn by Bush at the start of the year: no wage increase above \$4.25 an hour. Regardless of other ways in which the committee bill diverged from the administration's position, congressional Republicans told Bush, it would be difficult to sustain a veto of legislation that met this primary goal.

Once House Democrats had scheduled floor action on their revised version of HR 2710, White House officials said, the administration chose to work out remaining differences on the legislation rather than risk another public confrontation.

Republicans expressed relief at the outcome. "I think many of us feel this is not an issue where we ought to be standing and holding up anybody's getting a 30- to 40-cents-an-hour pay increase, at the same time we're talking about capital gains," Senate Minority Leader Dole said at a news conference Oct. 31. "I never thought the Republican Party should stand for squeezing every last nickel from the minimum wage."

The assessment from organized labor, which began signaling a desire for compromise shortly after the veto, was mixed. "We weren't necessarily opening any champagne corks around here," said Jay Power, a lobbyist for the AFL-CIO. "But our goal in the post-veto world was to try to get a minimum-wage increase enacted into law as quickly as possible."

What followed the meeting between Sununu and Kirkland was a series of talks among representatives of the White House, the Labor Department and the AFL-CIO on the other obstacles to agreement. Sources in the administration and Congress said the talks focused on the administration's insistence on a subminimum training wage for newly hired workers, which labor had long opposed.

That deadlock was broken when the AFL-CIO suggested, and the administration and congressional leaders accepted, the temporary training wage limited to teenage employees.

Mitchell and Foley, who were consulted during the negotiations along with Sens. Kennedy and Domenici, called the final minimum-wage agreement a victory for American workers.

But members who had been most closely involved in working out congressional compromises on the minimum wage in the months since Bush's veto painted a less rosy picture. "This is no time for any great celebration," said Hawkins. He said the best part of the proposal was a provision to allow the lower training wage to expire in 1993, when a new president might be in the White House. "In the meantime, at least we help a few people," Hawkins said.

Other key House members also expressed mixed feelings. Murphy and Goodling complained that they had been left completely "out of the loop" of the latest negotiations.

That omission was particularly harsh for Goodling, who

had pushed hard for the White House to come to the bargaining table. "To go as far as they now have gone surprises me," Goodling said of the agreement. "But I told [Bush] all along that we didn't have the veto strength if they were going to stay right where they were four months ago."

Goodling's position on the new compromise remained unclear up to the time of the House vote. The day before, Goodling said he was still undecided on how he would vote, even though he agreed, as GOP leader of the Education and Labor Committee, to manage the bill on the floor.

Members of the Rules Committee were so uncertain of what Goodling would do that they made sure that Minority Leader Robert H. Michel of Illinois would have control of the one procedural move — a motion to send the bill back to the committee — that could have blocked final action on the agreement.

Goodling ended up supporting the legislation even though he thought the administration gave up too much. But he made it no secret that he resented being excluded from the talks. "I don't care who the administration is, who the leadership is in the House and Senate; once you go beyond your authorizing committee, you're going to get burned," he said.

On the other side, many Democrats who voted for the bill still saw it as a raw deal for labor.

Gerald D. Kleczka, D-Wis., said he would join his Democratic colleagues and "hold my nose and vote" for the bill. "I will vote for this legislation because it is better than nothing," he said.

Murphy said he would have preferred to stick with his own, stronger legislation, which would have raised the wage to \$4.25 over a shorter period and limited the training wage to two months for first-time employees. "I really believe the White House would have signed my bill," he said.

One issue was left unresolved when the bill was sent to the Senate. Goodling said he would urge Kennedy to remove a provision to exempt some agricultural workers from the lower training wage, a move also backed by Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., during Senate debate Nov. 2.

Farm worker advocates pushed for the exemption out of concern that it would provide farmers with one more opportunity to pay seasonal and migrant workers less than \$3.35 an hour. Only about half of these workers were covered by laws requiring payment of the minimum wage.

HR 2710 — SENATE ACTION

By voice vote, the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee on Aug. 2 approved a bill (S 1182 — S Rept 101-117) to increase the minimum wage to \$4.55. The bill was identical to HR 2.

Proponents planned to craft a more modest proposal acceptable to Bush, and they said they had no plans to act on this particular plan. Kennedy said in a statement that he intended to offer a compromise on the Senate floor as an amendment to S 1182.

Floor Action

Organized labor, the Bush administration and House and Senate leaders had already signed off on the compromise by Nov. 1, when the House passed HR 2710.

In the final hours of Senate debate, which took up the House bill, the only real dissent came from conservative Republicans. Symms delayed action on the measure by trying to attach a cut in the capital gains tax rate to the wage measure.

But Bush and Labor Secretary Dole beseeched senators to keep HR 2710 free of amendments.

The Senate easily killed two Republican proposals designed to ease the legislation's impact on small businesses and farmers.

The bill then passed Nov. 8 on an 89-8 vote, which cleared it for the president. (*Vote 292, p. 54-S*)

The Senate, 64-34, tabled (killed) companion amendments by Symms and Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, that would have barred Congress from passing any legislation that would increase the business costs of certain small businesses.

The Senate also tabled, 63-35, a proposal by Phil Gramm, R-Texas, to remove a provision to prevent farmers from paying teenage migrant and seasonal workers the lower training wage. (*Votes 290, 291, p. 54-S*)

THE FIRST MINIMUM-WAGE BILL

Labor Secretary Dole on March 3 had unveiled the administration proposal to boost the minimum wage to \$4.25 over a three-year period.

That was to be coupled with a lower training wage for newly hired workers, Dole told the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. Under the plan, employers could pay new hires \$3.35 an hour for the first six months while they were trained for the job.

The Senate panel's own measure (S 4), introduced Jan. 25 by committee Chairman Kennedy, would have increased the wage to \$4.65 over three years and did not provide for a training wage. A similar measure was killed in 1988 when Kennedy, adamantly opposed to a training wage, blocked efforts by Hatch to allow employers to pay new hires 80 percent of the minimum wage during their first three months at work. (*1988 Almanac p. 255*)

The training wage would help offset some of the job loss caused by raising the minimum, Dole told the Senate committee March 3. She estimated that 170,000 jobs could be saved. Without the training wage — and with Congress' proposal to raise the wage to \$4.65 — 650,000 jobs would be lost, because employers would either cut back on workers or wouldn't create new jobs, Dole testified.

Studies pegged job loss anywhere from 175,000 to 882,000.

Congressional Democrats complained that the Bush proposal did not mandate any training and that it did not take six months to learn how to flip a hamburger in a fast-food joint. Nor did the proposal protect employers from firing subminimum-wage workers once their six months were up.

"The market would take care of that," Dole said, adding that the cost of training a new worker would exceed the expense of raising the subminimum-wage worker's pay.

Kennedy stipulated that the lower wage should be restricted to a person's first job and should be 80 percent or 85 percent of the minimum.

Rep. Murphy had announced March 9 that House Democrats were working on their own training-wage proposal that would be "much more limited" than the administration's.

Two pressures were forcing proponents of a wage increase to accept the two-tier system, Murphy added: "An increase in the minimum wage — that's the first goal we all have — and getting something the president will sign."

The question remained: Would organized labor accept a subminimum training wage in exchange for a higher minimum wage? In 1988, the answer to that was a definite "no."

But in 1989, the answer seemed to be a qualified "maybe." "We're not conceding anything yet," said Michael L. Tiner, director of government affairs for the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union. But he added that if the price of raising the wage was accepting some sort of training wage, "it might now be worth it."

One thing was certain: Organized labor did not support the Bush administration's proposal to pay all new hires a lower wage during the first six months on the job. "We are vehemently opposed to that," said Ned McCulloch, a lobbyist with the Service Employees International Union.

In an effort to rally GOP support, Bush called the Senate panel's Republicans to the White House on March 7 for a chat about the labor agenda. "The president wanted all of us to know he was going to take a firm stand" on the minimum wage, Daniel R. Coats, R-Ind., said. Following the get-together, Coats decided not to offer an amendment to create a three-month subminimum training wage.

Dave Durenberger, R-Minn., who had promised voters he would never accept a subminimum wage, said Bush did not pressure Republicans to vote for his proposal. But the president did want enough GOP support so the vote would not "make it look like S 4 was a better proposal than Bush's," he said. Durenberger was the sole Republican to vote against Bush's proposal.

At the other end of the spectrum, Hatch, who had become the administration's point man on the issue, reiterated that he was unhappy with any type of minimum-wage increase.

HR 2 — HOUSE ACTION

The administration's minimum-wage proposal did not even come up for a vote during a March 9 House subcommittee markup of HR 2. Most of the session was spent fending off GOP amendments to the labor-backed Democratic proposal.

Aides on the Education and Labor Subcommittee on Labor Standards said they had not received a copy of the administration's bill.

What they did receive — just 15 minutes before the markup was scheduled to begin — was a letter from Labor Secretary Dole explaining the proposal and threatening to veto anything else. The panel easily approved HR 2 by a 7-4 vote.

At first, Steve Bartlett, R-Texas, tried to delay the markup. He argued that the panel had broken House rules by not holding hearings or receiving testimony from the administration.

But panel Chairman Murphy noted that Secretary Dole had refused repeated invitations to testify on the House side, despite several appearances before the Senate panel.

A quick ruling from the parliamentarian that committees were not required to hold hearings on legislation settled the dispute. By a 4-7 vote, the panel corked Bartlett's move.

Full Committee Acts

Democrats and Republicans engaged in a game of "chicken" at a full Education and Labor Committee markup March 14, and both sides refused to swerve.

On a straight party-line vote of 22-13, members approved HR 2 (H Rept 101-11). And they rejected the so-called training wage, or subminimum wage, demanded by Bush and committee Republicans.

HR 2 exempted small retail and service businesses that grossed less than \$500,000 annually and raised the tip credit to 50 percent over two years. At the time, employers could count workers' tips as 40 percent of their minimum-wage requirement. Like the Senate bill, the House version would hike the tip credit to 45 percent the first year and to 50 percent the second.

Committee Chairman Hawkins said he welcomed an appearance by Secretary Dole as a sign of administration willingness to cooperate with Congress. Hawkins said a constructive proposal by Dole would be "a true indication of the administration's commitment to a kinder, gentler nation."

Ranking Republican Goodling also applauded Bush's overtures, noting, "The previous administration was unwilling to compromise."

Insisting that any increase in the minimum wage would result in a loss of jobs, Dole presented the administration's proposal. "Legislation outside these parameters would call for a veto," Dole said.

When asked what the president's response would be to legislation raising the wage to, say, \$4.26 an hour, Dole reiterated Bush's hard-line stance, noting, "He has said, and he means it, this is as far as he will go."

The training wage, also supported by committee Republicans, was a major source of contention. Both the administration's proposal and an amendment by Bartlett to include in the bill a new-hire wage were rejected by party-line votes of 13-22.

Democrats hinted that they might offer their own training wage when the bill reached the House floor, a compromise that would be restricted to less than a six-month period and guarantee specific and "meaningful" training. But panel Democrats vociferously objected to Republican alternatives.

The subminimum-wage proposal "is nothing other than an attempt to allow some employers to escape paying some of their workers a livable wage," said George Miller, D-Calif.

Republicans argued that the training wage would afford young people a better chance to gain work experience. "It's the only really effective way to offset the job loss," Dole said.

During the markup, the panel by voice vote approved three amendments:

- By Hawkins, extending the minimum-wage requirements to employees of the House of Representatives. The amendment was approved despite some members' concerns that it might affect volunteer and internship programs on Capitol Hill.

- By Hawkins, revising the Minimum Wage Review Board established by HR 2. Originally, the bill gave the president power to appoint the chairman of the five-member board; Congress would choose the four other members. Hawkins' amendment maintained the president's power to appoint one member of the board but authorized the five members to choose their chairman.

- By Resident Commissioner Jaime B. Fuster, Pop. Dem.-Puerto Rico, to allow certain "vulnerable industries" in Puerto Rico to phase in more gradually — over a six- or seven-year period — the requirements of the legislation.

Floor Action

The House on March 23 approved HR 2. But it was a vote that satisfied few members. And it was a victory that proved to be short-lived.

In spite of the president's veto threat, Democrats — joined by a handful of Republicans — narrowly defeated the president's proposal, 198-218. The House later approved the wage measure by a more comfortable margin, 248-171. (*Votes 13 and 16, p. 8-H*)

But the vote revealed that proponents of the larger wage hike lack the two-thirds majority needed to override a presidential veto. And in a March 15 letter to Bush, 35 GOP senators pledged to support his position, killing any chances for a veto override in that chamber as well.

'Bipartisan' Compromise

The House-passed bill was a compromise measure hastily hammered out in the days before the bill went to the floor. While the Education and Labor Committee reported a version that would have boosted the minimum to \$4.65 and barred any training wage, sponsors quickly discovered that barely half of the members would vote for such a bill.

So Murphy, together with Tommy F. Robinson, D-Ark., and Tom Ridge, R-Pa., crafted what they called a bipartisan compromise aimed at winning the votes of those most reluctant to support a big wage increase: Southern Democrats whose districts were reeling from an economic slump and Republicans loath to break ranks with the president.

The Murphy-Ridge-Robinson alternative "is a step toward the administration proposal," Ridge insisted to his GOP colleagues. To the Democrats, he pleaded that any increase would be better than none. Minimum-wage workers "cannot buy a bushel of food or a pair of shoes with good intentions," he warned.

The compromise accepted by the House would not only lower the increase to \$4.55 but also create a two-month training wage, equal to 85 percent of the minimum, for first-time workers. The training-wage provision would expire Sept. 30, 1992. The measure also would expand the small-business exemption to include most businesses that gross less than \$500,000. Like the committee-approved bill, the compromise:

- Increased the tip credit from the current 40 percent to 50 percent.
- Phased in the minimum-wage hike for Puerto Rico over seven years.
- Created a review board charged with reporting annually to Congress on the need for a minimum-wage increase.
- Extended coverage to congressional employees.

While the cosponsors of the alternative tried to play both sides of the aisle, support for the compromise was given grudgingly at best.

Major R. Owens, D-N.Y., said he was voting "under protest" for "this disgraceful compromise." He asserted that the training wage would create a class of "peons or serfs or simply slave workers. We are going to have signs up saying, 'Only new hires need apply.'" Miller opposed the measure altogether, saying it was too much of a compromise.

Even Hawkins was less than enthusiastic. "It's not what I wanted, far from it. But I think it's the best we can get," he said.

Republicans' frustration with the bill took a different turn. "The rights of the minority are being denied by [Democratic] manipulation," Minority Leader Michel said during debate March 22. "The majority gets two bites of the apple."

The day before, the Rules Committee — which set the guidelines for floor debate and decided which amendments would be offered and when — had decided that the Bush proposal would be voted on first and then the Murphy alter-

native. The last one approved would win.

"We've been done in," Goodling said. "This gives them a chance to play this game all over the place," he said, predicting that some members would vote for both the administration's bill and Murphy's. In fact, five Republicans voted for both, as did 20 Democrats, mostly from the South.

The rule also shut out GOP efforts to offer an alternative to the wage increase: an expansion of the earned-income tax credit (EITC).

Pushed by Thomas E. Petri, R-Wis., the EITC — which would give low-wage working families a tax break either by allowing them to pay less taxes throughout the year or by giving them a refund at the end of the year — would be indexed for family size.

Supporters argued that an expanded EITC would target aid to those who needed it, while a minimum-wage increase would lead to job loss — 125,000 to 882,000, according to various studies — and would help people who were not poor, such as middle-class teenagers living at home.

But the Democrats argued that a labor bill was no place to change the tax code and that the Ways and Means Committee, which had jurisdiction over tax matters, had not approved an EITC.

"What are they [the majority] afraid of?" taunted Petri as he urged members to defeat the rule. "The minimum wage is a political dinosaur. I think even the dinosaur handlers believe the EITC is a better idea."

Petri's arguments were undercut by the fact that a Ways and Means subpanel had already begun hearings on various EITC bills. On a 238-177 party-line vote March 22, the House rejected efforts to block consideration of the rule and open it up for amendment. The rule itself was adopted by voice vote. (*Vote 10, p. 8-H*)

The next day, 16 Republicans broke ranks to vote against the president's bill. Even the support of 44 Democrats could not sway the outcome. The Murphy alternative garnered even more support, with 19 Republicans voting "yea" and only 28 Democrats opposing the measure. The vote was 240-179. (*Vote 14, p. 8-H*)

Before the final version of HR 2 was adopted, the House rejected a Miller amendment, 98-321, that would have beefed up penalties for employers who violate the Fair Labor Standards Act. (*Vote 15, p. 8-H*)

HR 2 — SENATE ACTION

The Bush administration scored an early victory over Democrats on the minimum-wage issue when the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee finally agreed to put the Bush subminimum-wage proposal on the table for negotiations.

But organized labor and their allies among Senate Democrats also scored one for Congress: During the first test of his proposal, Bush was unable to keep his GOP troops in line. Durenberger joined the Democrats on the Senate Labor Committee on March 8 to reject the administration proposal, 6-10. When the panel subsequently approved the Senate minimum-wage bill (S 4 — S Rept 101-6) Democrats picked up the support of both Durenberger and James M. Jeffords, R-Vt. The vote was 11-5.

In other action, the Senate panel:

- Adopted by voice vote an amendment by Paul Simon, D-Ill., to phase in the minimum-wage increase for Puerto Rico. Any industry in which the average wage was higher than \$4.65 would immediately be covered by the legislation. That would affect about 60 percent of the island territory's low-wage workers, Simon said.

• Adopted by voice vote an amendment by Tom Harkin, D-Iowa, gradually increasing the tip credit to 50 percent. Under existing law, employers could count workers' tips as 40 percent of their requirement to pay the minimum wage. A restaurant owner had to pay waiters only \$2.01 per hour; the other \$1.34 was made up in tips.

Harkin's amendment would boost that tip credit to 45 percent in 1990 and 50 percent in 1991.

• Adopted by voice vote a Jeffords amendment expanding the small-business exemption to all companies grossing less than \$500,000 a year. The existing small-business exemption was limited to retail and service industries grossing less than \$362,500 annually. Other small businesses, such as laundries and nursing homes, were not exempt from the wage requirement. S 4 would have simply raised the earnings threshold to \$500,000 for the same businesses already exempt under law.

Floor Action

Despite Bush's repeated veto threats, the Senate on April 12 voted 62-37 to pass HR 2 after substituting the text of S 4, boosting the minimum wage from \$3.35 an hour to \$4.55 over three years and allowing companies to pay employees with little work experience a lower training wage during the first two months on the job. (*Vote 39, p. 11-S*)

"I'm still hopeful, given the size of the vote, that the president will reconsider his position," Kennedy said after the vote.

But while the Democrats had the votes to pass a minimum-wage increase, neither chamber had the two-thirds majority needed to override a presidential veto. "If it came to a head-to-head fight, we would lose a veto override," Simon conceded April 12.

Most Democrats argued that a presidential veto would make it look as if Bush was turning his back on the nation's poor.

"This legislation will be a test of whether indeed we are seeking a kinder, gentler nation," said Mitchell.

But Republicans contended that it was the Democrats who were being hard-nosed.

Warning that a bigger increase coupled with a shorter training period could result in up to 800,000 jobs lost, Minority Leader Dole bluntly said the Bush increase was better than none. "If you don't have a job, it's zero dollars per hour. . . . The bottom line is, what will [Bush] sign?"

The Democrats said they had already compromised once.

The original bill would have raised the hourly wage to \$4.65 and would not have included a training wage.

But a week before the bill came to the floor, Southern Democrats Bob Graham, Fla., and David Pryor, Ark., announced a package scaling back the increase to \$4.55 and including a two-month training wage, equal to 85 percent of the minimum, for people who have never worked more than 60 days.

On April 11, the Senate voted 61-39 to adopt the compromise. Only two Southern Democrats — Ernest F. Hollings, S.C., and J. Bennett Johnston, La. — broke ranks. Democrats gained the support of eight moderate Republicans: William S. Cohen, Maine; Durenberger; Mark O. Hatfield, Ore.; John Heinz, Pa.; Jeffords; Bob Packwood, Ore.; Larry Pressler, S.D.; and Arlen Specter, Pa. (*Vote 29, p. 10-S*)

The Senate then rejected Bush's proposal by a slimmer margin, 41-58. Three senators who had voted for the Democratic measure turned around and voted for Bush's bill, too: David L. Boren, D-Okla., Jeffords and Pressler. (*Vote 30, p. 10-S*)

Senators had a second shot at the opposing alternatives the next day when Dole urged his colleagues to recommit the bill to the Labor Committee and instruct the panel to approve the president's bill instead. "We have an opportunity . . . to implement an increased minimum wage very soon," he said in his final plea. "This is the last chance maybe this year."

But the Senate blocked that move, 43-56, and then promptly passed the \$4.55 minimum-wage bill. (*Vote 38, p. 11-S*)

The Senate also adopted a dozen other amendments, including, on an 86-11 vote, one to raise the cap on the Social Security earnings test limit. In 1989, someone who continued working from ages 65 to 70 lost \$1 in benefits for every \$2 he earned above \$8,880. The amendment lifted the earnings cap to \$9,960. (*Vote 31, p. 10-S*)

HR 2 — CONFERENCE AGREEMENT

In an April 18 photo opportunity aimed at keeping the minimum-wage issue in the public spotlight, House and Senate conferees urged Bush to relax his staunch opposition to their minimum-wage proposals.

"We're willing to talk; we're willing to negotiate; we're willing to compromise," Mitchell said.

At the same time, conferees appeared unwilling to budge. "Why should we offer anything less than \$4.55?" Rep. Hawkins asked.

Yet even as House-Senate conferees agreed May 2 on a minimum-wage bill, congressional advocates of the measure were contemplating more conciliatory new legislation that Bush might be less likely to veto.

Bush had pledged to veto any increase that boosted the wage above \$4.25 an hour and that was not coupled with a lower six-month training wage for all newly hired workers, regardless of their previous work experience.

But behind the congressional bravado, supporters of the wage increase quietly acknowledged that, in this round, Bush could deliver the knockout punch: the votes in Congress to back up his veto threat. Neither chamber had approved the minimum-wage increase by the two-thirds margin needed to enact a bill into law over the president's objections.

Thus, Democrats were already plotting their next move.

Rep. Murphy said in a May 2 interview that he was ready to draft a new minimum-wage bill that would increase the wage to \$4.25 over two years, rather than the three years advocated by Bush. If Bush were to oppose this more moderate approach, "I think he would look very stingy," Murphy said.

In the Senate, Kennedy toyed with the idea of tacking the proposed \$4.55 wage onto legislation important to the president. But for the time being, he was hoping to turn up the public heat on Bush by making the president look inflexible while congressional Democrats were ready to deal. In the conference, however, some Democrats showed signs that they regretted their flexibility in supporting the training wage, long anathema to labor Democrats and union leaders.

"I only voted for it because I was trying to compromise with Bush," Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, said angrily. "Absent that, what the devil are we doing it for?" If Bush refused to budge in the next few weeks, the senator added, he might ask to reopen the conference agreement and "dump" the training wage.

That brought an instant round of cheers from the other Democratic conferees. Rep. William D. Ford, D-Mich., called the training wage a "fraud. . . . The real question is, 'What did we buy?'"

But Murphy warned that dropping the provision could doom the conference agreement once it reached the floor. By his count, about 40 members — the 22 Republicans who supported the wage increase and as many conservative Democrats who reluctantly voted with the majority — could defect.

The House and Senate versions of the minimum-wage bill were so similar that it took very little time for conferees to iron out their disagreements.

Final House Action

Congressional efforts to boost the minimum wage from its current \$3.35 an hour to \$4.55 were all but doomed May 11 when the House confirmed that it lacked the votes to override the president's promised veto.

By a 247-172 vote, the House adopted the minimum-wage conference report (HR 2 — H Rept 101-47). Two-thirds of those present and voting — 290 votes, for the entire House — would have been needed to enact the increase into law over Bush's objections. Only 248 members supported HR 2 when the House originally passed it March 23. (*Vote 52, p. 20-H*)

In a grand finale, House Speaker Jim Wright, D-Texas, made a 10-minute speech in favor of raising the minimum wage. Wright held up one glass bowl partially filled with dimes and said that money equaled increased hourly take-home wages high-income people have received since 1981 due to tax cuts. In a second bowl, he plinked "three thin dimes," the difference between the minimum-wage increases proposed by Bush and by HR 2.

Asked if Wright — who was being dogged by allegations that he violated House ethics rules — helped boost support for the minimum-wage hike, HR 2 cosponsor Murphy at first declined to answer, then said, "Every member who takes the floor and supports passage obviously is a help." (*Wright controversy, p. 36*)

Final Senate Action

The political stalemate over the minimum wage stretched into another week as the Senate on May 17 gave final approval to HR 2.

"If the majority in Congress rejects my offer of a compromise . . . a veto is going to be inevitable," Bush told the American Retail Federation just before the Senate voted 63-37 to adopt the minimum-wage conference report. (*Vote 68, p. 16-S*)

The vote proved that Senate Democrats lacked the 67 votes needed to enact the wage increase into law over the president's objections. In the House, the margin of support for a wage hike was too slim to guarantee a veto override as well.

With a veto all but guaranteed, Senate Democrats wasted no time blasting Bush's stance.

"This threatened veto has nothing to do with the minimum wage," Mitchell told reporters after the vote. "The president has a perceived political need to look tough."

But during floor debate, Republicans once again charged that it was the Democrats who were standing in the way of a wage increase.

"A minimum-wage increase was in our grasp," Minority Leader Dole said. "Are my colleagues on the other side going to throw away 90 cents an hour, throw it away, to win a political point?"

Nonetheless, on the final vote, 10 Republicans broke party ranks and supported the conference report. They were: John H. Chafee, R.I.; Cohen; Alfonse M. D'Amato, N.Y.; Durenber-

ger; Hatfield; Heinz; Jeffords; Packwood; Pressler; and Specter. Only two Democrats — David L. Boren, Okla., and Ernest F. Hollings, S.C. — voted against the increase.

Veto Override

The booming voice of Rep. Charles A. Hayes, D-Ill., greeted lawmakers as they streamed into the House chamber late in the afternoon of June 14. The vote was on Bush's veto the day before of HR 2 — and Hayes, representing a mostly poor, heavily black district on the South Side of Chicago, was trying to whip members into line.

"Let your conscience be your guide," he bellowed over and over. "Vote yes — to override."

It was not enough. Proponents fell 37 votes shy of the two-thirds majority needed to thwart Bush. The tally was 247-178; 150 of 170 Republicans and 28 Democrats, 25 of them Southerners, backed the president. (*Vote 86, p. 32-H*)

Bush thus triumphed in his first veto as president.

In vetoing HR 2, Bush also managed to beat lawmakers to the punch. Foley and Mitchell scheduled a 3 p.m. news conference to make a last plea for Bush to sign the bill. But the president had taken a prepared copy of his veto message with him on a two-day trip out West. At 1:39 p.m., according to The Associated Press, an airborne Bush was notified that HR 2 had reached the White House. His veto bounced back to Capitol Hill nearly half an hour before the Democrats' news conference.

Although Congress had cleared HR 2 on May 17, Democratic leaders had waited until June 13 to send the bill to the White House. Among other things, top Democrats wanted to avoid a confrontation with Bush until the new House leadership team took charge. (*House leadership, p. 40*)

Despite the setback for Democrats, many of them sensed a chance to drive home a message that Bush was insensitive to ordinary working people's needs.

Some disagreed, saying Bush had protected his political flank by declaring his willingness to back a more modest increase. Others argued that the issue lacked political punch at a time of general economic prosperity. Whatever the case, this sharply contested fight was not over: Both Democratic and Republican lawmakers were scrambling to plot their next moves.

EITC Expansion Proposed

Meanwhile, a band of House Republicans hoped to break the logjam with a fresh proposal of its own. Led by Goodling, these Republicans on June 14 introduced a bill (HR 2637) to combine a raise in the minimum wage to \$4.25 per hour over three years and a compromise training wage with an expansion of the earned-income tax credit.

Under Goodling's proposal, heads of households with preschool or school-age children and incomes of up to \$45,000 would be eligible for expanded credits on a sliding scale. They estimated the cost of the plan at \$3 billion.

Rep. Murphy expressed interest in some sort of minimum-wage/EITC package as a politically winning compromise. And in his veto message, Bush indicated a willingness to "examine" changes in the EITC if his minimum-wage proposal proved unpalatable to Congress. Senate Minority Leader Dole proposed an expansion of the EITC as part of a separate package to help working families with their child-care needs. (*Child care, p. 203*)

In a June 14 statement, AFL-CIO leaders said EITC proposals should be handled separately from legislation to raise the minimum wage, which organized-labor leaders strongly supported. ■

file: Minimum Wage

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 1/23

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 21, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TODD STERN*

SUBJECT: Sperling Memo on Minimum Wage

Attached is a memo from Gene Sperling, via Panetta and Rubin, on raising the minimum wage. There are four decision points: (i) whether to raise it; (ii) if so, by how much; (iii) whether to include indexing; (iv) whether to announce a raise in the State of the Union.

Gene discusses the arguments for and against a raise and concerning various amounts. But the bottom line is that the NEC, joined by Leon, George and Pat Griffin, thinks we should call for a raise and most of your advisors think it should be 75 cents -- 50 cents the first year, 25 cents the second. Gene notes that Pat Griffin favors a single 50 cent increase, since it would have the best chance of passing.

There is a secondary issue concerning indexing. George favors indexing a 75 cent increase, and Gene notes that Bob Reich is "generally supportive of indexing" though not sure it is worth it if the increase is only 75 cents. However, the NEC/White House consensus is not to index. Bob Rubin notes that indexing would add considerably to the vehemence of business opposition.

The one issue on which there is no clear consensus is whether to announce an increase in the State of the Union. Gene lays out the pros and cons on the last page of the memo and notes that, while there was general agreement at the last NEC meeting to make a SOTU announcement, there is still considerable disagreement on the issue within the White House.

Approve raising minimum wage ☒	Disapprove ☐	Discuss ☐
Approve 75 cents over two years ☐	Disapprove ☐	Discuss ☐
Approve <u>no</u> indexing ☐	Disapprove ☐	Discuss ☐
Approve announcing in State of Union ☐	Disapprove ☐	Discuss ☐

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 1/23

January 20, 1995

05 JAN 20 P 9 : 32

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: Leon Panetta, Robert Rubin

FROM: Gene Sperling

SUBJECT: Minimum Wage

On the minimum wage, there are three decisions that must be made: 1) whether to support a minimum wage increase; 2) if so, how much to increase it; and, 3) when to announce any decision. After several meetings and significant consultation with the Hill, the NEC has come to a single recommendation on the first two issues, while timing still represents a fairly open issue that must be resolved.

I. BRIEF BACKGROUND: The Federal minimum wage is currently \$4.25 an hour. The minimum wage had been frozen at a nominal level of \$3.35 per hour from 1981 to 1990. In 1990, Congress voted to raise the minimum wage by 90 cents -- in two 45 cent stages -- from \$3.35 to \$3.80 in 1990, and from \$3.80 to \$4.25 in 1991. The real value of the minimum wage is now above its value from 1988 to 1990, but is below its value for every other year going back to 1955.

The minimum wage has two important purposes. First, the minimum wage raises the bargaining power for low-wage workers who are not represented by a union and have low skills. The minimum wage may also have a "ripple" effect, whereby wages of workers earning somewhat more than the minimum wage are increased to maintain internal wage standards. As a result, the minimum wage helps many poor and moderate-income families. The second purpose of the minimum wage is that it induces firms to train their workers and take a high-value added/low turnover strategy.

II. EMPLOYMENT AND DISTRIBUTIONAL EFFECTS: The potential effect of a minimum wage increase on employment has been the principal argument raised in opposition to such an increase. While the potential employment effects of a minimum wage increase surely need to be considered, the weight of the empirical evidence suggests that the effect of a moderate raise from its current level is likely to be negligible. Laura Tyson points out that while there is no respectable case for the large job loss figures used by some special interests, there is respectable economic literature that would show a small, marginal job loss. However, Laura and others found most compelling the variety of recent studies examining the effects of raises in the federal minimum wage both across the nation and in particular states, as well as the effects of raising state minimum wages above the federal level.

For example, studies of the federal minimum wage examined the effects of a 90 cent increase in two increments over a two-year period. One of the state studies examined the effects of New Jersey recently raising its state minimum wage by 80 cents, from \$4.25 an hour to \$5.05 an hour; another examined the effects of California increasing its minimum wage 90 cents from \$3.35 an hour in 1987 to \$4.25 an hour in 1988 (which would equal \$5.20 in 1993 dollars). All of these studies found that the minimum wage increases did not reduce employment opportunities. (These studies were conducted by David Card, Alan Krueger, Larry Katz.)

An important point to note about the minimum wage is that while there may be some who are teens or just providing a supplement to a family living comfortably, most are people who are either sole earners for their families or are providing vital support to help maintain a middle income existence. Indeed, 36% of minimum wage workers are the sole earner in their family, while the average minimum wage worker provides nearly 50% of the income in their household.

While increasing the minimum wage does help many people at the bottom of the economic ladder it is also, as mentioned above, important for families where a second income is keeping them barely in the middle class. For example, 43% of minimum wage earners are in the bottom 20% of income, 45% are in the middle 60% -- and only 12% are in the top 20%. Only about one-third of minimum wage earners are teens while two-thirds are adults. Some argue against the minimum wage because it is not as targeted as the EITC toward working poor families. Others find it to be a positive point that an increase in the minimum wage would have such a positive effect on both working poor and middle income households.

III. RECOMMENDATION

NEC Recommendation: The general recommendation from your economic advisors as well as Leon Panetta, George Stephanopoulos and Pat Griffin was to call for a 75 cent increase over two years -- 50 cents the first year and 25 cents the second year -- bringing the minimum wage to a total of \$5.00. The rationale for the two-stage increase to 75 cents is based on both our best estimate of what is sound economically, as well as representing a reasonable political starting point for a minimum wage proposal. From a political perspective, the most important single issue is the degree of support we can gather from Congressional Democrats for our proposal. Several people believe that the best chance for passage is a single 50 cent increase. Pat Griffin believes that we should just go with a single 50 cent increase. Some, such as Gene Sperling, believe that even if we want to end up at a 50 cent increase proposal, we should start with the 75 cent increase so that we have room to bargain and still pass a 50 cent increase. Leon believes a single 50 cent increase has the best chance for passage, but is open to the notion of starting higher to give us bargaining room.

The only other difference is that George Stephanopoulos would prefer to add indexing to the 75 cent increase. Secretary Reich is generally supportive of indexing, but not sure he supports it if it is done from only a 75 cent increase.

a) Economic Rationale: As mentioned above, the economic literature demonstrates that there is good evidence that a minimum wage increase under 90 cents does not have negative employment consequences. While a \$1 increase may still be in the ball park, our feeling is that we would be on stronger footing if our increase was within the levels where the recent economic studies by Katz and Krueger showed no negative employment impact. Furthermore, at \$5.00, the national minimum wage would still be below the highest state minimum wage levels -- New Jersey at \$5.05 and Hawaii at \$5.25.

There was also agreement among most of the economists on the NEC that 75 cents in one year might be too steep and that we were on sounder ground dividing it between 50 cents and 25 cents. Furthermore, a 50 cent increase immediately puts the minimum wage level back up to where it was when the last minimum wage increase passed in 1991. The additional 25 cents increase puts the number up to an even \$5.00. While some may have found a 75 cent minimum wage increase to be small by historical standards, the minimum wage increase you call for must also be considered in the context of the dramatic increase you proposed and signed for the EITC.

b) Political Rationale: As mentioned above, you must consider your recommendation both in terms of the statement it makes and the degree your proposal increases the chance of passage. A higher minimum wage increase is likely to be more satisfactory to those who most support the minimum wage increase -- organized labor and some progressive Democrats. The AFL-CIO calls for a \$1.50 increase -- with three 50 cent increases plus indexing. Sabo and seven Democratic co-sponsors called last year for an increase in the minimum wage to \$6.50, while denying employers a tax deduction for excessive compensation (more than 25 times the lowest compensation paid any other employee). Kennedy also supports a minimum wage increase close to the AFL-CIO recommendation. On the other hand, several Democrats in the Senate have expressed some reservations about proposing a minimum wage increase, and would feel better if we kept the increase to a lower level.

Advocates who argue for a higher number increase state, that since the chance of passage of the minimum wage with the present Congress is considered small by some, the proposal should at least accomplish the political goal of being satisfactory to labor. An argument for going for a lower number -- 50 cents -- is that it would be small enough to lessen intense opposition from some business groups, while responding to the concerns of some Democrats who feel that an increase in the minimum wage goes against the "new Democrat" message. Furthermore, Pat Griffin and others felt that a 50 cent proposal had the best chance of passage.

We felt that a two-stage 75 cent increase without indexing made the most sense from a political perspective as well as an economic perspective. First, while a 75 cent increase would be unlikely to satisfy organized labor and the most ardent supporters of the minimum wage, it would meet your campaign promise of making up the lost value due to inflation since the last minimum wage increase while adding 25 cents to spare, and it seems to be a level that could hold most Democrats in Congress together. Finally, to the degree that a one-time 50 cent increase represents the proposal with the best chance of passage, a 75 cent proposal gives us some negotiating room.

IV. INDEXING: The proposal that was considered for indexing would tie the minimum wage to the wages of the median worker or the 25th percentile worker. These standards are preferable to indexing to the CPI because they would avoid contributing to an inflationary cycle that could result if the CPI was used. The arguments for indexing are that it would protect the value of the minimum wage without making Congress continually have to seek new legislation. Politically, Republicans who oppose indexing would be put in the position of having to support indexing the capital gains tax cut for well-off Americans while opposing indexing for wages for workers at the lowest wage levels.

Nonetheless, the NEC and White House staff felt that a 75 cent increase was adequate without indexing. The arguments against it were the low chance of passage, the risk that it would be perceived as inflationary (even with our attempts to index to a measure other than the CPI), and the concern that the perceived benefit to workers would not be large enough to overcome the political downsides. Furthermore, even strong advocates of a stronger minimum wage increase might not support an indexing proposal because they would fear that indexing after only a 50 cent or 75 cent increase would lock them into too low of a level for the future. Bob Rubin also stressed that while business groups would oppose us on a minimum wage increase, if indexing were added it would add significant intensity to that opposition that would work against us on this as well as other business-related matters.

V. SUB-MINIMUM WAGE:

The NEC also discussed the issue of adding a sub-minimum wage for teenagers. There was a three-year trial subminimum wage in the 1989 minimum wage increase, (15% less for teens for up to 6 months), but the results were that it was hardly used for several reasons -- including recordkeeping requirements. Because the impact was so minimal, some might claim that we should go ahead and do this. Yet, the decision of the NEC was that in light of that de minimis impact, there was no economic rationale to justify the problems a subminimum wage proposal would create with those likely to support passage of a minimum wage increase.

VI. ARGUMENTS AGAINST NEC RECOMMENDATION: Despite the fact that the NEC was virtually unanimous in its recommendation, we wanted to give you "cons" -- the opposing arguments you are likely to hear for either not increasing the minimum wage or, on the other hand, calling for a larger increase.

- **Hurts New Democrat Message:** Some Congressional Democrats believe that this works against the "new Democrat" message -- as an increase in the minimum wage is perceived as a traditional Democratic/labor agenda item and is likely to be vigorously opposed by small business. Arguing against this concern is the fact that while there will be intense small business opposition, polls consistently show that 70% of Americans support an increase in minimum wage. Other Democrats concerned about the minimum wage have argued that if we do propose a minimum wage that we package it together with other policies designed to increase wages for working Americans.

● **Will Create Opposition without Creating Strong Support:** A 75 cent increase is likely to run the risk of stirring strong small business opposition without generating strong support from organized labor which is likely to feel it is far too low. Arguing against this is the degree that we can work with Democrats to work together to draw a line on the side of working Americans, against Congressman Armey and others who strongly oppose this popular issue.

● **Unfunded Mandates:** An increase in the minimum wage does affect some state and local governments who do pay the minimum wage for some jobs and therefore could claim that this is an unfunded mandate.

VII: TIMING: The main timing question is whether or not to announce your minimum wage decision in the State of the Union.

Pro:

- The State of the Union allows you to directly make your case over the heads of the special interests to the general public on an issue where the general public is with us.
- The State of the Union allows you to blend the minimum wage in with an overall strategy to raise incomes for working people.
- There has been considerable speculation about how we are going to decide this issue -- waiting past the State of the Union continues that process -- going earlier may distract from the build up to the State of the Union.

Con:

- A minimum wage increase in the State of the Union might be treated as a major news item that could distract from the basic messages in the State of the Union.
- There is still time to announce it prior to the State of the Union (though it would have to be almost immediately) or after it as a way of keeping our economic story going or building up to rewarding work for the welfare working session.
- There is some evidence of increasing anxiety about doing this among Congressional Democrats.
- There was general agreement in the last NEC meeting that this announcement should be in the State of the Union -- though there exists today significant disagreement on this issue within the White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1995

*file: Labor /
Minimum Wage*

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES

AB MIKVA
LAURA TYSON
CAROL RASCO
ALICE RIVLIN
JACK QUINN
DOUG SOSNIK
PAT GRIFFIN *EW*
ALEXIS HERMAN
KITTY HIGGINS
TODD STERN
JACK LEW
STEVE KELMAN
MIKE SCHMIDT
DOROTHY ROBYN
ELGIE HOLSTEIN
KAREN HANCOX
SUSAN BROPHY
KATE CARR
STEVE SILVERMAN

FROM: JENNIFER O'CONNOR *mo*
SUBJECT: Minimum Wage Executive Order

Attached is a draft Executive Order, prepared by the Department of Labor, which would require federal contractors to pay the President's proposed new minimum wage of \$5.15 per hour. The package includes a description of the pros and cons, as well as backup material.

Please have the appropriate person on your staff review the draft Executive Order and contact me with comments by 5:00pm today (Wednesday, August 30). Comments can be faxed to me at 456-7929, e-mailed to me, or called in to me at 456-6350. My apologies for the rapid turn-around, but there is discussion of moving this very quickly.

MEMORANDUM

DATE: AUGUST 29, 1995

SUBJECT: MINIMUM WAGE EXECUTIVE ORDERS

Summary

As requested, we have prepared a draft executive order that would prohibit government agencies from doing business with federal contractors that pay below \$5.15 per hour.

Attached to this memorandum are: (1) the draft executive order relating to federal contractors and the minimum wage; (2) the press packet released by the White House on February 3, 1995 accompanying your legislative proposal to increase the minimum wage; (3) an excerpt on the minimum wage from your May 19, 1995 speech for the 75th Anniversary celebration of the Labor Department's Women's Bureau; and (4) a legislative background brief describing how members of Congress voted when the minimum wage was last increased in 1989.

Message

* The nation's leading economic problems are stagnant wages and declining real incomes for working families.

* The federal government should not contribute to the wage and income problems facing working families.

* The President has presented Congress with a legislative proposal to increase the minimum wage 90 cents from its current \$4.25 per hour. This initiative would assure that people who work hard and play by the rules receive a living wage of \$5.15 per hour. Congress has refused to act.

* If Congress won't act, President Clinton will. The President will use his executive authority to guarantee a living wage --- \$5.15 per hour --- for everyone working in firms that do business with the federal government.

* At a minimum, the federal government should not do business with corporations that pay workers less than a living wage.

Discussion

I. Increasing the Minimum Wage for Employees of Federal Contractors

A. How the Executive Order Would Work

This draft executive order would establish that "[i]t is the policy of the executive branch in procuring goods and services that . . . federal agencies shall contract with companies that pay their employees no less than \$5.15 an hour." This policy would be enforced in two ways. First, every government contract entered into after the effective date of the executive order (the date you sign it) would include a clause in which the contractor agrees to pay a minimum wage of \$5.15 per hour. Second, any contractor that pays below \$5.15 could have all of its government contracts terminated. The executive order does not provide for any exceptions.

The Secretary of Labor would enforce and administer the order. If the Secretary finds that a contractor is not paying a minimum wage of \$5.15, he would transmit a finding to the heads of contracting agencies or departments who, in turn, must terminate all contracts with the contractor unless the contractor pays all of its employees at least \$5.15 per hour within a time specified by the Secretary.

Like the "striker replacement" executive order, this draft order is premised on the authority delegated to the President by Congress in the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 "to provide for the Government an economical and efficient system for . . . procurement and supply." Some economic theories suggest that increasing the wages of low-wage workers will result in an increase in those workers' productivity and, in turn, to increases in efficiency that will offset the cost to federal contractors of the higher wages. Thus, the federal government would, according to these theories, procure its goods and services from more efficient, more economical federal contractors.

B. Possible Variations in this Executive Order

(1) Use CEO Pay as a Trigger: The executive order could be made to apply only to federal contractors that pay their chief executive officer (or other top executive) more than 100 times the lowest wage paid to their employees. This approach would dramatize the growing wage disparity in our economy. On the other hand, it undermines the central moral argument which supports raising the minimum wage: every worker is entitled to a living wage, regardless of who employs them or how much others in their organization earn. Further, using a CEO pay trigger may weaken the nexus to economical and efficient procurement, the legal prerequisite for presidential action of this type.

(2) Use Profits as a Trigger: The executive order could also be made to apply only to federal contractors that earn above average profits. This approach would juxtapose the huge economic returns being yielded by capital (e.g., the soaring stock market) with the decline in

middle and working class family incomes. On the other hand, it suffers from both of the infirmities outlined above (i.e., undermining the moral argument and attenuating the procurement nexus), plus it would require an administrative apparatus to decipher each contractors' profits.

C. Arguments For and Against the Executive Order

(1) Pro: This draft executive order will demonstrate your commitment to increasing working families' wages (particularly for the lowest wage workers) and distinguish you from a congressional majority that refuses to even consider your legislative proposal to increase the minimum wage. The minimum wage has fallen 27% in real terms since 1979 and, without adjustment, will fall to its lowest real value in forty years in 1996. It is arguable that the growing disparity in family incomes and wealth is the most pressing issue for middle and working class families. This executive order would make your moral position clear --- you will not allow the federal government to do business with any company that contributes to declining real wages for low-wage workers.

(2) Con: This executive order is premised entirely on economic theory, much of which will be difficult to explain in simple terms to the public, that is outside the mainstream of scholarly economic thought; accordingly, it is unclear whether reliable third parties will validate the arguments set forth in the preamble. Further, it is unclear whether theory alone is adequate to support an executive order. Even accepting the theories as true, it is also unclear whether the nexus between a minimum wage increase and efficient and economical procurement is sufficiently close to pass judicial scrutiny.

Preliminary research has not disclosed any executive order, outside the context of President Roosevelt's extraordinary powers during World War II, that directly sets wages for employees of federal contractors; that is, this executive order could be unprecedented. The closest analogy may be President Carter's Executive Order No. 12092 which required federal contractors to certify that they were in compliance with voluntary wage and price guidelines established by the President's Council on Wage and Price Stability. Finally, this executive order could lend support to attacks that President Clinton and the Democrats want big government. A slippery slope argument is easily made: "If Bill Clinton can require federal contractors to pay a higher minimum wage, is he going to require a pay increase for all workers? Will he require all federal contractors to follow his health plan? To finance abortions through their health plans?"

(3) Likely Constituency Responses: The labor movement and other advocates for low-wage workers will likely support the executive order. Federal contractor groups and representatives of the business community (e.g., the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers), as well as the Republican congressional majority, will oppose the executive order. Since a substantially larger group of federal contractors will be affected, it is reasonable to expect a much more vigorous negative response from the business community than the striker replacement executive order evoked. Litigation and congressional

action (e.g., efforts to overturn the executive order, appropriations riders blocking enforcement of the order) will likely result.

D. The EO's Costs Are Difficult to Estimate

A very rough estimate of the costs of the executive order suggests that it will cost federal contractors not more than \$2.1 billion per year. Please note, however, that the data needed to make a precise estimate of the cost of the minimum wage executive order are not available. Estimates of worker wages and the number of workers involved do, however, permit this crude projection.

The assumptions employed to reach the above estimate likely bias the estimate upward. First, many federal contractors (e.g., construction, service) are required to pay a prevailing wage above the minimum wage by the Davis-Bacon Act and the Service Contract Act. Second, federal contractors' firms tend to be larger and, as a result, may have a smaller percentage of minimum wage workers than firms in the economy as a whole. Accordingly, the total number of workers affected by the executive order is probably smaller than that assumed in the calculations to reach the above estimate. Certain structural changes to the executive order (e.g., adding a threshold, narrowing the definition of "federal contractor") would further reduce the number of workers covered and the commensurate costs.

On the other hand, this estimate does not take into account any "ripple" effect that minimum wage increase might have on the wages of workers that currently earn \$5.15 or slightly more. The ripple effect would tend to increase the costs of the executive order to federal contractors.

II. Two Approaches to Announcing the Executive Order

Should you decide to proceed, you should consider two approaches to announcing the executive order.

You could announce the executive orders in a speech --- such as your forthcoming address to the Alameda Central Labor Council's Labor Day Picnic --- or radio address and then sign the order soon before, the same day, or soon thereafter. This approach gives the White House control over timing and press arrangements. It also provides an opportunity to brief potential supporters without tipping off opponents. On the other hand, it could inspire congressional retaliation in the appropriations/reconciliation/debt ceiling process.

Or, you could announce in a speech or radio address that you are giving Congress a 90-day (or until Christmas or New Year's Eve) deadline before which it must enact your proposed 90-cent increase in the statutory minimum wage. If it does not act by the time the deadline is reached, you would issue the executive order. This approach puts the onus

squarely on Congress' shoulders. It also allows you to wield all of your available authority to keep the minimum wage from falling to its lowest real value in 40 years (which it will in 1996 if there is no adjustment). On the other hand, this approach allows opponents time to organize and, possibly, to seek judicial intervention. It also offers words when bold action might send a stronger and clearer message.

Attachments

DRAFT 4
August 25, 1995

ENSURING THE ECONOMICAL AND EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATION AND
COMPLETION OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

PREAMBLE

Some economic theories suggest that requiring federal contractors to pay a higher minimum wage will lead to increases in efficiency that will offset the cost to federal contractors of the higher wage. The minimum wage has fallen 27% in real terms since 1979 and, without adjustment, will fall to its lowest real value in forty years at the end of 1996. Meanwhile, labor productivity has increased 17% since 1979.

These theories suggest that the productivity of low-wage workers is depressed when the minimum wage falls significantly in real terms. These conditions can lead to greater levels of "shirking" (i.e., reduced efforts by workers), higher turnover, lower morale, and longer periods in which needed jobs remain unfilled. Raising the minimum wage may lead to efficiency gains among federal contractors that employ low-wage workers by reducing shirking, lowering turnover, increasing morale, and reducing the periods of time during which needed jobs remain unfilled. In sum, productivity is lower when workers are paid an obsolete minimum wage and, as a result, the federal government receives lower quality, less reliable, and less timely goods for each taxpayer dollar. By paying a higher wage to low-wage workers, federal contractors will increase worker productivity. The federal government will procure its goods and services from more efficient, more economical federal contractors.

The market may not address this problem on its own. The problems of turnover, shirking, low morale, and extended job-slot vacancies likely result from a minimum wage which is too low to attract new workers and retain incumbent workers. However, employers cannot lure a new worker into a particular job with a higher wage without giving everyone else in that job a pay increase. Thus, in the absence of a requirement that they pay a higher wage, employers choose lower levels of employment and output rather than increasing the wages paid to all of their low-wage workers.

NOW, THEREFORE, to ensure the economical and efficient administration and completion of Federal Government contracts, and by the authority invested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including 40 U.S.C. 471 and 486(a) and 3 U.S.C. 301, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1: It is the policy of the executive branch in procuring

goods and services that, to ensure the economical and efficient administration and completion of Federal Government contracts, Federal agencies shall contract only with companies that pay their employees no less than \$5.15 per hour of work. All Government contracting agencies shall include in every Government contract hereafter entered into the following provision:

"During the course of the contract the contractor agrees that all employees of the contractor will be paid no less than \$5.15 an hour."

Sec. 2.(a) The Secretary of Labor ("Secretary") may investigate any Federal contractor to determine whether the contractor is paying any of its employees less than \$5.15 per hour of work.

(b) The Secretary shall receive and may investigate complaints that the contractor is paying any employee less than \$5.15 per hour of work.

(c) The Secretary may hold such hearings, public or private, as he or she deems advisable, to determine whether any contractor is paying any employee less than \$5.15 per hour of work.

Sec. 3. (a) When the Secretary determines that a contractor has paid any employee less than \$5.15 per hour of work, the Secretary may make a finding that it is appropriate to terminate the contract for convenience. The Secretary shall transmit the finding to the head of any department or agency that contracts with the contractor. All Government contracts with the contractor shall be immediately terminated unless the contractor commences within a time specified by the Secretary to pay all of its employees no less than \$5.15 per hour of work.

(b) Each contracting agency shall cooperate with the Secretary and provide such information and assistance as the Secretary may require in the performance of the Secretary's functions under this order.

Sec. 4.(a) The Secretary shall be responsible for the administration and enforcement of this order. The Secretary may adopt such rules and regulations and issue such orders as may be deemed necessary and appropriate to achieve the purposes of this order.

(b) The Secretary may delegate any function or duty of the Secretary under this order to any officer in the Department of Labor or to any other officer in the executive branch of the Government, with the consent of the head of the department or agency in which that officer serves.

Sec. 5. This order is not intended, and should not be construed, to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by a party against the United States, its

agencies, its officers, or its employees. The order is not intended, however, to preclude judicial review of final agency decisions in accordance with the Administrative Procedure Act, 5 U.S.C. 701 *et seq.*

Sec. 6. This order is effective immediately.

THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESIDENT CLINTON ANNOUNCES INCREASE IN MINIMUM WAGE

Friday, February 3, 1995

To reward work in an economy that in 1994 saw the best job growth in a decade, President Clinton will today announce his proposal to raise the minimum wage to \$5.15 an hour over two years -- through two 45 cent increases.

This news comes in the midst of more good news today for the economy under the Clinton administration. This morning, the Department of Labor reported that more than 6 million jobs have been created since President Clinton took office. In addition, the unemployment rate has dropped 20 percent to date under President Clinton.

A fact sheet and charts on the President's minimum wage proposal are attached.

House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO) will open the announcement in the Rose Garden today, followed by Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-SD). The Vice President will then speak and introduce the President for his remarks.

-30-30-30-

REWARDING WORK: THE CASE FOR INCREASING THE MINIMUM WAGE

The President's proposal would increase the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15 over two years, through two 45 cent increases. The last increase, passed by an overwhelming, bipartisan vote in 1989, and implemented in 1990 and 1991, was also a 90 cent increase in two 45 cent stages. For a full-time, year-round worker at the minimum wage, a 90 cent increase would raise yearly income by \$1,800 -- as much as the average family spends on groceries in over 7 months.

MAINTAINING THE HISTORIC VALUE OF WORK: If the minimum wage were to stay at its current level of \$4.25, it would fall to its lowest real level in 40 years. Indeed, the real value of the minimum wage is now 27% lower than it was in 1979, and has fallen 54 cents in real value since its last increase in April 1991. The first half of the President's 90 cent proposal simply restores the minimum wage to its value at the time of the last increase.

RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGE PRIMARILY HELPS ADULT WORKERS -- MOST OF WHOM RELY ON THEIR MINIMUM WAGE JOB TO SUPPORT THEIR HOUSEHOLDS: Nearly two-thirds of minimum wage workers are adults (64%); over one-third of minimum wage workers (39%) are the sole breadwinners in their families; and the average minimum wage worker brings home half of his or her family's earnings. Thus, a rise in the minimum wage is a significant boost to the standard of living of millions of households.

REWARDS WORK OVER WELFARE: The minimum wage increase provides another crucial measure to reward work and ensure that there is a strong incentive to choose work over welfare.

NEARLY 11 MILLION WORKERS WOULD BENEFIT FROM THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL TO INCREASE THE MINIMUM WAGE: Nearly 11 million workers, paid by the hour, earn between \$4.25 and \$5.14. Research indicates that an increase in the minimum wage to \$5.15 could have a "ripple" effect on the couple million workers who earn within 50 cents of the new minimum wage.

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE SHOWS THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL CAN INCREASE WAGES WITHOUT COSTING JOBS: Over a dozen empirical studies have found that moderate increases in the minimum wage do not have significant effects on employment. These studies include state-specific research that shows that large state increases in the minimum wage did not result in significant job impacts. As Nobel Laureate Robert Solow stated: "[T]he evidence of job loss is weak. And the fact that the evidence is weak suggests that the impact on jobs is small."

A 90 CENT INCREASE IN THE MINIMUM WAGE WILL LIFT A FAMILY OF FOUR OUT OF POVERTY. The dramatic extension of the Earned Income Tax Credit helped lift hundreds of thousands of working families out of poverty. Yet, by 1996, even the EITC is not enough to lift above the poverty line a family of four making the minimum wage. With the 90-cent minimum wage increase, food stamps, and the EITC, a family of four with a full-time, year round minimum wage worker would be lifted above the poverty line.

THE LAST MINIMUM WAGE INCREASE -- ALSO 90 CENTS -- GARNERED STRONG BIPARTISAN SUPPORT. In 1989, the minimum wage was passed by votes of 382 to 37 (135 Republicans) in the House, and 89 to 8 in the Senate (36 Republicans) and was supported by Senator Dole and Representative Gingrich.

Appendix Table. Value of the Minimum Wage, 1955-1995

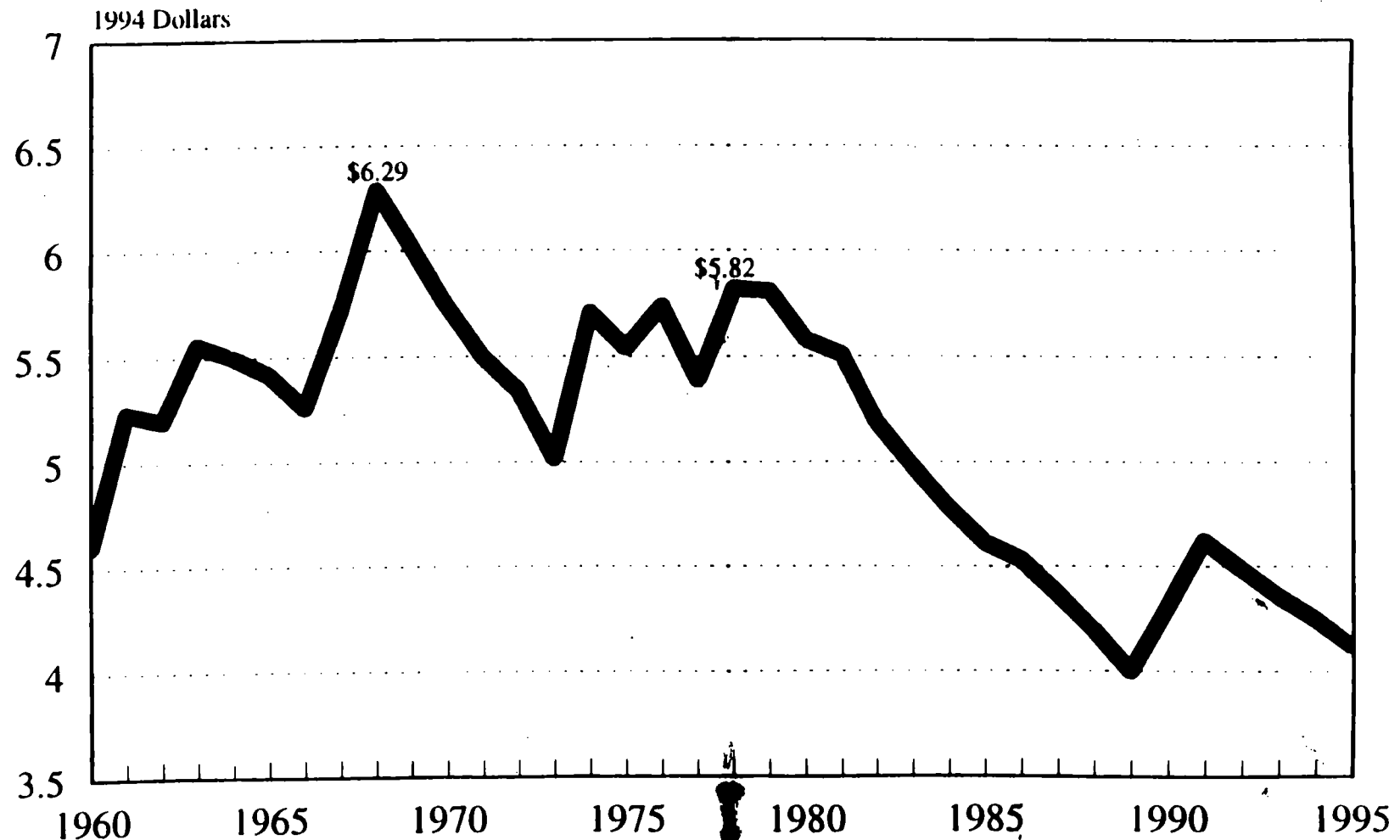
<u>Year</u>	<u>Value of the Minimum Wage, Nominal Dollars</u>	<u>Value of the Minimum Wage, 1995 Dollars*</u>	<u>Minimum Wage as a Percent of the Average Private Nonsupervisory Wage</u>
1955	\$0.75	\$3.94	43.9%
1956	1.00	5.16	55.6
1957	1.00	5.01	52.9
1958	1.00	4.87	51.3
1959	1.00	4.84	49.5
1960	1.00	4.75	47.8
1961	1.15	5.41	53.7
1962	1.15	5.36	51.8
1963	1.25	5.74	54.8
1964	1.25	5.67	53.0
1965	1.25	5.59	50.8
1966	1.25	5.43	48.8
1967	1.40	5.90	52.2
1968	1.60	6.49	56.1
1969	1.60	6.21	52.6
1970	1.60	5.92	49.5
1971	1.60	5.67	46.4
1972	1.60	5.51	43.2
1973	1.60	5.18	40.6
1974	2.00	5.89	47.2
1975	2.10	5.71	46.4
1976	2.30	5.92	47.3
1977	2.30	5.56	43.8
1978	2.65	6.00	46.6
1979	2.90	5.99	47.1
1980	3.10	5.76	46.5
1981	3.35	5.68	46.2
1982	3.35	5.36	43.6
1983	3.35	5.14	41.8
1984	3.35	4.93	40.3
1985	3.35	4.76	39.1
1986	3.35	4.67	38.2
1987	3.35	4.51	37.3
1988	3.35	4.33	36.1
1989	3.35	4.13	34.7
1990	3.80	4.44	37.9
1991	4.25	4.77	41.1
1992	4.25	4.63	40.2
1993	4.25	4.50	39.2
1994	4.25	4.38	n/a
1995	4.25	4.25	n/a

*Adjusted for inflation using the CPI-U-X1.

Source: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities

The Real Minimum Wage

1960-1995



NOTE: Minimum wage is in 1994 CPI-U-X1 Dollars. The inflation rate for 1995 is assumed to be 3.2 percent.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 19, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT WOMEN'S BUREAU RECEPTION

The South Lawn

5:38 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much.

Sitting here listening to my marvelous wife speak, I was thinking, you know, I've been seeing her lately long distance, on Oprah Winfrey and on the -- (laughter) -- Morning Show this morning. And I thought, boy, I'm glad she lives here. (Laughter and applause.)

I want to thank Secretary Reich and the Women's Bureau Director, Karen Nussbaum. She has done a wonderful job. I am very grateful to her and to him. (Applause.)

.

. But I think it's important that we recognize that women in the workplace are caught in a lot of cross-currents today, because all American workers, or at least more than half of us, are working longer hours for the same or lower pay that we were making 10 years ago. And therefore, more and more parents are working harder for the same or less and spending less time with their children. Women feel this pressure very deeply insofar as they have either sole, primary or even just half of the responsibility for taking care of their children as well as earning a living. Because male workers over the age of 45, on average, have lost 14 percent of their earning power in the last 10 years, women in the work force and in the home feel the anxiety of their husband's sense of loss and insecurity and frustration and anger.

What is causing all this and what are we to do about it? Well, what is causing it all is the impact of the global economy and the dramatic revolution in technology on our society -- opening up all kinds of new changes in ways that are perfectly wonderful if you can access them, but terrifying if you cannot.

For example -- we don't have the figures yet on '94, but I think '94 will confirm '93's trend -- in 1993 we had the

largest number of new businesses started in America in any year in history, and the largest number of new millionaires in America in any year in history. And that is a good thing. That is a good thing. And that is happening because so many of us are now able to access the world of the future. Many of you in this room are part of the trend toward a brighter, bigger, broader tomorrow.

But there is also a fault line in our society that is splitting the middle class apart, putting unbearable pressures on families, making them less secure and making them less able to live up to the fullest of their abilities. You know it, and I know it.

That's why the Family and Medical Leave Law was important. If people are going to be working for smaller companies, not bigger ones, and moving around, at least they ought to know they can take some time off without losing a job if there's someone sick in their family or if a baby is born or some other emergency arises. (Applause.) That's why it was important. (Applause.)

That's why the efforts of the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Education to create a fabric, a seamless fabric of lifelong learning -- whenever people lose their jobs or feel that they're underemployed -- it's terribly important. (Applause.)

And that's why I believe it is especially important to women that we raise the minimum wage this year. (Applause.) Women represent three out of five minimum wage workers, but only half the work force.

I have done everything I could to create a climate in which people are encouraged to choose work over welfare, in which people are encouraged to be successful parents and successful workers. I believe that. That's what the Earned Income Tax Credit was all about in 1993. (Applause.)

Let me tell you what that meant -- that meant this year that the average family of four with an income under \$27,000 got a \$1,000 tax cut below what they paid before this administration came into office. And it means three years from now, if the Congress will stick with it and not repeal it, we will be able to say that no one who works full-time and has children at home, when they go home from work, will live below the poverty line. That is the best war against welfare we could wage. (Applause.)

But it isn't enough. If we do not raise the minimum wage this year, next year it will be in real dollar terms, the lowest it has been in 40 years. Now that is not my idea of what the 21st century American economy is all about. I want a smart work, high-wage economy, not a hard-work, low-wage economy. And

the working women of America and their children and their husbands deserve it as well. (Applause.)

You know, I have a -- I don't get to watch a lot of kind of extra television, but the other night, just by accident, I was watching a news program where a special was being done on the minimum wage. And -- I don't even know if it was a national program or one of the state networks around here, but they went down south to a town that had a lot of minimum wage workers. And they went in this plant to interview a remarkable woman who worked in this plant at a minimum wage. And they said to this lady: You know, your employer says if we raise the minimum wage that they'll either have to lay people off or put more money into machinery and reduce their employment long-term. What do you say to that? I could not have written the script. (Laughter.) This lady sort of threw her shoulders back and looked into the eyes of the television reporter and said: Honey, I'll take my chances. (Laughter and applause.)

If we are going to bring our budget deficit into balance, which will be good for all of us; if we're going to have to over a period of years cut back on expenditures that the government used to make, that makes it even more important for people who do go out into the private sector and work full-time, play by the rules, and want to make their own way without public assistance, to be rewarded for that work. This is a huge issue.
. . . .

. . . . I thank you all. Please stay around. Have a good time. We're delighted to see you. Good-bye. Thank you. (Applause.)

END 5:58 P.M. EDT

Legislative Background - Minimum Wage - 1989

* Last increase (from \$3.35/hour to \$3.80 on 4/1/90 and \$4.25/hour on 4/1/91) passed Congress in 1989 in a bi-partisan agreement following an earlier veto by **President Bush**:

- o Senate Vote: 89 - 8
 - o House Vote: 382- 37
- (see attached list of votes)

* **President Bush** proposed the increase to \$4.25 an hour and refused to accept any increase above that;

* **President Bush** had vetoed a Democratic attempt to raise minimum wage to \$4.55 over three years and Congress failed to override the veto - his first successful veto as President;

* **Cong. Goodling** (R-PA) was quoted at the time as stating that Republican lawmakers were "uneasy" about President Bush's position and "don't want to go to the wall a second time." Cong. Goodling introduced his own minimum wage bill that proposed a three year phase to \$4.25/hour, a training wage and expansion of the earned-income tax credit. He voted **for final passage** of the minimum wage increase;

* The **Labor Secretary** at the time was **Elizabeth Dole**;

* The Senate and the House were both controlled by Democrats;

* The bill signed by President Bush included a training wage for teenagers between 16 and 19;

* **Sen. Dole** (R-Kan) (voted for final passage)

"I think that many of us feel that this is not an issue where we ought to be standing and holding up anybody's getting a 30- to 40-cents-an-hour- increase, at the same time we are talking about capital gains. I never thought the Republican Party should stand for squeezing every last nickel from the minimum wage."

* The Senate tabled an amendment by Sen. Hatch that would have barred Congress from passing any legislation that would increase the costs of certain small business (the small business exemption from the minimum wage was increased to cover small businesses with sales of less than \$500,000 (from \$362,500) by the bill itself;

* The Senate tabled an amendment by Sen. Gramm (R-Tex) which would have removed the provision which prevented farmers from using the training wage for teenage farmworkers;

* Much of the current Senate and House Leadership voted for minimum wage increase in 1989 - including Dole, Lott, Gramm, Gingrich and Kassebaum. However, Armey, Delay, Livingston - voted against (see attached list);

* Key Senate Republicans supporters in 1989 (supported an attempt at a Dem. compromise)

Sen. Cohen (R-Maine)
Sen. Hatfield (R-Ore.)
Sen. Jeffords (R-Vermont)
Sen. Packwood (R-Ore.)
Sen. Pressler (R-SD)
Sen. Specter (R-Penn)

* Key Senate Republicans in Opposition:

Sen. Mack (R-Florida)
Sen. Nickles (R-OK)
Sen. Helms (R-NC)
Sen. Hatch (R-Utah)

* Governor Wilson voted for the minimum wage increase as a Senator in 1989.

* Senate Democrats of concern (voted against Dem. compromise at \$4.55 or cloture in 1989):

Sen. Hollings (D-SC)
Sen. Bennett Johnston (D-La)
Sen. Heflin (D-Al)
Sen. Exon (D - NE)

Sen. Campbell (D-Col) (voted to uphold Bush's veto in House)

Senators in the Democratic and Republican Leadership their votes
on H.R. 2710 final passage (minimum wage).

SENATE LEADERSHIP

YES

Democrats

Breaux -- Deputy Whip
Byrd -- Ranking on Appropriations
Daschle -- Minority Leader
Ford -- Minority Whip
Harkin -- Ranking on the Appropriations, Labor Subcommittee
Kennedy -- Ranking on the Labor Committee
Mikulski -- Secretary of the Democratic Party
Reid -- Co-Chair of the Democratic Polciy Committee

Republicans

Cochran -- Chair Republican Conference
Dole -- Majority Leader
D'Amato -- Campaign Committee Chair
Lott -- Majority Whip
Kassebaum -- Chairman of Labor Committee
Hatfield -- Chair of Appropriations Committee
Specter -- Chair of the Appropriations Labor Subcommittee

NO

Democrats

None

Republicans

Mack -- Policy Committee
Nickles -- Chair of the Republican Policy Committee

SENATE VOTES ON HR 2710 (Minimum wage -- Final Passage)
Members that are still in the Senate for the 104th Congress)

YES

Democrats

Biden
Bingamen
Bradley
Breaux
Bryan
Bumpers
Byrd
Conrad
Daschle
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerrey
Kerry
Kohl
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Lieberman
Mikulski
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Robb
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Shelby
Simon

Additional Democratic Senator that did not vote or express a position
Baucus

SENATE VOTES ON HR 2710 (Minimum wage -- Final Passage)
Members that are still in the Senate for the 104th Congress)

YES

Republicans

Bond
Burns
Chafee
Coats
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Gorton
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Jeffords
Kassebaum
Lott
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Thurmond
Warner

SENATE VOTES ON HR 2710 (Minimum wage -- Final Passage)
Members that are still in the Senate for the 104th Congress)

NO

Democrats (0)

Republicans

Hatch

Helms

Mack

Nickles

HOUSE LEADERSHIP VOTES ON FINAL PASSAGE OF HR 2710

HOUSE

Democrats

YES

Gephardt
Bonior
Clay
Obey

NO

None

Repubilcans

YES

Gingrich
Goodling
Porter

NO

Armey
Delay
Livingston

HOUSE VOTES ON FINAL PASSAGE OF HR 2710 (MINIMUM WAGE) FOR
MEMBERS OF THE 104TH CONGRESS

YES

Democrats

A

Ackerman

B

Beilenson

Berman

Bevill

Bonior

Borski

Boucher

Browder

Brown, George

Bryant, John

Burton, Dan

C

Cardin

Chapman

Clay

Clement

Coleman

Collins, Cardiss

Condit

Costello

Coyne

D

Dellums

DeFazio

de la Garza

Dicks

Dingell

Dixon

Durbin

E

Engel

Evans

F

Fazio
Flake
Foglietta
Frank
Frost

G

Gejdenson
Gephardt
Geren
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Gordon

H

Hall, Ralph
Hall, Tony
Hamilton
Hayes
Hefner
Hoyer

J

Jacobs
Johnson, Tim
Johnston, Harry

K

Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kennedy, Joe
Kennelly
Kildee
Kleczka

L

LaFalce
Lantos
Laughlin
Levin
Lewis, John
Lipinski
Lowey

M

Manton
Markey
Martinez
Matsui
McDermott
McNulty
Mineta
Mfume
Mollohan
Montgomery
Murtha

N

Neal, Richard

O

Oberstar
Obey
Ortiz
Owens, Major

P

Pallone
Parker
Payne, Donald
Payne, Lewis
Pelosi
Pickett
Poshard

R

Rahall
Rangel
Richardson
Rose

S

Sabo
Sawyer
Schroeder
Schumer
Sisisky
Skaggs
Skelton
Slaughter
Spratt
Stark
Stenholm
Stokes
Studds

T

Tanner, John
Taylor, Gene
Tauzin
Torres
Torricelli
Towns
Traficant

V

Vento
Visclosky
Volkmer

W

Waxman
Williams, Pat
Wilson
Wise
Wyden

Y

Yates

Additional Democrats that did not vote yes or no**Did not vote or make a position known**

Conyers
Moakley

Announced For

Ford, Harold

HOUSE MEMBERS THAT VOTED FOR FINAL PASSAGE OF HR 2710 (minimum wage) that are in the 104th Congress

YES

Republicans

B

Ballenger
Bateman
Bliley
Boehlert
Bereuter
Bilirakis

C

Coble
Clinger

D

Duncan

E

Emerson

F

Fields

G

Gekas
Gillmor
Gilman
Gingrich
Goodling
Gunderson

H

Hastert
Herger
Houghton
Hunter
Hyde

J

Johnson, Nancy

K

Kasich
Kolbe

L

Leach
Lewis, Jerry
Lightfoot

M

McCrery
McDade
Meyers, Jan
Moorhead
Morella
Myers, John

P

Packard
Petri
Porter

Q

Quillen

R

Regula
Roberts, Pat
Rogers
Ros-Lehtinen
Roth
Roukema

S

Saxton
Schaefer
Schiff
Sensenbrenner
Shaw
Shays
Shuster
Skeen
Smith, Christopher
Smith Lamar
Soloman
Spence
Stearns

T

Thomas, William

U

Upton

V

Vucanvoich

W

Walker

Walsh

Weldon, Curt

Wolf

Y

Young, Don

Young, C.W. "Bill"

Additional Republican members that did not vote yes or no

Did not vote or express an opinion

Molinari

HOUSE VOTES ON FINAL PASSAGE OF HR 2710 (MINIMUM WAGE) FOR ALL
MEMBERS OF THE 104TH CONGRESS

NO

Democrats

Miller, George (California)

Republicans

A

Archer
Armey

B

Baker, Richard
Barton
Bunning
Burton

C

Callahan
Crane
Combest
Cox

D

DeLay
Dornan
Drier

F

Fawell

G

Gallegly
Goss

H

Hansen
Hancock
Hefley
Hunter

L

Livingston

M

McCollum

R

Rohrabacher

O

Oxley

P

Paxon

S

Stump

**MEMBERS OF THE SENATE THAT WERE IN THE HOUSE AND VOTED
ON FINAL PASSAGE OF HR 2710**

YES -- Democrats

Boxer
Akaka

YES -- REPUBLICANS

Craig
Snowe
DeWine
Inhofe