

Introduction to GTW's Voting Index from 1991-1996

Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch prepared this Voting Index to provide Americans with easy access to the voting record of their Members of the House of Representatives on key international trade and economic globalization issues. This Voting Index is the first of its kind to focus exclusively on international trade and corporate economic globalization issues.

There have been six important international trade and corporate economic globalization votes in the past five years. The most important of these were the November 1993 vote on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Each of the votes on this chart engendered national political debates on which citizens' organizations, such as consumer, labor, environmental, Perot, religious and family farm groups, were on one side and multinational corporations, business associations such as the Chamber of Commerce, and major financial institutions were on the other.

The high-level public relations and lobbying campaigns that multinational corporations undertook in support of these votes obtained a significant amount of press coverage. Published reports and news articles commented on the extraordinary extent to which the business supporters of these votes used campaign contributions, paid advertising, grants to think tanks, environmental groups and academics, lobbying contracts with prominent individuals, hundreds of high-priced Washington lobbyists and public relations specialists, countless glossy fact sheets, reports, pamphlets, videos and briefing books and many other devices to push the legislation through Congress. The combined cost of the corporate campaigns in support of the votes contained in this Index totals nearly \$200 million.

On the other side of these votes was a diverse alliance of U.S. citizens' organizations. For instance, every environmental and labor group as well as major consumer, family farm, religious and civil rights organizations were unified in opposition to GATT. Almost all of the same groups also fought together against NAFTA. A few organizations, such as the National Wildlife Federation and the Environmental Defense Fund, joined the corporate side in support of NAFTA.

The news reporting and national debate around NAFTA first raised U.S. public awareness to the fact that today's trade agreements were no longer only about tariffs and quotas. The rules set forth in these agreements would greatly affect corporate decisions about how and where they would conduct their operations. Thus, these trade agreements have direct effects on American jobs, wages, health and safety, the environment and the democratic process itself. The corporate proponents of NAFTA and GATT argued that the pacts would provide broad benefits. Citizen group opponents argued that removing governmental rules shaping corporate behavior would promote a "race to the bottom" in wages and environmental conditions. At the time of the NAFTA and GATT votes, public opinion polling showed that a majority of American shared these concerns and opposed the pacts. Despite this, the U.S. Congress approved both NAFTA and GATT under a highly restrictive voting procedure called fast track which forbids amendments and allows only limited debate.

The vote on NAFTA was close in the House of Representatives, passing with a margin of 18 votes in the 435-member House. A year later, growing public opposition to the powerful new World Trade Organization (WTO) that would be established by approval of GATT forced a delay of the GATT vote. Though originally scheduled to occur before the 1994 mid-term elections, the first lame duck session of Congress in 14 years was ultimately called to pass GATT. This momentous decision was made by many Representatives and Senators who had retired or had been voted out of office.

Such extraordinary actions were repeated in other nations. For instance, in Spain, public opposition had kept the GATT vote off the parliamentary agenda. However, on Christmas Eve, without public notice, a rump parliament session approved the deal in the dead of night. In India, powerful public opposition forced the Parliament to eliminate certain GATT provisions. The Indian Prime Minister tried to reinstate the deleted terms by executive decree!

Opponents of NAFTA and GATT argue that these actions were betrayals of democracy that were necessary to push the corporate economic globalization agenda because its terms, as polling data shows, are patently unacceptable to a majority of people in every country once they are understood. Proponents of the deals argue that the public does not understand the broad benefits of these pacts.

This vote chart is another step in an international citizens' campaign to shine sunlight on these deals so people can come to their own informed conclusions. Proponents of NAFTA and GATT want to expand the agreements further. There are growing movements today in many countries to replace NAFTA and GATT with alternatives that promote more local democratic control, environmental and social responsibility and diverse, healthy economies.

The best way to judge the merits of these agreements is to study their real life effects. The time for both sides' promises and predictions about the pacts has ended, as the real life outcomes are becoming apparent.

Given NAFTA's greater time in operation, there is a wealth of evidence that its real life results have included job losses, downward wage pressure and further damage to the border environment and public health. In Mexico, the public has also found NAFTA to be a negative experience. A poll conducted in June of this year by a Mexican newspaper found that 67% of the Mexican public believes that there has been little or no success with NAFTA. Another poll found that 66% of Mexicans believe they have been hurt by NAFTA.

Meanwhile, the evidence is building on the effects of the new World Trade Organization created by the GATT Uruguay Round. The WTO's very first ruling was against a U.S. Clean Air Act rule. In its tone and conclusion, the WTO made real the concerns of its opponents regarding the ability of that body to weaken environmental and health protections and to undermine democratically achieved laws. After losing its internal WTO appeal, the U.S. was faced with the no-win situation of either paying \$150 million in annual sanctions to maintain our stronger clean air rule or changing the law. The U.S. announced in June that it would change the rule.

As well, in the name of avoiding a threatened WTO challenge by Mexico against the most successful U.S. law protecting dolphins, the Clinton Administration along with the Republican leadership is now pushing for a preemptive evisceration of the long-standing Marine Mammal Protection Act.

Meanwhile, nations that export to the United States have identified a number of key consumer and environmental laws as violations of WTO. Laws these nations have targeted as "trade barriers" include the Pelly Amendment (which forbids drift net fishing), the Nutritional Labeling Education Act and California's Safe Water and Toxic Enforcement Act. Meanwhile, chemical manufacturers have claimed that a planned U.S. Environmental Protection Agency ban on all products containing residues of a carcinogenic fungicide called Folpet violates GATT and NAFTA trade rules.

Opponents of corporate economic globalization oppose a "race to the bottom" in environmental and labor standards. For example, efforts to pass tougher environmental laws in California, raise wages in a factory in Ohio or reduce emissions at a plant in New York can be stymied by a threat to move to a more "hospitable climate." As the debate on whether China should be granted special trade privileges highlighted, a more "hospitable climate" can mean \$2 per day wages, the suppression of labor organizations by the People's Liberation Army and massive human rights violations and prison labor. Such threats are extremely powerful. Communities already devastated by plant closures and a declining manufacturing base know all too well that threats of this sort are often carried out.

Yet NAFTA, GATT and corporate economic globalization are only one version of how to organize our economic, political and legal international relationships. This version is but one choice. The business interests benefitting from the set of rules put in place by NAFTA and GATT have made a great effort to convince people that their way is inevitable or, alternatively, that the outcomes are acceptable. Neither is true. In addition, any criticism of corporate economic globalization is characterized as either xenophobic or an attack on all international contacts from travel to cultural exchanges. Such a charge is particularly ironic given that the citizens' opposition to corporate economic globalization is an international network of academics, activists, and economists.

In the United States, a growing grassroots movement has formed in opposition to the effects of corporate economic globalization. No other cause has united such seemingly disparate groups. In the United States, the Citizens Trade Campaign--of which Public Citizen is a member--unites environmental, labor, consumer, family farm, religious, animal protection and food safety organizations fighting for alternatives to NAFTA, GATT and their detrimental effects. To find the local chapter of the Citizens Trade Campaign near you, contact their Washington office at (202) 879-4298.

Important Caveats About This Vote Chart

This index is not a perfect gauge of a Representative's record on international trade issues. It does not distinguish between Members who simply voted for or against a bad trade bill and those who took a leadership role in promoting or opposing a trade bill. In calculating Representatives' scores, the NAFTA and GATT votes were weighted three times more than the other trade votes.

This vote index indicates with a star the Representatives who have cosponsored an innovative piece of legislation called the "NAFTA Accountability Act," which would apply a "do no further harm" test to NAFTA's real life outcomes and require renegotiation or withdrawal if conditions are not at least as good as before NAFTA.

Vote Key

+ Vote for the Public Citizen Position

- Vote against the Public Citizen Position

* Cosponsor of the NAFTA Accountability Act (which Public Citizen supports)

I Ineligible -- not in Congress at the time of the vote

O Did not vote

S The Speaker of the House by tradition rarely votes

% All votes for Public Citizen positions divided by the total number of votes. Votes on NAFTA and the GATT Uruguay Round were weighted three times more than the others.

Public Citizen obtained vote data on members of the U.S. House of Representatives from the *Congressional Quarterly*, which maintains a database of Congressional votes. Delegates from U.S. territories and the District of Columbia were excluded because they are not permitted to vote.

Definitions of Key International Trade Votes

1. Disapproval of Fast Track Trade Negotiating Authority (H. R. 101)

May 23, 1991

Rejected 192-231

Resolution to disapprove the extension of the President's fast track negotiating authority. Fast track allows the Executive branch to negotiate trade agreements and present to Congress the finished pacts and implementation legislation for an up or down vote with no amendments. Congress must vote within 60 after the Administration submits the legislation and is permitted only 30 hours of debate. This highly restrictive set the stage for the approval of the NAFTA and the GATT Uruguay Round. It was the grassroots opposition by environmental, labor, consumer, family farm and religious groups to fast track legislation which gave birth to the Citizens Trade Campaign.

Public Citizen Vote = Yes

2. NAFTA -- North American Free Trade Agreement (H.R. 3450)

November 17, 1993

Adopted 234-200

Congressional approval of an unprecedented trade and investment agreement with Canada and Mexico that furthered corporate plans to integrate the three economies at the expense of jobs, wages, public health, food safety, the environment, highway safety and labor standards. Since the pact was implemented in January 1994, the real life evidence reveals that NAFTA is sinking in a sea of its boosters' broken promises.

Public Citizen Vote = No

3. GATT -- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (H.R. 5110)

November 29, 1994

Adopted 288-146

Congressional approval of a massive expansion of a global trade agreement which entered the United States into the World Trade Organization (WTO), an extremely powerful unaccountable new international bureaucracy where the United States has one vote and no veto. WTO rules set strict limits on U.S. policies from local taxes to food safety, from government procurement to dolphin protection. As a WTO member, the United States must follow all WTO rules or face trade sanctions. (The first WTO ruling was against U.S. Clean Air Act rules.)

Public Citizen Vote = No

4. Bailout of Investors in Mexico (H.R. 2020)

July 19, 1995

Adopted 245-183

Amendment sponsored by Rep. Sanders (VT-I) required explicit congressional approval for any further use of taxpayer funds in excess of \$1 billion from the U.S. Exchange Stabilization Fund to support a foreign currency. It forbids future taxpayer bailouts such as the bailout granted to wealthy U.S. and foreign investors after the Mexican peso was devalued in December 1994.

Public Citizen Vote = Yes

5. Disapproval of Most Favored Nation Status for China (H.J. Res. 182)

June 27, 1996

Rejected 141-286

Resolution to stop the extension of special trade privileges to China. The basis for rejection of "Most Favored Nation" trade status included China's abysmal record on human rights, child and prison labor, nuclear proliferation and the environment, as well as a massive U.S. job-killing trade imbalance (\$34 billion in 1995). The U.S. trade deficit with China is expected soon to surpass Japan as the largest trade deficit.

Public Citizen Vote = "Y"

6. Implementation of GATT Ruling Against U.S. Dolphin Protection Dolphin Death Bill (H.R. 2823)

July 31, 1996

Approved 316-108

Congressional approval of the "Dolphin Death Bill" which lifts the ban on the sale of tuna in the United States caught by a method which is deadly to dolphins in order to comply with the World Trade Organization rules. The bill would reopen the U.S. market to the sale of tuna caught by encirclement of "purse seine" nets which are set around dolphins which travel with the tuna. The U.S. domestic standard forbidding dolphin deadly tuna sales had been found in violation of GATT rules following challenges by Mexico, Venezuela and other nations in a 1991 case known as GATTzila versus Flipper.

Public Citizen Vote = No

*** NAFTA Accountability Act Cosponsorship (HR 2651)**

The NAFTA Accountability Act has been introduced in Congress to remedy the damage caused by NAFTA. This legislation would apply a "do no further harm" test to NAFTA in order to ensure that conditions remain at least equal to those prior to NAFTA's implementation. If conditions have deteriorated, then NAFTA would be renegotiated or its Congressional authorization would terminate. Further, no expansion of NAFTA to other nations would be permitted until Congress receives assurances that conditions have not deteriorated under NAFTA. A star (*) indicates that the Member is a cosponsor of the NAFTA Accountability Act. .

Public Citizen supports cosponsorship.

GTW Votes 1991-1996

ST	CD	LAST	FT91	NAFTA	GATT	BAILOUT	CHINA_MFN	DOLPHIN	SCORE
AK	AL	Young* (R)	-	+	+	+	-	-	70
AL	1	Callahan (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
AL	2	Everett* (R)		+	+	+	+	-	89
AL	3	Browder* (D)	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
AL	4	Bevill* (D)	+	+	-	+	-	-	50
AL	5	Cramer* (D)	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
AL	6	Bachus (R)		-	+	+	-	O	50
AL	7	Hilliard* (D)		+	+	-	-	+	78
AR	1	Lambert		-	-	+	O	-	13
AR	2	Thornton (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
AR	3	Hutchinson		-	+	+	+	-	56
AR	4	Dickey* (R)		-	+	+	-	-	44
AZ	1	Salmon (R)				+	-	-	33
AZ	2	Pastor (D)		-	-	-	-	-	0
AZ	3	Stump (R)	-	-	+	+	-	-	40
AZ	4	Shadegg (R)				+	-	-	33
AZ	5	Kolbe (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
AZ	6	Hayworth (R)				+	-	-	33
CA	1	Riggs (R)	-			+	+	-	50
CA	2	Herger (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
CA	3	Fazio (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
CA	4	Doolittle (R)	-	+	+	+	+	-	80
CA	5	Matsui (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
CA	6	Woolsey (D)		+	+	-	+	+	89
CA	7	Miller* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
CA	8	Pelosi (D)	-	-	-	-	+	+	20
CA	9	Dellums* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
CA	10	Baker (R)		-	-	+	+	-	22
CA	11	Pombo* (R)		+	+	+	+	-	89
CA	12	Lantos* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
CA	13	Stark* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
CA	14	Eshoo (D)		-	-	-	-	+	11
CA	15	Campbell (R)	-				-	+	33
CA	16	Lofgren (D)				-	-	+	33
CA	17	Farr (D)		-	-	-	-	+	11
CA	18	Condit (D)	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
CA	19	Radanovich				+	-	-	33
CA	20	Dooley (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
CA	21	Thomas (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
CA	22	Seastrand				+	+	-	67
CA	23	Gallegly* (R)	-	+	+	-	-	-	60
CA	24	Beilenson	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
CA	25	McKeon (R)		-	-	-	-	-	0
CA	26	Berman (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
CA	27	Moorhead	-	-	+	+	-	-	40
CA	28	Dreier (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
CA	29	Waxman*	+	+	+	-	+	+	90
CA	30	Becerra (D)		-	-	-	-	-	0
CA	31	Martinez* (D)	+	+	-	+	-	O	56

GTW Votes 1991-1996

ST	CD	LAST	FT91	NAFTA	GATT	BAILOUT	CHINA_MFN	DOLPHIN	SCORE
CA	32	Dixon (D)	+	+	-	-	-	-	40
CA	33	Roybal-Allard	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
CA	34	Torres (D)	+	-	-	-	+	-	20
CA	35	Waters* (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	70
CA	36	Harman (D)		+	-	+	-	-	44
CA	37	Millender-					-	+	50
CA	38	Horn (R)		-	-	+	+	-	22
CA	39	Royce (R)		+	+	+	+	-	89
CA	40	Lewis (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
CA	41	Kim (R)		-	-	+	-	-	11
CA	42	Brown (D)	+	-	-	-	-	+	20
CA	43	Calvert (R)		-	-	+	-	-	11
CA	44	Bono* (R)				+	-	-	33
CA	45	Rohrabacher	-	-	+	+	+	-	50
CA	46	Dorman (R)	-	-	+	+	+	+	60
CA	47	Cox (R)	-	-	-	+	+	-	20
CA	48	Packard (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
CA	49	Bilbray (R)				+	-	-	33
CA	50	Filner (D)		+	-	+	-	+	56
CA	51	Cunningham	-	-	-	+	+	-	20
CA	52	Hunter* (R)	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
CO	1	Schroeder	-	-	-	-	+	+	20
CO	2	Skaggs (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
CO	3	McInnis (R)		-	+	+	+	-	56
CO	4	Allard (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
CO	5	Hefley (R)	-	-	+	+	+	-	50
CO	6	Schaefer (R)	-	-	+	+	-	-	40
CT	1	Kennelly (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	30
CT	2	Gejdenson	+	+	-	-	+	+	60
CT	3	DeLauro* (D)	+	+	-	-	+	+	60
CT	4	Shays (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
CT	5	Franks (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
CT	6	Johnson (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
DE	AL	Castle (R)		-	-	-	-	-	0
FL	1	Scarborough				+	+	-	67
FL	2	Peterson (D)	+	+	-	-	O	-	44
FL	3	Brown (D)		+	-	-	-	-	33
FL	4	Fowler (R)		-	-	+	+	-	22
FL	5	Thurman* (D)		+	+	+	-	+	89
FL	6	Stearns* (R)	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
FL	7	Mica* (R)		+	+	+	-	-	78
FL	8	McCollum	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
FL	9	Bilirakis* (R)	-	+	+	+	-	+	80
FL	10	Young (R)	-	-	-	+	-	O	11
FL	11	Gibbons (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
FL	12	Canady (R)		+	-	-	-	-	33
FL	13	Miller (R)		-	-	-	-	-	0
FL	14	Goss (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
FL	15	Weldon (R)				+	-	-	33

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ST	CD	LAST	FT91	NAFTA	GATT	BAILOUT	CHINA_MFN	DOLPHIN	SCORE
FL	16	Foley* (R)				+	-	-	33
FL	17	Meek* (D)		-	-	-	-	-	0
FL	18	Ros-	-	+	+	+	+	-	80
FL	19	Johnston (D)	+	-	-	-	-	-	10
FL	20	Deutsch (D)		+	-	+	-	-	44
FL	21	Diaz-Balart		+	+	-	+	-	78
FL	22	Shaw (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
FL	23	Hastings (D)		-	+	+	+	-	56
GA	1	Kingston (R)		+	+	+	+	-	89
GA	2	Bishop* (D)		+	-	-	-	-	33
GA	3	Collins (R)		+	+	+	+	-	89
GA	4	Linder (R)		-	-	-	-	-	0
GA	5	Lewis* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
GA	6	Gingrich (R)	-	-	-	S	S	S	0
GA	7	Barr* (R)				+	+	-	67
GA	8	Chambliss				+	-	-	33
GA	9	Deal* (R)		-	+	+	+	+	67
GA	10	Norwood (R)				+	-	-	33
GA	11	McKinney*		+	+	+	+	+	100
HI	1	Abercrombie	+	+	-	+	+	+	70
HI	2	Mink* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
IA	1	Leach (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IA	2	Nussle (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IA	3	Lightfoot (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IA	4	Ganske (R)				-	-	-	0
IA	5	Latham (R)				-	-	-	0
ID	1	Chenoweth*				+	+	-	67
ID	2	Crapo (R)		+	+	+	-	-	78
IL	1	Rush (D)		+	+	-	-	+	78
IL	2	Jackson, Jr.*					+	+	100
IL	3	Lipinski* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
IL	4	Gutierrez (D)		+	+	-	+	+	89
IL	5	Flanagan (R)				+	-	-	33
IL	6	Hyde (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IL	7	Collins* (D)	+	+	+	-	+	+	90
IL	8	Crane (R)	-	-	-	O	-	-	0
IL	9	Yates* (D)	+	+	-	-	+	-	50
IL	10	Porter (R)	-	-	-	-	+	-	10
IL	11	Weller (R)				+	-	-	33
IL	12	Costello* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
IL	13	Fawell (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IL	14	Hastert (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
IL	15	Ewing (R)		-	-	+	-	-	11
IL	16	Manzullo (R)		-	-	+	-	-	11
IL	17	Evans* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
IL	18	LaHood (R)				+	-	-	33
IL	19	Poshard* (D)	+	+	-	+	-	+	60
IL	20	Durbin (D)	+	-	-	+	+	+	40
IN	1	Visclosky*	+	+	-	+	+	-	60

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ST	CD	LAST	FT91	NAFTA	GATT	BAILOUT	CHINA_MFN	DOLPHIN	SCORE
IN	2	McIntosh (R)				+	-	-	33
IN	3	Roemer (D)	+	+	-	+	-	-	50
IN	4	Souder* (R)				+	+	-	67
IN	5	Buyer (R)		-	-	+	-	-	11
IN	6	Burton* (R)	-	+	+	+	+	-	80
IN	7	Myers (R)	-	+	+	-	-	-	60
IN	8	Hostettler (R)				+	-	-	33
IN	9	Hamilton (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IN	10	Jacobs* (D)	+	+	-	+	-	+	60
KS	1	Roberts (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
KS	2	Brownback				+	-	O	50
KS	3	Meyers (R)	+	-	-	+	-	+	30
KS	4	Tiahrt* (R)				+	-	+	67
KY	1	Whitfield (R)				+	-	-	33
KY	2	Lewis (R)			+	+	+	-	83
KY	3	Ward (D)				+	-	-	33
KY	4	Bunning (R)	-	+	-	+	+	-	50
KY	5	Rogers (R)	-	+	+	+	+	-	80
KY	6	Baesler (D)		-	-	+	-	-	11
LA	1	Livingston	-	-	+	+	-	-	40
LA	2	Jefferson (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	10
LA	3	Tauzin (D)	-	+	-	+	-	-	40
LA	4	Fields* (D)		+	+	+	+	-	89
LA	5	McCrery (R)	-	-	-	+	-	O	11
LA	6	Baker* (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
LA	7	Hayes* (R)	+	-	+	+	+	-	60
MA	1	Olver* (D)		+	-	-	+	+	56
MA	2	Neal (D)	+	+	-	+	-	+	60
MA	3	Blute* (R)		+	+	+	-	-	78
MA	4	Frank* (D)	+	+	+	-	+	+	90
MA	5	Meehan (D)		-	-	-	-	+	11
MA	6	Torkildsen		-	-	-	-	-	0
MA	7	Markey (D)	+	-	-	-	+	+	30
MA	8	Kennedy (D)	+	-	-	-	+	+	30
MA	9	Moakley (D)	+	+	+	O	-	+	89
MA	10	Studds (D)	+	-	-	-	-	+	20
MD	1	Gilchrest (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MD	2	Ehrlich (R)				-	+	-	33
MD	3	Cardin (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	10
MD	4	Wynn (D)		+	-	-	+	+	56
MD	5	Hoyer (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	10
MD	6	Bartlett* (R)		+	-	+	-	-	44
MD	7	Cummings					+	-	50
MD	8	Morella (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
ME	1	Longley (R)				-	+	-	33
ME	2	Baldacci (D)				-	-	+	33
MI	1	Stupak* (D)		+	+	+	+	-	89
MI	2	Hoekstra (R)		-	-	-	-	-	0
MI	3	Ehlers (R)			-	-	-	-	0

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ST	CD	LAST	FT91	NAFTA	GATT	BAILOUT	CHINA_MFN	DOLPHIN	SCORE
MI	4	Camp (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MI	5	Barcia* (D)		+	+	+	-	+	89
MI	6	Upton (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
MI	7	Smith* (R)		-	-	+	-	-	11
MI	8	Chrysler (R)				+	-	-	33
MI	9	Kildee* (D)	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
MI	10	Bonior* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MI	11	Knollenberg		-	-	-	-	-	0
MI	12	Levin (D)	+	+	-	-	-	-	40
MI	13	Rivers (D)				+	+	+	100
MI	14	Conyers* (D)	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
MI	15	Collins (D)	+	+	+	O	+	+	100
MI	16	Dingell (D)	+	+	-	-	-	-	40
MN	1	Gutknecht				+	-	-	33
MN	2	Minge (D)		+	-	+	-	-	44
MN	3	Ramstad (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
MN	4	Vento* (D)	+	+	-	-	+	+	60
MN	5	Sabo* (D)	+	+	+	-	+	+	90
MN	6	Luther (D)				+	-	-	33
MN	7	Peterson*	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
MN	8	Oberstar* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MO	1	Clay (D)	+	+	+	-	+	+	90
MO	2	Talent (R)		+	-	+	-	-	44
MO	3	Gephardt (D)	-	+	-	-	+	+	50
MO	4	Skelton (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MO	5	McCarthy (D)				-	-	-	0
MO	6	Danner* (D)		+	+	+	-	-	78
MO	7	Hancock (R)	-	-	+	+	-	-	40
MO	8	Vacant ()							0
MO	9	Volkmer* (D)	+	+	+	-	-	+	80
MS	1	Wicker (R)				+	-	-	33
MS	2	Thompson*		+	+	-	+	-	78
MS	3	Montgomery	-	-	+	+	-	-	40
MS	4	Parker (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MS	5	Taylor* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MT	AL	Williams (D)	+	+	+	-	-	-	70
NC	1	Clayton (D)		+	-	-	+	+	56
NC	2	Funderburk*				+	+	-	67
NC	3	Jones (R)	+			+	+	-	75
NC	4	Heineman				+	+	-	67
NC	5	Burr (R)				+	+	-	67
NC	6	Coble (R)	+	-	+	+	+	-	60
NC	7	Rose (D)	+	-	+	-	+	+	60
NC	8	Hefner (D)	+	-	+	-	+	-	50
NC	9	Myrick (R)				+	-	-	33
NC	10	Ballenger (R)	+	-	-	-	-	-	10
NC	11	Taylor* (R)	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
NC	12	Watt (D)		+	+	-	-	+	78
ND	AL	Pomeroy (D)		+	-	+	-	-	44

GTW Votes 1991-1996

ST	CD	LAST	FT91	NAFTA	GATT	BAILOUT	CHINA_MFN	DOLPHIN	SCORE
NE	1	Bereuter (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
NE	2	Christensen				+	-	-	33
NE	3	Barrett (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
NH	1	Zeliff (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
NH	2	Bass (R)				+	-	-	33
NJ	1	Andrews* (D)	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
NJ	2	LoBiondo (R)				+	-	-	33
NJ	3	Saxton (R)	-	+	-	+	-	-	40
NJ	4	Smith (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
NJ	5	Roukema (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
NJ	6	Pallone* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
NJ	7	Franks (R)		-	-	-	-	+	11
NJ	8	Martini (R)				-	-	-	0
NJ	9	Torricelli* (D)	-	+	-	+	+	+	60
NJ	10	Payne (D)	+	+	+	-	+	+	90
NJ	11	Frelinghuysen				-	-	-	0
NJ	12	Zimmer (R)	-	-	-	+	-	+	20
NJ	13	Menendez		+	-	-	+	+	56
NM	1	Schiff (R)	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
NM	2	Skeen (R)	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
NM	3	Richardson	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
NV	1	Ensign* (R)				+	+	-	67
NV	2	Vucanovich*	O	+	-	-	-	-	33
NY	1	Forbes (R)				+	+	-	67
NY	2	Lazio (R)		-	-	-	-	-	0
NY	3	King (R)		-	-	-	+	-	11
NY	4	Frisa (R)				+	+	-	67
NY	5	Ackerman	+	+	-	+	-	-	50
NY	6	Flake (D)	+	-	-	-	O	O	13
NY	7	Manton (D)	+	+	-	-	-	-	40
NY	8	Nadler (D)		+	+	-	+	+	89
NY	9	Schumer (D)	-	+	-	-	-	+	40
NY	10	Towns (D)	+	+	+	+	-	O	89
NY	11	Owens (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
NY	12	Velazquez*		+	+	+	+	+	100
NY	13	Molinari (R)	-	-	-	-	+	-	10
NY	14	Maloney (D)		+	-	-	-	+	44
NY	15	Rangel (D)	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
NY	16	Serrano (D)	+	+	-	-	-	+	50
NY	17	Engel (D)	+	+	+	-	+	+	90
NY	18	Lowey (D)	+	-	-	-	-	+	20
NY	19	Kelly (R)				-	-	-	0
NY	20	Gilman (R)	+	+	-	+	+	-	60
NY	21	McNulty (D)	+	+	-	+	-	+	60
NY	22	Solomon* (R)	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
NY	23	Boehlert (R)	-	-	-	-	+	-	10
NY	24	McHugh (R)		+	+	+	-	-	78
NY	25	Walsh* (R)	-	+	-	-	-	-	30
NY	26	Hinchey* (D)		+	+	+	+	+	100

GTW Votes 1991-1996

ST	CD	LAST	FT91	NAFTA	GATT	BAILOUT	CHINA_MFN	DOLPHIN	SCORE
NY	27	Paxon (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
NY	28	Slaughter (D)	+	+	-	-	+	-	50
NY	29	LaFalce (D)	+	+	-	-	-	-	40
NY	30	Quinn* (R)		+	+	+	-	-	78
NY	31	Houghton (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
OH	1	Chabot (R)				+	-	+	67
OH	2	Portman (R)		-	-	-	-	-	0
OH	3	Hall (D)	-	+	-	+	O	-	44
OH	4	Oxley (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
OH	5	Gillmor (R)	-	-	-	+	+	-	20
OH	6	Cremeans				+	-	-	33
OH	7	Hobson (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
OH	8	Boehner (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
OH	9	Kaptur* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
OH	10	Hoke (R)		+	-	+	+	-	56
OH	11	Stokes* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
OH	12	Kasich (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
OH	13	Brown* (D)		+	+	+	+	+	100
OH	14	Sawyer (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
OH	15	Pryce (R)		-	-	-	-	-	0
OH	16	Regula (R)	-	+	-	+	-	-	40
OH	17	Traficant* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
OH	18	Ney* (R)				+	-	-	33
OH	19	LaTourette				+	-	-	33
OK	1	Largent (R)			+	+	-	-	67
OK	2	Coburn* (R)				+	+	-	67
OK	3	Brewster (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	20
OK	4	Watts (R)				+	-	-	33
OK	5	Istook (R)		-	+	+	-	-	44
OK	6	Lucas (R)			+	+	-	-	67
OR	1	Furse (D)		+	-	+	-	+	56
OR	2	Cooley* (R)				+	-	-	33
OR	4	DeFazio* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
OR	5	Bunn (R)				+	-	+	67
OR	O3	Blumenauer					-	-	0
PA	1	Foglietta (D)	+	+	-	-	-	+	50
PA	2	Fattah* (D)				-	-	+	33
PA	3	Borski (D)	+	+	-	-	+	-	50
PA	4	Klink* (D)		+	+	+	+	+	100
PA	5	Clinger (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
PA	6	Holden* (D)		+	+	+	-	-	78
PA	7	Weldon (R)	-	+	-	+	-	-	40
PA	8	Greenwood		-	-	-	-	-	0
PA	9	Shuster* (R)	+	+	-	+	-	-	50
PA	10	McDade (R)	+	-	-	-	O	O	13
PA	11	Kanjorski (D)	+	+	+	-	-	+	80
PA	12	Murtha (D)	+	+	-	-	-	+	50
PA	13	Fox (R)				+	-	-	33
PA	14	Coyne (D)	-	+	-	-	+	+	50

GTW Votes 1991-1996

ST	CD	LAST	FT91	NAFTA	GATT	BAILOUT	CHINA_MFN	DOLPHIN	SCORE
PA	15	McHale* (D)		+	-	+	-	-	44
PA	16	Walker (R)	-	-	-	-	+	-	10
PA	17	Gekas (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
PA	18	Doyle* (D)				+	-	+	67
PA	19	Goodling (R)	+	-	-	+	+	-	30
PA	20	Mascara* (D)				+	-	-	33
PA	21	English (R)				+	-	-	33
RI	1	Kennedy* (D)				+	+	+	100
RI	2	Reed (D)	+	+	-	+	-	-	50
SC	1	Sanford (R)				+	-	+	67
SC	2	Spence (R)	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
SC	3	Graham (R)				+	-	-	33
SC	4	Inglis (R)		+	+	+	+	-	89
SC	5	Spratt (D)	+	-	+	-	+	+	60
SC	6	Clyburn* (D)		+	-	-	+	-	44
SD	AL	Johnson (D)	+	+	-	+	-	+	60
TN	1	Quillen (R)	+	-	-	-	-	-	10
TN	2	Duncan* (R)	+	-	+	+	+	-	60
TN	3	Wamp* (R)				+	+	-	67
TN	4	Hilleary (R)				+	-	-	33
TN	5	Clement (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
TN	6	Gordon (D)	-	-	-	+	+	-	20
TN	7	Bryant (R)				+	-	-	33
TN	8	Tanner (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
TN	9	Ford (D)	+	-	-	-	-	O	11
TX	1	Chapman (D)	-	-	+	+	-	-	40
TX	2	Wilson (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	30
TX	3	Johnson, S.	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
TX	4	Hall (D)	-	+	+	+	-	-	70
TX	5	Bryant* (D)	-	-	-	O	-	-	0
TX	6	Barton (R)	-	-	-	-	+	-	10
TX	7	Archer (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TX	8	Fields (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
TX	9	Stockman*				+	O	-	50
TX	10	Doggett (D)				-	-	-	0
TX	11	Edwards (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TX	12	Geren (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TX	13	Thornberry				+	-	-	33
TX	14	Laughlin (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TX	15	de la Garza	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TX	16	Coleman (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	10
TX	17	Stenholm (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TX	18	Jackson-Lee				-	-	-	0
TX	19	Combest (R)	-	-	+	+	-	-	40
TX	20	Gonzalez (D)	+	+	+	-	-	-	70
TX	21	Smith (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
TX	22	DeLay (R)	-	-	-	O	-	-	0
TX	23	Bonilla (R)		-	-	-	-	-	0
TX	24	Frost (D)	+	-	-	-	-	-	10

GTW Votes 1991-1996

ST	CD	LAST	FT91	NAFTA	GATT	BAILOUT	CHINA_MFN	DOLPHIN	SCORE
TX	25	Bentsen (D)				-	-	-	0
TX	26	Armey (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
TX	27	Ortiz (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TX	28	Tejeda (D)		-	-	-	-	-	0
TX	29	Green (D)		+	-	-	-	-	33
TX	30	Johnson, E.		-	-	-	-	+	11
UT	1	Hansen (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
UT	2	Greene (R)				+	+	-	67
UT	3	Orton (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	30
VA	1	Bateman (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
VA	2	Pickett (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
VA	3	Scott (D)		+	-	-	-	-	33
VA	4	Sisisky (D)	+	+	+	-	+	-	80
VA	5	Payne (D)	+	-	+	-	-	-	40
VA	6	Goodlatte (R)		-	-	+	-	-	11
VA	7	Bliley (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
VA	8	Moran (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
VA	9	Boucher (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	30
VA	10	Wolf (R)	-	-	+	+	+	-	50
VA	11	Davis (R)				-	-	-	0
VT	AL	Sanders* (I)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
WA	1	White (R)				-	-	-	0
WA	2	Metcalfe* (R)				+	-	-	33
WA	3	Smith (R)				+	+	-	67
WA	4	Hastings (R)				+	-	-	33
WA	5	Nethercutt				+	-	-	33
WA	6	Dicks (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
WA	7	McDermott	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
WA	8	Dunn (R)		-	-	-	-	-	0
WA	9	Tate (R)				+	-	-	33
WI	1	Neumann (R)				+	-	+	67
WI	2	Klug (R)	-	-	+	+	+	-	50
WI	3	Gunderson	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
WI	4	Kleczka* (D)	+	+	-	+	-	+	60
WI	5	Barrett (D)		+	-	+	-	+	56
WI	6	Petri (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
WI	7	Obey* (D)	+	+	+	-	+	+	90
WI	8	Roth (R)	-	-	+	+	-	-	40
WI	9	Sensenbrenn	-	-	+	+	+	-	50
WV	1	Mollohan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
WV	2	Wise (D)	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
WV	3	Rahall* (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
WY	AL	Cubin (R)				+	-	-	33