

Dangerous CAFTA Liaisons

**Skip the Roses and Chocolates:
Members of Congress Providing
Decisive Votes on Trade Deal
Receive Jump in
Corporate Campaign Cash –
Public Plans Divorce**



Valentine's Day 2006

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INTRODUCTION

On July 27, 2005, the U.S. House of Representatives narrowly passed the Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) by one vote. The signed agreement had sat on the shelf for over a year because of a bipartisan lack of congressional support. Even after an eight-month effort in 2005 involving much of the Bush cabinet and the President himself, GOP leadership threats to “twist some Republican arms until they break in a thousand pieces,” a steady stream of GOP leadership contributions to reluctant Republican members of Congress, and shady appropriations and other deals that may cost U.S. taxpayers billions, the Bush administration was able to pass the deal 217-215 in the House of Representatives only after a coalition of the United States’ largest corporations seeking to exploit CAFTA’s terms launched a full-scale seduction operation.

The CAFTA proposal, which expands the failed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) trade model to six additional countries, had lost on its merits from the time it was inked in May 2004. Because of the disastrous decade-long experience with NAFTA, polls showed that majorities in the United States and Central America felt that CAFTA would damage most people’s interests, and would likely be a net negative for economic growth and quality employment. Indeed, for many in and outside Congress, CAFTA was considered a referendum on the NAFTA model itself – a point not lost on the two and a half dozen long-serving members of Congress who consider themselves “free traders” and who had voted for NAFTA in 1993 but against its expansion in 2005ⁱ – with many explicitly announcing that their opposition to CAFTA was based on the actual outcomes of NAFTA, and thus the need to alter the model.

Without a clear case for CAFTA, the Bush administration, and the corporate business interests supporting the agreement, turned to increasingly desperate arguments – trying to shift the substance of the debate to unrelated issues such as Cuba’s Fidel Castro, Venezuela’s Hugo Chávez and China – each of which would somehow benefit if CAFTA were to fail, in the stories told by CAFTA proponents. In fact, a search of the Congressional Record in the lead-up to the CAFTA vote found 143 instances where CAFTA proponents tried to tie the China issue to the Central American trade pact in various floor statements.¹ When this failed, they fell back upon an older tactic – offering financial reward to CAFTA supporters to buy the scores of “missing” votes.

With such a tiny margin supporting CAFTA in the July vote – a switch of one vote would have yielded a tie and defeat for the agreement’s implementing legislation – offers of future largesse from corporate political action committees (PACs) stood to make a significant difference in the vote count.ⁱⁱ **In total, pro-CAFTA industry PACs donated**

ⁱ Appendix 2 has a full list of these members.

ⁱⁱ In our research, we sought to find data that would disprove the corporate contribution/pro-CAFTA vote nexus as an explanation for improbable pro-CAFTA votes. This research yielding one important finding: Rep. Vic Snyder (D-Ark.) accepts virtually no PAC contributions from any source. According to press reports, Snyder has “a practice of not raising campaign funds until three months before his state’s primary election” and his “campaign returns any checks that arrive within his self-imposed no-contributions window.” (See Gregory L. Giroux, “Not All Incumbents Choose to Race Down the Money Trail,” *CQ*

nearly \$2.8 million to the “CAFTA 30” – the group of representatives from both political parties that were the most improbable, unacceptable and inexplicable votes for the agreement – during January to September 2005, or nearly what each CAFTA country is slated to receive in labor trade capacity building money.

This report, in addition to documenting corporate and Republican Party and leadership contributions to the “CAFTA 30,” also tracks the political consequences now being felt by these representatives back home. Indeed, while money may have been able to buy CAFTA, this report shows that money cannot buy the voters’ love. Thus, as described in this report, many among the “CAFTA 30” now face new political challengers who entered the election fray as a result of these representatives’ CAFTA betrayals. Others have lost the allegiance of past important political supporters. While many stand to face more difficult election battles, years of political reporting on these districts suggest some could even lose their seats because of their pro-CAFTA votes – as has happened to some House members providing deciding votes for past controversial trade pacts opposed by their constituents. (See page 21 for a snapshot of some past electoral victims of past bad trade votes.)

Of course, it is impossible to know definitively if any member of Congress voted for CAFTA based on an explicit promise of financial reward (or to prove whether any corporate PAC donated to campaigns explicitly on the basis of a Congressperson’s pledge to support CAFTA). **However, a review of federal campaign finance data of House of Representatives members reveals that pro-CAFTA industry PAC spending in 2005 on the “CAFTA 30”:**ⁱⁱⁱ

- **Went up for 22 representatives relative to pro-CAFTA industry PAC contributions in the past; and**
- **Went down for seven representatives relative to their past contributions from these industries. These were especially “Dangerous CAFTA Liaisons,” as the member of Congress not only betrayed their constituents’ anti-CAFTA desires, and now face their wrath, but also got rejected by the corporations that had sought to gain their affection.**

While both categories of betrayals were equally offensive, our research reveals that some of those breaking their voters’ hearts over CAFTA were more adept at obtaining the largesse of their new corporate partners.

Other notable lowlights include:

Today, Feb. 7, 2006.) Snyder did receive \$63,500 in donations from pro-CAFTA industry PACs in 2004, according to Public Citizen’s analysis of data from the Center for Responsive Politics.

ⁱⁱⁱ The study focuses on the House of Representatives because, while the Senate vote was the hardest-fought and closest-ever on a trade agreement (45 voting against and only 54 voting in favor – NAFTA’s 61-vote Senate passage in 1993 was the tightest previous Senate trade vote), the House vote was recognized by all as the deciding vote on CAFTA’s fate. Thus, unless otherwise noted, all campaign finance information refers only to the “CAFTA 30” in the House of Representatives.

- The top two pro-CAFTA industry PAC contribution-getting representatives – Republican members Jim Gerlach and Mike Fitzpatrick, both of Pennsylvania, where anti-CAFTA sentiments ran especially high – were also the top two recipients of Republican Party money in the 2005 cycle. The GOP leadership had made CAFTA passage a top legislative priority for 2005;
- Three representatives – Melissa Bean (D-Ill.), Robin Hayes (R-N.C.), and Gregory Meeks (D-N.Y.) – received unusually high increases in pro-CAFTA industry PAC contributions in the two months following the CAFTA vote;
- Four first-term representatives – Bean, Fitzpatrick, and Reps. Henry Cuellar (D-Texas) and Bob Inglis (R-S.C.) – received the same or more money from pro-CAFTA industry PACs in 2005 than they did during their entire first election race. Bean, who received virtually no pro-CAFTA industry PAC money in her entire first election campaign, has grown contributions from these sources by nearly 550 percent in just the first nine months of 2005 alone;
- Three representatives – Gerlach, Meeks and Ike Skelton (D-Mo.) – more than doubled their pro-CAFTA industry PAC receipts relative to the past;
- Many of the “CAFTA 30” were among the top recipients of contributions from the PAC headed by former GOP Majority Leader Tom DeLay over several election cycles, including Reps. Ginny Brown-Waite (R-Fla.) and Charlie Dent (R-Pa.), who each received \$20,000; Gerlach, who received \$30,000; and Hayes, who received money in every election cycle since 1998, totaling nearly \$50,000;
- “CAFTA 30” representatives have also received funds from sources connected to the GOP lobbyist Jack Abramoff. Reps. Brown-Waite, Chris Cannon (R-Utah), Phil English (R-Pa.), Mark Foley (R-Fla.) and Hayes and/or their PACs all received campaign contributions from Abramoff directly, or from American Indian tribes he was paid to represent. Notably, Democrat Cuellar also received money from an Abramoff-connected tribe. Rep. Charlie Taylor (R-N.C.) received \$19,750, and is one of the few beneficiaries who has refused to recycle the money to charity, while Rep. Richard Pombo (R-Calif.) – whose vote for CAFTA was particularly surprising – was the eighth-largest recipient of Abramoff-connected largesse among all members of Congress, at a whopping \$40,500; and
- Following the CAFTA vote, Bean also received an unusually high increase in campaign contributions from out-of-state individuals – one commonly cited measure of interest group influence. Bean, Gerlach, and Fitzpatrick, among others, saw unusually high increases in individual donations after the CAFTA vote from the Washington, D.C. area – home to many of the country’s top lobbyists for the drug industry and other pro-CAFTA interest groups.

Table 1: Who are the CAFTA 30?²

<p><u>Alabama</u> Rep. Robert Aderholt (R-Ala.-4)</p> <p><u>Arkansas</u> <i>Rep. Vic Snyder (D-Ark.-2)</i></p> <p><u>California</u> Rep. Richard Pombo (R-Calif.-11)</p> <p><u>Colorado</u> Rep. Marilyn Musgrave (R-Colo.-4)</p> <p><u>Florida</u> Rep. Ginny Brown-Waite (R-Fla.-5) Rep. Mark Foley (R-Fla.-16)</p> <p><u>Illinois</u> <i>Rep. Melissa L. Bean (D-Ill.-8)</i></p> <p><u>Kansas</u> <i>Rep. Dennis Moore (D-Kan.-3)</i></p> <p><u>Maryland</u> Rep. Roscoe Bartlett (R-Md.-6)</p> <p><u>Missouri</u> <i>Rep. Ike Skelton (D-Mo.-4)</i></p> <p><u>New York</u> <i>Rep. Gregory W. Meeks (D-N.Y.-6)</i> <i>Rep. Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.-10)</i></p> <p><u>North Carolina</u> Rep. Robin Hayes (R-N.C.-8) Rep. Charles H. Taylor (R-N.C.-11)</p>	<p><u>Ohio</u> Rep. Steven C. LaTourette (R-Ohio-14)</p> <p><u>Pennsylvania</u> Rep. Charles W. Dent (R-Pa.-15) Rep. Phillip S. English (R-Pa.-3) Rep. Mike Fitzpatrick (R-Pa.-8) Rep. Jim Gerlach (R-Pa.-6) Rep. Timothy F. Murphy (R-Pa.-18)</p> <p><u>South Carolina</u> Rep. J. Gresham Barrett (R-S.C.-3) Rep. Bob Inglis (R-S.C.-4)</p> <p><u>Tennessee</u> <i>Rep. Jim Cooper (D-Tenn.-5)</i></p> <p><u>Texas</u> <i>Rep. Henry Cuellar (D-Texas-28)</i> <i>Rep. Ruben E. Hinojosa (D-Texas-15)</i> <i>Rep. Solomon P. Ortiz (D-Texas-27)</i></p> <p><u>Utah</u> Rep. Rob Bishop (R-Utah-1) Rep. Chris Cannon (R-Utah-3) <i>Rep. Jim Matheson (D-Utah-2)</i></p> <p><u>Virginia</u> Rep. Jo Ann S. Davis (R-Va.-1)</p>
<hr/>	

FOLLOWING THE MONEY

Although 2005 was a showcase year for the abuse of money in politics, the starring role played by corporate and Republican donations surrounding the CAFTA vote has not gotten sufficient attention in the recent wave of indictments, resignations and criminal investigations. The massive CAFTA-related influx of cash and other favors – which Rep. Ellen Tauscher (D-Calif.), a self-described “free trade” Democrat who opposed CAFTA based on labor concerns, ridiculed as a “Christmas tree operation”³ – almost certainly played a role in getting these lawmakers (especially those who had previously publicly stated opposition to CAFTA or come from districts with strong CAFTA opposition among voters) to provide the final passing votes at the last moment.

One of the ways that the pro-CAFTA corporate coalition and the Republican leadership rewarded members of Congress who voted for CAFTA was through special post-vote fundraisers. According to an article in *The Hill* newspaper from November 2005:

“In the three months since CAFTA passed the House by two votes, business groups and individual companies have held more than a dozen fundraisers for members of the so-called ‘CAFTA 15’ [the only House Democrats who voted for CAFTA] and have provided help selling the trade pact to skeptical constituents. ... Since August, they have held fundraisers for 10 of the 15 – Reps. Melissa Bean (Ill.), Jim Cooper (Tenn.), Norm Dicks (Wash.), Henry Cuellar (Texas), Ruben Hinojosa (Texas), Jim Matheson (Utah), Greg Meeks (N.Y.), Dennis Moore (Kan.), Ike Skelton (Mo.) and Edolphus Towns (N.Y.) – according to sources with knowledge of the endeavor. They have plans to arrange fundraisers for two more – Reps. Bill Jefferson (La.) and Solomon Ortiz (Texas) – before Thanksgiving.”⁴

Among the other, curiously-timed fundraisers for the “CAFTA 30:”

- **Pro-CAFTA Democrats:** On September 7, 2005, a coalition of leading pro-CAFTA corporate interests, including the National Association of Manufacturers, Business Roundtable, and the Electronic Industries Alliance, held a fundraiser that was billed as a “thank you” to the 15 Democrats who provided President Bush the major political victory of CAFTA passage.⁵ Reps. Jim Moran (Va.) and Jim Matheson (Utah) were the only honorees observed entering the event’s main entrance, while Rep. Rubén Hinojosa slipped in through a back garage. A senior staff person for Rep. Edolphus Towns’ (D-N.Y.) entering the event also engaged in a nasty exchange with religious group, labor, environmental and consumer group representatives protesting the fundraiser. Uninvited guests who sought entry – or even to pick up a copy of the glossy thank-you program – were escorted out by police.⁶
- **Rep. Tim Murphy (R-Pa.):** On July 25, just two days before the CAFTA vote, Vice President Dick Cheney appeared as the guest speaker at a luncheon in honor of Murphy, whom he referred to as an “outstanding congressman.”⁷ Murphy had remained uncommitted to CAFTA enormous pressure against the pact in his

district. A second fundraiser for Murphy after the CAFTA vote was billed as a “CAFTA Celebration Reception,” but was called off to avoid protests by angry constituents who opposed CAFTA.⁸

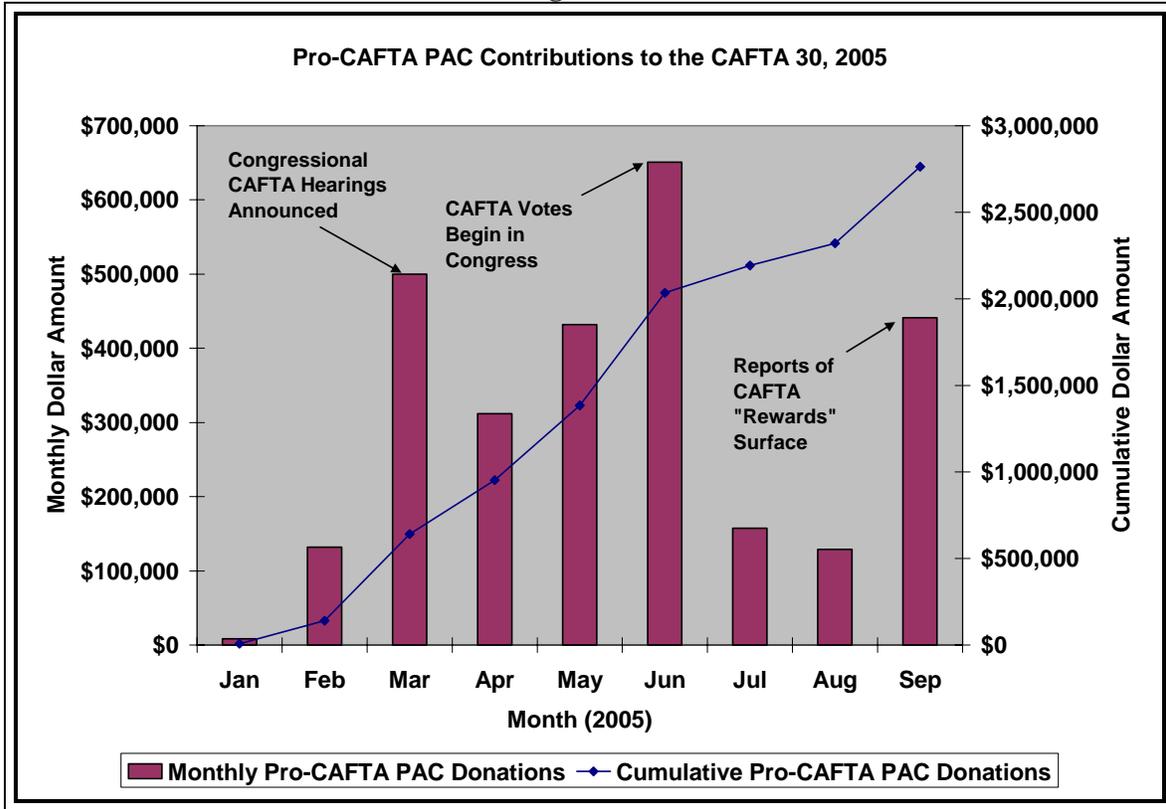
- **Rep. Jim Gerlach (R-Pa.):** Eleven days before the CAFTA vote, senior White House advisor Karl Rove led a \$2,500-a-plate fundraiser for Gerlach, which was met by protestors denouncing Gerlach’s links to the controversial aide.⁹ Five days before the CAFTA vote, First Lady Laura Bush arrived in King of Prussia, Pa., to help Gerlach raise at least \$60,000.¹⁰ Opposition to CAFTA runs high in his Pennsylvania district, which has lost nearly a quarter of its manufacturing jobs during the NAFTA decade.¹¹
- **Rep. Steve LaTourette (R-Ohio):** One month after the CAFTA vote, U.S. Trade Representative Rob Portman co-hosted a fundraiser for LaTourette, who had flip-flopped from public CAFTA opposition to support at the last-minute. According to the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the fundraiser was unusual in that it was “the only congressional fund-raiser among dozens scheduled through next April that lists Portman as an attraction.”¹²

Undoubtedly after the first rash of corporate CAFTA payoff events were met with pickets, the ensuing methods for delivering checks became less public. As one corporate spokesperson said of the fundraising reward effort, “You don’t just build support for trade in the day leading up to a vote, you build support for trade in the next 364 as well.”¹³

Indeed, pro-CAFTA industries appear to have paid off the “CAFTA 30” throughout the 2005 cycle. To show this, we reviewed PAC contributions from January through September 2005 – the most recent data available from the Center for Responsive Politics, which tracks Federal Elections Commission data on members of Congress. This data set groups individual PACs by industry: the PAC representing the pharmaceutical giant Pfizer, Inc., for example, is listed under the “Pharmaceutical & Health Products” industry. We then categorized the contributions into one of four groups: pro-CAFTA, anti-CAFTA, political party money, and a miscellaneous “other” category. (For a detailed description of the methodology by which this categorization was carried out, please see Appendix 1.) In short, we categorized as “pro-CAFTA” those PAC contributions that came from industries in which leading corporations and interest groups were active in pro-CAFTA lobby efforts. While not *all* corporations and interest groups within these industries may have lobbied equally or actively for CAFTA passage, the pro-CAFTA lobby activities by leaders within the industries serve as a reliable indication of the overall industry stance on CAFTA.

As shown in Figure 1, in the months leading up to the CAFTA vote – and in June 2005 in particular, as positions were being staked out on the agreement and candidates were building up their “campaign war chests” for the 2006 election year – the “CAFTA 30” as a group made off like bandits from CAFTA-interested business donations.

Figure 1



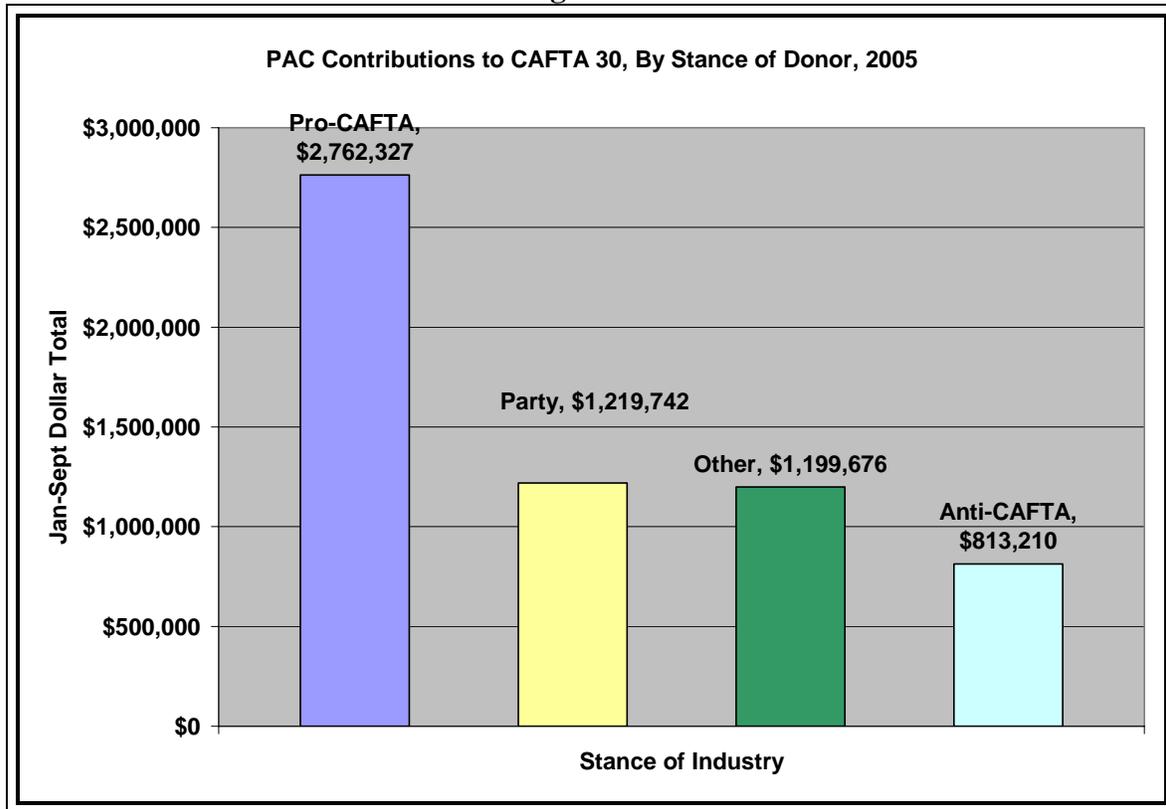
Source: Public Citizen analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics.

Three representatives in particular – Melissa Bean (D-Ill.), Robin Hayes (R-N.C.), and Gregory Meeks (D-N.Y.) – received unusually high increases in pro-CAFTA industry PAC contributions following the CAFTA vote, with Bean and Meeks nearly doubling their January to July 2005 contributions in August and September 2005 alone. (Hayes received over 50 percent more between these two periods, while Reps. Jim Cooper (D-Tenn.), Henry Cuellar (D-Texas), Steve LaTourette (R-Ohio), and Dennis Moore (D-Kan.) received at least 30 percent more.)^{iv} Among the top corporate interest groups giving through their PACs to these members were Caterpillar, Citigroup, Microsoft, Pfizer, U.S Chamber of Commerce and Wal-Mart – all leaders in the corporate CAFTA lobbying push.

Figure 2 shows just how much more pro-CAFTA industry PAC money was involved than PAC money from other sources. Pro-CAFTA industry PACs spent more than three times that spent by anti-CAFTA sources.

^{iv} Bean, Hayes, LaTourette, and Meeks also received a “peak” in pro-CAFTA industry PAC funds in the two months after the CAFTA vote. This means that the highest monthly amount they received in August or September 2005 from pro-CAFTA industry PACs exceeds the highest monthly amount they received from January to July 2005.

Figure 2



Source: Public Citizen analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics.

In total, nearly \$2.8 million was spent by pro-CAFTA industry PACs on the “CAFTA 30” during the current election cycle from January to September 2005 alone. That figure is nearly equal to the “labor trade capacity building” money the Bush administration touted as a major investment in Central American labor rights enforcement that was appropriated for *each* CAFTA country in 2006,^v showing both the potentially corrupting influence of current U.S. campaign finance practices and the relative meagerness of the Bush administration’s commitment to help Central America deal with CAFTA’s likely adverse consequences on Central American workers’ basic rights.

DANGEROUS CAFTA LIAISONS

In a second phase of research, we compared the January to September 2005 PAC contributions from pro-CAFTA industries to those from the period from January through September 2003. This is a comparable period of time, both because the length of time is the same (9 months), but also because the periods selected fall during non-election years. During Congressional election years, such as 2004 and 2006, we would expect to see greater PAC contributions as congressional races near their conclusions in November of

^v The foreign operations appropriations for fiscal year 2006 included \$40 million in labor and environmental capacity building funds for all six CAFTA countries. This is equal to \$3.3 million in labor funding per country, assuming that the aid money is split equally between the countries and between labor and environmental uses.

those years. For this reason, the periods we selected for comparison dramatically understate the amount of total pro-CAFTA industry money involved in federal elections. What we therefore isolate through this exercise is which members of Congress saw their pro-CAFTA industry contributions *change* upwards or downwards between the two examined periods from the two most recent election cycles.

We found that there is a large group – 22 members – that saw increases in pro-CAFTA industry PAC contributions in 2005 as compared with 2003, some of them quite large. A second group of seven members saw their pro-CAFTA industry PAC contributions actually decline during the same period, some quite dramatically. As a switch of a single vote would have rendered defeat for CAFTA, it is important to note not only which members of Congress have profited tremendously from pro-CAFTA industries, but also which ones may have gambled with the loss of their voters’ affections in exchange for additional campaign finance support from industry with their CAFTA vote, but were left with little corporate “affection” in the bank to show for it at the end.

Table 2 shows the 22 members of Congress whose pro-CAFTA corporate PAC largesse increased relative to past contribution levels. It is sorted from top to bottom by those representatives that had the largest jumps in 2005 from pro-CAFTA industry PACs. It is noteworthy that the two top pro-CAFTA money recipients by far are Reps. Jim Gerlach (R-Pa.) and Mike Fitzpatrick (R-Pa.) – both from Pennsylvania districts ravaged by manufacturing job loss since NAFTA.



Rep. Jim Matheson (D-Utah) greeted by a “Fat Cat” protestor at a fundraiser for the CAFTA 15.

**Table 2:
Increased Pro-CAFTA Industry PAC Money To 22 Representatives**

Representative	Jan-Sep 2005	Jan-Sep 2003	Difference
<i>Gerlach</i>	\$251,703	\$119,121	\$132,582
<i>Fitzpatrick*</i>	\$199,515	N/A	N/A
<i>Moore</i>	\$171,762	\$121,701	\$50,061
<i>Hayes</i>	\$159,000	\$150,000	\$9,000
<i>Matheson</i>	\$151,180	\$115,806	\$35,374
<i>Pombo</i>	\$145,600	\$139,124	\$6,476
<i>Skelton</i>	\$143,522	\$68,500	\$75,022
<i>Bean*</i>	\$123,443	N/A	N/A
<i>Meeks</i>	\$121,321	\$60,676	\$60,645
<i>Cannon</i>	\$106,564	\$66,250	\$40,314
<i>Cuellar*</i>	\$104,700	N/A	N/A
<i>LaTourette</i>	\$104,680	\$61,143	\$43,537
<i>Barrett</i>	\$95,427	\$79,140	\$16,287
<i>Towns</i>	\$91,164	\$65,500	\$25,664
<i>Dent*</i>	\$85,000	N/A	N/A
<i>Taylor</i>	\$79,686	\$50,194	\$29,492
<i>Cooper</i>	\$57,477	\$45,100	\$12,377
<i>Hinojosa</i>	\$47,000	\$36,500	\$10,500
<i>Davis</i>	\$40,850	\$34,500	\$6,350
<i>Inglis*</i>	\$21,000	N/A	N/A
<i>Bartlett</i>	\$20,200	\$11,000	\$9,200
<i>Snyder^{vi}</i>	\$1,000	\$0	\$1,000
Total	\$2,321,794	\$1,224,255	\$1,097,539
Incumbents			
Only Total	\$1,788,136	\$1,224,255	\$563,881
*Denotes non-incumbent.			

Source: Public Citizen analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics.

It is noteworthy that three representatives – Jim Gerlach (R-Pa.), Gregory Meeks (D-N.Y.) and Ike Skelton (D-Mo.) – doubled their pro-CAFTA industry PAC contributions between the two periods. (Pro-CAFTA industry PAC contributions to Bartlett, Cannon, LaTourette, and Taylor grew by more than 50 percent between the two periods.) Among Meeks’ top contributors in 2005 were PACs representing FedEx, GlaxoSmithKline, and Pfizer; while among Skelton’s top 2005 contributors were PACs representing Boeing, Pfizer, Tyson Foods, and Wal-Mart. Before the CAFTA vote, Meeks had said he had “serious concerns about this bill, concerns about losing jobs in America,”¹⁴ while Skelton had also publicly expressed worries about the costs of CAFTA.¹⁵

Also important, although not obvious from Figure 3, is that four first-term representatives – Bean, Cuellar, Fitzpatrick and Rep. Bob Inglis (R-S.C.) – have received the same or more amount of pro-CAFTA industry PAC donations in the first nine months of 2005 as

^{vi} The \$1,000 donation to Snyder’s campaign – from a PAC representing the 3M Company, a member of the Business Coalition for U.S.-Central America Trade – was made on Sept. 28, 2005, the very end of the period analyzed by this report. According to press reports, Snyder’s campaign has a policy of returning all such donations. *See* footnote ii.

in their entire two-year election campaign. Bean had been elected in 2004 with major labor union support. During her run in 2004, then-candidate Bean not only pledged opposition to NAFTA expansion, but during her primary campaign had explained her opposition to Fast Track trade authority legislation by stating that Congress' decision to grant the president such authority to negotiate new trade agreements could help "expedite the implementation of trade agreements that *undermine or ignore labor and environmental practices*" [italics added].¹⁶ Bean, who got virtually no pro-CAFTA industry PAC money in her entire first election campaign, has grown contributions from these sources by nearly 550 percent in just the first nine months of 2005 alone.^{vii}

A second group of representatives actually got less pro-CAFTA PAC contributions in 2005 than they did in 2003 – despite their support of CAFTA, which was vehemently opposed by their constituents. Table 3 lists these representatives, organized from top to bottom by those who saw the largest losses of pro-CAFTA industry PAC money between the two periods.

**You are cordially invited
to a reception honoring**

Melissa Bean (IL) Norm Dicks (WA) Jim Matheson (UT) Jim Moran (VA) Vic Snyder (AR)	Jim Cooper (TN) Ruben Hinojosa (TX) Greg Meeks (NY) Solomon Ortiz (TX) John Tanner (TN)	Henry Cuellar (TX) William Jefferson (LA) Dennis Moore (KS) Ike Skelton (MO) Ed Towns (NY)
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Wednesday, September 7, 2005, 6:00 - 8:00 p.m.

Nortel*
 101 Constitution Ave. NW, Suite #325 East
 Washington, DC 20001
 212.312.8060
 *Special thanks to Greg Farmer

Host: \$15,000
 Sponsor: \$7,500
 Individual: \$1,000

Please RSVP by September 6th to
 rsvp@15appreciation.org,
 Please coordinate with Doug Wiley (703.907.7525)
 or Fred Nichols (202.236.1213) for all contributions.

Federal law requires political committees to use their best efforts to obtain and report the name, mailing address, occupation and employer for each individual whose contributions aggregate in excess of \$200 in an election cycle. Contributions are not deductible as charitable donations for federal income tax purposes. Contributions from foreign nationals and corporations are prohibited.

Hosts
 Hon. Dave McCurdy
 Gov. John Engler
 John Castellani
 Hon. Cal Dooley
 TechNet PAC

Sponsors
 TIA PAC
 Motorola PAC
 Nortel PAC
 Ceridian PAC
 Richard G. Russell
 Caterpillar PAC
 Pfizer PAC
 Procter & Gamble PAC
 General Motors PAC
 Boeing PAC
 Texas Instruments PAC
 EDS PAC

Individuals
 Harris Miller
 Joe Tasker
 Thomas B. Patton
 Steve Champlin
 Bill Reinsch

Invitation to a corporate fundraiser for the Democrats that voted for CAFTA

^{vii} Reps. Henry Cuellar (D-Texas) and Mike Fitzpatrick (R-Pa.) received virtually the same amounts in the first nine months of 2005 as they did in their first election cycle. Fitzpatrick, whose campaign started receiving donations in July 2004 when an incumbent announced an unanticipated retirement, received virtually the same amount of donations in his short first election race from pro-CAFTA industry PACs as in 2005, when he was again one of the top recipients of pro-CAFTA industry PAC money. In the first nine months of 2005, Rep. Bob Inglis' (R-S.C.) campaign received \$52,331 in pro-CAFTA industry PAC contributions, or a 2,000 percent increase from what he received in his entire 2003-04 campaign, which started receiving donations in January 2003. Inglis had served in the House in the 1990s as well.

**Table 3:
Despite CAFTA Support, 7 Members Get Less
Pro-CAFTA Industry PAC Money In CAFTA Year**

Representative	Jan-Sep 2005	Jan-Sep 2003	Loss
<i>Foley</i>	\$84,733	\$272,402	-\$187,669
<i>Brown-Waite</i>	\$92,605	\$144,183	-\$51,578
<i>Murphy</i>	\$85,300	\$120,925	-\$35,625
<i>Bishop</i>	\$18,000	\$48,499	-\$30,499
<i>Aderholt</i>	\$27,000	\$33,500	-\$6,500
<i>English</i>	\$118,895	\$120,799	-\$1,904
<i>Ortiz</i>	\$14,000	\$15,000	-\$1,000
Total	\$440,533	\$755,308	-\$314,775

Source: Public Citizen analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics.

It is interesting that the representative who lost the most pro-CAFTA industry PAC money by far is Mark Foley (R-Fla.), who had said before the vote that “CAFTA may sound like a good idea in theory, but if we don’t get it right a lot of people will be hurt.”¹⁷ Foley, whose district includes many small sugar farmers who could stand to lose their livelihoods if CAFTA and other trade agreements phase in increased sugar imports, even called Bush administration “promises” to buy up increased sugar imports as “not a good deal.”¹⁸ In explaining his surprising flip-flop, Foley asserted that the Republican Congressional leadership, including indicted former Majority Leader Tom DeLay, assured him “that they would keep in mind his concerns about the sugar industry when considering future legislation and trade deals.”¹⁹ But already, such a promise seems unlikely to materialize. One Republican member of Congress who had opposed CAFTA, following a similar conversation with Bush administration officials, predicted that there “will be serious attempts to eliminate the sugar program in the next farm bill.”²⁰ A possible preview of the administration’s fealty to promises to Republicans representing sugar-producing districts can be seen in President Bush’s recent announcement that the United States would begin to open markets for more imported sugar.²¹

INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE “CAFTA 30”: SHADOWS OF CORPORATE INFLUENCE?

While our research found that pro-CAFTA industry PACs contributed \$2.8 million total to the “CAFTA 30” between January and September 2005, this number understates the full amount of contributions that may have come from pro-CAFTA sources. As the Center for Responsive Politics notes,

“PACs accounted for only 40 percent of the campaign dollars collected by U.S. House winners in 1994, and less than 25 percent of the money collected by U.S. Senate winners. Contributions from individuals – most of them delivered in amounts of \$250, \$500, and \$1,000 – formed the bulk of the funding for most winning candidates in the House and Senate. Large individual contributions usually come from the same sources and represent the same interests as PAC contributions. So politicians who publicly refuse to take PAC contributions are often no less beholden to private interests than those who do take PAC contributions.”²²

One commonly used measure of the degree of interest group involvement in individual giving to candidates is to look at the amount and share of individual donations coming from out-of-state. Table 4 shows that Reps. Melissa Bean (D-Ill.), Richard Pombo (R-Calif.), Charlie Taylor (R-N.C.), Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.), Jim Gerlach (R-Pa.) and Mike Fitzpatrick (R-Pa.) lead the “CAFTA 30” in individual donations from out-of-state. Bean, Pombo, Taylor, Towns, and Reps. Phil English (R-Pa.), Jim Matheson (D-Utah), Chris Cannon (R-Utah) and Rob Bishop (R-Utah) rely on out-of-state individual donations for more than \$2 out of every \$5 they received in individual contributions in the most recent election cycle, making them particularly dependent among the “CAFTA 30” on donations from such sources, while Bean, Taylor, and English have grown the out-of-state share of their individual giving portfolio relative to the most recent election cycle. Finally, Bean and six other representatives saw particularly high amounts of out-of-state contributions in the wake of the CAFTA vote in August and September 2005, while Bean, Gerlach, Fitzpatrick and eight other representatives saw particularly high amounts in individual donations coming from “Lobby Land” – the Washington, D.C. area that is home to the country’s lobbyists for drug companies and other pro-CAFTA interest groups – in the wake of the CAFTA vote.

**Table 4:
Out-Of-State Individual Donations Play A Large And Increasing Role In Some
“CAFTA 30” Re-Election Campaigns^{viii}**

Representative	Out of state amount, Jan-Sep 2005	Out of state share in total individual donations, Jan-Sep 2005	Out of state share in total individual donations, 2003-04 election cycle	Is there a peak in out-of-state donations post-CAFTA?	Is there a peak in donations from "Lobby Land" post-CAFTA?
<i>Bean</i>	\$240,425	41.9%	24.0%	X	MD,VA
<i>Pombo</i>	\$154,273	42.7%	43.5%		
<i>Taylor</i>	\$85,210	42.1%	24.4%		
<i>Towns</i>	\$62,725	48.3%	40.6%		
<i>Gerlach</i>	\$60,637	12.7%	21.6%		DC
<i>Fitzpatrick</i>	\$53,355	12.8%	29.3%		DC
<i>Skelton</i>	\$51,550	35.2%	48.5%		
<i>Foley</i>	\$43,300	20.8%	18.5%	X	
<i>English</i>	\$42,000	42.5%	26.2%		
<i>Moore</i>	\$36,250	30.0%	27.0%		
<i>Matheson</i>	\$35,800	40.8%	33.1%	X	MD
<i>Barrett</i>	\$34,296	19.1%	17.9%		
<i>Cannon</i>	\$32,499	64.9%	74.4%		
<i>Murphy</i>	\$28,655	7.8%	9.6%	X	MD,VA
<i>Dent</i>	\$27,312	19.5%	36.5%	X	DC,MD,VA
<i>Ortiz</i>	\$26,050	30.6%	27.4%		
<i>LaTourette</i>	\$23,708	8.9%	17.4%		DC
<i>Hayes</i>	\$22,807	14.9%	16.8%		
<i>Bartlett</i>	\$17,800	24.2%	17.8%		
<i>Bishop</i>	\$15,500	71.1%	23.1%	X	
<i>Meeks</i>	\$13,000	34.5%	36.8%		VA
<i>Inglis</i>	\$11,100	6.7%	6.7%	X	MD,VA
<i>Hinojosa</i>	\$9,525	15.4%	9.5%		VA
<i>Cooper</i>	\$9,250	5.3%	20.1%		
<i>Davis</i>	\$5,950	5.8%	13.1%		DC
<i>Brown-Waite</i>	\$5,306	13.4%	24.7%		
<i>Cuellar</i>	\$4,000	1.3%	0.4%		
<i>Aderholt</i>	\$2,000	2.7%	14.4%		
<i>Snyder</i>	N/A	N/A	5.6%		
Total or Average	\$1,154,283	25.6%	24.4%	7 reps	11 reps

Source: Public Citizen analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics.

^{viii} The existence of a “peak” indicated in the final two columns in Table 4 was determined by comparing the highest monthly total that each representative received from out-of-state or from the Washington, D.C. area in the January-July 2005 period and the August-September 2005 period. (The CAFTA vote took place at the end of July 2005.) We indicate those instances where a higher monthly total from out-of-state or the D.C. area occurred in the latter period. The state abbreviations in the final column refer to Washington, D.C. (DC), Maryland (MD), and Virginia (VA), considered collectively here as the D.C. area, or “Lobby Land.”

GOP BREAKS SOME ARMS, ELBOWS CAFTA THROUGH WITH GREASE OF LEADERSHIP MONEY

It wasn't just corporations that prioritized CAFTA passage: the Bush administration and Republican leadership regularly identified ratification of the agreement as among their top goals for 2005. GOP leadership and party PACs are able to draw contributions from an array of wealthy corporate PACs and individual executives and lobbyists connected to such corporate interests. GOP leadership and party PACs give twice as much to GOP House members as similar Democratic leadership and party PACs do to Democratic House members.^{ix}

The proliferation of well-heeled GOP "leadership" and other party-related PACs has created an unhealthy reliance by GOP rank-and-file members of Congress on campaign funding from these sources, and the implicit expectation to support positions favored by the leadership. The flow of campaign money from PACs controlled by GOP congressional leadership and the Republican Party poses a much larger threat to voting based on accountability to home district interests than just the CAFTA vote. Steady contributions over years accumulate to make rank-and-file members systematically vulnerable to financial punishment – and open to financial seduction – whenever they might "cross" party positions in the name of actually representing home district voters' demands or interests. The amount of money involved makes this background pressure a significant factor.

Republican party-related PACs donated over \$2.6 million to the Republican members of the "CAFTA 30" from the 2004 election cycle through September 2005 alone, a fact that may have helped create leverage over some Republicans who had been considered likely to oppose CAFTA.

^{ix} According to the Center for Responsive Politics, in the 2004 election cycle, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee raised \$92,945,101 for House Democratic candidates, while the National Republican Congressional Committee raised \$185,719,489 – twice as much.

WHAT IS “PROTECTIONISM?”

While CAFTA proponents derided the pact’s opponents as “protectionists,” economic data reveals that the label might more aptly apply to the pharmaceutical, digital recording and software industries that pushed hard for CAFTA’s passage. First, as a matter of basic economics, the cost of protection is defined as the difference between the government-enforced price of a good and the price at which the good would trade in a free market. While government protection for industries such as sugar and textiles assuredly raises the price for these goods by a nominal amount, government enforcement of copyrights and pharmaceutical patents raises the price of software and drugs by much more. Thus, while a tariff on soles for footwear may raise the cost of a \$50 pair of tennis shoes to as much as \$58, or by 16 percent, the increased cost of patent-protected pharmaceuticals is much greater. For example, a year prescription of some AIDS cocktails cost approximately \$10,000 in the United States, while generic producers in India, meeting international standards, can produce the same drugs for \$300 to \$400 a year – a price increase of 2,400 to 3,233 percent.²³

Economists Dean Baker and Noriko Chatani have noted some of the related costs of government protection of intellectual property: “Patent rents provide incentives for firms to engage in many activities that are wasteful from the standpoint of the economy as a whole ... These include ... political lobbying (or bribes) for the protection and extension of patent monopolies.”²⁴ The theory is borne out in reality, as the Center for Public Integrity (CPI) has documented in a recent report, which shows that the pharmaceutical and health products industry alone has spent more than \$800 million in federal- and state-level lobbying and campaign contributions in the last seven years. In addition, federal lobbying disclosure data show that the industry is also the number one lobbyist of the U.S. Trade Representative’s office, begging the question of how much we are forced to pay per pill for the hordes of Pharma and other lobbyists pushing monopoly protections on drugs.²⁵

“We’re very sorry that many people will be out of work [because of CAFTA], but it is not our problem.”

-- Business Software Alliance spokesperson in Central America

Indeed, among the Bush administration’s chief negotiating goals in CAFTA was to export the more protectionist and costly aspects of U.S. patent and copyright policy to Central America. The U.S. software industry, which has pushed copyright protections in trade agreements that extend beyond U.S. law, announced recently in El Salvador: “We’re very sorry that many people will be out of work [because of CAFTA], but it is not our problem.”²⁶ Consumer advocates argue that the incorporation of restrictive copyright

provisions into CAFTA is a way that the high-tech industry is negotiating for unfair protections below the radar screen of democratic accountability. “Industry groups have gone to international forums and sought greater IP protections so they could export them as treaties and bring them back home,” says Mike Godwin of the Public Knowledge advocacy group.²⁷

Indeed, industry PACs representing the “super protectionist” software, pharmaceutical and digital recording industries gave the “CAFTA 30” nearly \$1 million in the 2004 and 2006 election cycles. The top recipient of these funds was Rep. Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.), who represents a majority African-American district that has experienced severe public health problems related to HIV-AIDS. Close behind Towns (who received \$126,700) were Cannon (R-Utah; \$107,197), Gerlach (R-Pa.; \$103,500), Foley (R-Fla.; \$89,456), English (R-Pa.; \$88,490), Matheson (D-Utah; \$69,500), Meeks (D-N.Y.; \$65,500), and Murphy (R-Pa.; \$54,600).

Table 5: Republican PAC Funding of “CAFTA 30”, 2003-06^x

<u>Representative</u>	<u>Republican PAC Giving, 2003-05</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Republican PAC Giving, 2003-05</u>
Gerlach (R-Pa.)	\$593,362	Pombo (R-Calif.)	\$26,221
Fitzpatrick (R-Pa.)	\$463,385	Bishop (R-Utah)	\$24,086
Dent (R-Pa.)	\$405,962	Cannon (R-Utah)	\$21,432
Hayes (R-N.C.)	\$391,015	Barrett (R-S.C.)	\$21,362
LaTourette (R-Ohio)	\$194,968	Foley (R-Fla.)	\$21,178
Brown-Waite (R-Fla.)	\$156,589	Inglis (R-S.C.)	\$15,322
Murphy (R-Pa.)	\$108,986	Davis (R-Va.)	\$8,983
English (R-Pa.)	\$70,859	Aderholt (R-Ala.)	\$5,546
Bartlett (R-Md.)	\$60,701	Total	\$2,642,057
Taylor (R-N.C.)	\$52,100		

Source: Public Citizen analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics.

Many of the “CAFTA 30” were among the top recipients of PAC contributions linked to former GOP Majority Leader Tom DeLay, a fact which assuredly gave him leverage in his assigned CAFTA vote-prying task: according to *The Hill* newspaper, DeLay “volunteered to take on many of the hardest cases” of getting reluctant Republicans behind CAFTA.²⁸ Several candidates that were pressured to support CAFTA received particularly large sums of money over several election cycles from DeLay’s Americans for a Republican Majority Political Action Committee (ARMPAC) – including Reps. Ginny Brown-Waite (R-Fla.) and Charlie Dent (R-Pa.), who each received \$20,000; Gerlach, who received \$30,000; and Hayes, who received money in every election cycle since 1998, totaling nearly \$50,000.²⁹

“CAFTA 30” representatives are also among those that took money connected to the GOP lobbyist Jack Abramoff. Reps. Brown-Waite, Cannon, English, Foley and Hayes and/or their PACs all received campaign contributions from Abramoff directly, or from American Indian tribes he was paid to represent. Notably, Democrat Henry Cuellar (D-Texas) also received money from an Abramoff-connected tribe. But two of the “CAFTA 30” deserve special mention for their Abramoff connections. Taylor received \$19,750,³⁰ and is one of the few beneficiaries who has refused to recycle the money to charity.³¹

^x This category includes Leadership PACs, Candidate Committees, Republican/Conservative Interest Groups, and Party Committees.

**Table 6:
“CAFTA 30” Linked To DeLay/Abramoff Money**

Took DeLay Money		Took Abramoff-connected money
Aderholt	Fitzpatrick	Brown-Waite
Barrett	Foley	Cannon
Bartlett	Gerlach	Cuellar
Bishop	Hayes	English
Brown-Waite	LaTourette	Foley
Cannon	Murphy	Hayes
Davis	Pombo	Pombo
Dent	Taylor	Taylor
English		

Source: Center for Responsive Politics

Also, Richard Pombo (R-Calif.) and his PAC were the eighth-largest recipients of Abramoff-connected largesse among all members of Congress, receiving a whopping \$40,500. Pombo’s vote for CAFTA, which he had been expected to oppose, was particularly curious, and leadership pressure seemed to play an especially decisive role. According to *The Hill* newspaper’s night-of-the-vote account,

“On a night full of tense conversations, the most curious was that between DeLay and House Resources Chairman Richard Pombo (R-Calif.). DeLay and Pombo had a brief, heated conversation at the back of the chamber, after which DeLay marched over to Transportation Committee Chairman Don Young (R-Alaska). Young, who was putting the finishing touches on a massive highway bill filled with members’ pet projects, quickly explained something to DeLay. DeLay walked back to Pombo, told him something and watched in frustration as Pombo stormed out of the chamber. Pombo returned to vote yes 10 minutes later, but the content of those conversations is still unclear.”³²

While it is difficult to know definitively what threats were made or rewards offered during these types of exchanges – and whether they had any effect on an individual member’s vote – it is possible to conclude that members in such positions were thinking first and foremost about their own short-term interests, and not the long-term damage that flawed trade deals have had on their home constituents... an oversight to which we now turn.

BAD TRADE VOTES COST RE-ELECTION

Recent electoral history should give members of Congress worry that their support for flawed trade deals could cost them their seat. Former representatives Tom Sawyer, Matthew Martinez and Baron Hill are among incumbents recently ousted because of their bad trade votes, while GOP leader Tom Reynolds faces another costly challenge from a candidate targeting his support for bad trade deals. The 2002 unseating of Sawyer, a seven-term Ohio Democrat, was one of the more high-profile examples of festering trade vote anger playing out in an incumbent's defeat. Sawyer had voted repeatedly for trade agreements deeply opposed by his Akron constituents – NAFTA, WTO, and in 2000, China PNTR (Permanent Normal Trade Relations). The China vote – and a canned pro-PNTR rally in the district with President Clinton – was the last straw. A diverse local coalition set out to replace Sawyer with someone who would represent their interests. Thus, in 2002, when primary voters were given a choice between Sawyer and then 29-year old state senator, Tim Ryan, who made opposition to retrograde trade deals a top campaign issue, Ryan beat Sawyer by 41 to 21 percent.³³

Another glaring example of bad trade votes costing incumbents their election is that of 18-year incumbent Matt Martinez, a Democrat who represented part of Los Angeles. Martinez's constituents sought a primary challenger to replace the repeated trade offender. Martinez lost a primary bid in 2000 to then- State Sen. Hilda Solis, who ran a campaign that included repeated attacks on Martinez's votes for trade policies harming the district, including his support for "Fast Track" in 1997. Congress defeated Fast Track in 1997 even as Martinez voted for it in exchange for a Clinton administration promise to build a freeway extension off of I-710 in Martinez's district. Rep. Martinez, who usually won by impressive margins, lost to now- Rep. Solis, 29 to 62 percent. The freeway extension was never built.³⁴

In Southern Indiana, former Rep. Baron Hill (D-Ind.), a three-term incumbent, lost to Mike Sodrel, a Republican who campaigned on opposition to Hill's support of misguided trade bills. Sodrel argued that the United States can't afford to give up its manufacturing jobs, "any more than we can afford to give up agriculture."³⁵

Meanwhile, in upstate New York, GOP leader Tom Reynolds saw his normal 70 percent share of votes crash dramatically down to 56 percent of the vote total in 2004 after a challenge from GOP businessman Jack Davis, who switched parties and ran a "campaign" as a Democratic challenge to Reynolds composed exclusively of television ads attacking Reynolds for his free trade votes. Reynolds has systematically rebuffed local business leaders, such as Davis, in their attempts to describe to him how the trade policies Reynolds supported were hollowing out the industrial base of the region. Davis, who had no campaign except the TV ads attacking Reynolds' NAFTA and China PNTR votes, is running again as a Democrat after winning 44 percent of the vote in 2004 against Reynolds' 56 percent without having a campaign, a staff, or anything beyond trade-related TV ads.³⁶

VOTER BACKLASH AGAINST THE “CAFTA 30”

While the “CAFTA 30” were basking in corporate pay-outs – indeed, Rep. Gregory Meeks (D-N.Y.) even found time for a photo op as he rang the bell at the New York Stock Exchange in the days following the CAFTA vote³⁷ – things back home with the voters weren’t quite as pleasant.

Meeks and fellow New York Democrat Edolphus Towns were met in New York by pickets of working families demanding accountability just days after their misguided CAFTA vote. According to coverage of one such protest in *The New York Times*, “James Conigliaro of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, District 15, was particularly blunt. ‘They’re sellouts,’ said Mr. Conigliaro. ‘They want to run for re-election? I’m a Brooklyn guy, so I’ll give you a Brooklyn saying: Fuggedaboutit!’ ... ‘Unfortunately, for some reason, Towns and Meeks decided to associate themselves with a shrinking minority within the Democratic Party,’ said Dwight Loines, an official with the United Auto Workers and an executive committee member of the Working Families Party, which sponsored the rally. ... Mr. Loines said that he and other union leaders were preparing a campaign to tell about 75,000 union members in each congressman’s district about the vote.”³⁸

Recent reports indicate that Towns’ CAFTA vote may also cost him his “coveted Energy and Commerce Committee seat,” as the House Democratic leadership is upset with him for that and a missed budget vote.³⁹ More recently, New York City Councilman Charles Barron of Brooklyn has declared an electoral challenge to Towns, and former MTV “Real World” cast member Kevin Powell is also mulling a run, in a race where CAFTA is sure to figure prominently.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, in-district protests continue to follow both Towns and Meeks.

“They want to run for re-election? I’m a Brooklyn guy, so I’ll give you a Brooklyn saying: Fuggedaboutit!”

-- Union member James Conigliaro, on the CAFTA support of N.Y. Reps. Meeks and Towns

The New York Democrats were not alone in receiving harsh criticism in their home districts. In Illinois Democrat Melissa Bean’s home district, the local Central Labor Council rescinded her “Person of the Year” award in response to her misguided vote for CAFTA,⁴¹ and the Illinois State AFL-CIO recently refused to endorse her re-election campaign. With Bean having alienated the voters and organizations that literally made possible her upset 2004 election victory over former Rep. Phil Crane in the suburban Chicago seat, the National Republican Campaign Committee has called Bean “literally, No. 1”⁴² on its list of targets in the 2006 midterm election. Although the Republican Party passionately supported CAFTA, GOP campaign operatives have launched an effort to highlight Bean’s flip-flop away from her previously pledged position against CAFTA as an indication of her personal unreliability. Bean has lost the support of the majority of her 2004 election base, including the unions whose candidate questionnaire she filled out indicating she would oppose NAFTA expansion.

Republican Ken Arnold recently announced plans to seek his party's nomination to challenge the incumbent Bean in the 2006 elections, basing his platform on "fair trade," among other issues.⁴³ Bill Scheurer, who had previously challenged Bean in the Democratic primaries in 2004, has announced his plans to challenge Bean again, but this time as an independent targeting Bean's CAFTA vote as a major issue. According to the *Daily Herald*, "Scheurer says his candidacy has legs this time because he can attract Bean's former union supporters, who have split ways with her for supporting an international trade pact [CAFTA] they say will cost American jobs."⁴⁴ Indeed, in an article about labor unions opting to support candidates other than Democrats, a spokesman for the International Association of Firefighters told *The Washington Times* that, "A number of unions have talked about targeting Melissa Bean for her alienation of the labor movement at a key time on [CAFTA]."⁴⁵

Another Democratic CAFTA supporter, Henry Cuellar (D-Texas), has also been receiving heat back home, with two candidates initially filing to challenge him in the Democratic primary in 2006. Cuellar's predecessor, Ciro Rodriguez, who lost to Cuellar by just 58 votes in a bitterly contested election, has obtained the endorsement and support of many community, labor and other local groups while Cuellar has received endorsement by out-of-state corporate and right-wing groups like the Business Industry PAC (BIPAC) and the Club for Growth. According to the *San Antonio Express News*, "Rodriguez took aim at Cuellar's record, saying that Cuellar doesn't represent the interests of the 11-county district that stretches from Hays County in the north to Zapata County in the south. In particular, he pointed to Cuellar's vote for the Dominican Republic-Central America Free Trade Agreement, which many Democrats voted against. 'He's representing the Republicans,' Rodriguez said."⁴⁶ Rodriguez's arguments seemed especially true to many observers when in January 2006, Cuellar became the first Democrat to receive the endorsement of the ultra-right, intensively pro-corporate trade Club for Growth.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, a coalition of faith, community and labor groups have had a canvass operating door-to-door in Cuellar's district, informing voters about Cuellar's CAFTA vote and its implications at home and in Central America.

Voter ire over CAFTA is a bipartisan matter. At the top of the list of bad-trade-vote GOP incumbents being targeted for an unseating is North Carolina's Robin Hayes. Hayes provided the final vote to pass Fast Track trade authority in 2002, literally changing his "no" vote on the floor to a "yes," after telling his constituents he would oppose it. During the months of CAFTA debate, Hayes repeatedly announced his opposition to CAFTA. A week before the vote, Hayes stated that he was "flat-out, completely, horizontally opposed to CAFTA."⁴⁸ But once again, Hayes initially voted "no" on CAFTA before switching his vote at the last minute to a "yes" at the behest of the House Republican leadership. Tim Dunn, an Iraq War veteran and Democrat, filed to challenge Hayes days later. "He broke his promise to the people of the 8th Congressional District," Dunn told reporters. "With NAFTA, fast-track and now with CAFTA, those are things that ... will severely hurt our jobs here."⁴⁹

North Carolina GOP incumbent Charles Taylor faces a similar fate. Heath Shuler, Democrat and former professional football player with the Washington Redskins and New Orleans Saints, is challenging Taylor, basing his campaign on opposition to flawed trade deals. Taylor, who said that he would oppose CAFTA, was counted as not voting. Taylor's missing-in-action status generated numerous press reports and suspicions as his explanation for the missed vote changed repeatedly. According to the *Asheville Citizen-Times*, "Shuler said Taylor's actions on the Central American Free Trade Agreement offered a 'perfect example' of how Taylor is out of touch with the region, which has suffered dramatic job losses. 'When it really came down to supporting people in this district, he chose not to,' he said."⁵⁰

"When it really came down to supporting people in this district, he chose not to."

-- Heath Shuler, on North Carolina Rep. Charles Taylor's CAFTA non-vote

Meanwhile, in the NAFTA ground zero state of Pennsylvania, a whole group of Republican incumbents face a voter backlash and energized challenges based on last-minute "yes" votes for CAFTA. Two of them – Rep. Mike Fitzpatrick (R-Pa.) and Rep. Jim Gerlach (R-Pa.) are now in the GOP leadership PACs' top ten list.^{xi} Many Washington observers saw the House GOP leadership's pressure to walk the plank to pass President Bush's CAFTA on these vulnerable members from an industrial state (where anything rhyming with NAFTA is a swear word) as an indication of just how large the vote gap on CAFTA was. Fitzpatrick is being challenged by Democrat Patrick Murphy, who said that Fitzpatrick's yea vote for CAFTA "sells out Bucks County and sends U.S. jobs overseas."⁵¹ Lois Murphy, who is challenging Rep. Jim Gerlach (R-Pa.) in the general election, is running on a platform of "growing the economy" and promises to "reduce offshoring."⁵² Murphy only lost to Gerlach by two percentage points in 2004. Both Fitzpatrick and Gerlach have become national targets because of their CAFTA votes. Similarly, Democrat Bob Dodge has challenged incumbent Rep. Charles Dent (R-Pa.), saying, "Now I want to displace the congressman from our district who voted for CAFTA and [I want] to save American jobs."⁵³ And Rep. Tim Murphy (R-Pa.) of Pittsburgh is also working overtime to head off trade-related political challenges at home.⁵⁴

Finally, Rep. Richard Pombo (R-Calif.) is said to be facing "the most difficult election of his career," with a formidable coalition of environmentalists challenging him for his various anti-environmental stances,⁵⁵ which include CAFTA. Pombo has opposed many past trade agreements, and many of his conservative constituents joined him in concerns about the sovereignty threat posed by institutions like NAFTA, which he opposed. Meanwhile, Colorado freshman Marilyn Musgrave is on the top ten most vulnerable list after voting for CAFTA and against the sugar beet farmers prevalent in her region. Colorado State Rep. Angie Paccione (D) announced her candidacy in September 2005, declaring anger with Musgrave's CAFTA vote as a primary motivation.⁵⁶

^{xi} The Center for Responsive Politics lists Gerlach as the number one recipient of leadership PAC money, having received \$163,537 in the current election cycle, while Fitzpatrick is listed as number 7, having received \$139,537 in the current election cycle.

But in some respects, more baffling than the massive corporate campaign hand-outs to members facing competitive races back home are the members that haven't faced a competitive race in years but who still saw fit to support CAFTA – in the case of the Democrats, perversely handing President Bush a major political win amidst a season of trouble and flagging momentum – and pocket massive chunks of corporate campaign money. Rep. Ike Skelton (D-Mo.), who is the “CAFTA 30” member that received the second largest increase in pro-CAFTA PAC contributions in the current cycle (measured in comparable periods between January-September 2003 and January-September 2005), has claimed more than 60 percent of the vote in every election since 1982. Rep. Solomon Ortiz (D-Texas) has had the same security in virtually every year since coming to office in 1982. Similarly, Reps. Bob Aderholt (R-Ala.), J. Gresham Barrett (R-S.C.), Roscoe Bartlett (R-Md.), Ginny Brown-Waite (R-Fla.), Jim Cooper (D-Tenn.) and Mark Foley (R-Fla.) have enjoyed wide margins of victory. Observers are left to wonder how these members will be using their corporate PAC monies in 2006.

CONTINUED POLITICAL REALIGNMENT OVER TRADE

Analysis of the trade voting trends culminating with the CAFTA debate demonstrates a fundamental realignment of U.S. trade politics taking place. In 1993, 102 House Democrats and 27 Senate Democrats voted for NAFTA in 1993. With the NAFTA decade bringing the loss of one in six U.S. manufacturing jobs, virtually flat real wages, record-low farm commodity prices, a soaring U.S. trade deficit and increased poverty and malnutrition in Mexico, most Democrats in 2005 do not want to be associated with the failed NAFTA model and NAFTA-clone trade agreements. Only 15 House Democrats voted for CAFTA, and of these, only five – Reps. Henry Cuellar (D-Texas), Norm Dicks (D-Wa.), Bill Jefferson (D-La.), Jim Moran (D-Va.) and John Tanner (D-Tenn.) – were public with their intentions to support the agreement more than a few weeks before the agreement. Only 10 Senate Democrats supported CAFTA. The CAFTA vote was nearly a party-line vote because most Democrats rejected the status quo model of “trade” and globalization. Thus, numerous Republicans, who wanted to do the same on the merits, succumbed to GOP leadership pressure to make up the difference and provide a margin for passage.

Indeed, all six U.S. senators rumored to be considering a future bid for the Democratic nominee for president in 2008 or later voted against CAFTA, including Evan Bayh (Ind.), Joe Biden (Del.), Russ Feingold (Wis.), John Kerry (Mass.), Barack Obama (Ill.), and Hilary Rodham-Clinton (N.Y.). Democratic members of Congress running for governor's seats at the time of the CAFTA vote – including then-Sen. Jon Corzine (N.J.), and Reps. Jim Davis (Fla.) and Ted Strickland (Ohio) – also made a point of opposing the agreement. And all four Democratic members of the House who are running for the Senate – Sherrod Brown (Ohio), Benjamin Cardin (Md.), Harold Ford, Jr. (Tenn.) and Robert Menendez (N.J.)^{xiii} – also opposed CAFTA, with Brown leading the opposition to CAFTA in the House.

^{xiii} Rep. Menendez joined the Senate as a temporary stand-in for Jon Corzine as the latter went on to become governor. Menendez is expected to stand in the next election for voters to confirm his current post.

Brown, who was elected to Congress in 1992 just in time to oppose NAFTA, has been a stalwart opponent of corporate trade deals, and has even written a book entitled *Myths of Free Trade*, which explodes some oft-repeated message points from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and other corporate interests. A recent profile in the magazine *In These Times* reported that his commitment to social justice is paying off electorally as well, with polls showing Brown beating incumbent Sen. Mike DeWine (R-Ohio).⁵⁷

Longtime vocal opponent of the NAFTA-WTO corporate globalization model Rep. Bernie Sanders, an independent who caucuses with the Democrats and is the lone representative from Vermont, also appears poised to take the Senate seat of retiring CAFTA supporter Jim Jeffords.

From the other side of the aisle, Rep. Walter Jones (R-N.C.) led the Republican opposition to CAFTA, which he said, “is not going to help the people of Central America, and it certainly won’t help those American workers who will lose their jobs. If CAFTA becomes the law of the land,” he continued, “this country is setting itself up to become a second-rate manufacturing country. The American people are looking to us – Republicans and Democrats – to draw the line in the sand and save American jobs.”⁵⁸

But the Bush administration, Congressional Republican leadership and other CAFTA proponents combined to silence and punish these independent Republican voices. *The Washington Post* cited a statement by Rep. Jim Kolbe (R-Ariz.) that the House leadership will “twist some Republican arms until they break in a thousand pieces.”⁵⁹ The CEO of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Thomas Donohue also chimed in on this front when he said, “If you [lawmakers] are going to vote against it, it’s going to cost you.”⁶⁰ (Ironically, as we document on page 14, voting for CAFTA also was costly to Reps. Mark Foley (R-Fla.), Ginny Brown-Waite (R-Fla.) and Tim Murphy (R-Pa.), whose corporate PAC funding declined relative to past year.)

But considering the new electoral challenges and political situations facing Republicans who voted for CAFTA, GOP House leaders and their corporate partners may wish they had let more Republican House members vote in the interests of their constituents. Rep. Butch Otter (R-Idaho), a leading CAFTA opponent who said, “NAFTA plus CAFTA gives us the SHAFTA,”⁶¹ is a favorite to win the Idaho governor’s race in 2006. Meanwhile, Republican CAFTA supporters are having a much more difficult time with their gubernatorial races, with polls showing CAFTA-supporting Rep. Mark Green (R-Wisc.) losing to nearly every challenger in the Wisconsin race, and CAFTA-supporting Rep. Jim Nussle (R-Iowa) struggling in the Iowa governors’ race. Polls also indicate that CAFTA-supporting Rep. Mark Kennedy (R-Minn.) is almost certain to lose in his bid for a Senate post.⁶²

CONCLUSION: MONEY CAN'T BUY YOU VOTERS' LOVE

That corporate trade agreements would be more popular with corporations than with the voters who fear losing their job would seem obvious. Indeed, a vast majority of U.S. voters – 74 percent – opposed CAFTA if it meant a trade off between U.S. jobs and lower prices.⁶³ Only 16 percent of those polled on CAFTA by the Program on International Policy Attitudes said that they both supported the growth of international trade *and* approved of the way the United States is going about expanding international trade.⁶⁴ It seems that some among the “CAFTA 30” may be learning this lesson the hard way.

Meanwhile, threats, pork-barrel deals and corporate PAC payoffs like those used to pass CAFTA have pushed public confidence in Congress to new lows, with only one in four people approving of the way the legislative branch is doing its job.⁶⁵ That support for specific trade votes like CAFTA have been led by the most unethical members of the branch – witness the DeLay scandal and more recent ethics investigations involving other CAFTA supporters – additionally tarnishes the already rotten reputation of bad trade deals.

We were able to document dramatic jumps in pro-CAFTA corporate PAC contributions to 22 of the 30 members of the House of Representatives who would have been expected to oppose CAFTA, but supported it instead. We showed that some representatives – such as Jim Gerlach (R-Pa.), Gregory Meeks (D-N.Y.), and Ike Skelton (D-Mo.) – more than doubled their pro-CAFTA industry PAC contributions relative to a comparable period from the past. We also showed that some members – such as Reps. Meeks, Melissa Bean (D-Ill.) and Robin Hayes (R-N.C.) – had unusually high increases in pro-CAFTA industry PAC contributions shortly following the CAFTA vote. Some freshman representatives – such as Bean and Rep. Mike Fitzpatrick (R-Pa.) – saw more pro-CAFTA industry PAC money in the first nine months of 2005 than they did in their entire election campaign in 2003-04.

Some representatives – such as Gerlach and Fitzpatrick – were found to be particularly dependent on money from PACs representing the GOP leadership, which made CAFTA passage a top legislative priority. Other members of Congress – such as Reps. Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.) and Gerlach – were large recipients of money from the pharmaceutical industry, which saw CAFTA passage as a way to extend their monopoly patent protection into Central America, drive out generic competition and drive up drug prices. Finally, we noted the role of out-of-state individual donations in the campaign finance portfolio for some representatives such as Bean, Gerlach, Fitzpatrick and others.

Lastly, we showed that several members of Congress have successfully beaten incumbents from both political parties on a platform of opposition to flawed trade deals, and that the “CAFTA 30” are receiving increased political heat from angry voters back home. All of this points to 2006 as a year in which trade policies may also play a high profile role in U.S. national politics.

APPENDIX 1: A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY

Why the “CAFTA 30?”

Following the July 2005 CAFTA vote, Public Citizen’s Global Trade Watch picked 30 members of the House of Representatives that we considered to be the most improbable, unacceptable and inexplicable votes for the agreement. This group consists of members from both parties from across the country, many of whom had publicly stated CAFTA opposition or committed to vote against CAFTA. As part of our ongoing CAFTA Accountability Project, we are tracking the political, economic and other forms of fall-out from the CAFTA vote and the impact it has on each member’s district and career. Archived releases and updates can be found at www.tradewatch.org.

What We Studied

All campaign finance data in this report comes from databases created by the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP), an independent and non-partisan “fact tank” based in Washington, D.C. CRP processes and aggregates the original data from candidates’ official campaign finance filings with the Federal Elections Commission (FEC). In late 2005, Public Citizen contracted with CRP to provide all campaign finance data for the “CAFTA 30” beginning in January 2003 through the most recently available date, which was September 2005. We looked at campaign contributions from both political action committees (PACs) and individuals.

In order to meaningfully compare campaign finance data from the 2006 cycle (i.e., January through September 2005) to data from the previous 2004 election cycle, we had to select a comparable period of time. We picked January through September 2003, both because it this was a comparable length of time (nine months), but also because both periods fell at the beginning of their respective election cycles, and are equidistant in time from the November 2004 and November 2006 election dates. In some instances as noted, we accounted for the incumbency status of individual members of the “CAFTA 30,” as certain members had their first Congressional race in 2004 and many of these had not started fundraising by the January through September 2003 period. In other instances as noted, we looked at a combined record of campaign contributions from January 2003 through September 2005.

How Industries Were Classified as Pro- or Anti-CAFTA

Literally thousands of PACs and interest groups contributed to the “CAFTA 30.” In order to assign “pro” or “con” CAFTA positions to these contributors, we relied on CRP’s nearly 90 industry categories, which assign thousands of diverse PACs an “industry” designation. Therefore, individual PACs representing Merck, Inc. and Pfizer, Inc. and many others are combined under CRP’s “Pharmaceuticals & Health Products” industry.

For this study, Public Citizen designated all Center for Responsive Politics industry categories with a CAFTA stance, ranging from “Pro-CAFTA,” “Anti-CAFTA,” “Party,”

to “Other.” Industries in which at least one interest group was *both* a campaign contributor via a PAC to one of the “CAFTA 30” and listed as a member of the Business Coalition for U.S.-Central America Trade (BCUSCAT) – a pro-CAFTA umbrella group for businesses – were considered as “Pro-CAFTA Industries.” In other words, Pfizer Inc. was both a member of BCUSCAT and a donor to the “CAFTA 30,” so we extrapolated a pro-CAFTA industry stance for the “Pharmaceuticals & Health Products” industry category. While not all PACs within the “Pharmaceuticals & Health Products” industry may have lobbied equally or actively for CAFTA passage, voluminous testimony, advertising copy and more also demonstrates that the pro-CAFTA lobby activities by leaders within an industry we can document in the PAC database are reliable indicators for an overall industry stance on CAFTA. *Industries meeting these criteria are labeled “Pro-CAFTA Leaders” below, and constitute the majority of industries we consider to have a “pro-CAFTA” stance.*

In some instances, a given PAC within an industry formed part of the BCUSCAT, while another PAC within the same industry was a donor to one of the “CAFTA 30.” For instance, within the “Securities & Investment” industry category, the Financial Services Forum was listed as a member of the BCUSCAT while the Financial Services Roundtable – a separate PAC – was listed as a donor to the “CAFTA 30.” In such instances, we assigned a “pro-CAFTA” stance to the “Securities & Investment” industry, even though it was not the *same* PAC belonging to BCUSCAT and donating to the “CAFTA 30.” In other instances, such as the industry covering “Miscellaneous Finance,” we assigned a pro-CAFTA stance to the industry simply because the “non-miscellaneous” Finance industry designations were pro-CAFTA. *Industries whose CAFTA stances were determined using this wider methodology are labeled as “pro-CAFTA followers” below, and constitute a tiny minority of those industries considered “pro-CAFTA.”*

Industries in which the leading interest groups were opposed to CAFTA, including labor unions, textiles, and the crop production industry (which consists mostly of U.S. sugar producers who opposed CAFTA), were considered “Anti-CAFTA.” Organizations in which leading interest groups had no demonstrable interest in CAFTA – either because their issue was unrelated to trade or because a link to BCUSCAT and other lobby activities could not be shown – were termed “other.” The assumed CAFTA stances of all industries used in this study are listed in Appendix Table 1 below.

**Appendix Table 1:
PAC Contributions to the "CAFTA 30," Jan-Sep 2005**

<u>CAFTA LEADERS</u>			
Industry	Dollar Amount	Industry	Dollar Amount
<i>Insurance</i>	\$298,898	<i>Finance/Credit Companies</i>	\$62,000
<i>Commercial Banks</i>	\$230,022	<i>TV/Movies/Music</i>	\$54,000
<i>Pharmaceuticals/Health Products</i>	\$165,635	<i>Building Materials & Equipment</i>	\$51,750
<i>Air Transport</i>	\$122,500	<i>Food & Beverage</i>	\$49,000
<i>Oil & Gas</i>	\$114,600	<i>Misc Manufacturing & Distributing</i>	\$49,000
<i>Accountants</i>	\$114,464	<i>Chemical & Related Manufacturing</i>	\$37,250
<i>Hospitals/Nursing Homes</i>	\$86,820	<i>Telecom Services & Equipment</i>	\$34,500
<i>Telephone Utilities</i>	\$86,000	<i>Dairy</i>	\$29,500
<i>Retail Sales</i>	\$82,500	<i>Food Processing & Sales</i>	\$26,250
<i>Beer, Wine & Liquor</i>	\$81,571	<i>Electronics Mfg & Services</i>	\$18,500
<i>Agricultural Services/Products</i>	\$80,500	<i>Livestock</i>	\$17,272
<i>General Contractors</i>	\$78,252	<i>Business Associations</i>	\$14,500
<i>Defense Aerospace</i>	\$76,500	<i>Poultry & Eggs</i>	\$11,000
<i>Tobacco</i>	\$73,500	Total	\$2,213,848
<i>Computers/Internet</i>	\$67,564		

<u>CAFTA FOLLOWERS</u>			
Industry	Dollar Amount	Industry	Dollar Amount
<i>Securities & Investment</i>	\$167,500	<i>Business Services</i>	\$14,000
<i>Misc Defense</i>	\$90,350	<i>Misc Services</i>	\$12,000
<i>Automotive</i>	\$69,500	<i>Misc Finance</i>	\$11,250
<i>Credit Unions</i>	\$68,411	<i>Misc Business</i>	\$8,000
<i>Forestry & Forest Products</i>	\$26,686	<i>Misc Transport</i>	\$5,500
<i>Misc Energy</i>	\$24,000	<i>Printing & Publishing</i>	\$4,000
<i>Home Builders</i>	\$23,500	Total	\$547,479
<i>Savings & Loans</i>	\$22,782		

<u>ANTI-CAFTA</u>	
Industry	Dollar Amount
<i>Building Trade Unions</i>	\$224,860
<i>Public Sector Unions</i>	\$220,850
<i>Transportation Unions</i>	\$184,500
<i>Industrial Unions</i>	\$92,000
<i>Crop Production & Basic Processing</i>	\$52,000
<i>Misc Unions</i>	\$35,500
<i>Textiles</i>	\$2,500
<i>Environment</i>	\$1,000
Total	\$813,210

<u>PARTY-RELATED</u>	
Industry	Dollar Amount
<i>Leadership PACs</i>	\$748,516
<i>Candidate Committees</i>	\$363,100
<i>Republican/Conservative</i>	\$49,500
<i>Democratic/Liberal</i>	\$40,150
<i>Party Committees</i>	\$18,476
Total	\$1,219,742

<u>OTHER</u>			
Industry	Dollar Amount	Industry	Dollar Amount
<i>Health Professionals</i>	\$217,956	<i>Casinos/Gambling</i>	\$11,082
<i>Electric Utilities</i>	\$215,708	<i>Lodging/Tourism</i>	\$9,500
<i>Real Estate</i>	\$153,655	<i>Foreign & Defense Policy</i>	\$8,500
<i>Lawyers/Law Firms</i>	\$138,500	<i>Other</i>	\$7,500
<i>Defense Electronics</i>	\$92,500	<i>Fisheries & Wildlife</i>	\$7,000
<i>Railroads</i>	\$60,500	<i>Unknown</i>	\$6,500
<i>Mining</i>	\$41,380	<i>Abortion Policy/Pro-Choice</i>	\$5,000
<i>Gun Rights</i>	\$32,450	<i>Women's Issues</i>	\$4,900
		<i>Environmental</i>	
<i>Trucking</i>	\$31,000	<i>Svcs/Equipment</i>	\$4,000
<i>Construction Services</i>	\$26,500	<i>Sea Transport</i>	\$3,500
<i>Special Trade Contractors</i>	\$23,500	<i>Pro-Israel</i>	\$3,300
<i>Health Services/HMOs</i>	\$23,000	<i>Waste Management</i>	\$3,000
<i>Lobbyists</i>	\$17,695	<i>Education</i>	\$2,000
<i>Human Rights</i>	\$17,000	<i>Recreation/Live Entertainment</i>	\$1,000
<i>Steel Production</i>	\$16,800	Total	\$1,198,676
<i>Misc Issues</i>	\$13,750		

APPENDIX 2: TRADE VOTING TRENDS OF THE U.S. CONGRESS

The number of long-serving members of Congress that oppose flawed trade agreements and demand better alternatives continues to grow. This is a “fair trade bloc” that regularly beats opponents supporting the corporate NAFTA trade model. While 122 members of Congress opposed both NAFTA and CAFTA or voted for NAFTA but against CAFTA, only 106 members of Congress supported both NAFTA and CAFTA or opposed NAFTA but supported CAFTA.

32 members of Congress voted for NAFTA, but voted to oppose CAFTA based on the observed failings of the model:

- **Nine Democratic Senators:** Max Baucus (Mont.), Joe Biden (Del.), Chris Dodd (Ct.), Byron Dorgan (N.D.), Dick Durbin (Ill.),⁶⁶ Tom Harkin (Iowa), Edward Kennedy (Mass.), John Kerry (Mass.), and Pat Leahy (Vt.);
- **Two Republican Senators:** Arlen Specter (Pa.) and Craig Thomas (Wyo.);⁶⁷
- **Twenty House Democrats:** Xavier Becerra (Calif.), Howard Berman (Calif.), Benjamin Cardin (Md.), Chet Edwards (Texas), Anna Eshoo (Calif.), Sam Farr (Calif.), Bart Gordon (Tenn.), Alcee Hastings (Fla.), Steny Hoyer (Md.), Jay Inslee (Wash.), Eddie Bernice Johnson (Texas), Nita Lowey (N.Y.), Edward Markey (Mass.), Jim McDermott (Wash.), Marty Meehan (Mass.), Ed Pastor (Ariz.), Nancy Pelosi (Calif.), David Price (N.C.), Lucille Roybal-Allard (Calif.), and John Spratt, Jr. (S.C.); and
- **One House Republican:** Howard Coble (R-N.C.).

On the other hand, 29 members of Congress voted against NAFTA, but bizarrely for its expansion through CAFTA, a factor hard to explain given that both public opinion and the factual record condemn NAFTA, except by considering party pressure and corporate money:

- **Five Republican Senators:** Jim Bunning (Ky.), James Inhofe (Okla.), Rick Santorum (Pa.), Ted Stevens (Alaska) and Jim Talent (Mo.);⁶⁸
- **One Democratic Senator:** Diane Feinstein (D-Calif.);
- **Twenty-two House Republicans:** Roscoe Bartlett (Md.), Michael Bilirakis (Fla.), Dan Burton (Ind.), Lincoln Diaz-Balart (Fla.), John Doolittle (Calif.), Terry Everett (Ala.), Elton Gallegly (Calif.), Ralph Hall (Texas), Bob Inglis (S.C.), Jack Kingston (Ga.), John Mica (Fla.), Richard Pombo (Calif.), Ralph Regula (Ohio), Harold Rogers (Ky.), Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (Fla.), Ed Royce (Calif.), Jim Saxton (N.J.), Cliff Stearns (Fla.), Charles Taylor (N.C.),⁶⁹ James Walsh (N.Y.), Curt Weldon (Pa.), and Don Young (Alaska); and
- **One House Democrat:** Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.).

The 77 Members of Congress Who Voted for NAFTA and CAFTA:

- **Thirteen Republican Senators:** Robert Bennett (Utah), Christopher Bond (Mo.), Thad Cochran (Miss.), Pete Domenici (N.M.), Charles Grassley (Iowa), Judd Gregg (N.H.), Orrin Hatch (Utah), Kay Hutchison (Texas), Trent Lott (Miss.), Dick Lugar (Ind.), John McCain (Ariz.), Mitch McConnell (Ky.), and John Warner (Va.);
- **Six Democratic Senators:** Jeff Bingaman (N.M.), Maria Cantwell (Wash.), Jim Jeffords (Vt.), Joe Lieberman (Ct.), Patty Murray (Wash.), and Ron Wyden (Ore.)⁷⁰;
- **Fifty-one House Republicans:** Spencer Bachus (Ala.), Richard Baker (La.), Joe Barton (Texas), Sherwood Boehlert (N.Y.), John Boehner (Ohio), Henry Bonilla (Texas), Steve Buyer (Ind.), Ken Calvert (Calif.), Dave Camp (Mich.), Michael Castle (Dele.), Christopher Cox (Conn.), Randy “Duke” Cunningham (Calif.), Nathan Deal (Ga.), Tom DeLay (Texas), David Dreier (Calif.), John Duncan (Tenn.), Wayne Gilchrest (Md.), Paul Gillmor (Ohio), Bob Goodlatte (Va.), Dennis Hastert (Ill.), Joel Hefley (Colo.), Wally Herger (Calif.), David Hobson (Ohio), Pete Hoekstra (Mich.), Henry Hyde (Ill.), Ernest Istook (Okla.), Nancy Johnson (Conn.), Sam Johnson (Texas), Peter King (N.Y.), Joseph Knollenberg (Mich.), Jim Kolbe (Ariz.), Jim Leach (Iowa), Jerry Lewis (Calif.), John Linder (Ga.), Donald Manzullo (Ill.), Jim McCrery (La.), Howard “Buck” McKeon (Calif.), Jim Nussle (Iowa), Michael Oxley (Ohio), Thomas Petri (Wis.), Deborah Pryce (Ohio), Jim Ramstad (Minn.), Dana Rohrabacher (Calif.), F. James Sensenbrenner (Wis.), E. Clay Shaw (Fla.), Christopher Shays (Conn.), Lamar Smith (Texas), Bill Thomas (Calif.), Fred Upton (Mich.), Frank Wolf (Va.), and Bill Young (Fla.); and
- **Seven House Democrats:** Jim Cooper (Tenn.), Norm Dicks (Wash.), William Jefferson (La.), Jim Moran (Va.), Solomon Ortiz (Texas), Ike Skelton (Mo.), and John Tanner (Tenn.).

The 90 members of Congress who were consistent champions of fair trade and opposed both NAFTA and CAFTA:

- **Seventeen Senate Democrats:** Daniel Akaka (Hawaii), Barbara Boxer (Calif.), Robert Byrd (W.V.), Kent Conrad (N.D.), Russ Feingold (Wis.), Daniel Inouye (Hawaii), Tim Johnson (S.D.), Herbert Kohl (Wis.), Frank Lautenberg (N.J.), Carl Levin (Mich.), Robert Menendez (N.J.), Barbara Mikulski (Md.), Jack Reed (R.I.), Harry Reid (Nev.), John Rockefeller (W.V.), Paul Sarbanes (Md.), and Chuck Schumer (N.Y.)⁷¹;
- **Five Senate Republicans:** Conrad Burns (Mont.), Larry Craig (Idaho), Mike Crapo (Idaho), Richard Shelby (Ala.), and Olympia Snowe (Me.)⁷²;
- **Sixty-five House Democrats:** Neil Abercrombie (Hawaii), Gary Ackerman (N.Y.), Robert Andrews (N.J.), Sanford Bishop (Ga.), Rick Boucher (Va.), Corrine Brown (Fla.), Sherrod Brown (Ohio), James Clyburn (S.C.), John Conyers (Mich.), Jerry Costello (Ill.), Robert Cramer (Ala.), Peter DeFazio (Ore.), Rosa DeLauro (Conn.), John Dingell (Mich.), Eliot Engel (N.Y.), Lane Evans (Ill.), Bob Filner (Calif.), Barney Frank (Mass.), Gene Green (Texas), Luis Gutierrez (Ill.), Jane Harman (Calif.), Maurice Hinchey (N.Y.), Tim Holden (Pa.), Paul Kanjorski (Pa.), Marcy Kaptur (Ohio), Dale Kildee (Mich.), Tom Lantos (Calif.), Sander Levin (Mich.), John Lewis (Ga.), Carolyn Maloney (N.Y.), Cynthia McKinney (Ga.), Michael McNulty (N.Y.), George Miller (Calif.), Alan Mollohan (W.V.), John Murtha (Pa.), Jerry Nadler (N.Y.), Richard Neal (Mass.), James Oberstar (Minn.), David Obey (Wis.), John Olver (Mass.), Major Owens (N.Y.), Frank Pallone (N.J.), Donald Payne (N.J.), Collin Peterson (Minn.), Earl Pomeroy (N.D.), Nick Rahall (W.V.), Charlie Rangel (N.Y.), Bobby Rush (Ill.), Martin Sabo (Minn.), Bernard Sanders (Vt.)⁷³, Bobby Scott (Va.), Jose Serrano (N.Y.), Louise Slaughter (N.Y.), Pete Stark (Calif.), Ted Strickland (Ohio), Bart Stupak (Mich.), Gene Taylor (Miss.), Benny Thompson (Miss.), Nydia Velazquez (N.Y.), Peter Visclosky (Ind.), Maxine Waters (Calif.), Melvin Watt (N.C.), Henry Waxman (Calif.), Lynn Woolsey (Calif.), and Albert Wynn (Md.), and
- **Three House Republicans:** Duncan Hunter (Calif.), John McHugh (N.Y.) and Chris Smith (N.J.).

ENDNOTES

¹ This search was conducted by Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch and looked at all statements from members of the House of Representatives that voted for CAFTA, including statements in the Congressional Record, on Congressional websites, and from wire services. The search was limited to documents that contain the words "China" and "CAFTA," and then the frequency of the word "China" was tallied. An attempt was made to ensure that these statements do not overlap, meaning that the actual frequency of the word "China" appearing next to the word "CAFTA" is probably undercounted. Files available from Public Citizen upon request.

² Davis and Taylor were counted as "not voting" on CAFTA, even though they had committed to oppose the agreement's implementing legislation. Due to time limitations, Musgrave could not be counted in the campaign finance portion of this report.

³ "Finance to Set Timeline for DR-CAFTA Markup, Ways & Means Waits," *Inside U.S. Trade*, May 6, 2005.

⁴ Josephine Hearn, "Business Rewards CAFTA 15," *The Hill*, Nov. 9, 2005.

⁵ Elana Schor, "Business shows gratitude to 'CAFTA 15' Democrats who voted for trade deal," *The Hill*, Sept. 7, 2005.

⁶ For an account of the fundraiser and associated protests, see Jonathan Tasini, "The CAFTA 15 Skip the Perp Walk," Working Life Blog, entry dated Sept. 8, 2005.

⁷ Vice President Richard B. Cheney, "Vice President's Remarks at a Luncheon for Congressman Tim Murphy," Office of the Vice President News Release, July 25, 2005.

⁸ Jonathan Tasini, "Roast Another CAFTA voter," WorkingLife Blog, Sept. 20, 2005.

⁹ Nancy Petersen, "Gerlach's Rove tie criticized," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 16, 2005; Kimberly Hefling, "Gerlach's fund-raiser with Rove draws protest," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 20, 2005.

¹⁰ Benjamin Y. Lowe, "First lady praises Gerlach at fund-raiser," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 22, 2005.

¹¹ Bureau of Labor Statistics, State and Area Employment, Hours, and Earnings, Philadelphia, PA area, Manufacturing Supersector, All employees, in thousands, Not seasonally adjusted, Series SMU4237964300000001, accessed Dec. 13, 2005. The year 1998 was the peak of nationwide U.S. manufacturing employment, which has been declining nationally since that time. The number for September 2005 is a preliminary number published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

¹² Stephen Koff, "LaTourette fund-raiser to cash in CAFTA vote," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Sept. 21, 2005.

¹³ Elana Schor, "Business shows gratitude to 'CAFTA 15' Democrats who voted for trade deal," *The Hill*, Sept. 7, 2005.

¹⁴ J. Jioni Palmer, "Meeks in the middle," *Newsday*, July 17, 2005.

¹⁵ "But the markets involved in CAFTA are small; the six countries' gross product is smaller than that of greater St. Louis, according to a U.S. Business and Industry Council study. So Skelton wonders what benefits the United States would realize from CAFTA, and at what cost. 'Will it hurt American productivity?' Skelton wondered." See Matt Stearns, "Lawmakers have differing reasons why their votes are up for gains: 4 for free trade balk at CAFTA," *Kansas City Star* (MO), June 30, 2005.

¹⁶ "IVI-IPO Congressional Questionnaire: Melissa Bean 2004," Independent Voters of Illinois – Independent Precinct Organizations, Jan. 16, 2004 http://www.iviipo.org/2004queries_primary/CD_8_Bean.pdf; Illinois State AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, "Candidate Questionnaire for the United States Congress / 2004 Election: Melissa Bean," signed and dated Dec. 29, 2003.

¹⁷ Susan Salisbury, "Foley says Congress not likely to pass CAFTA," *Palm Beach Post*, Aug. 11, 2004.

¹⁸ Public Citizen notes from House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up of H.R. 3045, June 30, 2005.

¹⁹ William E. Gibson, "Passage of CAFTA may mean big business for Florida," *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*, July 29, 2005.

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ "Administration Cautiously Opens US Markets to More Sugar Imports," *Inside U.S. Trade*, Aug. 26, 2005.

²² Center for Responsive Politics, "10 Myths About Money in Politics: PACs are The Problem," CRP website, published 1996, accessed Feb. 6, 2006.

²³ Pharmaceutical example taken from Dean Baker and Noriko Chatani, "Promoting Good Ideas on Drugs: Are Patents the Best Way? The Relative Efficiency of Patent and Public Support for Bio-Medical Research," Center for Economic and Policy Research Briefing Paper, Oct. 11, 2002.

²⁴ Dean Baker and Noriko Chatani, "Promoting Good Ideas on Drugs: Are Patents the Best Way? The Relative Efficiency of Patent and Public Support for Bio-Medical Research," Center for Economic and Policy Research Briefing Paper, Oct. 11, 2002, at 8.

²⁵ M. Asif Ismail, "Drug Lobby Second to None," Center for Public Integrity Report, July 7, 2005; and "Exporting Prices," July 1, 2005, by the same author and organization.

- ²⁶ “*Lamentamos que muchos se van a quedar sin empleo, pero no es una cuestión nuestra, es un problema que debe solventarse con políticas que el Estado debe implementar para ver en qué actividades esta gente aplica,*’ expresó tajante en clara alusión a que en la industria que maneja no hay cabida para ofrecer empleo a los distribuidores de mercancía pirata. *Lejos de ofrecer alternativa, Chacón defendió a capa y espada las reformas. ‘No se puede justificar que por pobreza se cometa un delito. Entonces, habría que comprender el robo de una cartera o un teléfono celular,’ arremetió.* (Translation: “‘We’re very sorry that many people will be out of work [because of CAFTA], but it is not our problem, it is a problem that the State will have to solve through research into these people’s economic activities,’ he said emphatically, in clear allusion to the stance of his industry that it cannot provide employment to the pirate vendors. Instead of offering an alternative, Chacón vigorously defended the reforms. ‘Poverty does not justify the committing of a crime. If it did, you would have to understand why someone would steal a vehicle or cell phone,’ he concluded.”) See Claudia Contreras, “Gobierno buscará alternativa para vendedores piratas,” *La Prensa* (El Salvador), Jan. 1, 2006.
- ²⁷ Declan McCullagh, “Perspective: Copyright lobbyists strike again,” C Net News.com, Aug. 1, 2005.
- ²⁸ Patrick O’Connor, “CAFTA: Part 3: The Night of the Vote,” *The Hill*, Sept. 8, 2005.
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- ⁶⁹ Hall voted against NAFTA as a Democrat. He switched his party identification to Republican in 2004 and voted in favor of CAFTA. Taylor was counted as "not voting" on CAFTA.
- ⁷⁰ Jeffords is an independent who now caucuses with the Democrats but was a Republican at the time of the NAFTA vote. Lieberman missed the first Senate vote on CAFTA on June 30, 2005, but voted "yes" on the agreement when a second vote was taken on July 28, 2005. Cantwell and Wyden were in the House at the time of the NAFTA vote.
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- ⁷³ Sanders is an independent who caucuses with the Democrats.