

# Election 2008: Fair Trade Gets an Upgrade

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*Trade Issues Play Unprecedented Nationwide Role in  
Congressional, Presidential Races; Officials' Trade  
Views Move Closer to Public's*



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## I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### Final Findings

#### **New Fair-Trade Congresspeople: 43, a net gain of 35**

##### *New Senate Fair Traders: 7, a net gain of 7*

Senate races where fair traders beat anti-fair trader incumbents: 5

Senate races where fair traders took open seats vacated by retiring anti-fair traders: 2

##### *New House Fair Traders: 36, a net gain of 28*

House races where fair traders beat anti-fair trader incumbents: 13, net gain of 12

House races where fair traders took open seats: 20, net gain of 14

House special-election and other races where fair trader replaced anti-fair trader: 3, net gain of 2

**Races we monitored: 131+**

**Races where GOP ran on fair trade: 18+**

**Races where both GOP and Dem ran on fair trade: 14+**

**Paid ads on trade: 133+**

**House anti-fair traders that won higher office: 0**

**House fair traders that won higher office: 2**

##### *Senate campaigns where trade was a top and winning issue:*

- **Alaska: Mark Begich** (D) vs. incumbent Ted Stevens (R)
- **Colorado: Mark Udall** (D) vs. Bob Schaeffer (R)
- **Minnesota: Al Franken** (D) vs. incumbent Norm Coleman (R)
- **New Hampshire: Jeanne Shaheen** (D) vs. incumbent John Sununu (R)
- **New Mexico: Tom Udall** (D) vs. Steve Pearce (R)
- **North Carolina: Kay Hagan** (D) vs. incumbent Elizabeth Dole (R)
- **Oregon: Jeff Merkley** (D) vs. incumbent Gordon Smith (R)

##### *House campaigns where trade was a top and winning issue, with paid ads:*

- **North Carolina 8: Larry Kissell** (D) vs. incumbent Robin Hayes (R)
- **Pennsylvania 3: Kathy Dahlkemper** (D) vs. incumbent Phil English (R)
- **Alabama 2: Bobby Bright** (D) vs. Jay Love (R), both ran on trade
- **Illinois 14: Bill Foster** (D) incumbent vs. Jim Oberweis (R)
- **Michigan 7: Mark Schauer** (D) vs. incumbent Tim Walberg (R)
- **Michigan 9: Gary Peters** (D) vs. incumbent Joe Knollenberg (R)
- **Mississippi 1: Travis Childers** (D) incumbent vs. Greg Davis (R)
- **Nevada 3: Dina Titus** (D) vs. incumbent Jon Porter (R)
- **New York 25: Dan Maffei** (D) vs. Dale Sweetland (R)
- **New York 29: Eric Massa** (D) vs. incumbent Randy Kuhl (R)
- **Ohio 1: Steve Driehaus** (D) vs. incumbent Steve Chabot (R)
- **Ohio 16: John Boccieri** (D) vs. Kirk Schuring (R), both ran on trade

From the presidency, to both chambers of Congress, from Florida to New Mexico, from Colorado to New York, successful candidates in the 2008 races ran on a resounding platform of fundamental overhaul of U.S. trade and economic policies. The 2008 election was a veritable tipping point for use of fair-trade issues in election campaigns, with even the official party campaign committees and many Republicans getting in on the trade-change platform.

- The addition of 43 new congresspeople who are committed to changing the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) / World Trade Organization (WTO) model represents a net shift of 35.<sup>1</sup> This outcome builds on the shift in the fair-trade composition of Congress that occurred in 2006, when the House and Senate saw the addition of 48 new fair-trade senators and representatives (which represented a net shift of 37). **Thus, in 2006 and 2008, there was a combined shift of 72 in the fair-trade composition of Congress.**
- *Among these races:*
  - In the **North Carolina** Senate race, Democrat **Kay Hagan** beat Republican incumbent Sen. **Elizabeth Dole**, after running **eight paid trade-focused ads**.
  - In the **Oregon** Senate race, Democrat **Jeff Merkley** beat Republican incumbent Sen. **Gordon Smith**, after also running **nine paid trade-focused ads**. This victory was especially notable given the conventional wisdom that Oregon is “free trade” state. Merkley, in fact, improved on his party’s performance against Smith (relative to the 2002 elections) in all but two of Oregon’s 40 counties – including several key conservative working-class areas.
  - **The two representatives – Reps. Phil English (R-Pa.) and Robin Hayes (R-N.C.) – who provided the two final votes passing the controversial Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) were defeated in campaigns that focused on their trade betrayals.** Democrat **Kathy Dahlkemper** beat English, a senior House Ways and Means Committee member and frequent practitioner of “bait-and-switch” tactics on trade who voted against CAFTA twice in committee, but supported it on the floor. Former textile worker **Larry Kissell**, a Democrat, defeated incumbent Hayes, who had committed to oppose both CAFTA and Fast Track in 2001 but instead became the passing vote in favor of each. Kissell declared his candidacy saying: “My opponent was the deciding vote on both Fast Track and CAFTA. As someone that worked in textiles for 27 years, nobody knows better than I do the difference that one vote makes.”
  - **In Florida one hundred percent anti-fair trader Rep. Ric Keller (R-Fla.) was beaten by fair-trade Democrat Alan Grayson.** Grayson wrote: “...NAFTA and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have been used to weaken environmental protection in the United States and abroad. The downward pressure on environmental, health and safety standards could increase with completion of bilateral and regional Free Trade Agreements (FTAs), as well as through the Doha Round of WTO talks. ... Regrettably, Congress cannot exercise its normal constitutional powers as a check and balance on the executive with respect to trade agreements because fast-track procedures deny Congress its normal power to make amendments or to conduct a thorough debate.”

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<sup>1</sup> For a full list of these new fair traders, see Annex III.

- **New York 29: 100 percent anti-fair trader Rep. Randy Kuhl (R) – who actually campaigned on his support for CAFTA<sup>2</sup> – was beat by fair trader Eric Massa. Massa’s campaign ran paid trade ads, saying Kuhl “stood with George Bush on every major vote to outsource our jobs.”<sup>3</sup>** In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Massa committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that include NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>4</sup>
- **Michigan 7: Fair trader Mark Schauer (D) beat out 100 percent anti-fair trader Tim Walberg (R), who had been supported in the past by the anti-fair trade Club for Growth. Schauer ran multiple paid ads attacking Walberg’s trade voting record and the Club endorsement. Trade played such a big role that even Walberg’s website featured a news story describing the difference between the two candidates: “‘Jobs are the number one issue voters are concerned about this year, and the differences in this race couldn’t be clearer,’ [State] Sen. Mark Schauer said in a statement Friday in response to Walberg’s campaign launch. ‘While my opponent has faithfully supported President Bush’s failed economic policies and unfair trade deals that ship our jobs overseas, I have spent my career working with businesses and communities to cut through government red tape and turn Michigan’s economy around, one job at a time.’”<sup>5</sup>**
- **Michigan 9: Democrat and fair trader Gary Peters repeatedly bashed incumbent Rep. Joe Knollenberg’s (R) 19 out of 19 anti-fair trade votes in his wining campaign.** Peters’ website read: “From NAFTA and CAFTA onward, Knollenberg has voted in lockstep with President Bush to support unfair, free trade agreements. Already this year, he has voted to allow the President to move forward with the Colombia Free Trade Agreement, despite inadequate enforcement, lax environmental standards, and nearly non-existent labor protections. In recent years, Knollenberg has also supported free trade agreements with countries including Oman, Peru, Chile, and Singapore.”<sup>6</sup>
- Over 137 paid television ads calling for changes to the trade status quo – and attacking supporters of trade pacts such as the NAFTA and CAFTA – were used by House and Senate candidates in 2008. Outside groups like the Service Employees International Union and United Autoworkers Union ran additional paid trade ads. This compares to roughly 25 ads in congressional races in 2006, when criticism of status-quo globalization and trade policy showed an exponential jump from all past election cycles.
- President-elect Barack Obama ran a dozen trade ads, nearly all during the general election.

<sup>2</sup> On his campaign website, Kuhl said, “CAFTA is a net benefit to our agricultural and manufacturing sectors in the 29th District.” <http://www.kuhlforcongress.com/issues/details.aspx?id=27>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WLhaLZHqKeU> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sjYYaYgeOc4>

<sup>4</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Eric Massa, signed Oct. 7, 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Cherry 2008.

<sup>6</sup> [http://www.petersforcongress.com/release\\_details.asp?id=25](http://www.petersforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=25)

- Campaigning on fair trade was not solely a Democratic tactic. At least ten incumbent and open-seat Republicans beat back tough primary and general election challenges by campaigning on trade.
- In at least 14 competitive and open seat races, both the Republican *and* the Democrat engaged in an “anti-NAFTA off” competing to be the most critical of the status quo.
- Fifteen of the leading incumbent fair-trade members of Congress won tough re-election battles. These members voted the fair-trade position 100 percent of the time, cosponsored the Trade Reform, Accountability, Development and Employment (TRADE) Act, or did both. They come from the Republican and Democratic Parties, from California to Connecticut, from Mississippi to Minnesota, from the New Democrat and Blue Dog Coalitions, and from the Hispanic and Progressive Caucuses.
- The Democratic presidential primaries featured a multi-month anti-NAFTA-off in which candidates competed to be most critical of the pact. Democratic primary candidates provided detailed, written commitments on an array of trade and globalization reform issues that have never been part of past presidential races. Obama made the most far-reaching written commitment to reform of the current model of any candidate who has won the White House.
- Obama’s commitments became part of the Democratic platform, which included a reform agenda not seen in past Democratic platforms, including the position that no future bilateral trade agreements “*will stop the government from protecting the environment, food safety, or the health of its citizens; give greater rights to foreign investors than to U.S. investors; require the privatization of our vital public services; or prevent developing country governments from adopting humanitarian licensing policies to improve access to life-saving medications.*” Obama’s victory represents the first time in modern American history that a candidate advocating a shift in our trade policies in a decisively pro-worker, pro-consumer, pro-environment direction has been elected president.
- The trade issue proved to be so powerful that the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) and Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) ran at least 29 ads on the issue in support of candidates in 17 races. Indeed, the committee ran trade ads in races featuring Democrats who themselves did not focus on the issue, including trade-themed attack ads against Republicans in races where the Democrat had an anti-fair trade voting record. House Democratic Caucus Chair – and former Clinton White House NAFTA czar – Rahm Emmanuel (D-Ill.) even got into the action in 2008, after not prioritizing fair-trade messages and candidates in the 2006 races when he was DCCC chair. He presented the Democrats national radio address on October 18, stating in the first minute that: “Democrats want to bring change to our economy, to reward small businesses that create jobs, and hold accountable big corporations that ship jobs overseas.”
- Polling during the 2008 election season showed that a majority of Americans demand changes to the current trade and globalization regime, including now a majority of Republican voters.

- Nearly three-quarters of Americans believe that a “free trade agreement” has had a negative effect on their families.
  - Majorities oppose NAFTA across every demographic.
  - Swing, independent, Catholic and Hispanic voters are among the most anti-NAFTA voters.
  - Even GOP voters, by a two-to-one majority, agree that “Foreign trade has been bad for the U.S. economy, because imports from abroad have reduced demand for American-made goods, cost jobs here at home, and produced potentially unsafe products.”
- The salience of trade reform in the U.S. election parallels growing demands worldwide for reform of the current international economic architecture comprised by institutions such as the WTO. With global financial, food-price and climate crises dominating the news, U.S. candidates calling for new global economic policies have found a ready audience. In contrast, President Bush’s answer is for nations to “enhance their commitment to trade and investment liberalization” and completion of a Doha Round WTO expansion that includes further financial-service deregulation.
  - The intense focus on trade and globalization issues in this election cycle began well before the financial crisis that dominated the end game of the 2008 elections, with many campaigns running paid trade ads even before the September collapse on Wall Street. Perhaps more tellingly, candidates continued to feature criticism of trade policies in their paid ads *even after* the financial crisis began to displace focus on other issues in campaigns.
  - Even before the powerful indictment of the current globalization system landed by the economic crisis, U.S. public support for the NAFTA-WTO model had waned as U.S. real wages flattened, millions of manufacturing jobs and increasingly professional and high-end service sector jobs were offshored, and unsafe imported food and consumer products flooded into the United States since the controversial pacts were implemented.



## II. House Pick-Ups Put Trade Message Front and Center

### HOUSE-LEVEL FAIR-TRADE GAINS

*One-hundred and seventeen monitored*

#### House Republican incumbents vs. Democratic challengers

*Fifty-six monitored*

State-District	GOP	DEM	Net fair tr gain?	Ads
Alabama-3	<b>Mike Rogers</b>	Joshua Segall	0	5
Alaska-AL	<b>Don Young</b>	Ethan Berkowitz	0	
Arizona-3	<b>John Shadegg</b>	Bob Lord	0	
California-3	<b>Dan Lungren</b>	Bill Durston	0	
California-26	<b>David Dreier</b>	Russ Warner	0	
California-45	<b>Mary Bono</b>	Julie Bornstein	0	
California-46	<b>Dana Rohrabacher</b>	Debbie Cook	0	
California-50	<b>Brian Bilbray</b>	Nick Leibham	0	
Colorado-4	Marilyn Musgrave	<b>Betsy Markey</b>	1	
Conn-4	Chris Shays	<b>Jim Himes</b>	1	
Florida-8	Ric Keller	<b>Alan Grayson</b>	1	
Florida-13	<b>Vern Buchanan</b>	Christine Jennings	0	
Florida-18	<b>Ileana Ros-Lehtinen</b>	Annette Taddeo	0	
Florida-21	<b>Lincoln Diaz-Balart</b>	Raul Martinez	0	
Florida-24	Tom Feeney	<b>Suzanne Kosmas</b>	1	
Florida-25	<b>Mario Diaz-Balart</b>	Joe Garcia	0	
Idaho-1	Bill Sali	<b>Walt Minnick</b>	1	
Illinois-3	<b>Judy Biggert</b>	Scott Harper	0	
Illinois-6	<b>Peter Roskam</b>	Jill Morgenthaler	0	
Illinois-10	<b>Mark Kirk</b>	Daniel Seals	0	
Indiana-3	<b>Mark Souder</b>	Michael Montagano	0	2
Iowa-4	<b>Tom Latham</b>	Becky Greenwald	0	
Louisiana-7	<b>Charles Boustany</b>	Don Cravins	0	
Michigan-7	Tim Walberg	<b>Mark Schauer</b>	1	6
Michigan-8	<b>Mike Rogers</b>	Bob Alexander	0	
Michigan-9	Joe Knollenberg	<b>Gary Peters</b>	1	2
Michigan-11	<b>Thad McCotter</b>	Steve Larkin	0	
Minnesota-2	<b>John Kline</b>	Steve Sarvi	0	
Minnesota-6	<b>Michele Bachmann</b>	Elwyn Tinklenberg	0	
Missouri-6	<b>Sam Graves</b>	Kay Barnes	0	1
Nebraska-2	<b>Lee Terry</b>	Jim Esch	0	
Nevada-2	<b>Dean Heller</b>	Jill Derby	0	
Nevada-3	Jon Porter	<b>Dina Titus</b>	1	1
N Jersey-5	<b>Scott Garrett</b>	Dennis Shulman	0	
N York-29	Randy Kuhl	<b>Eric Massa</b>	1	2
N Carolina-5	<b>Virginia Foxx</b>	Roy Carter	0	1
N Carolina-8	Robin Hayes	<b>Larry Kissell</b>	1	5
N Car-10*	<b>Patrick McHenry</b>	Daniel Johnson	0	1

Ohio-1	Steve Chabot	<b>Steve Driehaus</b>	1	1
Ohio-2	<b>Jean Schmidt</b>	Vic Wulsin	0	
Ohio-12	<b>Pat Tiberi</b>	David Robinson	0	
Ohio-14	<b>Steve LaTourette</b>	Steve O'Neill	0	
Oklahoma-1	<b>John Sullivan</b>	Georgianna Oliver	0	
Penn-3	Phil English	<b>Kathy Dahlkemper</b>	1	3
Penn-6	<b>Jim Gerlach</b>	Bob Roggio	0	
Penn-15	<b>Charlie Dent</b>	Sam Bennett	0	1
Penn-18	<b>Tim Murphy</b>	Steve O'Donnell	0	
S Carolina-1	<b>Henry Brown</b>	Linda Ketner	0	
S Carolina-2	<b>Joe Wilson</b>	Rob Miller	0	2
Texas-7	<b>John Culberson</b>	Michael Skelly	0	
Texas-10	<b>Michael McCaul</b>	Larry Joe Doherty	0	
Virginia-2	Thelma Drake	<b>Glenn Nye</b>	0	
Virginia-5	Virgil Goode, also fair tr	<b>Tom Perriello</b>	1	2
Virginia-10	<b>Frank Wolf</b>	Judy Feder	0	
Wash-8	<b>Dave Reichert</b>	Darcy Burner	0	2
W Virginia-2	<b>Shelley Capito</b>	Anne Barth	0	

**a. Total: 13, a net gain of 12 with 32 ads**

### **House Open Seat Races**

*Thirty-six monitored<sup>7</sup>*

State-District	GOP	DEM	Outgoing Rep	Fair tr win?	Net fair tr gain?	Ads?
Alabama-2	Jay Love	<b>Bobby Bright</b>	Terry Everett, R	1	1	3
Alabama-5	Wayne Parker	<b>Parker Griffith</b>	Bud Cramer, D	0	0	
Arizona-1	Sydney Hay	<b>Ann Kirkpatrick</b>	Rick Renzi, R	1	1	
California-4	<b>Tom McClintock</b>	Charles Brown	John Doolittle, R	0	0	1
California-52*	<b>Duncan Hunter</b>	Mike Lumpkin	Duncan Hunter, R	1	0	
Colorado-2*	Scott Starin	<b>Jared Polis</b>	Mark Udall, D	1	0	
Colorado-6*	<b>Mike Coffman</b>	Hank Eng	Tom Tancredo, R	0	0	
Florida-15*	<b>Bill Posey</b>	Stephen Blythe	Dave Weldon, R	1	1	
Illinois-11	Martin Ozinga	<b>Debbie Halvorson</b>	Jerry Weller, R	1	1	
Illinois-18*	<b>Aaron Schock</b>	Colleen Callahan	Ray LaHood, R	0	0	1
Kentucky-2	<b>Brett Guthrie</b>	David Boswell	Ron Lewis, R	0	0	7
Louisiana-4	<b>John Fleming</b>	Paul Carmouche	Jim McCrery, R	0	0	
Maine-1*	Charlie Summers	<b>Chellie Pingree</b>	Tom Allen, D	1	0	
Maryland-1	Andy Harris	<b>Frank Kratovil</b>	Wayne Gilchrest, R	0	0	
Minnesota-3	<b>Erick Paulsen</b>	Ashwin Madia	Jim Ramstad, R	0	0	3
Mississippi-3*	<b>Gregg Harper</b>	Joel Gill	Chip Pickering, R	0	0	1
Missouri-9	<b>Blaine Luetkemeyer</b>	Judy Baker	Kenny Hulshof, R	0	0	2
New Jersey-3	Chris Myers	<b>John Adler</b>	Jim Saxton, R	1	1	

<sup>7</sup> Open seat races not considered competitive by Cook Political Report are marked with an \*.

New Jersey-7	<b>Leonard Lance</b>	Linda Stender	M Ferguson, R	0	0	
N Mexico-1	Darren White	<b>Martin Heinrich</b>	Heather Wilson, R	1	1	
N Mexico-2	Ed Tinsley	<b>Harry Teague</b>	Steve Pearce, R	1	1	
N Mexico-3*	Dan East	<b>Ben Ray Lujan</b>	Tom Udall, D	1	0	
New York-13	Bob Straniere	<b>Michael McMahon</b>	Vito Fossella, R	1	1	
New York-21	Jim Buhmaster	<b>Paul Tonko</b>	Michael McNulty, D	1	0	
New York-25	Dale Sweetland	<b>Dan Maffei</b>	James Walsh, R	1	1	1
New York-26	<b>Chris Lee</b>	Alice Kryzan	T Reynolds, R	0	0	7
Ohio-7	<b>Steve Austria</b>	Sharen Neuhardt	David Hobson, R	1	1	2
Ohio-11*	Thomas Pekarek	<b>Marcia Fudge</b>	S Tubbs Jones, D	1	0	
Ohio-15	Steve Stivers	<b>Mary Jo Kilroy</b>	Deborah Pryce, R	1	1	
Ohio-16	Kirk Schuring	<b>John Boccieri</b>	Ralph Regula, R	1	1	2
Oregon-5	Mike Erickson	<b>Kurt Schrader</b>	Darlene Hooley, D	0	0	
Penn-5	<b>Glenn Thompson</b>	Mark McCracken	John Peterson, R	0	0	
Tenn-1*	<b>Phil Roe</b>	Rob Russell	David Davis, R	0	0	
Utah-3*	<b>Jason Chaffetz</b>	Benion Spencer	Chris Cannon, R	1	1	
Virginia-11	Keith Fimian	<b>Gerry Connolly</b>	Tom Davis, R	1	1	
Wyoming-AL	<b>Cynthia Lummis</b>	Gary Trauner	Barbara Cubin, R	0	0	

**b. Total: 20, with a net gain of 14 and 30 ads**

### **House Democratic Incumbents Against Republican Challengers**

*Twenty-five monitored<sup>8</sup>*

State-District	DEM	GOP	Fair Tr Win?	Net Fair Tr Change?	Ads
Arizona-5	<b>Harry Mitchell</b>	David Schweikert	1	0	
Arizona-8	<b>Gabrielle Giffords</b>	Tim Bee	1	0	
California-11	<b>Jerry McNerney</b>	Dean Andal	1	0	
Florida-16	Tim Mahoney	<b>Tom Rooney</b>	0	0	1
Georgia-8	<b>Jim Marshall</b>	Rick Goddard	1	0	
Illinois-14	<b>Bill Foster</b>	Jim Oberweis	1	1	1
Indiana-9	<b>Baron Hill</b>	Mike Sodrel	0	0	1
Kansas-2	Nancy Boyda	<b>Lynn Jenkins</b>	0	-1	
Kansas-3	<b>Dennis Moore</b>	Nick Jordan	0	0	
Kentucky-3	<b>John Yarmuth</b>	Anne Northup	1	0	1
Louisiana-2	William Jefferson	<b>Anh Cao</b>	0	0	
Maryland-4*	<b>Donna Edwards</b>	Peter James	1	1	
Minnesota-1	<b>Tim Walz</b>	Brian Davis	1	0	
Mississippi-1	<b>Travis Childers</b>	Greg Davis	1	1	2
N Hampshire-1	<b>Carol Shea-Porter</b>	Jeb Bradley	1	0	
New York-20	<b>Kirsten Gillibrand</b>	Sandy Treadwell	1	0	1

<sup>8</sup> Open seat races not considered competitive by Cook Political Report are marked with an \*. Don Cazayoux in Louisiana won a special election but then lost the general, so no net change is recorded.

New York-24	<b>Mike Arcuri</b>	Richard Hanna	1	0	2
Ohio-18	<b>Zack Space</b>	Fred Dailey	1	0	
Pennsylvania-4	<b>Jason Altmire</b>	Melissa Hart	1	0	2
Penn-10	<b>Chris Carney</b>	Chris Hackett	1	0	4
Penn-11	<b>Paul Kanjorski</b>	Lou Barletta	1	0	
Penn-12	<b>John Murtha</b>	William Russell	1	0	
Texas-22	Nick Lampson	<b>Pete Olson</b>	0	0	
Texas-23	<b>Ciro Rodriguez</b>	Lyle Larson	1	0	
Wisconsin-8	<b>Steve Kagen</b>	John Gard	1	0	1

**c. Total: 3 new members, with a net gain of 2 and 16 ads**

**TOTAL (a+b+c): 36 NEW MEMBERS, with a net gain of 28 and 78 trade ads**

**Thirty-six new fair traders won House seats, representing a net gain of 28 in the House’s fair-trade composition.** Among the high profile upsets of GOP anti-fair trade leaders include Democrat **Kathy Dahlkemper’s** defeat of Rep. **Phil English** (R-Pa.), a Ways & Means Committee member and frequent practitioner of “bait-and-switch” tactics on trade. In 2005, after repeatedly proclaiming his concerns about CAFTA<sup>9</sup> and voting against the legislation twice in committee,<sup>10</sup> English then switched his vote and provided one of the two winning votes for the final legislation on the House floor. If English had voted against CAFTA, a 216-216 tie would have resulted in the pact being rejected. At stake was the opportunity to change the direction in

*The two representatives – English and Hayes – whose CAFTA vote switches helped pass the pact were defeated in campaigns that focused on their trade betrayals.*

U.S. trade policy that has been punishing English’s home state of Pennsylvania, which has lost nearly a quarter of its manufacturing jobs since NAFTA.<sup>11</sup> As an excuse for switching his vote, English claimed that he had gotten Republican leadership support for a piece of China legislation.<sup>12</sup> But although this toothless piece of legislation passed the House on a party-line vote just days before the CAFTA vote, the bill, as expected, went nowhere in the Senate. And, given President Bush’s vocal opposition, had no chance of becoming law.<sup>13</sup> Dahlkemper’s successful campaign criticized English’s trade record, ran numerous paid trade ads highlighting English’s trade voting record and Dahlkemper’s commitment to change,<sup>14</sup> assailed lack of import product safety,<sup>15</sup> and called for renegotiation of NAFTA and CAFTA.<sup>16</sup>

Another high-profile victory for fair trade came in North Carolina, where former textile worker **Larry Kissell** (D) defeated incumbent Rep. **Robin Hayes** (R). Hayes’ record on trade was similar to that of English. A week before the CAFTA vote in 2005, Hayes stated that he was

<sup>9</sup> “Hispanic Caucus, English Sound Warning On DR-CAFTA Passage,” *Inside U.S. Trade*, February 18, 2005; “English Says CAFTA Passage Uncertain, Proxy Vote On Overall Problems,” *Inside U.S. Trade*, April 29, 2005.

<sup>10</sup> English 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Employment Statistics Survey, All Employees, Manufacturing Super Sector.

<sup>12</sup> “China trade bill fails to impress US steel producers,” *Financial Times*, July 29, 2005. See also, AFL-CIO, “Thomas-English Bill Offers No Real Solutions on China Trade,” July 2005.

<sup>13</sup> “House-Backed China Trade Measures Might Die In Senate”, *National Journal’s Congress Daily PM*, August 18, 2005.

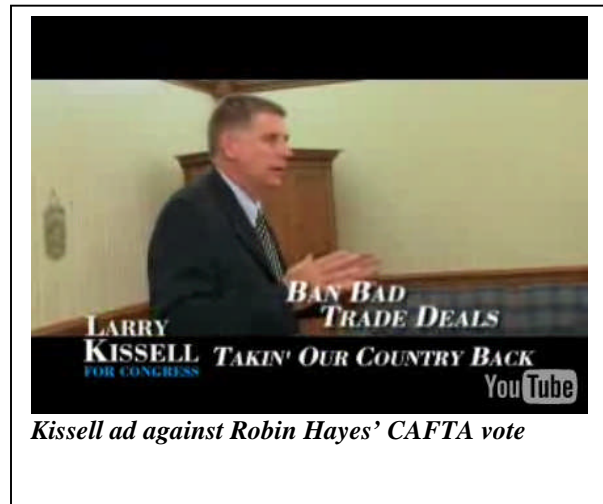
<sup>14</sup> <http://www.kathydahlkemperforcongress.com/node/103>; <http://www.kathydahlkemperforcongress.com/node/103>

<sup>15</sup> <http://kathydahlkemperforcongress.com/issues/trade>

<sup>16</sup> <http://kathydahlkemperforcongress.com/node/97>.

“flat-out, completely, horizontally opposed to CAFTA,”<sup>17</sup> arguing that CAFTA is an extension of NAFTA that was “not in the best interest of a core constituency I represent. Every time I drive through Kannapolis and I see those empty plants, I know there is no way I could vote for CAFTA.”<sup>18</sup> But when the day of the vote came, Hayes initially cast a “no” vote but then was persuaded by Republican House leaders to change his vote to a “yes” after the House Republican leadership kept the voting open 45 minutes past the time limit. Unbelievably, this was the second time Hayes has flipped his vote on a major piece of trade legislation: in 2001, Hayes switched from initially casting a “no” vote to “yes,” making him the deciding vote that gave President Bush Fast Track trade authority, a measure he had previously (and vehemently) opposed. This authority was responsible for CAFTA’s negotiation and passage.

In 2006, Kissell mounted his first campaign against Hayes, and he came within a few hundred votes of defeating the incumbent. Kissell was endorsed in 2006 and 2008 by the CTC-PAC, whom he told: “My district has been devastated by these trade agreements. I oppose any new trade deals until we start to get back the good, stable paying jobs we’ve lost. My opponent was the deciding vote on both Fast Track and CAFTA. As someone that worked in textiles for 27 years, nobody knows better than I do the difference that one vote makes. By defeating Robin Hayes in November, we not only hold the deciding vote accountable for his betrayals, but we put a real voice for working families in Congress.” Kissell’s successful 2008 campaign ran multiple paid trade ads attacking Hayes’ flip-flops on trade, as did the DCCC on his behalf.<sup>19</sup> Kissell was given a last-minute boost by Hayes’ eccentric comment on a talk radio station in the final weeks of the campaign that he “absolutely” did not regret his deciding CAFTA vote, which he called “a very good vote” – despite thousands of lost manufacturing jobs since 2005. Both he and the DCCC hammered Hayes for this comment.<sup>20</sup>



### Among other top 2008 House fair-trade victories:

- **Florida 8:** 100 percent anti-fair trader Rep. **Ric Keller** (R) was beat by Democrat and fair trader **Alan Grayson**. In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Grayson said, “The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have been used to weaken environmental protection in the United States and abroad. The downward pressure on environmental, health and safety standards could increase with completion of bilateral and regional Free Trade Agreements (FTAs), as well as through the Doha Round of WTO talks... Regrettably, Congress cannot exercise its normal constitutional

<sup>17</sup> Morrill and Funk 2005.

<sup>18</sup> Whitmire 2005.

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nTDxXrCjv9w>, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h38tq32yLfM>, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mDCB30oBBE4>, and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uZ9tUCn90BU>

<sup>20</sup> “Hayes Says CAFTA Support was a ‘Very Good Vote,’” DCCC, Oct. 18, 2008. Available at: [http://dccc.org/blog/archives/nc\\_08\\_hayes\\_says\\_cafta\\_support\\_was\\_a\\_very\\_good\\_vote/](http://dccc.org/blog/archives/nc_08_hayes_says_cafta_support_was_a_very_good_vote/). Accessed Nov. 2, 2008.

powers as a check and balance on the executive with respect to trade agreements because fast-track procedures deny Congress its normal power to make amendments or to conduct a thorough debate. I will support the implementation of a new model that gives the Congress more of its Constitutional duties of negotiating trade and treaties.” He also committed to oppose the Colombia FTA, saying, “We should not do business with nations that allow the blatant violation of its citizens’ human rights, especially one of our closest neighbors.”<sup>21</sup>

- **Michigan 7:** Fair trader **Mark Schauer** (D) beat out 100 percent anti-fair trader **Tim Walberg** (R), who had been supported by the anti-fair trade Club for Growth. Schauer ran multiple paid ads attacking Walberg’s trade voting record and the Club endorsement. Trade played such a big role that even Walberg’s website featured a news story describing the difference between the two candidates: “‘Jobs are the number one issue voters are concerned about this year, and the differences in this race couldn’t be clearer,’ [State] Sen. Mark Schauer said in a statement Friday in response to Walberg’s campaign launch. ‘While my opponent has faithfully supported President Bush’s failed economic policies and unfair trade deals that ship our jobs overseas, I have spent my career working with businesses and communities to cut through government red tape and turn Michigan’s economy around, one job at a time.’”<sup>22</sup>



- **Michigan 9:** Democrat and fair trader **Gary Peters** repeatedly bashed incumbent Rep. **Joe Knollenberg’s** (R) 19 out of 19 anti-fair trade votes. Peters’ website read: “From NAFTA and CAFTA onward, Knollenberg has voted in lockstep with President Bush to support unfair, free trade agreements. Already this year, he has voted to allow the President to move forward with the Colombia Free Trade Agreement, despite inadequate enforcement, lax environmental standards, and nearly non-existent labor protections. In recent years, Knollenberg has also supported free trade agreements with countries including Oman, Peru, Chile, and Singapore.”<sup>23</sup>
- **New York 29:** 100 percent anti-fair trader Rep. **Randy Kuhl** (R) – who actually campaigned on his support for CAFTA<sup>24</sup> – was beat by fair trader **Eric Massa**. Massa’s campaign ran paid trade ads, saying Kuhl “stood with George Bush on every major vote to outsource our jobs.”<sup>25</sup> In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Massa committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of

<sup>21</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response of Alan Grayson, Oct. 31, 2008.

<sup>22</sup> Cherry 2008.

<sup>23</sup> [http://www.petersforcongress.com/release\\_details.asp?id=25](http://www.petersforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=25)

<sup>24</sup> On his campaign website, Kuhl said, “CAFTA is a net benefit to our agricultural and manufacturing sectors in the 29th District.” <http://www.kuhlforcongress.com/issues/details.aspx?id=27>

<sup>25</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WLhaLZHqKeU> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sjYYaYgeOc4>

NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that include NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>26</sup>

### The “fair traders win” trend also dominated the House open seats:

- **Arizona 1:** In this race to fill the open seat vacated by 100% anti-fair trade Rep. **Rick Renzi (R)**, **Sydney Hay (R)** did not campaign on trade, giving a major opening to her opponent. The campaign website for **Ann Kirkpatrick**, the Democratic candidate, said, “In addition to creating jobs, [Kirkpatrick] stresses the importance of keeping good jobs in Arizona. She only supports trade agreements that have strong labor and environmental protections to ensure that America’s workers can compete on a level playing field. In addition, Kirkpatrick is committed to eliminating the tax loopholes that allow companies to outsource America’s jobs overseas. ‘Washington needs to get its priorities straight,’ said Kirkpatrick. ‘It just doesn’t make sense to reward companies that ship the jobs our families depend on to other countries. We need to be making the strategic investments that keep jobs here in Arizona.’”<sup>27</sup> Emily’s List reported that, “Kirkpatrick notes the disparity between the nation’s dependence on foreign imports (‘oil, toys, pet food, or anything else you can think of, we import it all,’ she says) and the loss of jobs to overseas competitors.”<sup>28</sup> Kirkpatrick won this race.
- **New Mexico 2:** In this race to claim the open seat vacated by anti-fair trader Rep. **Steve Pearce (R)**, Democrat **Harry Teague** was the winning fair-trade candidate. In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Teague committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round, the Colombia, Panama and South Korea FTAs, and any agreement containing WTO-style service and procurement provisions, or NAFTA-style investor protections. Additionally, Teague expressed support for renegotiating NAFTA and replacing Fast Track.<sup>29</sup> On his website, he says “Over the past eight years, our national debt has increased by over \$3 trillion, our trade deficit is at an all-time high, and debt owed to foreigner countries is at record levels. Something must be done.”<sup>30</sup> **Ed Tinsley**, the Republican candidate, was connected to an anti-fair trade lobby group. In fact, he served as chairman of the National Restaurant Association, a funder of the Food Trade Alliance, which describes its mission as supporting “policymakers in the U.S. and abroad who favor liberalizing global food trade.”<sup>31</sup>
- **New York 25:** In the race to take the open seat vacated by mixed trade record Rep. **James Walsh (R)**, **Dan Maffei**, the Democratic candidate, ran as a fair trader, running paid ads that criticized offshore tax incentives.<sup>32</sup> In a response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Maffei said, “NAFTA has wreaked havoc on manufacturing jobs in Central New York and we absolutely need to renegotiate the terms... we need to close the loopholes that make it more profitable to send jobs overseas and find real incentives to keep and create jobs here in the US... [I am] interested in renegotiating the terms of trade to make them more fair for American workers.” He also committed to oppose the Colombia FTA. According to

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<sup>26</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Eric Massa, signed Oct. 7, 2008.

<sup>27</sup> [http://www.kirkpatrickforarizona.com/news\\_entry/kirkpatrick\\_launches\\_district\\_wide\\_tour\\_for\\_change](http://www.kirkpatrickforarizona.com/news_entry/kirkpatrick_launches_district_wide_tour_for_change)

<sup>28</sup> [http://www.emilyslist.org/candidates/ann\\_kirkpatrick/](http://www.emilyslist.org/candidates/ann_kirkpatrick/)

<sup>29</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Response for Harry Teague, dated Sept. 18, 2008.

<sup>30</sup> [http://harryforcongress.com/release\\_details.asp?id=11](http://harryforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=11). Accessed Sept. 3, 2008.

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.foodtrade.org/> and <http://www.restaurant.org/pressroom/print/index.cfm?ID=1267>. Accessed Sept. 3, 2008.

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cThrVGjXGew>



*The Post Standard*, “‘Free trade doesn’t work,’ Maffei said at a rally at the United Auto Workers regional office. ‘We need to throw out NAFTA.’ Maffei accused Republican opponent Dale Sweetland of continuing to support the NAFTA pact between the United States, Canada and Mexico, and other free trade agreements, despite job losses in the 25th Congressional District.”<sup>33</sup> In 2006, Maffei – a former Democratic Ways & Means staffer – ran against Walsh, criticizing his CAFTA vote.<sup>34</sup> As it turned out, both candidates ran against the failed trade status quo. According to the *Post-Standard*, Republican candidate **Dale Sweetland** “acknowledged he supported NAFTA in 1993 – the year Congress approved it – because he thought the pact would open new markets for U.S. farm products. But NAFTA should be renegotiated, Sweetland said Wednesday, because U.S. businesses face stiffer labor and environmental regulations than their competitors in Mexico. ‘I can’t see that NAFTA has made conditions in Central and Western New York any better. I believe NAFTA needs to be revisited and renegotiated,’ Sweetland said.”<sup>35</sup> Maffei won this race.

- **Ohio 16:** In this race, both Republican candidate **Kurt Schuring** and Democrat **John Bocchieri** ran on a fair-trade platform featuring paid ads.<sup>36</sup> *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported that: “Bocchieri is a major in the Air Force Reserve who has served in Iraq and Afghanistan. ‘We need a change of direction nationally, with respect to what’s happening in Iraq, and we need a change with what’s happening with our failed trade agreements,’ he said. ‘I feel I can make a difference.’”<sup>37</sup> The triumphant Bocchieri replaces Rep. **Ralph Regula** (R), who voted against fair trade 27 out of 31 votes, dating back to Nixon’s original Fast Track in 1973. Regula’s was the second worst record in the entire House, surpassed only by 100% anti-fair trader Rep. **Bill Young** (R-Fla.), who has served since 1971.

**Campaigning on fair trade was not solely a Democratic tactic:** many incumbent and open-seat Republicans beat back tough primary and general election challenges by campaigning on trade:

- **Alabama 3:** Rep. **Mike Rogers** (R) strongly emphasized his opposition to some NAFTA-style FTAs in his campaign,<sup>38</sup> even though he had providing a passing vote for CAFTA. Democrat **Joshua Segall** ran four paid trade ads attacking Rogers for this vote,<sup>39</sup> but was unable to oust Rogers, who spoke very much in the rhetoric of fair trade and emphasized his past voting record.
- **Florida 15:** In the heavily-GOP open seat vacated by anti-fair trader Rep. **Dave Weldon** (R), **Bill Posey** – the winning Republican candidate – campaigned on fair trade. The *Vero Beach Press Journal* reported that Posey, “said he also opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement, which Congress passed in 1992 to improve trade with Canada and Mexico. ‘It

<sup>33</sup> McAndrew 2008.

<sup>34</sup> Kelly 2006.

<sup>35</sup> McAndrew 2008.

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qVeHnzEcFiQ> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BSXOBYnXuo8>

<sup>37</sup> Sabrina Eaton, “Bocchieri to seek Regula seat in Congress,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 10, 2007.

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.mikerogersforcongress.com/issues.html>.

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8E-dlxz3lWQ> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jOjTpXsXwCc> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OgrXxkpDpo8> and [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s0Jbwe7\\_kXM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s0Jbwe7_kXM)



brings more jobs to Mexico, but less to the United States,' he said."<sup>40</sup> **Stephen Blythe**, the Democratic candidate, also ran on fair trade, emphasizing food-safety concerns.<sup>41</sup>

- **North Carolina 3:** Rep. **Walter Jones** (R-N.C.) – the only Republican cosponsor of the TRADE Act – survived a tough primary challenge from **Joe McLaughlin**. Jones had angered some Republicans by opposing the Iraq War initially and his vocal advocacy for ending the war. According to local press reports, Jones' consistent advocacy of pocketbook issues important to his constituents helped him win.<sup>42</sup>
- **North Carolina 10:** The incumbent is Rep. **Patrick McHenry** (R), who voted against CAFTA, but that was his only fair trade vote out of six: he voted for CAFTA-style deals with Bahrain, Oman, and Peru, and voted against withdrawing the Fast Track timetable from the Colombia FTA. Additionally, he voted against U.S. withdrawal from the WTO, a pact that has facilitated offshoring of U.S. jobs to China. Despite this record, his CAFTA opposition was a major plank of his 2008 campaign.<sup>43</sup> He ran paid trade ads that falsely claimed that, "Patrick McHenry voted against every unfair trade deal." The ad additionally stated that, "Daniel Johnson supports labor policies that will send more jobs to China," without offering any substantiation of what this meant.<sup>44</sup> According to the *Charlotte Observer*, in one of his final debates, "McHenry emphasized his work to boost the district's economy, saying he opposed free-trade agreements that have cost thousands of jobs, supported worker retraining initiatives and voted against tax increases."<sup>45</sup> **Daniel Johnson**, the Democratic candidate, ran a more muted campaign on trade (considering the district), saying only, "The only exports that NAFTA and CAFTA produced were American jobs, and Western North Carolina was the hardest hit. When we needed a voice in Congress all you could hear was silence. Daniel Johnson will not be silent. He will fight for fair, enforceable trade laws that protect American jobs and increase the export of American products."<sup>46</sup> McHenry's fair-trade campaigning may have helped him dodge a bullet: at the last minute, his seat was put on the safe lists.



- **Wisconsin 1:** Even though Republican incumbent **Paul Ryan** did not have a particularly competitive race, this 100% anti-fair trader and Ways & Means Committee member felt compelled to run paid fair-trade ads. According to the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, "The Janesville Republican is an economic conservative who hasn't seen a free-trade deal he didn't like. So forgive the people of the state's 1st Congressional District if they are a little confused by Ryan's latest ad. 'People are hurting because American companies benefit by

<sup>40</sup> Stephens 2008.

<sup>41</sup> Stephens 2008.

<sup>42</sup> Rizzo 2008.

<sup>43</sup> <http://www.mchenryforcongress.com/Issues/Issue/?IssueID=1264>

<sup>44</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HgNV25\\_2eCM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HgNV25_2eCM)

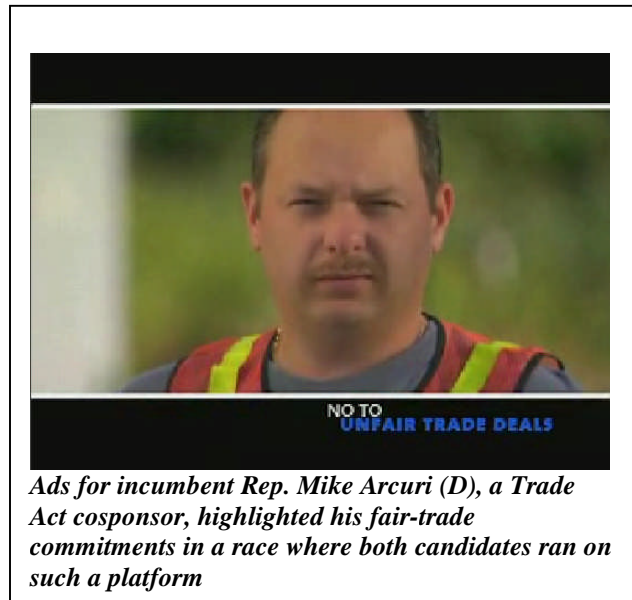
<sup>45</sup> H. Mitchell 2008.

<sup>46</sup> [http://www.danieljohnson08.org/release\\_details.asp?id=7](http://www.danieljohnson08.org/release_details.asp?id=7)

shipping jobs overseas,’ the 38-year-old pol says into the camera. Ryan then complains that it is ‘unfair’ for American companies to get a tax break by producing goods elsewhere and then importing them to the U.S. ‘Instead of exporting jobs,’ he concludes, ‘we should be exporting American products.’ That’s a lot of fair-trade rhetoric from someone known as a free-trade champion... [Sachin] Chheda, the spokesman for the Wisconsin Fair Trade Coalition, said it sounded as if Ryan was trying to come up with ‘a solution to a problem he’s created by voting repeatedly for free-trade measures... (The ad) suggests that he believes in order to honestly represent his constituents, he’d need to have the exact opposite record on these issues.’”<sup>47</sup>

**In at least ten competitive and open seat races, fair-trade platforms were not an exclusive one-party phenomenon. In addition to the races highlighted above, in these races listed below, both the Republican *and* the Democrat engaging in an “anti-NAFTA off” to be most critical of the status quo:**

- **California 52:** In the heavily-GOP open seat vacated by fair trader Rep. **Duncan Hunter** (R), voters picked Hunter’s son – **Duncan Hunter, Jr.** (R), also a fair trader – as their representative. Hunter, Jr. said, “Our nation needs to adopt a policy of Fair Trade that encourages the development of overseas markets, while protecting our industry and workers from unfair competition from countries like China, that flood our market with inferior, sometimes dangerous products produced in near-slave labor conditions.”<sup>48</sup> **Mike Lumpkin**, the Democratic candidate, also ran on fair trade. His campaign said, “Manufacturers have exported our jobs to capitalize on cheaper labor and fewer safety restrictions.



The trade-off for middle class Americans is supposed to be ‘more bang for the buck.’ But what we have so far is unfair trade practices, fewer job opportunities, poisoned pet food, poisoned people food, poisoned toys, and hazardous tires. Mike will advocate for fair, safe and sensible trade practices.”<sup>49</sup>

- **Indiana 3:** Rep. **Mark Souder** (R-Ind.) fought to claim the fair-trade mantel – despite having voted in favor of every trade agreement during the Bush administration – by invoking his over decade-old record of systematically opposing Clinton-era trade deals. When the United Steelworkers union mounted a demonstration in front of Souder’s office to protest Souder’s vote for the Peru FTA and also against unsafe toy imports, according to the *Journal Gazette*, “Souder released a statement Tuesday on the protesters, saying he opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement and voted against permitting Mexican trucks in the

<sup>47</sup> Bice 2008.

<sup>48</sup> <http://www.hunterforcongress.com/issues/>

<sup>49</sup> <http://www.lumpkinforcongress.com/Issues.html>

United States. ‘I have always stood with the workers of this district,’ he said in the statement.”<sup>50</sup> In the 2008 race, he ran paid trade ads claiming that he saved U.S. jobs from Chinese competition.<sup>51</sup> Democratic challenger **Mike Montagano** ran a paid trade ad attacking Souder’s vote for CAFTA and other Bush FTAs.<sup>52</sup>

- **New York 24:** In this race, Rep. **Mike Arcuri** (D) was the incumbent and an 100% fair trader, running paid trade ads.<sup>53</sup> After being elected on a fair trade platform in 2006,<sup>54</sup> he then voted the fair-trade position on the NAFTA expansion to Peru and Fast Track. He is an original cosponsor of the Trade Reform, Accountability, Development and Employment Act. But his opponent, Republican **Richard Hanna**, also campaigned as a fair trader. According to the *Post-Standard*, “Even on trade agreements – both favor what they called fair trade, not free trade, treaties – they found reason to criticize the other. Said Arcuri: ‘My opponent, I know he said he’s not for free trade agreements, but he’s taking money from a (political action committee) that only supports people that support free trade.’”<sup>55</sup> Arcuri convinced the public that he was the bigger fair trader, and was reelected.
- **Ohio 7:** In this open-seat race to replace anti-fair trade Rep. **David Hobson** (R), both **Sharen Neuhardt** (D) and **Steve Austria** (R) ran on fair trade. Neuhardt ran a campy paid ad that featured people in front of homes and factories saying “We had jobs here, but Steve Austria did nothing, and now they’re here” – while lifting signs labeled China, Mexico, and (bizarrely) France, set against a backdrop of gongs, mariachi music and images of the Eiffel Tower. The ad does not specify what Austria was supposed to have done about the jobs, nor does the closing statement by Neuhardt specify what her trade position would be.<sup>56</sup> Neuhardt did not specify her positions on her website either. Austria may have hit on the reason why, as he mentioned in his own paid ad, which said, “Neuhardt made a career at a law firm that advises companies how to outsource jobs. That means less American jobs.”<sup>57</sup> At least this time around, voters felt that Austria was the more fair-trade candidate.

#### **There were two net fair-trade pick-ups brought on by primary challengers in 2008:**

- **Maryland 4:** Social-justice advocate **Donna Edwards** defeated anti-fair trade incumbent **Al Wynn** – a supporter of the WTO, three NAFTA-style FTAs and a NAFTA-inspired trade-preference program for Africa – in the February Democratic primaries. After his loss, Wynn announced an early retirement, and Edwards won a special election to fulfill the remainder of his term. During her first few months in Congress, she became a cosponsor of Rep. **Mike Michaud**’s (D-Maine) TRADE Act.
- **Utah 3:** conservative fair-trade Republican **Jason Chaffetz** defeated incumbent 100 percent anti-fair trader Rep. **Chris Cannon** in a June primary. On current trade agreements, Chaffetz said he “wouldn’t have voted for them, they’re unconstitutional, and should be revoked,” in

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<sup>50</sup> Lanka 2008. See also: “‘Toxic Trader’ Puppet Confronts Mark Souder,” USWA Press Release, July 28, 2008.

<sup>51</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AVJs1\\_t8MnA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AVJs1_t8MnA)

<sup>52</sup> [http://www.montaganoforcongress.com/free\\_details.asp?id=57](http://www.montaganoforcongress.com/free_details.asp?id=57)

<sup>53</sup> [http://www.arcuri2008.com/images/vid\\_jobs.swf](http://www.arcuri2008.com/images/vid_jobs.swf)

<sup>54</sup> Michael Arcuri campaign website, “Arcuri unveils job plan,” Sept. 14, 2006.

<sup>55</sup> Stith 2008.

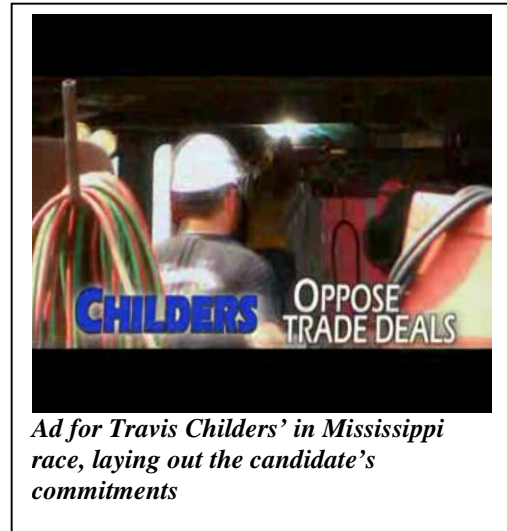
<sup>56</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ZE5L2VmUfM>

<sup>57</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CTbCtBNyjos>

the words of activists closely tracking the race. Chaffetz also wrote emails to these activists saying that he has, “serious concerns and reservations about many of our free trade agreements, such as NAFTA. We have to be most careful as it relates to our sovereignty.” On the extended NAFTA implementation programs known as the Security and Prosperity Partnership, Chaffetz said the programs “scare the living daylights out of me. I will do everything I can to get our country out of these. They are real and Congress needs to reverse the course.”<sup>58</sup>

**Fair-trade issues also figured prominently in two special-election victories brought on by retirements during the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress:**

- **Illinois 14:** This seat held by former Speaker **Dennis Hastert** – who led the anti-fair trade column on 14 separate trade votes as House speaker from 1999 to 2007 – was claimed by Democrat **Bill Foster**, who defeated his Republican opponent Jim Oberweis twice in 2008. Foster ran a paid ad in February 2008 attacking Oberweis for “investing millions in Chinese companies that threaten American jobs. Oberweis says he supports Bush on almost everything, including trade deals that cost us more jobs.”<sup>59</sup>
- **Mississippi 1:** Democrat **Travis Childers** claimed the seat vacated by Wicker when he was appointed to fill the retiring **Trent Lott’s** Senate seat. The campaign ran paid ads in March and April 2008 that said, “Childers will oppose bad trade deals that cost us jobs.”<sup>60</sup> Childers even signed a “no new trade deals” pledge.<sup>61</sup>



*Ad for Travis Childers’ in Mississippi race, laying out the candidate’s commitments*

**There were also other fair-trade-related election 2008 stories of note:**

- **Florida 16:** In this sugar-growing district, Democrat **Tim Mahoney** in 2006 claimed the seat formerly held by Republican **Mark Foley**, the subject of a sex scandal involving teenage pages. Before Foley exited his 2006 reelection campaign, Mahoney had made a major campaign issue out of the incumbent’s support of CAFTA,<sup>62</sup> which Foley had originally opposed and then flip-flopped to support.<sup>63</sup> Once elected, however, Mahoney voted 100 percent against fair trade (two out of two trade vote opportunities), and became the subject of his own sex scandal. In a sign of the continued salience of globalization issues in the 16<sup>th</sup> district, however, the DCCC ran paid ads on Mahoney’s behalf that attacked his challenger **Tom Rooney** for not supporting legislation to ban U.S. oil exports from going to China.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>58</sup> <http://jbs.meetup.com/13/messages/boards/thread/5691241#22501615>

<sup>59</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Stjc9mF8KY8>

<sup>60</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VrzJ5QEbbDs>

<sup>61</sup> <http://www.childersforcongress.com/42908trade.html>

<sup>62</sup> Wallace 2005.

<sup>63</sup> Lipman 2005; Gibson 2005; Public Citizen notes from House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up of H.R. 3045, June 30, 2005.

<sup>64</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gE7\\_F44\\_a-I](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gE7_F44_a-I)

- **Indiana 9:** Rep. **Baron Hill** (D) narrowly survived his fifth consecutive race against Republican and former Rep. **Mike Sodrel**. After running against Hill in 2000 and 2002, Sodrel in 2004 beat Hill – who was one of the most anti-fair trade Democrats – by campaigning against offshoring of jobs and loss of farms.<sup>65</sup> Sodrel, then, however, voted against fair trade on every vote he faced, including CAFTA. In 2006, Hill campaigned to win his old seat back, and was successful, thanks to support from labor groups whose agenda he promised to support when back in office. This pledge was short lived, however, and Hill voted against fair trade on both votes he faced in the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress. *In a show of amazing gall but also of the salience of the trade issue, the DCCC ran paid trade ads in this cycle on Hill’s behalf that attacked Sodrel for supporting CAFTA.*<sup>66</sup>
- **Missouri Governor Race:** Rep. **Kenny Hulshof** (R) ran an unsuccessful campaign for governor after having voted against fair trade on 15 out of 15 occasions while in the House. His opponent, Democrat **Jay Nixon**, seized on the issue, and ran paid ads attacking Hulshof’s trade record,<sup>67</sup> which was covered in *The Kansas City Star*.<sup>68</sup> Governor elect Nixon’s campaign featured paid ads that said, “For 12 years, Congressman Kenny Hulshof has been part of the problem in Washington, voting for unfair trade deals and tax breaks that help companies move jobs overseas.”<sup>69</sup>

Nationally, only five Democratic incumbents lost their seats. One, Louisiana’s Don Cazayoux, had only served a few months after surprising observers by winning a special election in this very Republican district. He had made a fair-trade comment to a blogger, but otherwise did not campaign on trade or have a trade voting record. So we don’t count this as a pick up or a loss. Three of these – Mahoney (discussed above), Louisiana’s William Jefferson and Texas’ Nick Lampson, had anti-fair trade voting records, so are also considered washes. Nancy Boyda was the only fair trader to lose a seat, in her deeply Republican Kansas district.



<sup>65</sup> “Sodrel: U.S. Must Save Manufacturing Jobs,” *Evansville Courier & Press*, Aug. 19, 2004.

<sup>66</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzdpQ74Oe80>

<sup>67</sup> <http://www.jaynixon.com/multimedia/video?id=0009>

<sup>68</sup> <http://primebuzz.kcstar.com/?q=node/14244>

<sup>69</sup> <http://www.jaynixon.com/multimedia/video?id=0009>



## **Across the Country, Voters Mobilized for Fair Trade**

As in the 2006 elections, a bevy of fair-trade groups helped mobilize and educate voters and candidates. Many local groups conducted “bird-dogging” operations during the election, to get candidates for all offices and from all parties on the record in detail about their trade positions. The Iowa Fair Trade Campaign (IFTC), a coalition of labor, farm, environmental, and religious groups from across the early caucus state, got all of the Democratic candidates to be much more specific about their trade platforms than ever before in a presidential race. In late December 2007, the group released written candidate statements it obtained, which covered positions on the WTO, NAFTA-style trade pacts, Fast Track, China trade, and protection against unsafe imports.<sup>70</sup> (More details on the candidates’ positions below.) The IFTC had a counterpart in New Hampshire through the Americans for Democratic Action’s Working Families Win project, which also operated in 18 states throughout the election, focusing on trade and other pocketbook issues.

After the early presidential primaries, the Citizens Trade Campaign expanded the primary bird-dogging effort to Wisconsin, Texas, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Oregon. In each state, the group obtained written answers to questionnaires enumerating candidates’ positions on an array of trade and globalization issues, and ensuring the issues arose at numerous events featuring the candidates. After the primaries, Citizens Trade Campaign’s Political Action Committee (CTC-PAC) and other groups conducted an onslaught of bird-dogging in congressional races. Nearly 40 candidates responded to questionnaires from CTC-PAC or its affiliates, which allowed voters to obtain a better understand where their candidates stood on these issues. Finally, CTC created state-by-state materials showing that even non-manufacturing jobs like accountants and web designers were increasingly vulnerable to offshoring.<sup>71</sup>

The AFL-CIO and Change to Win labor federations ran extensive voter education and turnout efforts focusing on trade, as did unions such as the United Steelworkers.

The AFL-CIO spent \$53 million on the election, and its member unions spent an additional \$200 million. The federation focused on outreach to the white working-class male demographic. Voters targeted by this operation – which featured messaging on how trade and economic issues should trump racial and social concerns – received between six and 25 communications.<sup>72</sup> The AFL-CIO reported: “The amount of outreach we’ve done in the past year is hard to quantify, but here are a few stats from our overall GOTV program: A 21-state presidential battleground program...AFL-CIO union voters have received 70 million phone calls, 10 million door knocks, 57 million pieces of mail and 27 million worksite fliers focusing on economic issues; and 4,000 paid staff working on the AFL-CIO mobilization nationwide.” The AFL-CIO reported that its community affiliate operation, Working America, also “will send out 1,000 full-time canvassers in 11 battleground states to knock on more than 300,000 doors. Working America’s effort tops off a year-round campaign aimed at engaging its 2.5 million members, many of whom are Independents and moderate ‘Reagan Democrats,’ on economic issues – and who previously have

<sup>70</sup> More details are available at <http://iowafairtrade.org/>.

<sup>71</sup> <http://www.wkbt.com/global/story.asp?s=9275465>

<sup>72</sup> Public Citizen interview with AFL-CIO representative, Oct. 23, 2008.

been contacted in campaign season only through their memberships in the National Rifle Association and evangelical institutions.<sup>73</sup>

The Change to Win (CTW) labor federation also conducted a massive election operation. Here's what the *New York Times* had to say about CTW's get-out-the-vote operation "the federation and its seven member unions would spend more than \$150 million on national and state races. So far this year, the federation, which represents nearly 6 million workers, has sent out 24.6 million pieces of mail, made 31.2 million phone calls, knocked on more than 4.5 million doors and distributed 4.8 million worksite fliers. Change to Win is concentrating its efforts in 14 battleground states: Colorado, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Wisconsin. The federation's program includes massive canvassing, with more than 1,000 full-time organizers going door to door five days a week. The federation also has a direct mail and phone program, and an election protection program, to help make sure that valid voters are not prevented from casting their ballots. In addition, the federation says it helps deliver 3,000 union members each weekend to the Obama campaign."<sup>74</sup>

Finally, a 527 organization called Citizens for Strength and Security ran a half dozen ads on fair-trade in Senate races, including Mississippi and North Carolina.<sup>75</sup> The ads featured images of shuttered factories with the words "NAFTA, CAFTA, China Trade" imposed as the narrator describes the target senator's votes in favor of those deals that "sent our jobs overseas."<sup>76</sup> According to government filings, the group's ad was funded by the Service Employees International Union, the Communications Workers of America and the Patriot Majority Fund.<sup>77</sup> Among the Patriot Majority Fund's contributors are the Laborers Union, 1199 SEIU and regional Carpenters, Teachers and other local unions.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Connell 2008.

<sup>74</sup> Greenhouse 2008.

<sup>75</sup> [http://www.npr.org/blogs/secretmoney/2008/10/citizens\\_for\\_strength\\_and\\_secu\\_1.html](http://www.npr.org/blogs/secretmoney/2008/10/citizens_for_strength_and_secu_1.html)

<sup>76</sup> <http://usacss.org/>

<sup>77</sup> Evans 2008.

<sup>78</sup> <http://www.campaignmoney.com/political/527/patriot-majority-fund.asp>

### III. Senate Pick-Ups Show Fair Trade Not Just a Midwest Concern

#### SENATE-LEVEL FAIR-TRADE GAINS

*Seventeen monitored*

State	GOP	DEM	Outgoing Sen, if OPEN	Net fair tr gain?	Ads
Alaska	Ted Stevens	<b>Mark Begich</b>	N/A	1	
Colorado	Bob Schaffer	<b>Mark Udall</b>	Wayne Allard	1	2
Georgia	<b>Saxby Chambliss</b>	Jim Martin	N/A	0	2
Idaho*	<b>Jim Risch</b>	Larry LaRocco	Larry Craig	0	1
Kentucky	<b>Mitch McConnell</b>	Bruce Lunsford	N/A	0	2
Louisiana	John Kennedy	<b>Mary Landrieu</b>	N/A	0	
Maine	<b>Susan Collins</b>	Tom Allen	N/A	0	
Minnesota	Norm Coleman	<b>Al Franken</b>	N/A	1	1
Mississippi	<b>Roger Wicker</b>	Ronnie Musgrove	N/A	0	2
Nebraska	<b>Mike Johanns</b>	Scott Kleeb	Chuck Hagel	0	1
N Hampshire	John Sununu	<b>Jeanne Shaheen</b>	N/A	1	2
New Mexico	Steve Pearce	<b>Tom Udall</b>	Pete Domenici	1	
N Carolina	Elizabeth Dole	<b>Kay Hagan</b>	N/A	1	8
Oklahoma	<b>James Inhofe</b>	Andrew Rice	N/A	0	2
Oregon	Gordon Smith	<b>Jeff Merkley</b>	N/A	1	9
South Dakota	Joel Dykstra	<b>Tim Johnson</b>	N/A	0	
Virginia	Jim Gilmore	<b>Mark Warner</b>	John Warner	0	

**TOTAL SENATE GAIN = 7, with 32 paid ads**

The outcomes in the 2008 Senate races show that no region is off limits when it comes to a fair-trade message. Indeed, Democrats in Senate races across the country used trade and offshoring as wedge issues to differentiate themselves from Republican candidates who supported the status quo.

Traditionally, the margins on trade votes in the U.S. Senate have been wider than in the House, although with the 55-45 CAFTA vote in 2005 (including every Democratic primary presidential candidate voting against CAFTA), the popular shift against the NAFTA model resulted in the closest Senate trade vote ever. In 2006, every Senate seat picked up by the Democrats was picked up by a fair trader. **Now, the 2008 election continues the transformation of trade politics in the Senate, with seven new fair traders winning Senate seats.** With the exception of Al Franken's razor-thin victory, not a single one of these pickups comes from the Midwest, putting to rest the notion that fair-trade campaigns are only a Rust-Belt phenomenon. This shift adds to the seven fair-trade Senate pickups in 2006.

In Oregon, Democrat **Jeff Merkley** shattered the conventional political wisdom by running and winning as a fair trader in the Pacific Northwest. The failure of the current trade and globalization policies was a top focus of his campaign, which ran seven paid trade ads. One in April, for instance, featured Merkley's blue-collar roots and promising, "As senator, Jeff



Merkley will fight to end trade deals that ship our jobs overseas.”<sup>79</sup> Because major ports and multinational firms like Nike, Microsoft and Boeing are located in the region, many elected officials believe that it is impossible to espouse progressive views on trade. These same elected officials, however, often have to struggle mightily to win reelection in statewide races in Pacific Northwest states.

The puzzle is explained by political geography. Politics in Oregon and Washington are divided by the Cascade Mountain Range, and between the northern Portland area and the southern industrial areas along I-97. Urban voters are typically progressive on social issues, and service-sector oriented in economic structure – with large firms favoring the trade status-quo dominating the business sector. To the east and south, farm- and working-class families – typically with a more conservative social outlook – abound. In the past, Democratic candidates running for statewide office adopted the economic-policy outlook of the multinationals and the social-policy outlook of west-of-the-mountains voters. This is a deadly combination for appealing to voters east of the mountains, who typically do not share either of these values.



*Merkley says, “They call it free trade. The problem is, there’s nothing free about it. And Oregon’s paid a very heavy price, with nearly 70,000 jobs shipped overseas. Families with no savings, no health care, and no security. How could Washington allow American jobs to become one of our biggest exports? I’m Jeff Merkley, and I approve this message, because Washington is just broken, and it’s time to set things right. [Text reads: Change. It’s Coming. Jeff Merkley.]”*

Merkley’s genius was in sensing the potential for an issue-based political realignment, since the state’s northwestern environmentalists and southern and eastern blue-collar and farm workers shared a common view on issues like trade – and this view was diametrically opposed to that of the multinationals’.<sup>80</sup> Even a year before the election, he was regularly putting out bold press releases and television ads that went beyond the standard “job loss”-critique of trade deals. A November 2007 press release on the Peru FTA was typical of Merkley’s efforts, criticizing the deal as a “NAFTA-based plan” whose problems included: “Extending NAFTA’s provisions that give foreign investors more rights than Americans to sue the federal and state governments; Enabling foreign investors to challenge American public health, environmental, zoning and labor protections in foreign courts; Blocking government procurement rules that require the hiring of U.S. workers and ‘Buy American’ provisions; [and] Setting limits on food safety standards that require the U.S. to rely on foreign regulators and inspectors.”<sup>81</sup>

Republican incumbent Sen. **Gordon Smith**, by contrast, not only voted against fair trade on 11 out of 11 votes since first being elected 12 years ago, but actually called attention during the recent campaign to his anti-fair trade alignment with multinationals.<sup>82</sup> For example, Smith’s website accused Merkley of being “out of touch” and wanting to “shut down trade by ending

<sup>79</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=on1tQHxccc>

<sup>80</sup> As we documented in our 2006 report, Brian Schweitzer and Jon Tester successfully employed a similar coalitional strategy in their Montana 2004 gubernatorial and 2006 senatorial races respectively. See Tucker 2006.

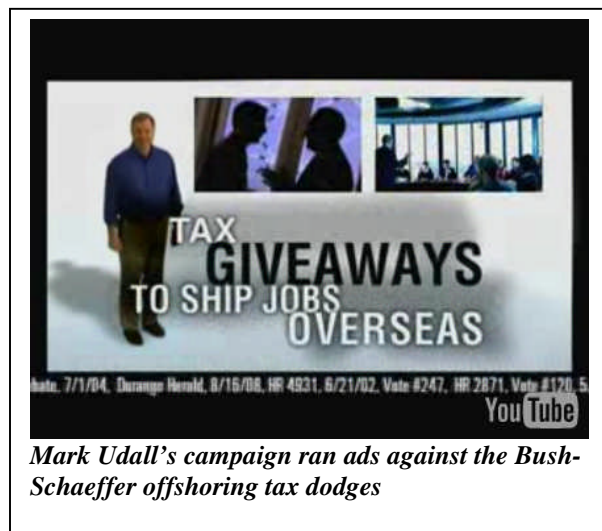
<sup>81</sup> [http://www.jeffmerkley.com/2007/11/merkley\\_peru\\_de.php](http://www.jeffmerkley.com/2007/11/merkley_peru_de.php)

<sup>82</sup> <http://www.gordonsmith.com/news/Read.aspx?ID=126>

CAFTA. Jeff Merkley disagrees with Senators Smith and Wyden, who voted twice in favor of CAFTA. Merkley also disagrees with the Oregon Farm Bureau, ... and the National Cattlemen's Beef Association – all of whom backed CAFTA.”<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless, the senator was considered popular in the state, having reached across party lines on hate crimes legislation and other social issues, and working closely with the state's Democratic senior senator, Ron Wyden. Columnist and prominent blogger David Sirota predicted that, “Should Merkley defeat Oregon's tycoon senator in the heart of the ‘new economy,’ the tremors of that [fair-trade] realignment will become a political earthquake.”<sup>84</sup>

Merkley's strategy paid off. He improved on Democrats' share of the vote (relative to the party's 2002 challenger of Smith) in all but two of Oregon's 40 counties. This includes every county east of the mountains except Malheur, where he saw only a 1 percent drop in support. In the key conservative working-class counties of Coos, Deschutes, Douglas and Jackson, Merkley improved on Democrats' performance against Smith relative to both 1996 and 2002.<sup>85</sup>

Elsewhere on the west coast, Democrat **Mark Udall** defeated Republican **Bob Schaeffer**. The Colorado Senate race took on a metaphysical quality in commentary about the 2008 elections. *The New Yorker's* Ryan Lizza, for instance, seemed to indicate that trade concerns were somehow limited to only Rustbelt states. His article about Colorado argued that the state (and its region) were more in line with the policies of the pro-NAFTA Democratic Leadership Council, and then added:



“[Former Colorado senator and presidential candidate Gary] Hart would like the Democratic Party to become closer to the coalition that he rallied in his 1984 insurgent primary campaign against Walter Mondale. ‘Fritz Mondale and I split the country,’ Hart said. ‘I swept the West, including California, and almost every Western state. The signature issue was globalization, even at that period, twenty-five years ago. Every state that was benefitting from international trade voted for me, and every state that was being hurt by international trade voted for Fritz. That was the issue.’ It hardly needed pointing out that Obama and Hillary Clinton were divided by the same set of issues in their primary contests this year, with Obama rallying the Hart coalition and Clinton winning the Mondale voters. ‘I didn’t get the nomination and Obama did,’ Hart said. ‘But the country has moved into the new economy much more than twenty-five years ago.’”<sup>86</sup>

Yet even in Colorado, Udall – who as a House Democrat had a mixed trade voting record – railed in paid television ads against his opponents' support for “tax giveaways to ship jobs

<sup>83</sup> <http://www.gordonsmith.com/news/Read.aspx?ID=126>

<sup>84</sup> Sirota 2008.

<sup>85</sup> He also improved on Democrats' performance in Klamath County relative to 2002.

<sup>86</sup> Lizza 2008.

overseas.”<sup>87</sup> Udall, a CAFTA and Fast Track opponent, represents a qualitative change over retiring Sen. **Wayne Allard** (R-Colo.), an 100 percent anti-fair trader.<sup>88</sup> In short, not every successful candidate has to be *the same kind* of fair trader, but there are clear advantages to speaking about trade as it relates to taxpayer and consumer concerns, even in areas that aren’t seen as typical “trade job loss” states.

And in conservative Alaska, Democrat **Mark Begich** defeated Republican incumbent Sen. **Ted Stevens** with a platform that called for trade reform. Of course Stevens’ ethics scandal was the prominent focus of the campaign in the closing months. However, the trade issue played with Alaska’s conservative voters in a similar way as seen elsewhere in the west. Alaska’s economy bears little resemblance to that of the Rustbelt. Employment is concentrated in service and extractive industries that are rarely affected by imports in the same way foreign textile imports might affect that domestic industry. But concerns over local and national control of policy are important, and in fact Stevens and his House colleague Rep. **Don Young** (R-Alaska) had a history of opposing the WTO and other trade policies based on sovereignty concerns. Neither, however, had voted the fair-trade position since 2003.

Begich’s campaign sensed an opening, and his website said, “NAFTA has not worked as predicted, costing an estimated 1 million American jobs. NAFTA, CAFTA and the bilateral free trade agreements negotiated by the Bush administration have helped big business while hurting middle class Americans. Mark believes fair trade policies should include meaningful and fully enforceable consumer, labor, environmental and human rights protections. He favors a tax code that rewards companies for creating jobs in America, not that take those jobs abroad. International trade can be good for Americans, and is a vital part of Alaska’s economy, but it needs to serve middle class families, not just multi-national corporations.”<sup>89</sup>

The west was not the only instance of regional upset on trade. In the south, fair-trade Democrats claimed seats that were thought to be beyond their party’s reach. In North Carolina, Democrat **Kay Hagan** beat Republican incumbent Sen. **Elizabeth Dole**, after running a national record eight paid trade ads.<sup>90</sup> Hagan’s victory is particularly interesting, given her position on “social” issues. While Hagan was pro-choice,<sup>91</sup> her relentless campaigning on fair-trade and other pocketbook issues allowed her to win over the socially conservative voters that dominate her state. In July 2008, Hagan released materials that slammed Dole for voting for CAFTA,<sup>92</sup> and an October television ad showed an abandoned factory while a narrator said, “This is the legacy of Washington special interests: unfair trade deals, and Senator Elizabeth Dole giving tax breaks to corporations that send jobs overseas.”<sup>93</sup> On her campaign website, Hagan said,

“For too many years, however, trade deals have been written to pull down wages and working conditions in the U.S. and other developed countries, instead of pulling them up

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<sup>87</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sdbvVoN9mVg>

<sup>88</sup> Notably, Schaeffer himself had voted to withdraw from the WTO while serving in the House, even though he generally voted for NAFTA-style deals.

<sup>89</sup> <http://begich.com/fairtrade>.

<sup>90</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O7C9ut6NqIE>, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wusIpojRKA>, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f17KUGyINpI>, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RwdqK6r6vug>, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=94SdKGjdZXM> and [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pXI\\_stTL1IE](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pXI_stTL1IE)

<sup>91</sup> [http://www.emilyslist.org/candidates/kay\\_hagan/](http://www.emilyslist.org/candidates/kay_hagan/)

<sup>92</sup> “Hagan details trade policy, hitting Dole on CAFTA,” *Associated Press*, July 25, 2008.

<sup>93</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i7Sr50VGvyI>

in the developing world. As corporate profits and CEO pay have soared, the incomes of ordinary North Carolinians have stagnated. Even in the best case, the pitfalls of trade are too apparent for Americans and for North Carolinians in particular. We need only look at once thriving communities built on the textile and apparel and furniture industries that are being devastated by low-cost competition from China and Mexico and other countries around the world... Our trade agreements need to include enforceable labor and environmental standards to prevent businesses from engaging in a race to the bottom by off-shoring their factories to newly opened markets with little or no environmental and labor protections.”<sup>94</sup>

In Georgia, Kentucky and Mississippi – heavily GOP states that supported McCain – fair-trade Democrats **Jim Martin, Bruce Lunsford** and **Ronnie Musgrove** gave anti-fair trade GOP incumbents **Saxby Chambliss, Mitch McConnell** and **Roger Wicker** a run for their money, after running multiple television ads attacking the incumbents’ support of unfair trade deals.<sup>95</sup> These included an early September 2008 ad paid for by the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, where a narrator said: “Wicker and his special interest buddies back tax breaks for American companies that ship jobs overseas, and Wicker supports bad trade deals like NAFTA, Central America, and China – deals that send tens of thousands of jobs overseas. Ronnie Musgrove opposes these job killers, and he’ll fight to keep Mississippi jobs in Mississippi.”<sup>96</sup> An October ad for Martin focused on Chambliss’ support for CAFTA and Fast Track. In Georgia, Chambliss’ margin was only 3 percent in the first round of voting, and in Kentucky, only 6 percent. In all three states including Mississippi, the fair-trade Democrat beat Obama’s margin – in Kentucky, by 11 points.

And as we detailed above, fair traders won tough pick-ups in House seats in both the so-called “Deep South” (Alabama) and “Outer South” (Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia). And fair traders also defended seats in tough races in both “Deep” and “Outer” South (Georgia, Mississippi; and Kentucky, Texas).

These victories defied some pundits’ suggestions that Democrats should “whistle past Dixie.” In 2006, for instance, political scientist Thomas Schaller said that Democrats could not win statewide seats in the South – even if they were socially conservative yet economically progressive. “Political candidates in all but a few isolated pockets of the South essentially must pass a values ‘litmus test’,” wrote Schaller in *Whistling Past Dixie*, who calls on Democrats to instead focus on western states. According to Schaller:

“[Some] think Democrats can bridge the cultural gap by emphasizing the destructive impacts of Republican economic policies. But it’s extraordinarily difficult for Democratic candidates to differentiate themselves sufficiently on economic policies to compensate for the built-in advantages Republicans enjoy on social issues, and post-NAFTA Democrats are having a hard time convincing many working-class voters that there is any meaningful differentiation at all. Besides, no matter how attractive their economic messaging may be, Democrats must first pass through the ‘cultural credentialing’ filter to get a full hearing from Southerners on economic policy. The best Democrats can do is

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<sup>94</sup> <http://www.kayhagan.com/issues/trade>

<sup>95</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PBZ1ucE9o6g> and <http://www.wapt.com/video/17271387/index.html>

<sup>96</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PBZ1ucE9o6g>

hope for fate to drop in their laps a huge electoral windfall, like an economic collapse of such magnitude that it eliminates the culture filter... This is neither a workable long-term strategy nor a noble way to run a political party.”<sup>97</sup>

Such claims about southern politics are highly debatable. As journalist Bob Moser has written, polls show that half of America’s self-defined populists live in the South, and they are more skeptical of NAFTA-style trade deals than the national average. And while racial issues carry a significant weight in the region, racially inclusive “populists” such as Alabama’s governor “Big” Jim Folsom – along with polls that show opposition to busing dropped much more significantly (and to ultimately lower levels) in the South than in the North – complicate the picture. According to Moser:

“When Democrats devolved from the Great Society proponents of the 1960s to the free-trading welfare reformers of the ‘90s, they lost their identity as the ‘people’s party’ in the process... When Democrats fret about having to compromise their party’s soul to win down south, they are fretting only about identity politics. Democrats would certainly not have to move right on social safety-net issues to win Dixie. They would need to move left, in fact, on issues like health care, corporate regulations and taxation, and antipoverty initiatives. On these issues, the very Democrats who fear the dark consequences of ‘looking south’ have already sold down the river man of the principles the party once held dear. Democrats as champions of unfettered free trade? Democrats reluctant to fight against the outsourcing of manufacturing jobs? ... These are hardly the characteristics of a party of such high-flown nobility that it cannot risk contamination by contact with Southerners.”<sup>98</sup>

Indeed, Democratic presidential candidates’ problems in the south over the last 30 years may have more to do with the fact that they compromise on pocketbook issues once in power (think Carter’s expansion of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) and Clinton’s NAFTA).

On some level, what Schaller describes are fundamental political problems that are not specific to the south: any party that has compromised its integrity on an issue in the past (as the Democrats did in 1993 with NAFTA) faces difficulties reestablishing their brand. And parties often benefit from events that they did not set in motion. The social-scientific problem in evaluating Schaller’s claims is that it is impossible to run controlled experiments where a fair-trade message is run in the same socially conservative state both with and without a financial meltdown to see how much the cultural credentialing matters. All we can know is that, in at least a half dozen southern congressional races, it *was* overcome – both by Democratic fair-trade candidates that were socially conservative, and those like Kay Hagan that were less so. These new members will secure their economic-policy bonafides if they do not make a 1993-NAFTA-like compromise once in office. The 2008 Senate races show that no region is off limits to a fair-trade message.

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<sup>97</sup> Schaller 2006, at 5-6.

<sup>98</sup> Moser 2008, at 24 and 28.

#### **IV. Prominence of Fair-Trade Issue in Races a Response to Polls and Public Anxiety on Worrying Trade-Related Economic Trends**

In 2008, the economy and jobs were voters' top concern. Polls focusing on specific trade and globalization issues showed the majority of Americans consider status-quo policies to be damaging to themselves and the nation, including by a two-to-one margin, a majority of self-identified Republican voters.<sup>99</sup> Among the top poll findings:

- According to a September 2008 Greenberg Quinlan Rosner poll, a majority of voters are cool to NAFTA, regardless of level of electoral participation, region, past presidential favorite, degree of loyalty to McCain or Obama, party affiliation, ideology, who they supported in the primary, what they think is the top concern facing the country, gender, age, generational cohort, race, educational level, union membership status, marital status, parental status, religion, how they feel about the direction of the country, and which party controls their congressional district. *Catholic, swing and independent voters – among the most sought after constituencies<sup>100</sup> – are among the most anti-NAFTA voting blocs in the country.<sup>101</sup>*
- A September 2008 Zogby poll found a similar pattern, with NAFTA opposition the majority position across every demographic. *Hispanics are among the most anti-NAFTA voting blocs in the country, as are progressives, liberals, Democrats and internationalists.* Similar conclusions held in terms of opposition to the Colombia FTA.<sup>102</sup> Zogby has been criticized for not using perfectly randomized polling methodology, so that their responders may be more activist than the general population. If this is true, it only underscores the hypothesis that self-identified progressives are relatively clear on the lack of merit in our current trade policy, contradicting the claim of some pundits that liberals are split evenly on the trade issue, or that NAFTA opponents are motivated by xenophobia.<sup>103</sup> (Although, as stated, the poll shows NAFTA opposition across every demographic.)
- A June 2008 Rasmussen poll shows that nearly three-quarters (73 percent) of Americans believe that a “free trade agreement” (FTA) has had a negative effect on their families. Only 14 percent say their families have benefited from an FTA. Over half – 56 percent – of Americans believe that NAFTA should be renegotiated. Only 16 percent believe it should *not* be renegotiated. *And 71 percent of voters say negotiation of trade agreements is important to them in terms of how they will vote.* Only 20 percent say it is not important.<sup>104</sup>
- A May 2008 Pew Research Center for People and the Press poll shows that 48 percent of Americans – including 42 percent of Republicans, 50 percent of Democrats, and 52 percent of independents – said that “free trade agreements – like NAFTA, and the policies of the World Trade Organization” have been “a bad thing” for the United States, while only 35 percent said they have been a good thing. *This is a dramatic reversal from a 2004 poll in*

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<sup>99</sup> Harwood 2007.

<sup>100</sup> Boyer 2008.

<sup>101</sup> Greenberg Quinlan Rosner, Sept. 15, 2008, <http://www.democracycorps.com/strategy/2008/09/the-changing-presidential-race-after-the-conventions/>.

<sup>102</sup> Zogby, September 2008, <http://www.zogby.com/news/X-IAD.pdf>.

<sup>103</sup> Krugman, 2007; Klein, 2008; Marshall and Gresser, 2007.

<sup>104</sup> Rasmussen Reports, “56% Want NAFTA Renegotiated, Americans Divided on Free Trade,” June 18, 2008. Available at: [http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public\\_content/politics/general\\_politics/56\\_want\\_nafta\\_renegotiated\\_americans\\_divided\\_on\\_free\\_trade](http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/politics/general_politics/56_want_nafta_renegotiated_americans_divided_on_free_trade). Accessed Oct. 31, 2008.



which Americans believed that these trade agreements were a good thing, by a 47-34 margin. 61 percent of Americans believe “free trade” costs U.S. jobs, and 56 percent believe it lowers wages. Only 9 percent believe “free trade” creates U.S. jobs, and only 8 percent believe it raises wages – results which are consistent across party affiliation lines.<sup>105</sup>

- A September 2007 Wall Street Journal-NBC poll found that Republican voters, by a two-to-one majority, agree that “Foreign trade has been bad for the U.S. economy, because imports from abroad have reduced demand for American-made goods, cost jobs here at home, and produced potentially unsafe products.” Fifty-nine percent of Republicans agreed with this statement, and an additional six percent said this partially reflected their views. Only 32 percent agreed with the statement “Foreign trade has been good for the U.S. economy, because demand for U.S. products abroad has resulted in economic growth and jobs for Americans here at home and provided more choices for consumers.”<sup>106</sup> This finding is especially interesting in the context of the cross-over voting of Republicans for Obama and the pick up by Democrats of traditionally Republican congressional seats. That is to say, Democratic candidates that focused on changing our current trade policies may have provided Republican voters with a reason to be for a Democrat who held views (or might have been perceived to hold views) on abortion, gun control and other non-economic issues that would have otherwise been their only litmus test.

### **Incumbents with Strongest Fair-Trade Records Who Faced Competitive Races Re-Elected**

Fifteen incumbents with competitive re-election battles who had voted the fair-trade position 100 percent of the time, cosponsored the Trade Reform, Accountability, Development and Employment (TRADE) Act, or did both won reelection. This includes members of Congress from the Republican and Democratic Parties, from California to Connecticut, from Mississippi to Minnesota, from the Blue Dog, New Democrat, Hispanic, and Progressive Caucuses.

Jason Altmire (D-Pa.), New Democrat Coalition  
Mike Arcuri (D-N.Y.), Blue Dog and New Democrat Coalition  
Chris Carney (D-Pa.), Blue Dog and New Democrat Coalition  
Travis Childers (D-Miss.)<sup>107</sup>  
Steve Cohen (D-Tenn.), Progressive Caucus who won a tough primary challenge  
Bill Foster (D-Ill.), New Democrat Coalition  
Walter Jones (R-N.C.), Republican who won a tough primary challenge  
Steve Kagen (D-Wis.)  
Jerry McNerney (D-Calif.)  
John Murtha (D-Pa.)  
Ciro Rodriguez (D-Texas), Congressional Hispanic Caucus  
Carol Shea-Porter (D-N.H.)  
Zack Space (D-Ohio), Blue Dog Coalition  
Tim Walz (D-Minn.)  
John Yarmuth (D-Ky.), freshmen class co-president

<sup>105</sup> Pew Research Center for People and the Press, May 1, 2008.

<sup>106</sup> Wall Street Journal-NBC News Poll, September 2007. Available at: <http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/WSJ-POLL-20071003.pdf>. Accessed Oct. 28, 2008.

<sup>107</sup> Childers has not been in office long enough to have a fair-trade vote or bill cosponsorship record, but campaigned on fair trade.

Public opinion is responding to very clear – and very real – trends in the economy that have undermined most peoples’ standards of living and financial security during the neoliberal era (i.e. the post-1973 period). While NAFTA and the WTO were the major delivery mechanisms of the current globalization model, the core elements of that agenda were being implemented even prior to those agreements’ mid-1990’s passage. Starting in the 1980s, President Ronald Reagan worked domestically to implement the agenda of radical deregulation and privatization that was locked in and exported worldwide in the WTO and various regional agreements. (The same policy package was being pushed on developing countries through International Monetary Fund and World Bank structural-adjustment programs beginning in the 1970s, when Fast Track trade-promotion authority was also first established.) Among the major impacts of this agenda:

- **Wages stagnate while productivity soars.** Today’s real median wages are scarcely above 1973 levels despite impressive American worker productivity gains. In 1973, the median hourly wage for American workers in today’s dollars was \$17.26, while in 2007 it was up less than 1 percent to \$17.42. Over the same period, U.S. workers’ productivity nearly doubled.<sup>108</sup> Increasingly, even economists who defend status-quo trade policies are attributing a significant share of this unprecedented disconnect between American workers’ productivity and their real wages to a form of “labor arbitrage” in which American workers are competing in a global labor market dominated by vast pools of low-wage workers.<sup>109</sup>
- **Trade policy holds back wages even of jobs that can’t be offshored.** When agreements such as NAFTA and WTO established new rights and protections for foreign investors, they created new incentives for U.S. production to be shifted to lower-wage foreign venues. Economists have known for over 60 years that *all* workers with similar skill levels – not just manufacturing workers – will face downward wage pressure when U.S. trade policy creates a selective form of “free trade” in goods that non-professional workers produce.<sup>110</sup> When workers in manufacturing are displaced and seek new jobs, they add to the supply of U.S. workers available for non-offshorable, non-professional jobs in hospitality, retail, health care and more.<sup>111</sup> Total employment and unemployment rates are largely determined by monetary and fiscal policy – for instance the Federal Reserve Bank’s interest-rate policies. Yet trade affects the *composition* of jobs available in an economy. The United States lost millions of manufacturing jobs during the NAFTA-WTO era, but overall unemployment has been stable as new service-sector jobs were created. According to the Brookings Institution, the average worker displaced from manufacturing went from earning \$40,154 to \$32,123 when re-employed.<sup>112</sup>
- **The inequality between rich and poor in American has jumped to levels not seen since the Robber-Baron era.** Wealthy individuals’ share of national income was stable for the first several decades after World War II, but shot up 50 percent for the richest 10 percent and 150 percent for the richest 1 percent between 1973 and 2006.<sup>113</sup> The richest 10 percent of

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<sup>108</sup> Average wage data for 1962-2008 from Bureau of Labor Statistics’ Current Employment Statistics survey, series CES0500000008. Productivity data from Bureau of Labor Statistics’ Major Sector Productivity and Costs index, series ID PRS88003093, accessed Feb. 15, 2008. All data in this document were inflation-adjusted using the Consumer Price Index-U-RS as estimated by the Congressional Budget Office in the backup data for Table E-1 of their Budget and Economic Outlook: Fiscal Years 2008 to 2018, released January 2008.

<sup>109</sup> Roach 2003.

<sup>110</sup> Stolper and Samuelson 1941, at 58-73.

<sup>111</sup> Bivens 2007.

<sup>112</sup> Brainard, Litan and Warren 2005, at 2.

<sup>113</sup> Piketty and Saez, 2006, 2008.



Americans are taking nearly half of the economic pie, while the top 1 percent is taking over a sixth.

- **Longstanding economic theory predicts that trade will increase income inequality in developed countries.** A decade ago, the Peterson Institute for International Economics (PIIE) sought to quantify the effect of trade policy on U.S. income inequality, and found that nearly 40 percent of the increase in inequality was attributable to U.S. trade policy.<sup>114</sup> When the Economic Policy Institute (EPI) updated the PIIE figures, it found that the average American family lost \$2,000 a year from the burden of rising inequality due to trade – a sum more than the average income tax burden.<sup>115</sup>
- **Prior to the establishment of Fast Track and the trade agreements it enabled, the United States had balanced trade; since then, the U.S. trade deficit has exploded.** The pre-Fast Track period was one of balanced U.S. trade and rising living standards for most Americans. In fact, in 1973, the United States had a slight trade surplus, as it did in nearly every year between World War II and 1975. But in every year since Fast Track was first implemented in 1975, the United States has run a trade deficit. And since establishment of NAFTA and the WTO in the mid-1990s, the U.S. trade deficit jumped exponentially from under \$100 billion to over \$700 billion – over 5 percent of national income.<sup>116</sup>
- **Nearly 5 million American manufacturing jobs – over 1 out of 4 – were lost during the Fast Track era.** The U.S. manufacturing sector has long been a source of innovation, productivity, growth and good jobs.<sup>117</sup> By 2007, the United States had less than 14 million manufacturing jobs left – over 4.7 million fewer than in 1973 before Fast Track was first established,<sup>118</sup> with less than 10 percent of the American workforce in manufacturing for the first time in modern history.<sup>119</sup> Further, studies show that the U.S. economy could have supported an estimated 7 million *more* manufacturing jobs if not for the massive trade deficit that has accrued under current U.S. trade policy.<sup>120</sup>
- **Offshoring of American jobs is moving rapidly up the income and skills ladder.** Alan S. Blinder, a former Federal Reserve vice chairman, Princeton economics professor, and NAFTA-WTO supporter, says that 29 to 38 million American jobs could be offshored in the foreseeable future.<sup>121</sup> The majority of the jobs Blinder identified are not in manufacturing.<sup>122</sup> Indeed, according to Blinder's data, American workers with at least a four-year college degree are those most vulnerable to having their jobs offshored. As well, the jobs that Blinder considered most subject to offshoring pay better (by \$8,000 or 14 percent) than those that are not, meaning America could see its very best jobs moving offshore.<sup>123</sup> The service-sector agreements included in WTO and NAFTA provide new protections and rights for firms that

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<sup>114</sup> Cline 1997; Baker and Weisbrot 2001.

<sup>115</sup> Bivens 2007.

<sup>116</sup> Bureau of Economic Analysis.

<sup>117</sup> Baugh and Yudken 2006.

<sup>118</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Employment Statistics survey.

<sup>119</sup> Baker 2008.

<sup>120</sup> Mishel, Bernstein, and Allegretto 2006.

<sup>121</sup> Blinder 2006, 2007.

<sup>122</sup> Bivens 2007.

<sup>123</sup> Bernstein, Lin, and Mishel 2007.

offshore service sector jobs, and limit domestic regulation of certain service sector operations.

- **Flood of unsafe and underegulated imports.** The 2008 campaign season kicked off as the imported food- and toy-safety crisis dominated the news, with new crises emerging almost weekly over the course of the campaign. These scares are intimately connected to our trade agreements. Since WTO and NAFTA, U.S. food imports have doubled. The agreements' limits on border inspection and domestic safety standards have meant that the absence of basic safety protections in distant countries can threaten every American. Offshoring of production of other products to venues without reliable safety protections has resulted in a new level of awareness by many Americans regarding where and how their children's toys and other common household goods are made.<sup>124</sup>

In short, the impacts of our status-quo globalization and trade policies affect the median voter's personal economic situation – not the top nor solely the bottom 20 percent. This underscores why so many campaigns made fruitful use of the trade issue, something that frustrates many political scientists, who are drawn to something called the “median-voter theory.” Its essence, this theory states that voters are distributed like a bell curve, with small groups of voters on either the far left or right, and the majority of voters grouped in a hump in the center. In this model, it doesn't pay for either party to depart from “centrist positions.” In fact, in some versions of the model, if one party (say the Republicans) cannot part from rightwing economic policies, then the other party (say the Democrats) do best when they go to the right of center on economic issues, and in fact position themselves only *slightly* to the left of Republicans.

One of the more influential recent books in this vein is statistician Andrew Gelman's *Red State, Blue State, Rich State, Poor State*, which gives an overview of current U.S. political geography from an academic perspective. Gelman adopts the median-voter theory, and suggests that it is one reason why Democrats do not move farther to the “left” on economic issues. The typical definition of “left economic policy” in political-science literature is that aimed at the very poor, which Gelman invokes and then states:

“As for the Democrats, we would expect that most of their stakeholders would prefer a move to the left on economic issues – if anything, it might be their moderately conservative position was chosen partly from median-voter thinking... Moving to the left would not be costless for the Democrats, however, even beyond the anticipated direct cost in votes. One would expect them to lose some contributions from businesses and affluent individuals, and support of policies such as tariff barriers could be unpopular among elite opinion makers such as those who determine newspaper endorsements. In contrast, internal party pressures could make it more difficult for the Democrats to move toward the center on other [non-economic] dimensions.”<sup>125</sup>

Such a statement needs some critical unpacking. First of all, the goal of the fair-trade movement is not to raise tariffs. This movement has instead coalesced around the shrinking or sinking of today's “trade” agreements' impacts on non-tariff, domestic policy space, which includes the radical deregulation of financial and other services and the establishment of foreign investor

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<sup>124</sup> Bottari 2007; Tucker and Bottari, 2007.

<sup>125</sup> Gelman 2008, at 152.

privileges that promote the offshoring practices highlighted above. Moreover, trade is *not* a left economic policy stance *in the way most utilized by political scientists*, who use “left” to refer to policies targeted at the very poor. As Gelman notes elsewhere in the book, “poor” is often code for “racial minorities” in the south, which he argues explains part of the reason that some voters are seen as voting “against” their economic interests by electing Republicans. (The story is more complicated than that, since Gelman and similar work by Princeton political scientist Larry Bartels have analyzed data which show that working and poor people across the country are still voting overwhelmingly Democratic.)<sup>126</sup>

Because trade concerns the median voter, rather than only the very poor, it has a much wider appeal across the 70 percent of the population that does not have a full college degree, and even among most who do. Reams of academic literature have argued that Americans gravitate towards what these analysts derogatorily call “protectionist” policies precisely *because* current trade policy tends to generate increased inequality and pressure on the median voter.<sup>127</sup>

This is why Gelman resorts to the example about newspaper publishers – not an important demographic for getting a numerical vote majority, but influential in shaping public opinion. And he may have a point, but it tells us nothing about what trade policy candidates should advocate to appeal to the median voter, but instead how much an elite fringe constrains meaningful political debate on the trade issue. The *progressive* fair-trade movement (in the layman’s use of the adjective that we identified in our comments on the Zogby polls) – with its analysis of how elite decision-makers distract from policies that benefit the middle class – is the closest to the *center* position in political-science terms.

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<sup>126</sup> Bartels 2008 is the leading exponent of what we call the “anti-Thomas Frank” school, named for the author of *What’s the Matter with Kansas* who is the target of their criticism.

<sup>127</sup> Dhingra 2006; Gawande and Krishna 2001.

## **V. Presidential Races: Fair Trade Gets an Upgrade**

The Constitution grants Congress exclusive authority over setting the terms of trade, thus the focus on that branch in this report. However, the role of the president in U.S. trade policy has expanded tremendously in recent decades.<sup>128</sup> And, given the salience of the issue among the American public, trade and globalization issues played a prominent role in the presidential race, especially during the Democratic primary.

### **Some of President-elect Obama's Trade Commitments from the Campaign**

- Said “yes” to “Do you believe that international trade and investment are not mere ends unto themselves, but instead must be viewed as a means for achieving economic justice, human rights, healthy communities and a sound environment?”<sup>129</sup>
- “I have heard the call for reform and share your frustration with agreements like the North American Free Trade Agreement that are not working for American workers.”<sup>130</sup>
- “I voted against CAFTA and never supported NAFTA. NAFTA’s shortcomings were evident when signed and we must now amend the agreement to fix them. While NAFTA gave broad rights to investors, it paid only lip service to the rights of labor and the importance of environmental protection. Ten years later CAFTA – the Central American Free Trade Agreement – had many of the same problems, which is why I voted against it.”<sup>131</sup>
- “We’ll add binding obligations to protect the right to collective bargaining and other core labor standards recognized by the International Labor Organization. And I will add enforceable measures to NAFTA, the World Trade Organization (WTO), CAFTA and other Free Trade Agreements (FTA’s) currently in effect. Similarly, we should add binding environmental standards so that companies from one country cannot gain an economic advantage by destroying the environment.”<sup>132</sup>
- “And we should amend NAFTA to make clear that fair laws and regulations written to protect citizens in any of the three countries cannot be overridden simply at the request of foreign investors. I will only support future trade agreements that support these important principles.”<sup>133</sup>
- “I recognize that China’s currency manipulation and domestic subsidies gives it an unfair trade advantage and has led to U.S. job losses. The Bush administration has utterly failed to address this growing threat to U.S. businesses... China’s human rights violations and failure to enforce labor, environment and meaningful product safety standards are unacceptable.”<sup>134</sup>

<sup>128</sup> Tucker and Wallach 2008; Bottari and Wallach 2008.

<sup>129</sup> Oregon Fair Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response of Sen. Barack Obama (D-III.), May 9, 2008. Available at: <http://www.citizenstrade.org/pdf2/ObamaResponse.pdf>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2008.

<sup>130</sup> Iowa Fair Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response of Sen. Barack Obama (D-III.), Dec. 26, 2007. Available at: <http://iowafairtrade.org/obama.pdf>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2008.

<sup>131</sup> Washington Fair Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response of Sen. Barack Obama (D-III.), Feb. 18, 2008. Available at: [http://campaignwindow.com/portal/uploads/wisconsinfairtradecoalition/WFTC\\_-\\_BHO\\_Questionnaire\\_WFTC\\_021808\\_FINAL.pdf](http://campaignwindow.com/portal/uploads/wisconsinfairtradecoalition/WFTC_-_BHO_Questionnaire_WFTC_021808_FINAL.pdf). Accessed Oct. 28, 2008.

<sup>132</sup> Iowa Fair Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response of Sen. Barack Obama (D-III.), Dec. 26, 2007. Available at: <http://iowafairtrade.org/obama.pdf>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2008.

<sup>133</sup> Ohio Conference on Fair Trade Questionnaire Response of Sen. Barack Obama (D-III.), Feb. 28, 2008. Available at: [http://www.citizenstrade.org/pdf/OCFT\\_%20PresPrimaryTradeQuestionnaire\\_Obama\\_022008.pdf](http://www.citizenstrade.org/pdf/OCFT_%20PresPrimaryTradeQuestionnaire_Obama_022008.pdf). Accessed Oct. 28, 2008.

<sup>134</sup> Ohio Conference on Fair Trade Questionnaire Response of Sen. Barack Obama (D-III.), Feb. 28, 2008. Available at: [http://www.citizenstrade.org/pdf/OCFT\\_%20PresPrimaryTradeQuestionnaire\\_Obama\\_022008.pdf](http://www.citizenstrade.org/pdf/OCFT_%20PresPrimaryTradeQuestionnaire_Obama_022008.pdf). Accessed Oct. 28, 2008.

## *Primary Trade Colors*

In 2000 and 2004, the top Democratic and Republican presidential candidates eschewed a strong fair trade platform. In 2000, there was little attention to the issue and, in 2004, once candidate Richard Gephardt left the Democratic primaries, trade issues faded from the debate. In contrast, during the 2006-08 presidential primary season, criticism of the status-quo trade model – and especially of NAFTA as a popularly understood symbol of that agenda – went mainstream... *in both parties.*

On the right, a majority of the Republican primary candidates voiced criticism of our current trade policies. Former Gov. **Mike Huckabee** (R-Ark.), the second top-vote getter, saw his polling numbers rise as he blasted Wall Street greed and CEOs that offshore jobs to China.<sup>135</sup> While dubbing the Club for Growth as “The Club for Greed,” his campaign speeches featured an “I’m for Main Street, not Wall Street” frame. According to *The Politico*, “In his speeches, Huckabee railed against the ‘unbridled greed’ of some Wall Street executives. ‘I am not interested in being the candidate of Wall Street but of Main Street,’ he says. ‘CEOs get paid 500 times what the average worker does, but they are not necessarily 500 times smarter or harder-working, and that is wrong.’”<sup>136</sup> His bashing of China trade policy and focus on job offshoring resulted in an intra-party attack calling him a protectionist. “I have been accused of being a protectionist. I’m not,” he said. “But then we need to make these nations ‘have ta’ live by the same agreements that we live by and exercise strict enforcement of them.”<sup>137</sup> Huckabee won in eight states.

Former Gov. **Mitt Romney** (R-Mass.), an avowed “free trader” whose campaign was advised by leading GOP anti-fair trade advocates, joined the attack in the heat of the primaries: “I know that there are some people who think, as Senator McCain did, he said, you know, some jobs have left Michigan that are never coming back. I disagree. I’m going to fight for every single job, Michigan, South Carolina, every state in this country. We’re going to fight for jobs and make sure that our future is bright. We’re going to protect the jobs of Americans and grow this economy again.”<sup>138</sup> He beat McCain in 11 states. Both Huckabee<sup>139</sup> and Romney,<sup>140</sup> in their gubernatorial capacities, had supported status-quo trade policies, but responding to the will of the Republican base, they altered their rhetoric if not policies during the Republican presidential primaries.

Rep. **Ron Paul** (R-Texas), while derided by many commentators as a fringe candidate, had massive support among college students and active military personnel, and was a prodigious fundraiser. He also happens to be the Republican with the longest fair-trade voting record in Congress, dating from his opposition in 1979 to Fast Track, all the way through his 2008 vote to derail Fast Track for the Colombia FTA. Finally, former New York Mayor **Rudy Giuliani** had

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<sup>135</sup> Pethokoukis 2008.

<sup>136</sup> Simon 2007.

<sup>137</sup> *Detroit News*, Jan. 10, 2008.

<sup>138</sup> Republican Debate, Jan. 10, 2008. Transcript available at:

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/15249/republican\\_debate\\_transcript\\_myrtle\\_beach\\_south\\_carolina.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/15249/republican_debate_transcript_myrtle_beach_south_carolina.html)

<sup>139</sup> As governor of Arkansas, Huckabee signed his state’s procurement policies up to CAFTA and other unfair trade deals. See correspondence at: <http://www.citizen.org/trade/subfederal/states/articles.cfm?ID=11552>

<sup>140</sup> In November 2005, Romney told an audience of high-tech lobbyists that U.S. businesses must globalize or whither away and die. See Rooney 2005.

opposed NAFTA in 1993,<sup>141</sup> while Reps. **Duncan Hunter** (R-Calif.), a leader in congressional anti-NAFTA and anti-WTO efforts, and **Tom Tancredo** (R-Colo.), who had opposed CAFTA and other flawed trade deals, rounded out the Republican fair-trade bench.

Fair-trade tendencies were even stronger among Democratic presidential contenders. In December 2006, just weeks after the final midterm election results were in, former Sen. **John Edwards** (D-N.C.) launched his campaign for the presidency, with a fervent emphasis on issues of inequality and poverty and a campaign focusing on specific trade reforms.<sup>142</sup> Both Sens. **Hillary Clinton** (D-N.Y.) and **Barack Obama** (D-Ill.) launched their campaigns in the following months. This set off a year-plus “me-too” game, where Edwards would articulate a strong fair-trade message, gain popularity and attention, and then Clinton and Obama would follow. This could be seen in April 2007 in Edwards’ announcement of opposition to the Korea FTA, which was quickly followed by the other two leading candidates.<sup>143</sup>

The August 2007 AFL-CIO / MSNBC debate offered a prime opportunity for candidates to express their trade views. After Rep. **Dennis Kucinich** (D-Ohio) blasted unfair trade deals in his very first comment, all six other candidates joined in. Moderator Keith Olbermann asked each candidate whether they would scrap or fix NAFTA. Kucinich agreed to scrap NAFTA, Edwards and Sen. **Chris Dodd** (D-Ct.) committed to changing NAFTA, and the other candidates did not dispute the premise that NAFTA should be either scrapped or changed, but rather voiced their choice. Obama even committed to “call the president of Mexico, the president of Canada [sic] to try to amend NAFTA.”<sup>144</sup>

Meanwhile, Edwards’ relentless trade campaign speeches mainstreamed a critique and language that connected to many Americans thinking on the subject, breaking the mold of past leading presidential candidates:

“Trade has become a bad word for working Americans for a simple reason – *our trade policies have been bad for working Americans*. Washington looks at every trade deal and asks one question, and only one question - is it good for corporate profits? Globalization has helped stunt the growth in wages for American workers... Workers in America must now compete every day with workers overseas earning miserably low wages with no benefits. And what’s even worse, big multinational corporations now use the excuse that they have to ship ever more good-paying American jobs overseas in order to compete with the very low wage jobs they themselves created there. In the last few years, wages have fallen for nearly every educational group, all the way up to masters degrees – and corporate profits have nearly doubled...Rather than create income gains for all, the gains from globalization are mostly flowing to the most fortunate Americans. Globalization is a major reason why income inequality is at its worst since before the Great Depression. It shouldn’t be this way. And when I’m president, I’m going to tell the lobbyists pulling the strings in Washington and the big corporations that hire them the same thing - their time is over. And we certainly need change, especially in our trade policies. For years now, Washington has been passing trade deal after trade deal that works great for multinational corporations, but not for working Americans....For example, NAFTA and the WTO

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<sup>141</sup> Sager 2007.

<sup>142</sup> Balz 2006.

<sup>143</sup> Davis 2007.

<sup>144</sup> AFL-CIO Candidate Forum, Aug. 8, 2007. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/08/us/politics/07demsforum.html>. Accessed Oct. 17, 2008.

provide unique rights for foreign companies whose profits are allegedly hurt by environmental and health regulations... NAFTA was written by insiders in all three countries, and it served their interests – not the interests of regular workers.... In my first year in office, I will spend time working with Congress to get our trade policies straight – policies which ensure that Americans workers finally begin to see benefits from the global economy. And then, when we negotiate new trade deals it won't just be big multinational corporations whose interests are served – it will also be the interests of American workers, America's communities, and our global environment.”<sup>145</sup>

By late December, just before the Iowa caucuses, the Iowa Fair Trade Campaign released questionnaire responses from the Democratic candidates who had campaigned in Iowa.<sup>146</sup> (The Republican candidates failed to respond.) The questionnaires included the most critical views on the trade and globalization status quo of any past group of presidential contenders and the most far-reaching commitments to change. Among the highlights of their responses:

- **On Fast Track:** Obama committed to “replace Fast Track” with a process with stronger labor, environmental and civil-society protection provisions, and to “ensure that Congress plays a strong and informed role in our International economic policy and in any future agreements we pursue and in our efforts to amend existing agreements.” Edwards said we “need a new way to negotiate trade agreements that ensures they do not overstep into imposing one-size-fits all constraints which limit the domestic health care, education, environmental, safety and other policies that are essential to ensuring our nation’s future. This new trade negotiating system must provide more opportunities for diverse public input in contrast to our current system which relatively advantages business interests while largely excluding noncommercial interests. I will tie both unilateral trade preferences and bilateral and multilateral trade agreements, as well as, future presidential Trade Negotiating Authority, to measurable progress on labor rights in the involved countries.” Clinton said she would not pursue Fast Track authority until a thorough evaluation of existing trade pacts had been conducted.
- **On NAFTA-style investor rights:** Obama said, “With regards to provisions in several FTAs that give foreign investors the right to sue governments directly in foreign tribunals, I will ensure that this right is strictly limited and will fully exempt any law or regulation written to protect public safety or promote the public interest. Our judicial system is strong and gives everyone conducting business in the United States recourse in our courts. The tribunal system was created to ensure that our investors would have access to similar protection abroad. I understand the concerns surrounding this issue, and am committed to working to address them.” Edwards said, “Rather than foreign investor protections that promote offshoring and job loss, agreements must have at their core strong protections for the global environment and the five basic internationally recognized core labor rights as stated in the eight fundamental International Labor Organizations (ILO) conventions.”
- **On import product safety:** Edwards said, “We need as a nation to specifically, and urgently for immediate health and safety reasons, eliminate both the unreasonable limitations on

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<sup>145</sup> Join Edwards campaign speech, “Smarter Trade that Puts Workers First - Remarks as Prepared for Delivery,” Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Aug. 7, 2007.

<sup>146</sup> Available at <http://iowafairtrade.org/candidates.php>. Accessed Oct. 17, 2008.

border inspections of imports and the ceilings on safety standards which are now present in many of our trade agreements.” Obama and Clinton also pledged to strengthen import safety, although not necessarily through trade agreements.

- **On government procurement clauses in trade deals:** Edwards said: “I will also ensure that our government procurement policies strengthen, rather than compete against, the interests of our domestic businesses and that they help create jobs for American workers, and I am prepared to make changes to our current trade agreements to support such policies. It is a worrisome symptom indeed of the overreach of our current trade agreements that our domestic prevailing wage, recycled content, renewable energy and other procurement requirements could be challenged under trade agreements.” Obama committed generally to “use the US governments’ huge purchasing power to promote labor and other human rights in the same way that procurement policies today support energy efficiency. The U.S. government should buy goods and services from companies that adhere to internationally accepted standards for social and environmental progress.”
- **On renegotiating existing trade deals:** Obama actually came out with the most concrete commitment, saying, “One of the first things I’ll do as President will be to call the Prime Minister of Canada and the President of Mexico and work with them to fix NAFTA. And I will add enforceable measures to NAFTA, the World Trade Organization (WTO), CAFTA and other Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) currently in effect. And we should amend NAFTA to make clear that fair laws and regulations written to protect citizens in any of the three countries cannot be overridden simply at the request of foreign investors.” Other candidates merely called for a review or assessment.<sup>147</sup>

After beating Clinton and coming in second to Obama in the Iowa caucuses, Edwards continued to hammer home on his fair-trade credentials, running paid trade ads,<sup>148</sup> and bringing up his opposition to a pending Peru NAFTA-expansion agreement in the South Carolina debates on January 21, 2008. Obama then tried to outflank Edwards by calling NAFTA “a mistake” and bringing up Edwards’ 2000 vote in support of permanent Most Favored Nation status for China that facilitated the country’s admission into the WTO.<sup>149</sup>

After Edwards suspended his campaign, in February 2008, pundits announced that the trade issues would fade. A *Reuters* story, for instance, said:

“John Edwards’ departure from the presidential race removes one of the shrillest critics of globalization and gives the Democratic Party’s two remaining contenders more room to maneuver on trade... ‘It may be that this kind of anti-trade rhetoric has some salience and appeal when people run for Congress but up to now it’s been a negative thing when they run for president,” said [former USTR official Ed] Gresser, whose new book, ‘Freedom From Want,’ partly sketches a history of American trade politics... No Democrat has ever gained the White House by running against trade, although the campaign trail is littered with many that tried – including former Rep. Dick Gephardt,

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<sup>147</sup> Available at <http://iowafairtrade.org/candidates.php>. Accessed Oct. 17, 2008.

<sup>148</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6i5Z0zOWA2g>

<sup>149</sup> CNN Debate in South Carolina, Jan. 21, 2008. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/21/us/politics/21demdebate-transcript.html>. Accessed Oct. 17, 2008.



who railed against Japanese and South Korean trade barriers in his first attempt in the late 1980s, Gresser said.”<sup>150</sup>

Gresser’s prediction proved to be wildly off the mark. Instead, Obama and Clinton dueled for the fair-trade mantel, with both telling Ohio crowds that they would opt out of NAFTA if it were not amended to include labor protections.<sup>151</sup> (As we show below, Obama continued to campaign on fair-trade themes in the general election as well.) The conservative Canadian government of Steven Harper then leaked an internal memo written by a Canadian consulate staffer characterizing a meeting with the Obama campaign which included discussion of NAFTA. The leaked memo, which reported that Obama’s senior economic advisor Austan Goolsbee downplayed the candidate’s commitment to altering NAFTA, caused a major flap. The Obama campaign attacked the memo as mischaracterizing what Goolsbee had said, and noted the Canadian government (not the Obama campaign) had initiated the meeting as a “get to know you” session, that the meeting ranged across numerous issues and that Canadian officials (not Goolsbee) had brought up NAFTA.<sup>152</sup>

The days of press covering the incident included reports that Clinton campaign officials had also met with Canadian officials in February in what was widely construed as attempts to assuage concerns regarding the anti-NAFTA campaign statements.<sup>153</sup> Meanwhile, the candidates continued with a steadily intensifying “anti-NAFTA off,” with Obama noting that Clinton had supported NAFTA until she started running for president,<sup>154</sup> and Hillary Clinton surrogates from the Bill Clinton administration claiming she had always opposed the agreement.<sup>155</sup> Emphasizing the central role the issue played, in March, former Obama advisor Samantha Powers suggested the NAFTA issue had decided the Ohio primary, and reportedly derided voters in Ohio – where Obama lost – as being “obsessed” with NAFTA.<sup>156</sup>

The campaigns’ meetings with Canadian officials, together with the campaign’s clumsy handling of their aftermath, led to a great deal of confusion about the candidates’ actual positions. For most of the liberal chattering class, Obama became the preferred candidate. But many working class voters in battleground states began to gravitate towards Clinton, especially after Obama made the following statement about his difficulties in Pennsylvania while at a San Francisco fundraiser in early April:

“You go into some of these small towns in Pennsylvania, and like a lot of small towns in the Midwest, the jobs have been gone now for 25 years and nothing’s replaced them... And they fell through the Clinton Administration, and the Bush Administration, and each successive administration has said that somehow these communities are gonna regenerate and they have not. And it’s not surprising then they get bitter, they cling to guns or

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<sup>150</sup> Palmer 2008.

<sup>151</sup> Hamby 2008.

<sup>152</sup> Pickler 2008; Neuman and Roug 2008; Laghi 2008; “Canadian Memo Recounts Meeting,” *Associated Press*, March 3, 2008.

<sup>153</sup> Gorham 2008; Auster 2008; Laghi and Galloway 2008.

<sup>154</sup> “Obama: Clinton denying NAFTA support,” *Associated Press*, Feb. 24, 2008: “Barack Obama accused Democratic presidential rival Hillary Rodham Clinton on Sunday of trying to walk away from a long record of support for NAFTA, the free trade agreement with Canada and Mexico that he said has cost 50,000 jobs in Ohio, site of next week’s critical primary... ‘Ten years after NAFTA passed, Senator Clinton said it was good for America,’ Obama said. ‘Well, I don’t think NAFTA has been good for America – and I never have.’... ‘The fact is, she was saying great things about NAFTA until she started running for president,’ Obama told an audience at a factory that makes wall board, located in a working class community west of Cleveland.” See also: Holland 2008.

<sup>155</sup> Sirota (blog) 2008; Nichols 2008.

<sup>156</sup> Alterman 2008.

religion or antipathy to people who aren't like them or anti-immigrant sentiment or anti-trade sentiment as a way to explain their frustrations.”<sup>157</sup>

Various commentators eager to undermine Obama’s rising momentum seized on these comments as indicating hypocrisy in the Obama camp. In an amazing twist of irony, NAFTA booster Bill Kristol wrote in the *New York Times* that:

“Obama ascribes their anti-trade sentiment to economic frustration – as if there are no respectable arguments against more free-trade agreements. This is particularly cynical, since he himself has been making those arguments, exploiting and fanning this sentiment that he decries. Aren’t we then entitled to assume Obama’s opposition to Nafta and the Colombian trade pact is merely cynical pandering to frustrated Americans?”<sup>158</sup>

Obama would later describe the “bitter” comment as the biggest mistake of his campaign in an interview that appeared in the *New York Times Magazine*: “That was my biggest boneheaded move... How it was interpreted in the press was Obama talking to a bunch of wine-sipping San Francisco liberals with an anthropological view toward white working-class voters. And I was actually making the reverse point, clumsily, which is that these voters have a right to be frustrated because they’ve been ignored. And because Democrats haven’t met them halfway on cultural issues, we’ve not been able to communicate to them effectively an economic agenda that would help broaden our coalition.”<sup>159</sup>

Somewhat unbelievably, Hillary Clinton – who had supported NAFTA and a host of NAFTA-style agreements<sup>160</sup> – had become the standard bearer for white working-class voters. Polls support this conclusion: some of the highest negatives for NAFTA in the September 2008 Greenberg poll were among Clinton supporters... especially Clinton supporters who said they would not vote for Obama.

Meanwhile, Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) campaigned during the primaries and after he became the presumptive GOP nominee on a platform of more NAFTAs. In speeches in South Carolina and Michigan, states hard hit by trade-related job loss, his strategy was to emphasize that jobs lost to trade and globalization were gone for good. For instance in South Carolina he said, “There are jobs – let’s have a little straight talk – there are some jobs that aren’t coming back to Michigan. There are some jobs that won’t come back here to South Carolina.”<sup>161</sup> He lost Michigan, and only narrowly won South Carolina. In campaign speeches, he touted NAFTA as “a benefit to our country.”<sup>162</sup> Later, candidate McCain spent the lead-up to the July 4<sup>th</sup> weekend not campaigning in the United States, but in Mexico and Colombia defending NAFTA and calling for its extension to Colombia. These trips followed a June voyage to Ottawa to present a speech about his unflagging support for NAFTA.<sup>163</sup> And during the general election, McCain sought to attack Obama by labeling him a “protectionist” for wanting to alter the terms of

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<sup>157</sup> Fowler 2008.

<sup>158</sup> Kristol 2008. For Kristol’s stance on NAFTA, see Meacham 1994.

<sup>159</sup> Bai 2008.

<sup>160</sup> Levey 2008; David Sirota, “Did Clinton Explicitly Support NAFTA?” Blog Post, Feb. 25, 2008.

<sup>161</sup> Fox News Republican Debate, Myrtle Beach, S.C., Jan. 10, 2008.

<sup>162</sup> Bumiller 2008.

<sup>163</sup> Jackson 2008.

NAFTA, an interesting strategy given a majority of the public also support NAFTA renegotiation.<sup>164</sup>

### *Into the General...*

On June 7, Clinton pulled out of the campaign and endorsed Obama. The Illinois senator began to make a series of campaign decisions that seemed almost designed to alienate the fair-trade movement. Just two days after Clinton withdrew from the race, the campaign announced the appointment of Jason Furman as economic-policy director.<sup>165</sup> Furman was reviled by much of the labor movement for calling Wal-Mart a “progressive success story” in a 2005 essay,<sup>166</sup> and for directing the Hamilton Institute. (Clinton Treasury Secretary and Citigroup executive Robert Rubin had founded the Institute in 2006, as “a laboratory for the type of pragmatic, ideology-free policies that appeal to the project’s Wall Street advisers, while also pushing Democratic presidential candidates away from populist economic positions.”<sup>167</sup>)

The response from the fair-trade movement to the Furman announcement was immediate and furious. The U.S. Steelworkers called Furman “an unalloyed cheerleader for the trade policies that have been very destructive to manufacturing jobs in this country.”<sup>168</sup> President John Sweeney of the AFL-CIO made similar comments.<sup>169</sup> After a week of closed door meetings, labor was given assurances that their views would be heard by the Obama team, and endorsed the Illinois senator.<sup>170</sup>

Meanwhile, the Democratic Platform continued the trade reform agenda. In the past, activists have been lucky to get fair-trade issues even mentioned in Democratic state or national platforms. The final 2008 DNC platform draft, at over 57 pages, includes more than 3,000 words across 24 separate pages on trade and globalization issues. Among the highlights and promises in the Democrats’ 2008 platform:

- Articulates a vision that trade policies “are not sustainable if they favor the few rather than the many.”
- States that trade deals “must not come as blank checks,” and that Democratic support will only be “coupled with an insistent call for reform.”
- Promise to reform key global institutions – including the WTO and the G-8 – so they “will be more reflective of 21st century realities.”
- Specifically states the WTO “must improve transparency and accountability.”
- Promise that consumer products coming in from other countries “must be truly safe,” with a requirement that the government protect vulnerable consumer populations.
- Promise to enforce trade laws that safeguard workers and farmers “from unfair trade practices—including currency manipulation, lax consumer standards, illegal subsidies, and violations of workers’ rights and environmental standards.”

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<sup>164</sup> McCain Campaign Conference Call Hosted By Carly Fiorina and Doug Holtz-Eakin June 16, 2008. Available at: <http://blip.tv/file/997701>. At 1 minute. Accessed Oct. 28, 2008. Over half – 56 percent – of Americans believe that NAFTA should be renegotiated, according to a June 2008 Rasmussen poll.

<sup>165</sup> Chipman and Benjamin 2008.

<sup>166</sup> Furman 2008.

<sup>167</sup> Thomas 2006.

<sup>168</sup> Hamburger 2008.

<sup>169</sup> Louis Uchitelle, “Union Critical of Obama’s Top Economic Aide,” *New York Times*, June 12, 2008.

<sup>170</sup> Steven Greenhouse, “AFL-CIO Endorses Obama,” *New York Times*, June 26, 2008.

- Promise of enforceable international labor and environmental standards.
- Promise that no future bilateral agreements “will stop the government from protecting the environment, food safety, or the health of its citizens; give greater rights to foreign investors than to U.S. investors; require the privatization of our vital public services; or prevent developing country governments from adopting humanitarian licensing policies to improve access to life-saving medications.”
- Promise to stand firm against bilateral agreements that fail to live up to these benchmarks, with commitment to strive to achieve them in the multilateral framework.
- Promise to amend NAFTA so that it works better for all three North American countries.
- Promise to modernize and expand Trade Adjustment Assistance.
- Promise of a National Infrastructure Reinvestment Bank to create nearly two million new good jobs.
- Major Focus put on U.S. renewable energy infrastructure investment, especially the use government procurement policies to incentivize job creation.
- Repeated calls to use trade as a tool to leverage human rights, democracy, economic growth, job creation, and poverty alleviation.
- Repeated ties of trade to support for strong legislatures, independent judiciaries, free press, vibrant civil society, honest police forces, religious freedom, equality for women and minorities, and the rule of law.
- Promise to address climate change with “binding and enforceable commitments to reducing emissions, especially for those that pollute the most: the United States, China, India, the European Union, and Russia.” Promise to promote economic development in migrant-sending nations, to reduce the incentives for immigration.<sup>171</sup>

Obama continued to push a fair-trade message in paid television ads throughout the entire campaign and in the final debate. In the final week of the campaign, Obama ran an ad in North Carolina that said, “Workers once proud to make the thread for American flags have their futures outsourced to Asia. Washington sold them out with the help of politicians like John McCain. He supported trade deals and tax breaks for companies that shipped jobs overseas,” says a narrator over an eerie soundtrack.<sup>172</sup> This topped off a total of nearly a dozen trade ads run by the Obama campaign (and Democratic National Committee, on Obama’s behalf) in the election.

Labor groups that backed Obama went even farther, mounting visible demonstrations in swing states against McCain’s support of status-quo trade policies.<sup>173</sup> Indeed, a key issue in union campaigning for Obama has been to make clear the distinction between McCain and Obama on trade.<sup>174</sup> The Service Employees International Union spent \$425,000 to air a 30-second spot in battleground states the featured workers whose jobs had been offshored and raised questions about McCain’s support of NAFTA and other trade policies.<sup>175</sup> The United Autoworkers Union ran a similar ad.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>171</sup> See excerpts at: <http://www.citizenstrade.org/pdf/PlatformExcerptsOnTrade.pdf>.

<sup>172</sup> Doug Palmer, “Democrats Campaign to Keep Jobs at Home,” *Reuters*, Oct. 24, 2008.

<sup>173</sup> Jenkins 2008.

<sup>174</sup> [http://www.aflcio.org/issues/politics/mccain\\_trade.cfm](http://www.aflcio.org/issues/politics/mccain_trade.cfm); [http://www.aflcio.org/issues/politics/upload/obama\\_trade.pdf](http://www.aflcio.org/issues/politics/upload/obama_trade.pdf);  
[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-sweeney/mccain-revealed\\_b\\_91238.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-sweeney/mccain-revealed_b_91238.html);  
[http://images.usw.org/download/rapid/CC\\_Presidential\\_Trade.pdf](http://images.usw.org/download/rapid/CC_Presidential_Trade.pdf);

<http://wn.whdh.com/global/story.asp?s=8146618&ClientType=Printable>; [http://cwavotes.org/cwavotes/candidate\\_comp/](http://cwavotes.org/cwavotes/candidate_comp/)

<sup>175</sup> O’Keefe 2008.

<sup>176</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IduCG0X9NqA>

While the campaign – and its surrogates – worked to emphasize the difference between the candidates on trade, some Obama advisors nonetheless struggled mightily to stay on message. In September, Dan Restrepo, an Obama Latin America advisor, said “We understand the importance of the FTA to the Colombian government ... We want to work to make it possible.”<sup>177</sup> Despite some campaign advisors’ personal messaging, the candidate’s own speeches and ads and a powerful labor campaign focusing on trade ensured that a fair-trade message was conveyed.

Moving into the close of the campaign, in the final presidential debate, Obama restated his commitment to renegotiate NAFTA – and his view that “for far too long, certainly during the course of the Bush administration with the support of Senator McCain, the attitude has been that any trade agreement is a good trade agreement And NAFTA doesn't have – did not have enforceable labor agreements and environmental agreements. And what I said was we should include those and make them enforceable. In the same way that we should enforce rules against China manipulating its currency to make our exports more expensive and their exports to us cheaper....We've got to have a president who is going to be advocating on behalf of American businesses and American workers and I make no apology for that.”<sup>178</sup>

Ironically, McCain brought the trade issue – an issue on which his view departs from the American majority – into the final presidential debate by attacking Obama’s call for reform of NAFTA in response to a question about climate change. “By the way, when Senator Obama said he would unilaterally renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement, and Canadians said, ‘Yes, and we’ll sell our oil to China.’ You don’t tell countries you’re going to unilaterally renegotiate agreements with them.”<sup>179</sup> McCain said this in a tone that suggested Obama had supported puppy-killing rather than changes to the terms of our trade relationship with Canada, which has changed frequently over centuries of relations.<sup>180</sup>

An extended exchange highlighting the candidate’s differences ensued, with the word “trade” getting almost as many mentions (20) as “Joe the Plumber,” (27) an Ohio Republican who the candidates invoked as an archetype of the middle-class voter. Obama, while reiterating his opposition to an expansion of NAFTA to Colombia signed by President Bush, highlighted the assassination of labor leaders in Colombia. At the mention of this last issue, McCain, who also reiterated his support for the Colombia NAFTA expansion in the debate, could be seen rolling his eyes sarcastically – a perhaps unintended gesture that communicated more than a thousand words the difference between the candidates. The McCain eye-rolling over union assassinations in Colombia became a widely viewed YouTube video.<sup>181</sup>

In the end, Obama claimed the highest electoral and popular vote counts of any Democrat since 1964, sweeping Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Michigan , North Carolina, and other battleground states.

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<sup>177</sup> Rosella Brevetti, Sept. 15, 2008.

<sup>178</sup> McCain-Obama Presidential Debate, Oct. 15, 2008, Commission on Presidential Debate transcript, <http://www.debates.org/pages/trans2008d.html>.

<sup>179</sup> McCain-Obama Presidential Debate, Oct. 15, 2008, Commission on Presidential Debate transcript, <http://www.debates.org/pages/trans2008d.html>.

<sup>180</sup> “No NAFTA Change Possible? Think Again. 299 Times,” *EyesOnTrade.Org*, Aug. 28, 2008.

<sup>181</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SEZmIGtBs80>

## V. Analysis and Conclusion

In 2008, voters saw massive gains for the fair-trade cause at all levels of government. After all results were finalized, 43 new fair traders were elected, representing a net gain of seven Senate and 28 House seats. Additionally, America now has a fair-trade president. This followed on the addition of 48 new fair traders in 2006 (a net gain of 37), even though a handful that campaigned on fair-trade themes voted the opposite once in office. Yet despite all evidence to the contrary, some pundits continue to claim that trade is not a major issue:

- After the 2006 sweep, for instance, William Reinsch of the National Foreign Trade Council – a corporate-trade promotion group – put out an analysis that he claimed showed that, “Frankly, international trade was just not a decisive issue in most of the campaigns.”<sup>182</sup>
- Will Marshall and Ed Gresser, both leading advocates of pushing the Democratic Party to the right on economic issues, expressed outrage with the election results. “Populism has a checkered history, but that hasn’t stopped a new crop of American politicians from embracing it in reaction to the supposed scourges of trade and globalization... it’s commonly hung on such noxious demagogues as Jean Le Pen, Hugo Chavez and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.”<sup>183</sup>
- As the even wider role of trade in the 2008 elections began to be reported, many business operatives began trying to spin down the meaning of the fair-trade sweep and the systematic attack on the trade policies they support. According to *Congress Daily*, “Democratic trade advocates said they are hopeful incoming lawmakers will moderate their positions after the election. ‘I think the business community is bracing for a different trade policy, not a no-trade policy,’ said Nicole Venable,” a former House Democratic trade staffer for Rep. William Jefferson (D-La.) now with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.
- Republican analysts like Ross Douthat and Reihan Salam, while acknowledging the anxieties created by U.S. trade policy (and even suggesting that Republicans begin speaking to it), maintained that the so-called “Sam’s Club” voters that the parties now fight over are more concerned about low prices at the supermarket.<sup>184</sup>
- Still others have worried that the trade debate is a distraction from the real discussion about domestic regulation that we should be having,<sup>185</sup> even as the expansive non-trade provisions of agreements such as WTO contain explicit limits on each signatory countries’ rights to regulate on matters unrelated to trade.

Such denial or minimizing of the real trends does Americans – and the world – no good. **We are currently facing global crises– of financial, food, and climate meltdown that are intimately connected to our current trade and globalization policies:**

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<sup>182</sup> National Foreign Trade Council, “USA\*Engage and NFTC Release 2006 Elections Analysis,” Nov. 17, 2006.

<sup>183</sup> Marshall and Gresser 2007.

<sup>184</sup> Douthat and Salam 2008.

<sup>185</sup> Galbraith 2008.

- Deregulation of the financial service sector – including banking, insurance, asset management, pension funds, securities, financial information, and financial advisory services – has been among the most important, but least discussed aspects of the World Trade Organization’s agenda since its inception. The WTO’s 1995 General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and 1999 WTO Financial Services Agreement (FSA) exported a radical deregulation agenda worldwide and locked it into place. Regarding the state of U.S. financial service deregulation, U.S. financial service firms had worked for decades to repeal the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933, which forbade bank-holding companies from operating other financial services. The law had been created to establish “firewalls” between various financial services, so that trouble in one sector would not contaminate the entire system and cause the sort of financial collapse that occurred during the Great Depression. This firewall policy, which applied to domestic and foreign banks, had the effect of preventing foreign banks that combined commercial and investment banking services from entering the U.S. market. What the U.S. firms did not achieve domestically was achieved in the context of the WTO. The Clinton administration made WTO commitments that created a conflict between U.S. WTO obligations and existing U.S. law. The administration recognized this conflict and indeed made a formal commitment listed in the U.S. GATS schedule to support changes to the Glass-Steagall Act.<sup>186</sup> The provisions of Glass-Steagall that prohibit a bank holding company from owning other financial companies were repealed in 1999 with passage of the now famous Gramm-Leach-Bliley bill that deregulated Wall Street. There are myriad other ways that U.S. WTO financial-service commitments from that era now constrain our re-regulatory choices and those of many of the other 165 nations who are WTO signatories.<sup>187</sup>
- The deregulation of agricultural and food policy accomplished by the WTO’s Agreement on Agriculture and various U.S. farm bills has led to a global food crisis. Dozens of countries that used to be food self-sufficient are now dependent on imports for survival, and are now facing serious hunger crises.<sup>188</sup> And across the world, consumers face a lethal combination of an outdated consumer-safety system built for early 20<sup>th</sup> Century national production patterns and trade pacts like the WTO that actively undermine food safety.<sup>189</sup>
- Shipping companies have been among the major proponents of status-quo globalization and trade policies. Since the WTO went into effect, global trading volumes have doubled. Indeed, under WTO rules that focus on increasing trade volumes (WTO agriculture rules require tariff rates that provide five percent of domestic consumption for imports even if a country is simultaneously exporting the same goods), world merchandise trade volume is growing by twice the annual growth rate of output since 2000.<sup>190</sup> This development has benefited this industry even while it has led to a skyrocketing increase in transportation-caused carbon emissions. A recent leaked United Nations report estimates that ocean shipping now causes 5 percent of all carbon emissions.<sup>191</sup> Meanwhile, WTO rules constrain how nations may respond to the climate crisis.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> WTO, *United States of America Schedule of Specific Commitments Supplement 3*, Additional Commitments Paper II, WTO document GATS/SC/90/Suppl.3.

<sup>187</sup> Public Citizen, 2008, forthcoming.

<sup>188</sup> “Food Price Crisis: A Wake Up Call for Food Sovereignty,” Oakland Institute, May 2008; Ng and Aksoy 2008.

<sup>189</sup> Tucker and Bottari, 2007; Bottari, 2007.

<sup>190</sup> IMF World Economic Outlook,

<sup>191</sup> John Vidal, “Shipping boom fuels rising tide of global CO2 emissions,” *The Guardian*, Feb.13, 2008.

<sup>192</sup> Tucker and Bottari, 2008.



Indeed, it is now meaningless to discuss domestic regulation of financial services, remedying our health-care crisis, dealing with climate change, or ensuring food and product safety *without* reference to the model of globalization implemented by today's "trade" agreements.

**This election season also illustrated some of the political possibilities of expanding messaging work on fair-trade issues.** Psychologist Drew Westen's *The Political Brain* was one of the most influential books of 2007, and released right after the fair-trade sweep of Congress in 2006. Like the work of linguist George Lakoff, Westen's work does not advise candidates *what* positions they should take, but rather *how they should communicate* about their positions, whatever these might be. Drawing on knowledge from the field of cognitive science, Westen finds that voters are more responsive to candidates and platforms that carry emotional resonance for them. Among the major communication tactics that Westen considers:

- **Emotionally evocative language:** "Progressives have to stop using the kind of language that has left the left so right but so wrong, such as 'Poverty is a serious social problem,' 'We have to do more to protect the environment,' and 'Income disparities in the country have increased at an alarming rate.' If you didn't feel anything as you read those phrases, you're not alone. This doesn't mean those on the left have to give up their values and principles to win elections. It means they have to describe them with *emotional clarity*." (258)
- **Framing:** "The most prominent contemporary examples of framing, beginning with the Contract with America, have been the handiwork of Frank Luntz, who has recently disclosed some memos written to provide Republicans with 'translations' for common phrases that didn't serve them well. For *foreign trade*, he substituted *international trade*... Luntz recommended using words that evoked the right [neural] networks, rather than those that elicited little emotions or unintended negative associations to Republican policies (e.g., the word *foreign*). A perennial problem for the Democrats has been the failure to recognize Trojan horses that smuggle in frames from the other side." (265)
- **Principled stands:** "the level [of cognitive categorization] that appears to have the most emotional impact in politics is ... a *principled stand*. A principled stand is neither an abstraction (too superordinate) nor a detailed policy proposal (too subordinate). Unfortunately, these seem to be the two levels toward which Democratic minds naturally gravitate. A principled stand has clear implications for policy, but it does not lay out the specifics of programs. Rather, it is an emotionally compelling *application of a value* or ideological principle to a particular issue or problem." (270)
- **Using the whole brain:** "Successful campaigns present both positive and negative messages. The reason is less political than neurological: it is inherent in the structure of the human brain. Positive and negative emotions are not the opposite of each other. They are psychologically distinct, mediated by different neural circuits, and affect voting in different ways. Focusing primarily on the positive and leaving the negative to chance is simply ceding half the brain to the opposition." (250)

Westen explains how Gov. Mike Huckabee might have gone further in the Republican primaries if, ironically, he had been an even angrier "populist" than he was. Instead, he spoke in the emotional tones of a pastor trying to lead his flock to their "better angels." Similarly, Westen

says Democrats are missing many voters by not evoking *both* angry and compassionate emotional cues. (427)

On some level, these insights are not brain surgery (pun intended). Any good labor or community organizer, for instance, knows that she must move the people she hopes to organize through a cycle of “anger-hope-action.”<sup>193</sup> In other words, people must be shaken out of apathy by anger at their problems, convinced that something can be done about their problems before the anger turns to depression, and then moved swiftly into taking action that will build power and help them solve their problems.

These insights shed light on:

- Why many Democrats with anti-fair trade voting records and platforms (or who completely omitted any sort of criticisms of trade policy in their campaigns) have had difficulties in the electoral arena. Such candidates take away a very convenient means of expressing anger at status-quo economic policies if they do not discuss the unfair direction of global-economic policy. (Many of these candidates are milquetoast in their emotional appeals across a wide range of issues – a topic for another study);
- Why Democrats, as they shifted to a frame of anger at our failed trade policies that they had avoided during the Clinton and early Bush years, picked up so many seats in the 2006 congressional races;
- Why the role of anger at NAFTA continued to play such a prominent role in the Democratic presidential primaries;
- Why Obama and many successful congressional candidates deemphasized specific reforms to trade agreements in their public communications in the 2008 general election. This makes profound political sense, as any of the words in the phrase “free trade agreement” could be just as likely to activate positive as negative emotional cues. Indeed, the phrase is a work of corporate branding, rather than an accurate description of the pacts, which often raise barriers to “free trade” in patented essential medicines, go far beyond the reach of narrow “trade” policy, and are never the outcome of an open and deliberative international process where everyone shares their views and comes to agreement. It is telling that, in spite of the possible positive associations with “freedom” and “agreement,” increasing numbers of Americans respond negatively to pollsters when asked about “free trade agreements,” as we showed above. It is likely, however, that public anger towards the phrase is near the maxing-out point, which is why it is propitious that many candidates are shifting their phraseology. Out of 137 paid trade TV ads in the current election cycle, only eleven mentioned the phrase “free trade” or “trade agreement.” Over four times as many (45) mentioned instead “NAFTA,” “CAFTA,” “trade pact,” “trade deal,” or “unfair trade” – phrases that carry a negative or neutral connotation, and have the advantages of being more accurate and containing fewer syllables. The remainder emphasized the unfairness of the offshore tax evasion issue. While this represented over half of the total ads, it is worth noting that the number of ads mentioning some form of trade deal were still nearly double the *total* number of trade ads on any topic in the 2006 cycle;

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<sup>193</sup> Hall-Jones 2007.

- Why successful candidates crafted messaging that juxtaposed anger at “tax breaks for companies that shift our jobs overseas,” with hope around the issue of “green jobs in the future,” and action around voting for the Democratic candidate. This issue matrix has the benefit of being very easy to understand at a gut level, which unfortunately we cannot say about, for instance, NAFTA’s investor-state mechanisms which incentivize offshoring. In the primaries, “NAFTA” was the proxy for failed trade policy. But then, after seeing the initial emotional success of the NAFTA proxy, media pundits forced the candidates deep into the policy weeds of U.S.-Canada bilateral relations (such as Canada’s commitment under NAFTA to send oil to the United States, irrespective of domestic economic conditions). In contrast, the offshore tax loophole frame that was added during the general election is hard to atomize into wonky minutiae, thus making it a powerful proxy for the complicated array of policies connected to the public’s negative emotive reaction to how the current trade and globalization regime has undermined their wellbeing. While McCain and many pundits might be pro-NAFTA, who could be for something so patently unfair as cutting taxes for corporations that offshore jobs? Indeed, to our knowledge, no Republican candidates that were accused of favoring these loopholes stood up in ads or debates to publicly defend the unfair practice, although presumably many would have if the issue was NAFTA, for which the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and Bush administration have long prepared many (if inaccurate and misleading) projections of jobs gained from exports to Canada and Mexico);
- Why some Republicans with fair-trade voting records and platforms were *not* as successful as their Democratic fair-trade challengers. They could evoke the anger frames of the fair-trade movement, but not deliver much in the way of hope with their other anti-middle class initiatives; and finally
- Why the DSCC and DCCC actually invested resources in 2008 in fair-trade messaging and candidates.

For the first time in modern history, the individuals at the top of the Democratic Party establishment – Barack Obama, his campaign advisor David Axelrod, and Rahm Emanuel, along with a growing number of consultants – got their start in political life through community organizing and public-interest organizations. Discussions of how to frame issues and enemies, of how to utilize tactics and messages that build power, are part and parcel of the organizing experience that these individuals are now employing in their campaigns.

Politicians are starting to realize that – not only do anti-NAFTA messages resonate with the public, as polls and electoral outcomes show – but that the emotional anger evoked by unfair trade deals are a natural complement to the emotional hope brought on by green jobs and middle-class tax cuts. This shift is, unfortunately, probably not an indication of the ideological transformation of Emanuel, who helped Bill Clinton pass NAFTA. While Emanuel did pen a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed praising candidates for running against NAFTA,<sup>194</sup> he failed to grapple with the fair-trade movement’s longstanding contention that the deregulatory policy model that the pact represented must be rolled back. The shift is also not likely to generate a windfall in corporate campaign contributions (although it *is* likely to help with grassroots fundraising prospects). But it does show that the pairing of the messages make strong sense from a political

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<sup>194</sup> Emanuel 2008a.

messaging perspective, and the contribution that fair trade can make towards reestablishing the pro-“working-class” brand of the party.

## CONCLUSION

The challenge facing the newly elected and the reelected is to translate electoral messaging into policy change. This means no more unfair trade deals based on the NAFTA model and no expansions of the WTO – pacts which already limit their domestic policy space to promote their hopeful, more forward-looking agenda. This also means taking action to repair the root causes of the symptoms of the current system – downward pressure on wages, job offshoring, unsafe imports – on which they campaigned.

The polls and election returns discussed in this report show that the American public is demanding a comprehensive discussion about our globalization policy. Moreover, over 80 members of Congress are cosponsors of Sen. **Sherrod Brown** (D-Ohio) and Rep. **Mike Michaud’s** (D-Maine) Trade Reform, Accountability, Development and Employment (TRADE) Act, which lays out a process to review existing agreements, renegotiate them to meet basic criteria, and reform negotiating processes and substantive policies to ensure future pacts build a new model of globalization and trade that can benefit more people. This reform agenda was sponsored by nine House committee chairs, 25 subcommittee chairs, members from all regions and all caucuses – all before the election cycle brought new prominence to the public demand for new approaches to trade and globalization policy.

President-elect **Barack Obama**, who won crucial support in the primaries and general election due to his fair-trade commitments on the campaign trail, can do much to orient the country towards a needed change of course on our failed globalization and trade policies. And, indeed, success on the middle-class economic-security, health-care, energy- and climate-reform agenda that gained him American voters’ support requires significant changes to the status-quo model of globalization and the “trade” agreements now implementing it – if only to retake the non-trade policy space that is currently invaded by these instruments. As the IMF, World Bank and WTO attempt to muscle their way back into global economic governance – after a decade of public rejection – in the face of the financial, food-price and climate crises, it is all the more urgent that U.S. policymakers recognize that there can no success with domestic policy goals absent changes to the current international commercial rules and institutions. This not only makes sense for the political brain, but also for the policy challenges facing the United States in 2009 and beyond.

## **Annex I: Global Trade Watch's scored trade votes**

Here are the 31 House votes that Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch has scored since 1973 below, along with their date of House passage. The Senate voted on identical measures in most of the instances. See <http://www.citizen.org/trade/votecharts/articles.cfm?ID=15947> for congressional voting records on trade.

H.R. 10710: Fast Track (12/11/73)  
H.R. 4537: Fast Track (7/11/79)  
H.R. 5377: Fast Track (10/3/84)  
H.R. 3398: Fast Track Conference Report (10/9/84)  
H.R. 2268: Israel FTA (5/7/85)  
H.R. 3: Fast Track (4/30/87)  
H.R. 3: Fast Track Conference Report (4/21/88)  
H.R. 3: Fast Track Veto Override (5/24/88)  
H.R. 4848: Fast Track, Take II (7/13/88)  
H.R. 5090: Canada FTA (8/9/88)  
H. Res. 101: Fast Track Extension Disapproval Resolution (5/23/91), defeated  
H.R. 1876: Fast Track Authority for Negotiating the WTO (6/22/93)  
H.R. 3450: NAFTA implementation bill (11/17/93)  
H.R. 5110: Approving WTO (11/29/94)  
H.R. 2621: Fast Track 1998 - voted on in House 9/25/98, where it was defeated  
H.R. 434: Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) (7/16/99)  
H.R. 434: AGOA Conference Report (5/4/00)  
H.R. 4444: China Permanent Normal Trade Relations (5/24/00)  
H.J.Res.90: WTO Withdrawal Resolution (6/21/00), defeated  
H.R. 3005: Fast Track 2001 (12/6/01)  
H.R. 3009: Fast Track + Andean trade preferences (6/27/02)  
H.R. 2739: Singapore FTA (7/24/03)  
H.R. 2738: Chile FTA (7/24/03)  
H.R. 4759: Australia FTA (7/14/04)  
H.R. 4842: Morocco FTA (7/22/04)  
H.J.Res. 27: WTO Withdrawal Resolution (6/9/05), defeated  
H.R. 3045: CAFTA (7/27/05)  
H.R. 4340: Bahrain FTA (12/7/05)  
H.R. 5684: Oman FTA (7/20/06)  
H.R. 3688: Peru FTA (11/8/07)  
H. Res. 1092: Fast Track Timetable Removal from Colombia FTA (4/10/08)

## **Annex II: Methodology**

We researched trade-policy positions, ads, survey responses, bird-dogging reports, voting records and statements for the major candidates in *any* open congressional seat or congressional race described as competitive by the Cook Political Report of November 3, 2008.<sup>195</sup> Candidates were assigned trade-policy positions as “fair traders,” “anti-fair traders,” or in some cases, mixed or “did not campaign on trade.” Races were then categorized and rated in the following ways:

1. **Races where an anti-fair trade incumbent was facing a serious electoral challenge.** If the incumbent was dislodged by a fair-trade challenger, the fair-trade cause picks up one net point. Otherwise, no points are given.
2. **Open seats.** If fair-trade candidates pick up a seat previously held by an anti-fair trader, one point is given. If anti-fair traders pick up a seat previously held by fair trader, one point is removed. When like replaces like, no net points are given. A similar methodology was applied to the special-election- and primary-race-decided seats.
3. **Races where incumbent fair traders were facing serious electoral challenge.** If the incumbent fair trader is dislodged by an unfair trader, one point is taken away. Otherwise, no points are given or taken away.<sup>196</sup>

Throughout this report, we use the term “fair trade” to describe a host of different positions. In its strongest variation, fair trade refers to a position in favor of renegotiating or replacing NAFTA and WTO and fundamentally overhauling our status-quo trade policy to uplift the environment, consumers and workers. A weaker variation of fair trade might include the expression of concerns about jobs being offshored, corporate power, or a high trade deficit.

Used in this weaker variation, “fair trade” closely resembles the phrase “populist” as it is commonly used. We find the phrase “populist” inadequate, both because it has *negative* connotations for some, and *no* connotations for others. What most people mean by populism is to us simply the most basic gesture of a small-d democratic political economy: the notion that economic policy in a small-r republic of equals should cater towards the interests of the median-income voter, not only the very rich, and also not exclusively the very poor.

In an ideal world, much of what passes for “fair trade” or “populism” would simply be called small-d “democratic.” Since this word has partisan connotations in the U.S. context, we are left at a loss for labeling. “Fair trade” captures most precisely the political instinct we want to capture: public interest over special interests, communities before corporations.

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<sup>195</sup> We did however, feature the following “non-competitive” races: the MD-4 race where Democratic fair-trade primary challenger Donna Edwards beat anti-fair trade Democrat Al Wynn (and then took his seat in a special election after he retired), and the NC-10 seat that was only rendered safely Republican at the last minute (thanks in part to misleading but effective fair-trade messaging from the incumbent Patrick McHenry). Finally, one competitive race – Don Cazayoux’s in Louisiana – was not featured, since the candidate won a special election but lost the general, serving for only a few months and thus not representing a net change.

<sup>196</sup> The exceptions to this methodology were the three races – IL-14, MD-4, and MS-1 – where fair traders won special elections in 2008, before going on to win the general election. In these cases, a plus 1 was given.

### **Annex III: Full List of New Fair Traders**

This is the full list of the six new fair-trade senators, and 36 new fair-trade representatives. For the House members, it is noted whether the new fair trader was a Republican, a net fair-trade pick-up, and/or a special election victor from earlier in 2008 who won their general election in November as well.

<b>State</b>	<b>New Fair Trade Member</b>	<b>Net Pick-Up?</b>
Alaska-Senate	Mark Begich	√
Colorado-Senate	Mark Udall	√
Minnesota-Senate	Al Franken	√
N Hamp-Senate	Jeanne Shaheen	√
N Mexico-Senate	Tom Udall	√
N Carolina-Senate	Kay Hagan	√
Oregon-Senate	Jeff Merkley	√
Alabama-2	Bobby Bright	√
Arizona-1	Ann Kirkpatrick	√
California-52	Duncan Hunter, Jr., R	
Colorado-2	Jared Polis	
Colorado-4	Betsy Markey	√
Connecticut-4	Jim Himes	√
Florida-15	Bill Posey, R	√
Florida-24	Suzanne Kosmas	√
Florida-8	Alan Grayson	√
Idaho-1	Walt Minnick	√
Illinois-11	Debbie Halvorson	√
Illinois-14	Bill Foster, sp election	√
Maine-1	Chellie Pingree	
Maryland-4	Donna Edwards, sp election	√
Michigan-7	Mark Schauer	√
Michigan-9	Gary Peters	√
Mississippi-1	Travis Childers, sp election	√
Nevada-3	Dina Titus	√
New Jersey-3	John Adler	√
New Mexico-1	Martin Heinrich	√
New Mexico-2	Harry Teague	√
New Mexico-3	Ben Lujan	
New York-13	Michael McMahon	√
New York-21	Paul Tonko	
New York-25	Dan Maffei	√



New York-29	Eric Massa	√
North Carolina-8	Larry Kissell	√
Ohio-1	Steve Driehaus	√
Ohio-7	Steve Austria, R	√
Ohio-11	Marcia Fudge	
Ohio-15	Mary Jo Kilroy	√
Ohio-16	John Boccieri	√
Pennsylvania-3	Kathy Dahlkemper	√
Utah-3	Jason Chaffetz, R	√
Virginia-11	Gerry Connolly	√
Virginia-5	Tom Perriello	
<b>Total</b>		<b>43 35 net</b>

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**APPENDIX:**  
**CANDIDATE TRADE PROFILES BY STATE**

We analyzed the trade positions in all competitive and open-seat races. “Competitiveness” was determined by the Cook Political Report’s ratings as of November 4, 2008. (Additionally, the Maryland 4 and North Carolina 10 races were included for reasons explained below.) In the profiles below, race winners are denoted by a check mark. Winners who are fair traders are additionally highlighted in **blue text**.

**Alabama**

**House**

**Alabama-2: ANTI-NAFTA OFF! OPEN SEAT vacated by anti-fair trade Rep. Terry Everett (R)**

- **Jay Love is the Republican candidate, and a fair trader.** He campaigned on fair-trade themes, saying: “I certainly hope we don’t, but you never know what situation might develop where we could face some sort of food embargo from another country, and that’s not a position we need to put ourselves in, from a national security standpoint. So, as much production as we can provide for in this country, we need to make sure we maintain...The fact is we have got to have more inspectors that are inspecting the food that is coming into this country. In the latest salmonella scare, it was jalapenos coming out of Mexico. That is food that was coming from another country. We don’t have enough people to inspect what comes into this country. Less than 2 percent of it is inspected. That does not provide for a safe, reliable food if we’re going to be importing it from other countries. [Love answering the follow-up question ‘How feasible is it to actually to test and look at much more than 2 percent of the imports?’]: It certainly needs to be more than 2 percent. I’m not saying there is any way you can test 100 percent of it. Two percent is far too low a number for it to be. I don’t know with the magic number is, but it needs to be more than 2.”<sup>1</sup>
- ✓ **Bobby Bright is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Ran two PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>2</sup> In an interview, he said: “If we continue to become dependent on foreign products, it will become more of a crisis. I think its stature is being elevated every day because of our dependence on foreign products. We need more help for our farmers and assistance to our farmers to make sure our farmers don’t go under and that they don’t get left out by themselves. We need more partnerships by way of the federal government and our farmers... we need to put tougher regulations on the countries that we’re importing from. We need to make sure of enforcement by our food inspectors – beef the inspectors up – and have more frequent inspections of the products that come in. And then before we enter into an important agreement with a foreign nation, they should be educated on the requirements of their products being safe and, if they fail to comply and have a consistent record of failure, then our agreement should be terminated. Fast and simple.”<sup>3</sup>

**Alabama-3: Incumbent is Rep. Mike Rogers (R)**

- ✓ **Rogers was an unfair trader who campaigned on a fair-trade platform.** Ran PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>4</sup> He voted against fair trade on 6 occasions (including most major votes like CAFTA and the Peru FTA), and voted for fair trade on four occasions. He campaigned on a fair-trade platform in 2008, however, committing to “oppose any trade agreement that does not promote fair trade for East Alabama interests.”<sup>5</sup>
- **Joshua Segall is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Ran four PAID TRADE ADS attacking Rogers for casting deciding vote on CAFTA.<sup>6</sup> He said, “Mike Rogers cast the deciding vote for CAFTA, which sent tens of thousands of Alabama’s jobs overseas. He has no plan to replace those jobs. That’s not the kind of leadership that Alabama needs. I will fight for a moratorium on all unfair trade deals until we create new jobs with high-paying wages.”<sup>7</sup> He also emphasized food safety issues.<sup>8</sup> In response to a Citizens

<sup>1</sup> Sebastian Kitchen, “Congressional hopefuls discuss agriculture,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, Sept. 28, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YpgCNBS7TNI> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VLC7HH7bvCw> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v0waTokRowI>

<sup>3</sup> Sebastian Kitchen, “Congressional hopefuls discuss agriculture,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, Sept. 28, 2008.

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4yt\\_REshVCE](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4yt_REshVCE)

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.mikerogersforcongress.com/issues.html>.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8E-dlxz3lWQ> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jOjTpXsXwCc> and

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OgrXxkpDpo8> and [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s0Jbwe7\\_kXM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s0Jbwe7_kXM)

<sup>7</sup> [http://www.segall2008.com/view\\_issue.php?id=7](http://www.segall2008.com/view_issue.php?id=7). See also Bob Johnson, “Ala. 3rd District candidates debate experience,” *Associated Press*, Oct. 8, 2008.



Trade Campaign questionnaire, Segall committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that include NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>9</sup>

#### **Alabama-5: OPEN SEAT vacated by mixed trade record Bud Cramer (D)**

- ✓ **Parker Griffith is the Democratic candidate.** Did not campaign on trade.
- **Wayne Parker is the Republican candidate, and a fair-trader.** He said, “Free trade has to be fair trade. Most Americans understand that our current economy is global and we have to compete within that framework. We should always be looking for new markets for American goods and services. However, we must ensure that any trade agreement we enter into is a fair agreement that allows American exports to compete on a level playing field. Countries that unfairly restrict the market for our goods and dump products on our shores below cost are not countries with which we should freely trade.”<sup>10</sup>

#### **Alaska**

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##### **Senate**

##### **Incumbent is Sen. Ted Stevens (R)**

- **Stevens has a long and mixed record, but has been trending anti-fair trade.** He voted against NAFTA, WTO, the Chile FTA, and Fast Track in 1988. He voted for Fast Track in 1974, 1979, 1984, 1991, 1993, 2002 (twice), the Canada FTA, the AGOA (twice), the China PNTR, and NAFTA expansion to Singapore, Australia, Central America, Oman, and Peru.
- ✓ **Mark Begich is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** He said “NAFTA has not worked as predicted, costing an estimated 1 million American jobs. NAFTA, CAFTA and the bilateral free trade agreements negotiated by the Bush administration have helped big business while hurting middle class Americans. Mark believes fair trade policies should include meaningful and fully enforceable consumer, labor, environmental and human rights protections. He favors a tax code that rewards companies for creating jobs in America, not that take those jobs abroad. International trade can be good for Americans, and is a vital part of Alaska’s economy, but it needs to serve middle class families, not just multi-national corporations.”<sup>11</sup>

##### **House**

##### **At-Large: Incumbent is Rep. Don Young (R)**

- ✓ **Young has a long and mixed record, but has been trending anti-fair trade.** He voted against Fast Track in 1973, 1993, 1998, and 2002, and against NAFTA, WTO, AGOA, China PNTR, and FTAs with Chile and Singapore. In 2000, he voted to withdraw from the WTO. He voted for Fast Track in 1979, 1984 (twice), 1988, 1991, and 2008, and FTAs with Israel, Canada, Australia, Morocco, Central America, Bahrain, Oman, and Peru. In 2005, he voted against withdrawing from the WTO. In 2008, he made some fair-trade comments to the AFL-CIO in a You Tube video.<sup>12</sup>
- **Ethan Berkowitz is the Democratic candidate, and seemed to be a fair trader.** He campaigned on trade-related issues, including localization of food supplies and the trade deficit.<sup>13</sup>

#### **Arizona**

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##### **House**

##### **Arizona 1: OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trade Rep. Rick Renzi (R)**

- **Sydney Hay is the Republican candidate.** She did not campaign on trade.
- ✓ **Ann Kirkpatrick is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** On her campaign website, it says, “In addition to creating jobs, the former representative stresses the importance of keeping good jobs in Arizona. She only supports trade agreements that have strong labor and environmental protections to ensure that

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<sup>8</sup> Sebastian Kitchen, “Congressional hopefuls discuss agriculture,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, Sept. 28, 2008.

<sup>9</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Joshua Segall, signed Sept. 12, 2008.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.wayneparkerforcongress.com/issues.php>.

<sup>11</sup> <http://begich.com/fairtrade>.

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p10UX\\_CuVJI](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p10UX_CuVJI)

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.ethanberkowitz.com/issues/agriculture-food-security/agriculture-food-security>; <http://tinyurl.com/694gz9>

America's workers can compete on a level playing field. In addition, Kirkpatrick is committed to eliminating the tax loopholes that allow companies to outsource America's jobs overseas. 'Washington needs to get its priorities straight,' said Kirkpatrick. 'It just doesn't make sense to reward companies that ship the jobs our families depend on to other countries. We need to be making the strategic investments that keep jobs here in Arizona.'"<sup>14</sup> On Emily's List website, "Kirkpatrick notes the disparity between the nation's dependence on foreign imports ('oil, toys, pet food, or anything else you can think of, we import it all,' she says) and the loss of jobs to overseas competitors. 'Our trade policies need to help us strengthen our own economy and our economic presence abroad,' she says."<sup>15</sup>

### Arizona 3: Rep. John Shadegg (R) is incumbent

- ✓ **Shadegg is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 16 of 16 occasions.
- **Bob Lord is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** According to Phoenix *Business Journal*, "Lord also said the U.S. needs to rework the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and trade policies need to consider impacts on U.S. business sectors, consumer protections and worker rights abroad. That mirrors Obama's trade stance."<sup>16</sup> In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Lord committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that include NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>17</sup>

### Arizona 5: Rep. Harry Mitchell (D) is the incumbent

- ✓ **Mitchell has a mixed record.** He voted for NAFTA expansion to Peru, but against Fast Track.
- **David Schweikert is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** In its endorsement of Schweikert during the Republican primary season, the Club for Growth stated, "Schweikert is... devoted to free trade, tort reform, and free-market reform of entitlement programs."<sup>18</sup>

### Arizona 8: Incumbent is Rep. Gabrielle Giffords (D)

- ✓ **Democrat Gabrielle Giffords is a fair trader.** In 2006, Giffords ran on a platform that said, "I support the system of checks and balances between branches of government and feel that this Fast Track policy eliminates those safeguards." She made good on this promise by opposing Fast Track in 2008.
- **Tim Bee is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** In a statement on the Colombia FTA, Bee said, "The Colombia FTA is good for the sluggish American economy and for American workers... Not only is Colombia crucial economically; it is a key ally in the wars on terrorism and the region's drug cartels. This agreement affirms American commitment to the growing democracies in Latin America. By voting to reject this agreement, Giffords is voting to penalize a nation that has been a strong friend. In essence, her vote rewards the authoritarian countries like Venezuela and Ecuador that continuously rail against America and her interests abroad."<sup>19</sup>

### Arkansas- no competitive races \_\_\_\_\_

### California \_\_\_\_\_

#### House

### California 3: Incumbent is Rep. Dan Lungren (R)

- ✓ **Lungren is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 16 out of 16 votes.
- **Bill Durston is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** In a response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Durston vowed to push for renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, oppose the WTO Doha Round, Colombia, Panama and South Korea FTAs and NAFTA-style anti-food safety and

<sup>14</sup> [http://www.kirkpatrickforarizona.com/news\\_entry/kirkpatrick\\_launches\\_district\\_wide\\_tour\\_for\\_change](http://www.kirkpatrickforarizona.com/news_entry/kirkpatrick_launches_district_wide_tour_for_change)

<sup>15</sup> [http://www.emilyslist.org/candidates/ann\\_kirkpatrick/](http://www.emilyslist.org/candidates/ann_kirkpatrick/)

<sup>16</sup> Mike Sunnucks, "Bailout, housing/credit crunch, middle class issues on election front burner," *Phoenix Business Journal*, Oct. 17, 2008.

<sup>17</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Bob Lord, signed Sept. 7, 2008.

<sup>18</sup> [http://www.clubforgrowth.org/2007/11/club\\_pac\\_endorses\\_schweikert\\_i.php](http://www.clubforgrowth.org/2007/11/club_pac_endorses_schweikert_i.php)

<sup>19</sup> <http://timbee.com/news/archive.aspx?article=45>

pro-foreign investor protections.<sup>20</sup> On his campaign website, he said, “It should come as little surprise that the U.S. economy is doing poorly. No country in the history of the world has ever been able to consistently divert massive resources toward war and preparation for war without crippling its own economy. War spending has also contributed to staggering budget deficits, the declining value of the dollar, and rising oil prices. Other factors in the worsening economy include trade agreements that send good-paying jobs overseas, the spiraling cost of health care, and a general lack of confidence in our government.”<sup>21</sup>

#### **California 4: OPEN SEAT vacated by anti-fair trader Rep. John Doolittle (R)**

- ✓ **Tom McClintock is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** He has a history of opposing fair-trade initiatives at the state level. According to *The Washington Times*, “State and local officials are jumping into the national debate on globalization, led by an unusual state legislative committee in California that scrutinizes the effect of trade agreements on individual states. Though the Constitution gives the federal government jurisdiction over international trade, this bipartisan group is worried that international trade deals threaten the American ideal of state sovereignty. In California, state activism has centered on the Select Committee on International Trade Policy and State Legislation, headed by Sen. Sheila Kuehl, a Democrat from Los Angeles. The panel has taken aim at a provision of the North American Free Trade Agreement that allows companies to seek monetary damages from governments for violations of the 1994 pact... Critics of the committee say there is little reason for it to stick its nose into an area of exclusive federal control. ‘Nobody ever lost any money underestimating the common sense of the California state legislature,’ said Republican state Sen. Tom McClintock.”<sup>22</sup>
- **Charlie Brown is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** He ran PAID TRADE ADS profiling a voter whose service-sector job had been offshored to India.<sup>23</sup> On his website, Brown says, “Charlie believes America can create & keep good jobs by investing in education, technology, an updated infrastructure, energy independence, and fair trade. He opposes the outsourcing of American prosperity promoted by NAFTA and CAFTA, and supported the recent increase in the minimum wage.”<sup>24</sup>

#### **California 11: Incumbent is Rep. Jerry McNerney (D)**

- ✓ **McNerney is a fair trader.** He voted against NAFTA expansion to Peru and Fast Track.
- **Dean Andal is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** In its endorsement of Andal, the Club for Growth stated, “Andal is... a strong supporter of free trade, school choice, and protecting political free speech,” and attacked McNerney for his vote against the Peru FTA.<sup>25</sup>

#### **California 26: Incumbent is Rep. David Drier (R)**

- ✓ **Drier is an anti-fair trader.** He voted against fair trade on 24 out of 29 votes.
- **Russ Warner is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** On his campaign website, he says, “Russ supports tax cuts for middle-class families and creating tax incentives for businesses to hire locally instead of outsourcing jobs overseas.”<sup>26</sup>

#### **California 45: Incumbent is Rep. Mary Bono (R)**

- ✓ **Bono is an 100% anti-fair trader.** She voted against fair trade on 17 out of 17 votes.
- **Julie Bornstein is the Democratic candidate.** She did not campaign on trade.

#### **California 46: Incumbent is Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R)**

- ✓ **Rohrabacher has a mixed trade record.** He voted for fair trade on 10 bills (including standing up to Bush on Fast Track), and against it on 11.

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<sup>20</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response of Bill Durston, dated Sept. 16, 2008.

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.durstonforcongress.org/issues/economy.html>

<sup>22</sup> Carter Dougherty, “State, Local Officials Eye Global Trade Role,” *Washington Times*, May 7, 2002.

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pztDZbLYgkU>

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.charliebrownforcongress.org/catalog.php?topic=Issues#anchor497>

<sup>25</sup> [http://www.clubforgrowth.org/2008/01/club\\_pac\\_endorses\\_andal\\_in\\_cal.php](http://www.clubforgrowth.org/2008/01/club_pac_endorses_andal_in_cal.php)

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.warnerforcongress.com/content/issues>

- **Debbie Cook is the Democratic candidate.** Did not campaign on trade. Gave a confusing and off-topic answer when asked about NAFTA by the *Orange Coast Voice*.<sup>27</sup>

#### California 50: Incumbent is Rep. Brian Bilbray (R)

- ✓ **Bilbray is 100% anti-fair trade.** Voted against fair trade on 8/8 votes.
- **Nick Leibham is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Mentions concern with trade deficit on his website.<sup>28</sup>

#### California 52: OPEN SEAT vacated by fair trader Rep. Duncan Hunter (R)

- ✓ **Duncan Hunter, Jr. is the Republican candidate, and a fair trader.** His website said, “Our nation needs to adopt a policy of Fair Trade that encourages the development of overseas markets, while protecting our industry and workers from unfair competition from countries like China, that flood our market with inferior, sometimes dangerous products produced in near-slave labor conditions.”<sup>29</sup>
- **Mike Lumpkin is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** His campaign website says, “Manufacturers have exported our jobs to capitalize on cheaper labor and fewer safety restrictions. The trade-off for middle class Americans is supposed to be ‘more bang for the buck.’ But what we have so far is unfair trade practices, fewer job opportunities, poisoned pet food, poisoned people food, poisoned toys, and hazardous tires. Mike will advocate for fair, safe and sensible trade practices.”<sup>30</sup>

### Colorado

#### Senate

##### OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader Sen. Wayne Allard (R)

- ✓ **Mark Udall, a former Democratic representative, ran as a fair trader.** He ran PAID TRADE ADS, talking about tax incentives for shipping jobs overseas.<sup>31</sup> While serving in the House, he voted the fair-trade position on the most significant votes – like CAFTA, Fast Track, and China PNTR. He talked about his CAFTA opposition in his campaign.<sup>32</sup>
- **Bob Schaffer, a former Republican representative, is an anti-fair trader.** Voted against fair trade on Fast Track three times (on 1998, 2001, and 2002), AGOA (twice), China PNTR, and for fair trade on WTO withdrawal. In an August 16 debate in Colorado Springs, Schaffer said: “I support free trade, and I support free trade because it is a better substitute than corruption led by corrupt leaders of various countries... What gets around the corrupt tendencies of world leaders to suppress their populations and maintain their power and authority? It is free trade agreements and free trade mechanisms that allow countries on an economic basis to exchange, to have interaction among people who appreciate freedom.”<sup>33</sup>

#### House

##### Colorado 2: OPEN SEAT vacated by mixed record Rep. Mark Udall (D)

- ✓ **Jared Polis is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Polis campaigned against unsafe toy imports. His website read: “The Bush administration is asleep at the wheel while multinational corporations are putting profits before safety and products that harm kids are entering our country from China and other nations with poor safety records. As your Congressman, I will co-sponsor the Safety Assurance for Every (SAFE) Consumer Product Act, introduced by Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D-CT) and Rep. Diana DeGette (D-

<sup>27</sup> <http://ocvoice.wordpress.com/2008/03/01/is-dana-cooked/> – the question was “I mean the fact that it’s cheaper for Mexicans to buy American corn in Mexico than their own corn that is causing people to lose their jobs there. What’s your stand on NAFTA or at least that aspect of it?” – and the reply was, “NAFTA’s going to have a really hard time to because as Canada’s gas depletes America is going to say that ‘because of NAFTA you have to sell us your gas.’ And Canadians are going to say ‘Wait a minute, it’s freezing up here and we want our gas for us.’ And with oil declining now precipitously, they’re going to say, ‘We can’t ship you anymore oil.’ And Americans are going to say, ‘But NAFTA says you have to ship us your oil.’ A lot is going to change in this next 5 years. A lot. And it’s all based on energy...I see that this whole energy thing is going to come to bare on so many issues and change the way we think about a lot of things.”

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.picknick08.com/the-legacy-of-george-w.-bushs-presidency.html>

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.hunterforcongress.com/issues/>

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.lumpkinforcongress.com/Issues.html>

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sdbvVoN9mVg&feature=Playlist&p=E747910D04414DD6&index=7> and

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fRLYMHohLQM>

<sup>32</sup> [http://www.markudall.com/content/page/jobs\\_and\\_the\\_economy#](http://www.markudall.com/content/page/jobs_and_the_economy#)

<sup>33</sup> Video here: <http://schaffervudall.blogspot.com/2008/08/schaffer-udall-illegal-immigration.html>

CO), and fight hard to protect consumers from dangerous products. We need to make sure that defects are identified and addressed *before* products reach the shelves and get in the hands of our children. Families shouldn't need to worry about the safety of Curious George dolls, Thomas the Tank Engine, or any other children's toys sold in this country. But this year's alarming number of lead-tainted product recalls proves that our product safety system is broken and fails to protect consumers. Almost a third of all Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC) recalls in 30 years took place in 2007."<sup>34</sup> His campaign hosted toy safety testing parties.<sup>35</sup> He also called to "End tax breaks that promote moving jobs overseas."<sup>36</sup>

- **Scott Starin is the Republican candidate.** Did not campaign actively on trade-related issues, but according to local press reports, "Starin also said it is critical that the United States increase its oil production to lessen the country's reliance on foreign oil, strengthen the dollar and decrease the trade deficit."<sup>37</sup>

#### Colorado 4: Incumbent is Rep. Marilyn Musgrave (R)

- **Musgrave is 100% anti-fair trade.** After hinting at plans to oppose, Musgrave supported CAFTA, betraying and infuriating local sugar beet farmers. She has been wrong on 10/10 trade votes.
- ✓ **Betsy Markey is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** On her website, she says, "At the global level, I believe in fair trade policies that take into account our country's economic needs and hold partnering countries to the same environmental and labor standards as those that we maintain here at home. This provides a level playing field for American producers to compete in the international market and also protects the quality of food sold to the U.S. consumer."<sup>38</sup> In response to a question about FTAs, she said, "I think we need to take a real close look and see what the impacts have been. A lot of people think that one of the results of NAFTA in place is that it has put a lot of smaller farmers in Mexico and Central America out of work, and they're not able to compete with large corporate farming as a result of NAFTA – that is increasing our immigration issue here because some of those people are out of work and looking for jobs in our country."<sup>39</sup>

#### Colorado 6: OPEN SEAT vacated by mixed record Rep. Tom Tancredo (R)

- ✓ **Mike Coffman is the Republican candidate.** Did not campaign on trade, but suggests an unorthodox orientation similar to Tancredo. Responses to the Colorado Congressional Election 2008 Political Courage Test: undecided on "imposing economic sanctions on China." Supports "imposing trade sanctions on Venezuela." Supports U.S. "involvement in free trade agreements." Supports U.S. "involvement in intergovernmental organizations dedicated to trade."<sup>40</sup>
- **Hank Eng is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** "We must ensure for every business, small and large, there is a level playing field in which to compete and grow. We participate in a world economy and trade agreements must contain enforceable and reciprocal competitive conditions. Humane working conditions, environmental safeguards and product safety codes should be an integral part of any agreement to access our markets."<sup>41</sup> "Hank Eng will... support trade policies and diplomatic measures that balance our trade deficit with China."<sup>42</sup>

### Connecticut

#### House

#### Connecticut 4: Incumbent is Rep. Chris Shays (R)

- **Shays is anti-fair trade.** Voted against fair trade on 23/25 votes. His first two trade votes – the other two out of 25 – were against early versions of the 1988 Fast Track, versions largely supported by fair traders.

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.polisforcongress.com/issues/safe-consumer-product-act>

<sup>35</sup> [http://www.polisforcongress.com/assets/2007/12/19/Lead\\_Toys1\\_\\_2\\_.pdf](http://www.polisforcongress.com/assets/2007/12/19/Lead_Toys1__2_.pdf)

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.polisforcongress.com/issues/jobs-economy>

<sup>37</sup> John Aguilar, "2nd CD candidates differ on cause of phenomenon," *Boulder Daily Camera*, Oct. 29, 2008.

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.markeyforcongress.com/agriculture>

<sup>39</sup> <http://michaelhowe.net/2007/10/16/markey-schip-immoral-acts.aspx>, audio podcast included

<sup>40</sup> [http://www.votesmart.org/npat.php?can\\_id=1535?q=print](http://www.votesmart.org/npat.php?can_id=1535?q=print)

<sup>41</sup> <http://tinyurl.com/59qvz5> (Google cache of inaccessible PDF from Eng campaign website)

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.hankeng.com/issues/foreign-relations>



- ✓ **Jim Himes is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** On his website, he says, “We need to craft tax policies that will create jobs at home rather than abroad.”<sup>43</sup> In addition, in a campaign speech, he faulted Shays for pushing Bush’s economic policies, and said, “we continue to lose thousands of good jobs.”<sup>44</sup>

## Delaware- no competitive races

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## Florida

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### House

#### Florida 8: Incumbent is Ric Keller (R)

- **Keller is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against the fair trade position on 12/12 votes.
- ✓ **Alan Grayson is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Grayson said, “The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have been used to weaken environmental protection in the United States and abroad. The downward pressure on environmental, health and safety standards could increase with completion of bilateral and regional Free Trade Agreements (FTAs), as well as through the Doha Round of WTO talks... Regrettably, Congress cannot exercise its normal constitutional powers as a check and balance on the executive with respect to trade agreements because fast-track procedures deny Congress its normal power to make amendments or to conduct a thorough debate. I will support the implementation of a new model that gives the Congress more of its Constitutional duties of negotiating trade and treaties.” He also committed to oppose the Colombia FTA, saying, “We should not do business with nations that allow the blatant violation of its citizens’ human rights, especially one of our closest neighbors.”<sup>45</sup> On his campaign website, he said, “The Republicans’ tax cuts for the rich and unbalanced trade policies have increased the burdens on working families and have weakened our economy.”<sup>46</sup>

#### Florida 13: Incumbent is Rep. Vern Buchanan (R)

- ✓ **Buchanan is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 2 out of 2 votes.
- **Christine Jennings is the Democratic candidate.** Did not campaign on trade.

#### Florida 15: OPEN SEAT vacated by anti-fair trader Rep. Dave Weldon (R) – NET GOP PICK UP! And ANTI NAFTA OFF!

- ✓ **Bill Posey is the Republican candidate, and a fair trader.** The *Vero Beach Press Journal* reported, “‘We need to stop illegal immigration at the border,’ state Sen. Bill Posey said. ‘It will bring an economic collapse if it’s allowed to go further.’ Posey, R-Rockledge, the Republican nominee for the district that includes Indian River County, said he also opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement, which Congress passed in 1992 to improve trade with Canada and Mexico. ‘It brings more jobs to Mexico, but less to the United States,’ he said.”<sup>47</sup>
- **Stephen Blythe is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** The *Vero Beach Press Journal* reported, “‘like Posey, [Blythe] also faulted the free trade agreement. He said the trade agreement doesn’t allow warnings on food shipped from Mexico, such as jalapeno peppers, which were linked in July to salmonella cases in Georgia and Texas. ‘As a doctor, when people asked me about going to Mexico, I’d tell them don’t drink the water or eat the vegetables unless they were well-cooked,’ Blythe said. ‘But now with NAFTA, the vegetables are here and we’re not telling people not to eat them without cooking.’ The candidates addressed immigration and the trade agreement after Vero Beach resident Charles Searcy polled their positions on the so-called NAFTA Superhighway.”<sup>48</sup> Additionally, he said, “We need to make it harder for companies to take jobs overseas.”<sup>49</sup> In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Blythe

<sup>43</sup> <http://www.himesforcongress.com/site/issue/economy>.

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8qSZ9h1Mmxk>

<sup>45</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response of Alan Grayson, Oct. 31, 2008.

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.graysonforcongress.com/page.asp?PageId=51>

<sup>47</sup> Henry A. Stephens, “Congressional hopefuls debate,” *Vero Beach Press Journal*, Oct. 9, 2008.

<sup>48</sup> Henry A. Stephens, “Congressional hopefuls debate,” *Vero Beach Press Journal*, Oct. 9, 2008.

<sup>49</sup> <http://www.blythe2008.com/issues/issues.htm>

committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that include NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>50</sup>

#### **Florida 16: Incumbent is Rep. Tim Mahoney (D)**

- **Mahoney is a fallen fair trader.** After former 16<sup>th</sup> district representative Mark Foley betrayed his sugar-producing district on CAFTA,<sup>51</sup> Mahoney campaigned against the incumbent on this basis, telling the press: “Instead of voting for trade agreements that can hurt Florida’s sugar industry and send more jobs overseas, Foley should be working on policies that foster job creation.”<sup>52</sup> Once elected, however, Mahoney voted against fair trade on the CAFTA expansion to Peru, and on Fast Track. Nonetheless, the DCCC ran PAID TRADE ADS on his behalf that attacked Rooney for not supporting legislation to ban U.S. oil exports from going to China.<sup>53</sup>
- ✓ **Tom Rooney is the Republican candidate.** Did not campaign on trade.

#### **Florida 18: Incumbent is Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R)**

- ✓ **Ros-Lehtinen has a long and mixed record, but has been trending anti-fair trade.** She largely supported fair trade during the Clinton years, and opposed it during the Bush years.
- **Annette Taddeo is the Democratic challenger, and an anti-fair trader.** Taddeo campaign memo claims that anti-fair-trade stances are not a winning strategy among Latinos: “The Hispanic vote is very much up for grabs, especially as Democrats increasingly risk alienating them with anti-trade and anti-NAFTA rhetoric.”<sup>54</sup>

#### **Florida 21: Incumbent is Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R)**

- ✓ **Diaz-Balart has a long and mixed record, but has been trending anti-fair trade.** After supporting the fair trade position for much of the Clinton administration (he even sang a song against NAFTA on the House floor), he switched position during the Bush years. In 2008, he campaigned on the Colombia FTA. On his website, he said, “America’s enemies are not confined solely to the two existing theaters of war. America and her allies face challenges from state sponsors of terrorism elsewhere. The possibility of a dictatorship in Iran acquiring weapons of mass destruction poses great dangers to our friend and ally Israel. ‘FARC’ terrorists’ receipt of sanctuary by governments in South America poses grave dangers to our friend and ally Colombia. That is why I will continue to support U.S. military and economic support for both those key U.S. allies, and why it is so dangerously irresponsible for the Majority Congressional Leadership to have denied Congress the opportunity to even vote on the U.S. – Colombia Free Trade Agreement.”<sup>55</sup>
- **Raul Martinez is the Democratic candidate.** Did not campaign on trade.

#### **Florida 24: Incumbent is Rep. Tom Feeney (R)**

- **Feeney is anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 9/10 votes.
- ✓ **Suzanne Kosmas is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** On Kosmas’ website, she said, “I will work to end the giveaways for corporations that ship our jobs overseas and support tax relief for middle class families and small business owners that work hard and deserve the opportunity to save for their futures.”<sup>56</sup>

#### **Florida 25: Incumbent is Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart (R)**

- ✓ **Diaz-Balart is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted wrong on 10/10 votes. In 2008, according to *The Miami Herald*, “A free trade agreement with Colombia has become a campaign issue in Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart's

<sup>50</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Stephen Blythe, signed Sept. 2, 2008.

<sup>51</sup> Larry Lipman, “Foley: CAFTA ‘yes’ vote lets me help sugar,” *Palm Beach Post*, July 30, 2005; William E. Gibson, “Passage of CAFTA may mean big business for Florida,” *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*, July 29, 2005; Public Citizen notes from House Ways and Means Committee Markup of H.R. 3045, June 30, 2005.

<sup>52</sup> Jeremy Wallace, “Democrats say Venus man can beat Foley,” *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, Dec. 12, 2005.

<sup>53</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gE7\\_F44\\_a-I](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gE7_F44_a-I)

<sup>54</sup> [http://www.votetaddeo.com/clientuploads/pdf/Taddeo\\_Win\\_Memo.pdf](http://www.votetaddeo.com/clientuploads/pdf/Taddeo_Win_Memo.pdf)

<sup>55</sup> <http://www.lincolndiazbalart.org/issues/defense>

<sup>56</sup> [http://kosmasforcongress.com/priorities/lowering\\_taxes](http://kosmasforcongress.com/priorities/lowering_taxes)



bid to hold his seat in the congressional district that represents the largest number of Colombian-American voters in the country. The Republican has seized on the yet-to-be passed agreement between the South American country and the United States to cast himself as the better candidate for advocacy of that agenda. He is being challenged by Democrat Joe Garcia. 'It's an issue that I care deeply about because, to me, it's a national security as well as an economic issue for the United States,' Diaz-Balart said, adding that he has more experience on the matter than his Democratic challenger, whose party has rejected the accord."<sup>57</sup>

- **Joe Garcia is the Democratic candidate.** Although he invoked some fair-trade themes in his campaign,<sup>58</sup> he is very involved in efforts to push Democrats in a more pro-corporate direction on trade. He helped author a New Democrat Network piece, "Creating a Better CAFTA," arguing that Democrats "should not let the Bush administration's flawed agreement doom a good idea."<sup>59</sup> In response to Diaz-Balart's advocacy on the Colombia FTA, Garcia indicated he was for it, and then made a very evasive comment: "He knows as well as anyone – and I don't know how many times he's going to try to fool people with this – that I'm for fair trade and getting it done in a way that protects American jobs and American commerce."<sup>60</sup>

## Georgia

### Senate

#### **Incumbent is Sen. Saxby Chambliss (R)**

- ✓ **Chambliss is anti-fair trade.** Voted against fair trade on 10 out of 13 occasions.
- **Jim Martin is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Martin ran PAID TRADE ADS attacking offshoring, and Chambliss' votes in favor of Fast Track, CAFTA, and China PNTR.<sup>61</sup> In a response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, he wrote: "I believe that preserving American jobs is essential for an effective and beneficial trade policy. The Columbia FTA fails to protect jobs at home. Moreover, given the egregious human rights violations perpetrated by the Columbian government against its workers, the Columbia FTA does not comply with American ideals. As such, I would not support the Columbia FTA... Because good paying jobs in American are the cornerstone of a healthy domestic policy, any trade agreement we enter into must prioritize the American worker and allow us to compete on a level playing field. Additionally, any trade policy entered into by the United States must contain provisions designed to keep us safe from harmful or defective products. I would support efforts to renegotiate provisions of NAFTA to comport with these ideals."<sup>62</sup>

### House

#### **Georgia 8: Incumbent is Rep. Jim Marshall (D)**

- ✓ **Marshall is a fair trader.** Voted the fair trade position in 9/10 votes while in Congress.
- **Rick Goddard is the Republican candidate.** He did not campaign on trade.

## Hawaii- no competitive races

## Idaho

### Senate

#### **OPEN SEAT vacated by mixed vote record Sen. Larry Craig (R)**

- ✓ **Jim Risch is the Republican nominee.** While not articulating a clear trade position, he suggested a heterodox approach like that of Craig when he ran PAID TRADE ADS calling for "incentives that keep jobs in America."<sup>63</sup>
- **Larry LaRocco, a former Democratic representative, is a fair trader.** He opposed NAFTA while in Congress. On his campaign website, he said: "When I was in Congress in 1993, President Bill Clinton put

<sup>57</sup> Elaine DeValle, "Diaz-Balart Courts Votes Via Trade Deal," *Miami Herald*, Oct. 25, 2008.

<sup>58</sup> <http://www.joegarcia08.com/index.php?submenu=LatinAmerica&src=gendocs&ref=LatinAmerica&category=Issues> and <http://www.joegarcia08.com/index.php?submenu=Agriculture&src=gendocs&ref=Agriculture&category=Issues> and <http://firedoglake.com/2008/04/12/blue-america-welcomes-joe-garcia-fl-25/>.

<sup>59</sup> <http://www.ndn.org/advocacy/globalization/craftingabettercafta.html>

<sup>60</sup> Elaine DeValle, "Diaz-Balart Courts Votes Via Trade Deal," *Miami Herald*, Oct. 25, 2008.

<sup>61</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sRA175FzxyS> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QWIB0mx96w>

<sup>62</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign, Oct. 30, 2008.

<sup>63</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IznnBXA1oEQ>

on a full court press to pass the North American Free Trade Agreement, known as NAFTA. Clinton put a lot of pressure on me, promising new jobs and a lower trade deficit, but I told him he wasn't going to get my vote. Unfortunately, NAFTA passed over the objections of those of us who foresaw the massive job loss and ballooning trade deficits it would bring. NAFTA was sold to America as some grandiose economic theory and it just didn't add up for me. History has now shown that I was right to be cautious and vote against NAFTA... The problem with NAFTA was two-fold. First, it contained too many incentives designed to stimulate overseas investment, especially the movement of factories from the United States to Canada and Mexico. And second, there were no requirements to maintain labor or environmental standards, thus allowing industries to save big bucks at the expense of workers' wages, their benefits, their safety, and the environment."<sup>64</sup>

## House

### **Idaho 1: Incumbent is Rep. Bill Sali (R)**

- **Sali is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on Fast Track and NAFTA expansion to Peru. Sali actually campaigned on a platform of getting rid of "Buy America" rules.<sup>65</sup>
- ✓ **Walt Minnick is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Minnick campaigned on fair trade in 2008, according to local farm advocates.<sup>66</sup> He attacked Sali for his views on "Buy America," saying, "Getting rid of the federal laws would set back American standards to countries like China that are not as safe or as clean, Minnick said. 'Do we want all of our highways built by Panamanian laborers and Chinese contractors applying Chinese health and safety environmental rules?' Minnick said."<sup>67</sup>

## Illinois

### House

### **Illinois 6: Incumbent is Rep. Peter Roskam (R)**

- ✓ **Roskam is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on Fast Track and NAFTA expansion to Peru.
- **Jill Morgenthaller is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** According to the Illinois AFL-CIO, "Unlike Peter Roskam, she reflects the ideals and concerns of the families in her District. She has pledged her support for future fair trade agreements, health coverage for all Americans and the right of U.S. workers to organize and join a union."<sup>68</sup> According to the *Arlington Post Heights*, "Morgenthaller said she would stop the tax incentives that reward companies with transferring jobs overseas."<sup>69</sup>

### **Illinois 10: Incumbent is Rep. Mark Kirk (R)**

- ✓ **Kirk is 100% anti-fair trade.** Voted against fair trade on 10/10 votes.
- **Daniel Seals is the Democratic candidate, and campaigned as a fair trader.** While he worked for the Clinton administration on trade initiatives,<sup>70</sup> he told a town-hall meeting that "trade agreements should provide more protection for workers and the environment."<sup>71</sup> He told the Chicago Religious Leadership Network that, "I believe some of our past trade agreements have not done enough to promote good labor policies or provide significant benefits to workers in either country. Well crafted trade deals should

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<sup>64</sup> <http://www.laroccoforsenate.com/pages/issues/nafta.htm> He wrote a similar position in an op-ed in a state newspaper: <http://www.boiseweekly.com/gyrobase/Content?oid=oid%3A316652> and <http://www.idahostatesman.com/1290/story/423833.html> . See also: [http://www.laroccoforsenate.com/presskit/pressreleases/fight\\_nafta\\_release.php](http://www.laroccoforsenate.com/presskit/pressreleases/fight_nafta_release.php)

<sup>65</sup> Rocky Barker, "Minnick, Sali agree on I-84 traffic, but not on solution," *Idaho Statesman*, Oct. 31, 2008.

<sup>66</sup> Communication with Western Organization of Resource Councils, Oct. 31, 2008. In the past, however, he did have anti-fair trade tendencies: In 1996, however, Minnick ran against Sen. Larry Craig (R) for his Senate seat. In that race, Craig campaigned on his opposition to NAFTA, while Minnick did the opposite. According to *Time Magazine*, Minnick had the following positions: "1) Do you support the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)? Yes; 2) Do you support broadening NAFTA to include other countries? Yes; 3) Do you support the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)? Yes; 4) Do you support the World Trade Organization (WTO)? Yes; 6) Do you support imposing tariffs on products imported from nations that maintain restrictive trade barriers on American products? Yes; 7) Should a nation's human rights record affect its "most favored nation" trading status with the United States? Yes." Source: [http://votesmart.org/npat.php?can\\_id=436](http://votesmart.org/npat.php?can_id=436).

<sup>67</sup> Rocky Barker, "Minnick, Sali agree on I-84 traffic, but not on solution," *Idaho Statesman*, Oct. 31, 2008.

<sup>68</sup> "Illinois Labor Rallies in Support of Morgenthaller," Morgenthaller Campaign Press Release, June 24, 2008. Available at: [http://www.jillmorgenthaller.com/release\\_details.asp?id=22](http://www.jillmorgenthaller.com/release_details.asp?id=22). Accessed Oct. 30, 2008.

<sup>69</sup> Josh Singer, "Jagla, Morgenthaller seek Dems' vote in 6<sup>th</sup>," *Arlington Post Heights*, Jan. 31, 2008.

<sup>70</sup> [http://www.dansealsforcongress.com/newsroom/letters/change\\_congress.php](http://www.dansealsforcongress.com/newsroom/letters/change_congress.php)

<sup>71</sup> Town Hall Meeting, Northbrook, Ill., Sept. 4, 2008. Courtesy of Working Families Win.

encourage equitable and sustainable development and make the economy more rewarding for more people.”<sup>72</sup>

#### **Illinois 11: OPEN SEAT vacated by anti-fair trader Rep. Jerry Weller (R)**

- **Martin Ozinga is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** On his website, he says, “Marty strongly supports free trade, but he believes we must re-evaluate our trade agreements to ensure that they're fair to our own workers and businesses.”<sup>73</sup> At a debate sponsored by the Kankakee County Farm Bureau: “There’s no way in the world that America should retreat from its place as the leader, economically, in this world. We need to stay involved, and we need to be participating in all forms of trade, coming and going. There is a concern, and it has to be regulated carefully, that we do not sacrifice our factories and our manufacturing here at home when it’s not conducive to preserving good jobs and our own national security. So there are issues that need to be looked at very carefully, but I definitely support free trade and a trade perspective that will keep America leading the world in terms of the economy.”<sup>74</sup>
- ✓ **Debbie Halvorson is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** At a debate sponsored by the Kankakee County Farm Bureau: “I want to make sure that any trade agreement that we participate in is fair, not necessarily just free. We talk about free trade, but we need to talk about fair trade. It’s got to be that it benefits both sides, and that we all have to abide by the same set of rules... so we need to make sure whatever trade agreements we participate in are fair, and they don’t necessarily take our jobs away.”<sup>75</sup> EMILY’s List profile: “Halvorson supports free trade but says trade agreements must meet certain human rights and environmental standards. ‘We need a trade policy that enables American producers and workers to compete successfully in the global economy,’ she says. ‘And we need to reinvest in manufacturing and innovation, and keep jobs here in America.’”<sup>76</sup> She was named “Woman of Steel” by Nucor Steel in Kankakee for her leadership in the Illinois General Assembly to strengthen American manufacturing and her support for recycling and fair trade.<sup>77</sup> She told a debate audience that she supports eliminating tax loopholes that encourage companies to move jobs overseas and supports tax incentives for companies that keep jobs in the U.S. ‘I’m tired of hearing about jobs going overseas.’”<sup>78</sup>

#### **Illinois 13: Incumbent is Rep. Judy Biggert (R)**

- ✓ **Biggert is an 100% anti-fair trader.** She voted against fair trade on 17 out of 17 votes.
- **Scott Harper is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** On his campaign website, he says, “Scott’s commitment to working families separates him the most from Judy Biggert. While Biggert has voted for unfair trade agreements with Oman and sponsored legislation to end overtime pay, Scott will vote to pass the Employee Free Choice Act and will never support a trade agreement that is not fair. He will also champion workplace safety and workers rights to organize.”<sup>79</sup>

#### **Illinois 14: Incumbent is Rep. Bill Foster (D)**

- ✓ **Foster is a fair trader.** PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>80</sup> Foster claimed this seat of former House Speaker (and anti-fair trader) Dennis Hastert in a special election in early 2008. For that race, he ran paid ads on trade. He voted for fair trade on Fast Track in 2008.
- **Jim Oberweis is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** On an interview on *Public Affairs* with Jeff Berkowitz: “More or less free trade?” Oberweis: “More.” Berkowitz: “Would you have supported NAFTA if you were there in ‘94?” Oberweis: “Yes.” Berkowitz: “And CAFTA a few years ago?” Oberweis: “Yes.” Berkowitz: “And you would have no regrets about that?” Oberweis: “No. Look, trade is going to occur no matter what we do; free trade is generally good for both sides – remember, trade means both sides are agreeing to this particular transaction. Generally speaking, everybody benefits. But, there are some

<sup>72</sup> Dan Seals’ Statement to the Chicago Religious Leadership Network, Oct. 15, 2008.

<sup>73</sup> <http://www.martyozinga.com/issues/economy-and-jobs>

<sup>74</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s7oWo1V-3dI>

<sup>75</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9MJJaFO8-Q4c>

<sup>76</sup> [http://www.emilyslist.org/candidates/debbie\\_halvorson/](http://www.emilyslist.org/candidates/debbie_halvorson/)

<sup>77</sup> <http://www.debbiehalvorson.com/about>

<sup>78</sup> Illinois State University Debate, Oct. 2, 2008, <http://www.wfwin.org/media/Candidate%20Comparisons/IL11comparison.pdf>

<sup>79</sup> <http://www.scottharperforcongress.com/issues/economy>

<sup>80</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Stjc9mF8KY8>

problems created, and that's where the government can come in, in terms of helping retrain people who need that opportunity."<sup>81</sup>

### **Illinois 18: OPEN SEAT vacated by Rep. Ray LaHood (R)**

- ✓ **Aaron Schock is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** He says he supports “expanded free trade and economic growth from low marginal tax rates, low capital gains taxes and maintaining small business expensing, are the most vital engines of economic growth... Years of sustained economic growth through both expanded free trade, increasing productivity, and economic growth with strong incentives for work, saving, investing and entrepreneurial risk taking, combined with spending restraint, are required for shrinking the national debt.”<sup>82</sup>
- **Colleen Callahan is the Democratic candidate, and has a vague position.** Her website has an unusual position, stating, “Trading with the rest of the world is good for our economy and good for our democracy. Colleen supports free trade agreements because they have been good for the agricultural industry in the 18th district, yet we need to do more to help U.S. manufacturing compete with foreign producers both domestically and overseas. The challenge for the next Congress will be to find the right balance between promoting trade while providing a safety net for those who are hurt by trade.”<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless, she ran PAID TRADE ADS with some fair-trade content.<sup>84</sup>

## **Indiana**

### **House**

#### **Indiana 3: Incumbent is Rep. Mark Souder (R)**

- ✓ **Souder is anti-fair trade, but campaigned as a fair trader.** He voted for the pro-corporate trade position during the Bush administration, while he voted for the fair trade position while President Clinton was in office. But his campaign said, “Northeast Indiana is home to more manufacturing jobs (over 100,000) than anywhere else in the United States. We have more people in manufacturing jobs than 16 other States as a whole. Manufacturing has found a home here because of the creativity, innovation and hard work of area residents. ... I have and will continue to vote for: Trade agreements that don't send jobs overseas and are fair to workers in the U.S.”<sup>85</sup> When the U.S. Steelworkers Union mounted a demonstration in front of Souder's office to protest Souder's vote for the Peru FTA and also against unsafe toy imports, according to the *Journal Gazette*, “Souder released a statement Tuesday on the protesters, saying he opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement and voted against permitting Mexican trucks in the United States. ‘I have always stood with the workers of this district,’ he said in the statement.”<sup>86</sup> In the 2008 race, he ran PAID TRADE ADS claiming that he saved U.S. jobs from Chinese competition.<sup>87</sup>
- **Mike Montagano is the Democratic candidate.** Ran PAID TRADE AD attacking Souder's vote for CAFTA and other FTAs.<sup>88</sup>

#### **Indiana 9: Incumbent is Rep. Baron Hill (D)**

- ✓ **Hill is 100% anti-fair trade.** Hill was a three-term incumbent who had voted 100% wrong on trade when he lost to Sodrel in 2004. In his successful 2006 campaign, he told supporters that he would vote against more-of-the-same trade policy. He returned to old habits in 2007, supporting a NAFTA expansion to Peru, and clocked in a 12/12 anti-fair trade vote record. Unbelievably, the DCCC ran PAID TRADE ADS in 2008 attacking Sodrel for supporting CAFTA.<sup>89</sup>
- **Sodrel is 100% anti-fair trade, but occasionally campaigns as a fair trader.** Sodrel ousted Hill from office for one term in 2004 by campaigning against Hill's pro-China PNTR vote. Sodrel argued that the

<sup>81</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l8dMNoWGFus> – see segment beginning 8:22

<sup>82</sup> [http://www2.pjstar.com/index.php/?elections/article/aaron\\_schock/](http://www2.pjstar.com/index.php/?elections/article/aaron_schock/)

<sup>83</sup> <http://www.colleencallahanforcongress.com/issues/index.html>

<sup>84</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6eU0NHEU9kU>

<sup>85</sup> [http://www.souderforcongress.com/issues\\_jobs.php](http://www.souderforcongress.com/issues_jobs.php)

<sup>86</sup> Benjamin Lanka, “Puppet joins trade protest,” *Journal Gazette*, July 31, 2008. See also: “‘Toxic Trader’ Puppet Confronts Mark Souder,” U.S. Steelworkers Union Press Release, July 28, 2008.

<sup>87</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AVJs1\\_t8MnA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AVJs1_t8MnA)

<sup>88</sup> [http://www.montaganoforcongress.com/free\\_details.asp?id=57](http://www.montaganoforcongress.com/free_details.asp?id=57)

<sup>89</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzdpQ74Oe80>

United States can't afford to give up its manufacturing jobs, "any more than we can afford to give up agriculture."<sup>90</sup> He then switched sides and under pressure from GOP leadership has voted wrong on 4/4 trade votes he faced. In 2008, he did not campaign actively on trade.

## Iowa

### House

#### **Iowa 4: Incumbent is Rep. Tom Latham (R)**

- ✓ **Latham is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 16/16 votes. Latham talked about his commitment to ensure that U.S. policies comply with WTO rules.<sup>91</sup> He also told a town hall meeting that the TRADE Act "doesn't sound like something I can support... We are enforcing environmental and labor standards as much as we can tell another sovereign country to do."<sup>92</sup>
- **Becky Greenwald is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Her campaign website says: "Becky believes in responsible economic policy and will fight against unfair trade agreements and tax cuts that favor the wealthy."<sup>93</sup> Additionally, she told a Working Families Win candidate forum that she supports passage of the TRADE Act, and replacement of NAFTA-style trade policy that sends jobs overseas.<sup>94</sup>

## Kansas

### House

#### **Kansas 2: Incumbent is Rep. Nancy Boyda (D)**

- **Boyda is 100% pro-fair trade.** After receiving little support from the DCCC, Boyda beat incumbent Jim Ryun by running a fierce pro-fair trade campaign. Upon entering Congress, she refused DCCC help, and became a leader on trade issues. She was an original cosponsor of the Trade Reform, Accountability, Development and Employment Act, and voted for fair trade on the NAFTA expansion to Peru and Fast Track. Her campaign website spoke of her trade position.<sup>95</sup>
- ✓ **Lynn Jenkins is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** She told reporters, "The major tenets of the Republican Party are fiscal responsibility, national defense and free trade... Those are the things that make me a Republican. Sometimes we need to be reminded of those ideas."<sup>96</sup>

#### **Kansas 3: Incumbent is Rep. Dennis Moore (D)**

- ✓ **Moore is anti-fair trade.** Voted the anti-fair trade position on 15/17 trade votes. Nonetheless, the *Associated Press* wrote on that Moore was telling voters otherwise: "Moore said he supports trade agreements with other countries but won't support any plan that ships jobs overseas."<sup>97</sup>
- **Nick Jordan is the Republican candidate, and ran on a platform of some trade reforms.** According to the *Associated Press*, "Jordan agreed that trade agreements are vital to the nation's economy, but added, 'It's good to have free trade but important to have fair trade.'"<sup>98</sup>

## Kentucky

### Senate

#### **Incumbent is Sen. Mitch McConnell (R)**

- ✓ **McConnell is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 15/15 votes.
- **Bruce Lunsford is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Lunsford ran two PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>99</sup> His campaign website featured an article that said: "For instance, Lunsford said he has concerns with

<sup>90</sup> "Sodrel: U.S. Must Save Manufacturing Jobs," *Evansville Courier & Press*, Aug. 19, 2004.

<sup>91</sup> <http://www.tomlatham.com/NewsDispFull.asp?ArticleNumber=31>

<sup>92</sup> Tom Latham Town Hall meeting, Aug.. 4, 2008, Garner, Iowa. Available at:

<http://www.wfwin.org/media/Candidate%20Comparisons/IA4comparison.pdf>

<sup>93</sup> <http://www.beckygreenwald.com/content/issues.html>

<sup>94</sup> Working Families Win Candidate Forum, Sept. 5, 2008, Ames, Iowa. Available at:

<http://www.wfwin.org/media/Candidate%20Comparisons/IA4comparison.pdf>

<sup>95</sup> <http://www.nancyforcongress.com/issues>

<sup>96</sup> David Klepper, "Rising GOP star says party needs to return to fiscal roots," *Kansas City Star*, Oct. 2, 2008.

<sup>97</sup> Carl Manning, "Jordan and Moore spar in Kan. congressional debate," *Associated Press*, Oct. 22, 2008.

<sup>98</sup> Carl Manning, "Jordan and Moore spar in Kan. congressional debate," *Associated Press*, Oct. 22, 2008.

<sup>99</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PRLaEYxR1vM> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q0ARcB6CPkw>



NAFTA and supports the Employee Free Choice Act, a measure pending in Congress that addresses the formation of unions.”<sup>100</sup> The website also said: “we must ensure that all trade agreements include significant worker protections. It shouldn’t be too much to ask to have trade agreements that open up new markets for American products and protect quality American jobs.”<sup>101</sup>

## House

### **Kentucky 2: OPEN SEAT vacated by anti-fair trader Rep. Ron Lewis (R)**

- ✓ **Brett Guthrie is the Republican candidate, and seemed to campaign as a fair trader.** Ran three PAID TRADE ADS arguing he did not send Kentucky jobs to Mexico.<sup>102</sup>
- **David Boswell is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Ran four PAID TRADE ADS attacking his opponent’s offshoring of his company’s work to Mexico.<sup>103</sup> Boswell’s campaign website says: “Opposes NAFTA, as it exists.”<sup>104</sup>

### **Kentucky 3: Incumbent is Rep. John Yarmuth (D)**

- ✓ **John Yarmuth is a fair trader.** He voted for fair trade on NAFTA expansion to Peru and Fast Track, and ran PAID TRADE ADS in both 2006 and 2008.<sup>105</sup>
- **Anne Northup, a former Republican congresswoman, is 100% anti-fair trade.** In her previous stint in Congress, she voted against the fair trade position on 14 out of 14 votes.

## Louisiana

### Senate

#### **Incumbent is Sen. Mary Landrieu (D)**

- ✓ **Landrieu is anti-fair trade.** She voted against fair trade on 10/11 votes.
- **John Kennedy is the Republican candidate.** He did not campaign on trade.

#### **Louisiana 2: Incumbent is Rep. William Jefferson (D)**

- **Jefferson is an anti-fair trader, and one of the CAFTA 15 Democrats.**
- ✓ **Anh Cao is the Republican candidate, and did not campaign on trade.**

#### **Louisiana 4: OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader Jim McCrery (R)**

- ✓ **John Fleming is the Republican candidate, and did not campaign on trade.**
- **Paul Carmouche is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** His campaign website says, “Paul will end corporate welfare for companies that are shipping good paying American jobs overseas.”

#### **Louisiana 7: Incumbent is Rep. Charles Boustany (R)**

- ✓ **Boustany is an anti-fair trader.** He voted against fair trade five out of six times (on every vote except CAFTA).
- **Don Cravins is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** His campaign website says, “In Congress, I will fight to end corporate welfare for companies that are shipping our jobs overseas.”<sup>106</sup>

## Maine

### Senate

#### **Incumbent is Sen. Susan Collins (R)**

- ✓ **Collins has a mixed trade vote record.** She voted against fair trade on seven occasions, and for it on four occasions, including CAFTA.

<sup>100</sup> Ryan Alessi, “What’s With Labor’s 180 Degree Turn,” *Lexington Herald Leader*, March 24, 2008.

<sup>101</sup> [http://www.bruce2008.com/release\\_details.asp?id=27](http://www.bruce2008.com/release_details.asp?id=27)

<sup>102</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0XnldIVvQwM>; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5FBL6wPOozs>; and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u08PXUTImYE>.

<sup>103</sup> DCCC ad [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AnQCMR\\_q2JY](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AnQCMR_q2JY) and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=osBj6CxITpM> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h-NdyrG0PGM> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jEekBO8dQbw>

<sup>104</sup> <http://davidboswellforkentucky.com/about>

<sup>105</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ut8DuYW3Em8>

<sup>106</sup> <http://cravinsforcongress.com/JobsEconomy.html>

- **Rep. Tom Allen (D) is the Democratic candidate, and campaigned as a fair trader.** In Congress, he had occasionally voted against fair trade on major votes, such as in 2000 on China PNTR. However, on most recent major votes, he took the fair-trade position. By the time his 2008 campaign rolled around, he was even touting his support of the TRADE Act.<sup>107</sup> In his responses to the Maine Fair Trade Campaign questionnaire and in other venues, Allen committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that include NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>108</sup> However, his campaign had significant difficulties beating a popular incumbent, and he did not take his trade positions into the ad wars, so voters may have been insufficiently aware of his commitments.

## House

### **Maine 1: OPEN SEAT vacated by fair trader Rep. Tom Allen (D)**

- ✓ **Chellie Pingree is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** In a response to a Maine Fair Trade Campaign questionnaire, she said “we need to renegotiate NAFTA, “I would oppose the Colombia Free Trade Agreement” (she even found the “notion that the United States would enter into this agreement” to be “upsetting”), that “getting rid of Fast Track is the first step in the right direction when it comes to developing true fair trade policies,” and also criticized the WTO and its service-sector provisions. Additionally, she was quoted in the *Portland Press Herald* advocating these positions.<sup>109</sup>
- **Charlie Summers is the Republican candidate, and anti-fair trade.** According to the *Portland Press Herald*, “Summers said the North American Free Trade Agreement has been good for Maine. ‘I don’t think we can afford to close our markets,’ he said.”<sup>110</sup>

## Maryland

### House

#### **Maryland 1: OPEN SEAT vacated by anti-fair trader Rep. Wayne Gilchrest (R)**

- **Andy Harris is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** While in the Maryland Senate, he voted against a bill to require the state legislature’s prior informed consent before state procurement policies are signed up to international trade agreements.<sup>111</sup>
- ✓ **Frank Kratovil is the Democratic candidate.** Did not campaign on trade.

#### **Maryland 4: Incumbent is Rep. Donna Edwards (D)**

- ✓ **Edwards is a fair trader.** She defeated anti-fair trade incumbent **Al Wynn** – a supporter of WTO, three NAFTA-style FTAs and a NAFTA-inspired trade-preference program for Africa – in the February Democratic primaries. After his loss, Wynn announced an early retirement, and Edwards won a special election to fulfill the remainder of his term. During her first few months in Congress, she became a cosponsor of the TRADE Act.
- **Peter James is the Republican candidate.** This eccentric, no-shot campaign in a very Democratic district raised issues related to the Cuban trade embargo.<sup>112</sup>

## Massachusetts- no competitive races

## Michigan

### House

#### **Michigan 7: Incumbent is Rep. Tim Walberg (R)**

- **Walberg is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on the NAFTA expansion to Peru and Fast Track. On Walberg’s own website, he posted critical comments by Schauer about his trade record: ““Jobs are the number one issue voters are concerned about this year, and the differences in this race couldn’t be

<sup>107</sup> <http://www.tomallen.org/uploads/Jobs-Trade-and-Manufacturing-Plan.pdf>

<sup>108</sup> Maine Fair Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Tom Allen.

<sup>109</sup> Beth Quimby, “District 1 candidates view issues of trade, taxes quite differently,” *Portland Press Herald*, Sept. 22, 2008.

<sup>110</sup> Beth Quimby, “District 1 candidates view issues of trade, taxes quite differently,” *Portland Press Herald*, Sept. 22, 2008.

<sup>111</sup> <http://mlis.state.md.us/2005rs/votes/senate/0496.htm>

<sup>112</sup> <http://www.peterjames08.com/>

clearer,” Sen. Mark Schauer said in a statement Friday in response to Walberg’s campaign launch. While my opponent has faithfully supported President Bush’s failed economic policies and unfair trade deals that ship our jobs overseas, I have spent my career working with businesses and communities to cut through government red tape and turn Michigan’s economy around, one job at a time.”<sup>113</sup>

- ✓ **Mark Schauer is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>114</sup> He campaigned on a strong fair trade platform of rejecting NAFTA expansion to Colombia.<sup>115</sup> There was ample press coverage of this issue. As early as April, Schauer called on Congress to reject the Colombia FTA, saying, “In the midst of economic crisis, at a time when Americans are increasingly uncertain about their jobs and futures, the President decided that more outsourcing is the answer... This treaty encourages American employers to take their operations overseas and pay their workers less. We should be protecting American jobs – not doing everything we can to get rid of them. By sending this bill to Congress President Bush proved that he is as out of touch as his critics say he is.”<sup>116</sup>

#### Michigan 8: Incumbent is Rep. Mike Rogers (R)

- ✓ **Rogers is an 100% anti-fair trader who campaigned as a fair trader.** Despite voting against fair trade on 12 out of 12 votes, Rogers campaigned as a fair trader. His campaign website said, “As a former small business owner, he knows that Michigan workers can outwork and outthrust the competition when the playing field is level. That’s why he’s leading the fight to crack down on unfair Chinese trade practices that steal American jobs – including his legislation to double the number of ‘trade enforcement cops’ the U.S. has to stop China and other nations from cheating.”<sup>117</sup> He also said, “Mike Rogers has a clear record of working to pass bipartisan legislation and is the independent leader this district wants. Opposing the Bush Administration, Rogers voted against the Wall Street bailout, opposed the Korean Free Trade Agreement, and wrote bills to crack down on illegal Chinese trade and to end Asian currency manipulation.”<sup>118</sup>
- **Bob Alexander is the Democratic candidate, and seems to have a mixed position.** His campaign website says, “Congress should *lower taxes for middle class families* and provide *affordable health care to all* Americans, strengthen our unions (e.g., passage of the Employee Free Choice Act), and create *trade policies that provide protection to our domestic labor force*. The working men and women of our country form the backbone of the economy; therefore, their working conditions are an important component of the creation of economic policy.”<sup>119</sup> But he also says that he would water down his fuel efficiency program to the low standards allowed by unfair trade pacts.<sup>120</sup>

#### Michigan 9: Incumbent is Rep. Joe Knollenberg (R)

- **Knollenberg is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 19 out of 19 votes. Knollenberg’s website nonetheless said: “He told the Bush administration that they need to do more to protect our manufacturing jobs. And he has pushed for America to take a hard line against Japan’s unfair trade practices so that the Big Three can compete on a level playing field.”<sup>121</sup> In the leadup to the election, Knollenberg told Washington papers that he would “easily” vote for the Colombia FTA.<sup>122</sup>
- ✓ **Gary Peters is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** PAID TRADE ADS attacking Knollenberg’s support for CAFTA and other similar trade pacts.<sup>123</sup> His website says: “From NAFTA and CAFTA onward,

<sup>113</sup> Dan Cherry, “Walberg Launches Re-election Campaign,” *Daily Telegram*, Aug. 23, 2008; at <http://www.walbergforcongress.com/site/Viewer.aspx?iid=11271&mname=Article&rpId=2703>

<sup>114</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cdOjwn-88Lo> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1j-LaLzKe2c> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F5Wg5BZgb80> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PG21yxO353E> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4iY9kpm0mYk> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cmORbMF3Oxk>

<sup>115</sup> <http://www.markschauer.com/node/792>

<sup>116</sup> <http://www.markschauer.com/node/792>

<sup>117</sup> [http://www.rogers4congress.com/Mike\\_on\\_the\\_issues.aspx](http://www.rogers4congress.com/Mike_on_the_issues.aspx)

<sup>118</sup> <http://www.rogers4congress.com/site/Viewer.aspx?iid=19590&mname=Article&rpId=4850>

<sup>119</sup> <http://alexanderforcongress.com/issues/>

<sup>120</sup> “I will support increasing fleet mileage and consumer purchases of new higher-mileage cars by creating a 10-15 year program of federally funded coupons for owners who scrap low-mileage vehicles built before 2010 for a high-mileage or alternative-fuel vehicle. This coupon program would have as much advantage for domestic manufacturers as possible under trade treaties.” See:

<http://alexanderforcongress.com/blog/wp-content/uploads/2008/10/alexander-campaign-kickoff-speech.pdf>.

<http://www.joeknollenberg.net/meetjoe.html>

<sup>122</sup> Peter Cohn, “Ahead of Olympics Trip, Bush Seeks to Push Korea Deal,” *Congress Daily AM*, July 31, 2008.

<sup>123</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qc7ghbCrR-c> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wo8P3yxOs30>



Knollenberg has voted in lockstep with President Bush to support unfair, free trade agreements. Already this year, he has voted to allow the President to move forward with the Colombia Free Trade Agreement, despite inadequate enforcement, lax environmental standards, and nearly non-existent labor protections. In recent years, Knollenberg has also supported free trade agreements with countries including Oman, Peru, Chile, and Singapore.”<sup>124</sup>

#### **Michigan 11: ANTI-NAFTA OFF! Incumbent is Rep. Thad McCotter (R)**

- ✓ **McCotter has a mixed record, but ran as a fair trader.** He voted the fair-trade position on CAFTA, the Oman FTA and a WTO withdrawal resolution, but voted for the Australia, Bahrain, Chile, Morocco, Peru and Singapore FTAs, and also against withdrawing Fast Track treatment from the Colombia FTA. According to a news story on a McCotter lecture that was posted on McCotter’s website, the candidate “seems to dissent from the free-trade orthodoxy and spoke of the imprudence of letting our manufacturing base erode away. He criticized the mentality that globalization is an unstoppable, inevitable force and stressed that human beings with the capacity to choose are still in control of the process. ... McCotter is an interesting dissenter from the neoliberal- neoconservative consensus on economics and trade, and is worth watching.”<sup>125</sup>
- **Joseph Larkin is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** His campaign website says, “the 11th District and the surrounding areas of Southeast Michigan have effectively been in a recession for years now. Over the last several years, job losses have skyrocketed, foreclosures have skyrocketed, and the value of our homes have plunged. Although trade agreements may in general be beneficial to consumers to reduce prices of goods, based upon the economic factors just cited, I could not support any further expansion of trade agreements which effectively export jobs from this district and this country to other foreign countries. Any trade agreements that we currently are in such as NAFTA must be renegotiated so that American companies and American workers are competing with foreign countries on a level and fair playing field.”<sup>126</sup>

#### **Minnesota**

##### **Senate**

#### **Incumbent is Sen. Norm Coleman (R)**

- **Coleman is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on six out of six occasions.
- ✓ **Al Franken is the DFL candidate, and a fair trader.** Ran PAID TRADE ADS on offshoring.<sup>127</sup> In response to a Minnesota Fair Trade Coalition questionnaire, Franken committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreement that includes NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>128</sup> His campaign website said: “I favor a balanced approach to trade that recognizes the importance of opening up markets for our products but protects our farmers as well as our workers, our consumers, and our values. Frankly, the Bush-Coleman approach gives away too much for too little – CAFTA, for example, sold out Minnesota’s entire sugar industry for access to six markets with the combined size of Columbus, Ohio. I will support fair trade agreements, but I won’t sell out our farmers in a bad deal like CAFTA.”<sup>129</sup> He also said: “we should re-examine the economic and trade policies that have contributed to illegal immigration. Working to improve economic conditions in Mexico, which we’ve tried and failed to do with NAFTA, could help reduce the incentive many have to attempt to enter the United States illegally.”<sup>130</sup> In their first debate, *The St. Paul Pioneer Press* reported that, “Franken, who often called the sitting senator ‘Norm’ through the debate, said Coleman takes huge contributions from the oil industry, works in lockstep with President Bush and left farmers behind by voting for the Central American Free Trade Agreement in 2005. ‘That was not a good deal,’ Franken said of CAFTA.”<sup>131</sup>

<sup>124</sup> [http://www.petersforcongress.com/release\\_details.asp?id=25](http://www.petersforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=25)

<sup>125</sup> <http://www.mccotterforcongress.com/news/104>.

<sup>126</sup> <http://larkinleadership.com/>.

<sup>127</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8UiNfRM6FdE>

<sup>128</sup> Minnesota Fair Trade Coalition Questionnaire Response from Al Franken.

<sup>129</sup> <http://www.alfranken.com/pages/agriculture>

<sup>130</sup> <http://www.alfranken.com/pages/immigration>

<sup>131</sup> Rachel E. Stassen, “In First Faceoff, Coleman and Franken Stick to Issues,” *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Aug. 6, 2008.

- **Dean Barkley is the independent candidate.** As an advisor to former Gov. Jesse Ventura, he regularly advocated against fair trade.<sup>132</sup> In 1996, as an independent challenger to fair trader Sen. Paul Wellstone, however, he appeared to be “a critic of free-trade agreements,” according to the *Star Tribune*.<sup>133</sup>

## House

### **Minnesota 1: Incumbent is Rep. Tim Walz (DFL)**

- ✓ **Walz is 100% pro-fair trade.** He voted for fair trade on NAFTA expansion to Peru and Fast Track, and is a co-sponsor of the Trade Reform, Accountability, Development and Employment Act. In 2006, Walz campaigned on a fair trade platform.<sup>134</sup>
- **Brian Davis is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** He campaigned in favor of the NAFTA expansion to Colombia. “Free and Fair Trade - Access to markets for agricultural products are key for the survival of agriculture in Minnesota. The recent vote by Congressman Walz and others in Congress against the Columbian Free Trade Agreement is viewed as working in opposition to the important interests of our farmers. According to the U.S. State Department, tariffs on 77 percent of all agricultural tariff lines to Columbia - more than 52 percent of the value of current U.S. farm exports - will be eliminated immediately upon implementation of this important agreement, and the remaining tariffs will be phased out over 19 years. Brian Davis strongly supports increased access to world markets for our agricultural products.”<sup>135</sup>

### **Minnesota 2: Incumbent is Rep. John Kline (R)**

- ✓ **Kline is 100% anti-fair trade.** He opposed fair trade on 10 out of 10 votes.
- **Steve Sarvi is the DFL candidate, and a fair trader.** Sarvi’s campaign website said, “Moving towards more balanced trade relations, particularly with countries that own large shares of our debt, such as China and South Korea. It’s hard to have an effective trade policy when countries to which we owe vast amounts of money also have the inside track on trade.”<sup>136</sup> It also said: “It’s time to reinvest in our country and our people. We need to do more to protect and create good jobs in this country, stop giving tax breaks to companies who ship jobs overseas, and work on fairer trade agreements that allow Minnesota workers and businesses to stay competitive.”<sup>137</sup> In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Sarvi committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that includes NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>138</sup>

### **Minnesota 3: OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader Rep. Jim Ramstad (R)**

- ✓ **Erik Paulsen is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** At the Republican National Convention, he gave a speech where he said, “I’m one of a new generation of Republican reformers ready to transform our founding principles into sound public policy. Our pro-growth ideas -- lower taxes, free trade, open markets, smarter government and education reform -- will create jobs, jump-start the economy, lower gas prices, reduce health-care costs and boost our competitiveness in the global economy.”<sup>139</sup>
- **Ashwin Madia is the DFL candidate, and a fair trader.** Madia ran PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>140</sup> Madia’s website said: “Negotiate Fair and Responsible Trade Agreements. Too often, trade deals and outsourcing have delivered rewards to corporate shareholders and senior management, while leaving middle class families behind. I am glad to see Congress reasserting its oversight responsibility in trade policy. My support for future trade agreements would be contingent on those agreements offering real and substantive protections for the environment, prohibitions on child and slave labor, and intellectual property rights. Without fair and responsible trade policies, consumers lose in the quality of goods and services they receive.

<sup>132</sup> Jim Ragsdale, “Ventura Vows He’ll Never Back Buchanan,” *Knight-Ridder*, Sept. 29, 1995.

<sup>133</sup> Wayne Washington, “Barkley van driven by ideals,” *Star Tribune*, Nov. 1, 1996.

<sup>134</sup> Janet Kubat Willette, “Walz says he’s prepared for Congress,” *Agri News*, Oct. 9, 2006.

<sup>135</sup> <http://briandavisforcongress.com/site/Viewer.aspx?iid=11099&mname=Article>

<sup>136</sup> <http://www.stevesarvi.org/issues/economy>

<sup>137</sup> <http://www.stevesarvi.org/node/438>

<sup>138</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Steve Sarvi, signed Sept. 11, 2008.

<sup>139</sup> “Erik Paulsen Delivers Remarks At The Republican National Convention, St. Paul, Minnesota,” Erik Paulsen Press Release, Sept. 4, 2008.

<sup>140</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vZrYYUtOKX4> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UnPCaRIM-2g> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2IcAaetfRMo>

We need Congress to work to fulfill that essential American promise -- if you work hard and play by the rules, you can achieve a comfortable standard of living and live the American Dream.”<sup>141</sup> Check the Aug. 21 debate when FTA with Colombia came up. In a debate, the *Associated Press* reported that, “Free trade with Colombia. Paulsen and Dillon back the free trade pact with the South American country. Madia supports free trade but wants protections for U.S. companies to ensure they're competing with businesses that are held to the same environmental and other standards.”<sup>142</sup>

#### **Minnesota 6: Incumbent is Rep. Michele Bachmann (R)**

- ✓ **Bachmann is 100% anti-fair trade.** She voted against fair trade on the NAFTA expansion to Peru and Fast Track.
- **Elwyn Tinklenberg is the DFL candidate.** Did not have a very specific trade position. His campaign website said: “I will support a comprehensive policy shift that focuses on creating good jobs at good wages through reforms in tax, trade, economic, and labor policy,” and “Reform trade and labor policies to stop the leak of American jobs overseas.”<sup>143</sup>

#### **Mississippi**

##### **Senate**

#### **Incumbent is Sen. Roger Wicker (R)**

- ✓ **Wicker is 100% anti-fair trade.** He was elected in a special election in early 2008 to complete Sen. Trent Lott (R)’s term. Voted against fair trade on 15/15 occasions. Nothing on website.
- **Ronnie Musgrove is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Musgrove ran PAID TRADE ADS attacking Wicker for supporting unfair trade deals like NAFTA and CAFTA, and taxbreaks for companies that send jobs overseas.<sup>144</sup> His position was covered widely in the press.<sup>145</sup>

#### **Mississippi 1: Incumbent is Rep. Travis Childers (D)**

- ✓ **Childers was elected in a special election in early 2008, and is a fair trader.** Childers ran PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>146</sup> He replaced Wicker. He campaigned on a fair trade platform.<sup>147</sup> His campaign website said: “Travis Childers, the Democratic candidate for Congress in Mississippi’s 1st Congressional District, today signed a ‘No New Trade Deals’ pledge outside a closed plant in West Point and stressed the need to stand up for Mississippi’s working families by fighting for fair wages and bringing good jobs back to the district. Childers called on his Republican opponent, Greg Davis, to also pledge not to support new trade deals that unfairly send Mississippi jobs overseas. So far in his campaign, Davis has stayed silent, not denying that he would be a rubberstamp for trade deals like NAFTA and CAFTA that are bad for the region. ‘Sadly, my opponent, Greg Davis, continues to stay silent on the most important issues we face – keeping our jobs,’ Childers said. ‘Greg Davis has been silent on trade in the campaign, and so I’m sure he won’t stand up for our jobs in Congress.’”<sup>148</sup>
- **Greg Davis is the Republican candidate.** He did not campaign on trade.

#### **Mississippi 3: OPEN SEAT vacated by anti-fair trader Rep. Chip Pickering (R)**

- ✓ **Gregg Harper is the Republican candidate.** Did not campaign on trade.
- **Joel Gill is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Gill ran PAID TRADE ADS on CAFTA.<sup>149</sup> His trade position was featured on his website and in the press.<sup>150</sup> In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign

<sup>141</sup> <http://www.madiaforcongress.com/node/5>

<sup>142</sup> Martiga Lohn, “Those Seeking Ramstad’s Seat take Part in Debate,” *Associated Press*, Aug. 21, 2008.

<sup>143</sup> <http://www.tinklenberg08.com/immigration.html>

<sup>144</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PBZ1ucE9o6g> and <http://www.wapt.com/video/17271387/index.html>

<sup>145</sup> Patsy R. Brumfield, “Musgrove Blames Wicker, allies for high jobless rates,” *Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal*, Sept. 5, 2008; Paul Sims, “Musgrove blasts trade agreements,” *Starkville Daily News*, Sept. 20, 2008; Blake Fontenay, “Don’t rule out another Mississippi upset,” *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, Sept. 15, 2008.

<sup>146</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VrzJ5QEbbDs> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=52YMJ5vBpyA>

<sup>147</sup> John Nichols, “Mississippi Turning: Dems Grab Another GOP Seat,” *TheNation.Com*, May 13, 2008. Available at: <http://www.thenation.com/blogs/thebeat/320679>. Accessed Sept. 3, 2008.

<sup>148</sup> <http://www.childersforcongress.com/42908trade.html>

<sup>149</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d3CxVLIkHPg>

questionnaire, Gill committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that includes NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>151</sup>

## Missouri

### House

#### Missouri 6: Incumbent Rep. Sam Graves (R)

- ✓ **Graves is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 12 out of 12 occasions. Nothing on website.
- **Kay Barnes is the Democratic candidate, and campaigned as a fair trader.** As mayor of Kansas City, she played a key role in pushing the NAFTA trade corridor issues.<sup>152</sup> Nonetheless, she ran PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>153</sup>

#### Missouri 9: OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader Rep. Kenny Hulshof (R)

- ✓ **Blaine Luetkemeyer is the Republican candidate.** Did not campaign on trade.
- **Judy Baker is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Baker ran PAID TRADE ADS that supported a “Made in America” tax-break.<sup>154</sup>

## Montana- no competitive races

## Nebraska

### Senate

#### OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader Sen. Chuck Hagel (R)

- ✓ **Mike Johanns is the Republican candidate, and anti-fair trade, although he campaigned as a fair trader.** Johanns was a former U.S. secretary of agriculture, who had a major role pushing expansion of NAFTA and the WTO. Nevertheless, his position attempted to coopt some fair-trade themes, suggesting, “I will work aggressively with our labor unions to protect U.S. jobs and to fund programs to help U.S. workers impacted by Trade Agreements. I will demand that environmental requirements be included in trade agreements.”<sup>155</sup>
- **Scott Kleeb is the Democratic candidate.** Kleeb ran PAID TRADE ADS attacking offshoring.<sup>156</sup> On his campaign website, however, he titled more to a Clinton-style approach to trade, talking primarily about export promotion and adjustment assistance.<sup>157</sup>

### House

#### Nebraska 2: Incumbent is Rep. Lee Terry (R)

- ✓ **Terry is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 17 out of 17 occasions.
- **Jim Esch is the Democratic candidate.** Did not campaign on trade, but on issues closely related to trade, like inequality and port security.<sup>158</sup>

## Nevada

### House

#### Nevada 2: Incumbent is Rep. Dean Heller (R)

- ✓ **Heller is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on the 2 of 2 votes.

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<sup>150</sup> Shelia Byrd, “Niche base deciding factor in GOP primary, political scientist says,” *Associated Press*, March 5, 2008;

[http://www.gillforcongress.org/FREE\\_TRADE.html](http://www.gillforcongress.org/FREE_TRADE.html)

<sup>151</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Joel Gill, signed Sept. 9, 2008.

<sup>152</sup> Rick Alm, “Executives explore free trade issues,” *Kansas City Star*, Dec. 2, 2006.

<sup>153</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nGnY4uZ\\_76k](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nGnY4uZ_76k)

<sup>154</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eKqQYkvG1dY> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iyMq5NYn3Ws>

<sup>155</sup> <http://www.mikejohanns2008.com/uploaded/file/HeresIsWhereIStand.pdf>

<sup>156</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E\\_ZqmdySaOg](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_ZqmdySaOg)

<sup>157</sup> [http://www.scottkleeb.com/about/issues/the\\_economy/](http://www.scottkleeb.com/about/issues/the_economy/)

<sup>158</sup> <http://www.jimesch.org/issues/poverty.php>; <http://www.jimesch.org/issues/border.php>

- **Jill Derby is the Democratic candidate.** Her campaign did not focus on trade, but she made mention of the need for a higher dollar – which would hurt U.S. manufacturing.<sup>159</sup> In a televised debate, she mentioned that Nevadans are concerned about “the dangerously high debt to China.”<sup>160</sup>

### **Nevada 3: Incumbent is Rep. Jon Porter (R)**

- **Porter is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 10 out of 10 occasions.
- ✓ **Dina Titus is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Titus ran a PAID TRADE AD attacking offshoring: “Had enough? Enough lost jobs. Enough foreclosures. Enough lost savings. Jon Porter is part of the problem. He sided with Bush to give corporations tax breaks to send jobs overseas, to let big oil keep gas prices high, and for lax regulations that created our financial crisis.”<sup>161</sup> Titus also cosponsored a bill to require the Nevadan legislature’s prior informed consent before being bound to international trade agreements’ procurement and other rules.<sup>162</sup>

## **New Hampshire**

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### **Senate**

#### **Incumbent is Sen. John Sununu (R)**

- **Sununu is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 13 out of 13 occasions.
- ✓ **Jeanne Shaheen is the Democratic candidate, and campaigned as a fair trader.** Her campaign website says: “Jeanne Shaheen understands we can’t compete with India and China for low-wage manufacturing jobs. She believes America’s future is in maintaining the cutting edge in science and technology, creating new jobs in new industries and giving older industries the tools they need to compete in the global marketplace.”<sup>163</sup> It also boasts of various trade missions she led as governor: “Understanding that for New Hampshire’s middle class to prosper we must be able to compete in an increasingly global economy, she was the first New Hampshire Governor to lead a trade mission outside of North America. The trade missions she led generated more than \$500 million in projected sales for New Hampshire businesses and the state’s International Trade Resource Center has helped open world markets for dozens of New Hampshire businesses.”<sup>164</sup> She has long been associated with the anti-fair trade Democratic Leadership Council, and advocated for Fast Track as a member of the National Governors Association. Nevertheless, in 2008, she ran PAID TRADE ADS on trade.<sup>165</sup>

### **House**

#### **New Hampshire 1: Incumbent is Rep. Carol Shea-Porter (D)**

- ✓ **Shea-Porter is 100% pro-fair trade.** Shea-Porter ran her successful 2006 campaign on a fair trade platform.<sup>166</sup> Once elected, she voted for fair trade on Fast Track and the NAFTA expansion to Peru. She was also an original cosponsor of the Trade Reform, Accountability, Development and Employment Act.
- **Jeb Bradley, the former seat-holder, is 100% anti-fair trade.** Voted against fair trade on 8/8 trade votes. Bradley campaigned on his support of unfair trade, and criticized Shea-Porter for her support of fair trade.<sup>167</sup>

## **New Jersey**

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### **House**

#### **New Jersey 3: OPEN SEAT vacated by anti-fair trader Rep. Jim Saxton (R)**

- **Chris Myers is the Republican candidate.** Did not offer specific trade positions other than a commitment to reforming the tax system with an eye towards boosting U.S. competitiveness. He also slammed Adler – a

<sup>159</sup> <http://www.jillderby.com/node/52>.

<sup>160</sup> “Heller, Derby face off in televised debate,” *Associated Press*, Oct. 21, 2008.

<sup>161</sup> Megan McCloskey, “Titus ad connects Porter to Bush fiscal policies,” *Las Vegas Sun*, Oct. 8, 2008.

<sup>162</sup> Nevada Assembly Bill 470, introduced March 19, 2007.

<sup>163</sup> <http://www.jeannshaheen.org/issues/view/14>

<sup>164</sup> <http://www.jeannshaheen.org/about/Jeanne-Shaheen-Extended-Bio>

<sup>165</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WWPdv9CY8D8> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MzriSUJz6uM>

<sup>166</sup> Carol Shea Porter, “Right now, silence is not golden,” *Concord Monitor*, Nov. 3, 2006

<sup>167</sup> [http://www.jebforcongress.com/blog\\_entry.php?i=138](http://www.jebforcongress.com/blog_entry.php?i=138)



leader in the Sudan divestment movement in the statehouse – for profiting from investments in PetroChina, a Chinese oil company that operates in Sudan.<sup>168</sup>

- ✓ **John Adler is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** His campaign website said, “Our government owes \$9.6 trillion in debt, a quarter of which is owned by foreign countries. Every year, more and more American money leaves our borders and goes to countries which do not share our love of democracy and freedom. Companies are outsourcing more and more jobs from our citizens to foreign countries. For the past few years, China and India have been growing their middle classes while ours is left holding the bill... [I will] Support trade agreements that further America’s economic interests and include sensible labor and environmental standards to protect our workers and our planet.”<sup>169</sup>

#### **New Jersey 5: Incumbent is Rep. Scott Garrett (R)**

- ✓ **Garrett has a mixed trade record.** He opposed fair trade on eight out of 10 votes, but stood up to the president on Fast Track.
- **Dennis Shulman is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** He said “I firmly oppose all NAFTA style trade deals, including Peru.” Shulman also made a major campaign issue out of unfair trade deals and unsafe toys.<sup>170</sup>

#### **New Jersey 7: OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trade Rep. Michael Ferguson (R)**

- ✓ **Leonard Lance is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** At a September 18 candidate forum, “stated that he supports Free Trade and would like to lessen barriers to international Free Trade.”<sup>171</sup>
- **Linda Stender is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** She told Emily’s List: “I support expanding trade agreements as long as they are also fair trade agreements... All trade policies and treaties signed by the U.S. should include labor and environmental requirements to help level the playing field.” Stender also supports providing tax breaks to companies that keep jobs in the U.S.”<sup>172</sup>

### **New Mexico**

#### **Senate**

#### **OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader Sen. Pete Domenici (R)**

- **Rep. Steve Pearce (R) is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** Pearce voted against fair trade on 9/10 votes. In an interview with *New Mexico Business Magazine*, Pearce tried to hedge his position: “Was NAFTA a good idea or a bad idea?” we ask. “Good idea,” he shoots back. “Overall, we’ve gotten more net benefit from NAFTA. I’ve got a lot of friends in the farming community that get a little anxious when I say that. We have to compete. The problem with our trade is not free trade but *fair* trade. There’s a guy who manufactures glass Christmas tree ornaments down in Roswell. He’s the last one in the world competing against the Chinese in that business. The government in China doesn’t even require companies to repay loans. And they manipulate their currency. I’ve really been hammering on the valuation of their currency.”<sup>173</sup>
- ✓ **Rep. Tom Udall (D) is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Udall voted for fair trade on 13/17 votes. On his website, he says “In the Senate, I will support the Patriot Employer Act to provide a tax credit to companies that maintain or increase the number of workers in America and I will end the tax breaks for companies that outsource American jobs.”<sup>174</sup>

#### **House**

#### **New Mexico 1: OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader Rep. Heather Wilson (R)**

<sup>168</sup> “How Low Can This Go? Sub-Saharan,” *National Journal Hotline*, Sept. 26, 2008.

<sup>169</sup> <http://adlerforcongress.com/economy>

<sup>170</sup> <http://shulmanforcongress.com/2007/12/21/its-profits-over-kids-this-christmas-for-garrett-and-his-cronies/>

<sup>171</sup> <http://www.wfwin.org/media/Candidate%20Comparisons/NJ7comparison.pdf>

<sup>172</sup> [http://www.emilyslist.org/candidates/linda\\_stender/](http://www.emilyslist.org/candidates/linda_stender/)

<sup>173</sup> <http://www.nmbisonline.com/08issues/june/10.htm>. Accessed Sept 3, 2008.

<sup>174</sup> <http://www.tomudall.com/economy>. Accessed Sept. 3, 2008.

- **Darren White is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** He told *The Albuquerque Journal*, in an interview posted on his website, that “He would advocate for free trade while demanding officials revisit the tax rate imposed on small businesses.”<sup>175</sup>
- ✓ **Martin Heinrich is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** His website says: “I will also stop rewarding companies that move American jobs to low-wage countries.”<sup>176</sup> He told *The Alibi* that “When it comes to immigration, he believes in securing the border with personnel instead of “a monument to a political ideology;” holding employers accountable for hiring undocumented workers; and he'd like to sort out NAFTA to be easier on northern Mexico ranchers and farmers.”<sup>177</sup> His campaign attacked White’s association with the rightwing, MoveOn-style group Freedom Watch in the following terms: “‘Darren White should denounce the false attacks from a shadowy outside group with close ties to Karl Rove and George Bush. Freedom’s Watch has come to New Mexico to thank White for working to re-elect Bush and supporting Bush’s failed economic and energy policies,’ said Angela Barranco, spokeswoman for Heinrich for Congress. ‘Freedom’s Watch is funded by the one the largest investors in China, an investor who is working to send New Mexico's jobs overseas. Even George Bush's favorite Sheriff, Darren White, should not approve of these desperate attacks from George Bush’s friends.’...According to the *Associated Press*, ‘Billionaire casino executive Sheldon Adelson has parlayed his company's massive investments in China into a four-year presidential advisory position with the U.S. Trade Representative office.’”<sup>178</sup>

#### **New Mexico 2: OPEN SEAT vacated by anti-fair trader Rep. Steve Pearce (R)**

- **Ed Tinsley is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** In 2006, he was elected chairman of the National Restaurant Association, a funder of the Food Trade Alliance, which describes its mission as supporting “policymakers in the U.S. and abroad who favor liberalizing global food trade.”<sup>179</sup>
- ✓ **Harry Teague is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Teague committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round, the Colombia, Panama and South Korea FTAs, and any agreement containing WTO-style service and procurement provisions, or NAFTA-style investor protections. Additionally, Teague expressed support for renegotiating NAFTA and replacing Fast Track.<sup>180</sup> On his website, he says “Over the past eight years, our national debt has increased by over \$3 trillion, our trade deficit is at an all-time high, and debt owed to foreigner countries is at record levels. Something must be done.”<sup>181</sup>

#### **New Mexico 3: OPEN SEAT vacated by fair trader Rep. Tom Udall (D)**

- ✓ **Ben R. Luján is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** He told the AFL-CIO in a You Tube video that he opposed tax breaks for companies that shift jobs overseas.<sup>182</sup>
- **Dan East is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** He told a gathering of AFSCME workers that he was in favor of the Colombia FTA.<sup>183</sup>

### **New York**

#### **House**

#### **New York 13: OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader Rep. Vito Fossella (R)**

- **Bob Straniere is the Republican candidate.** Did not campaign on trade.
- ✓ **Michael McMahon is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** On his campaign website, he says: “Labor and Environmental Standards in all International Trade Agreements. Our country needs fair trade

<sup>175</sup> <http://www.darrenwhiteforcongress.com/index.php?mact=News,cntnt01,detail,0&cntnt01articleid=17&cntnt01returnid=53>. Accessed Sept. 3, 2008.

<sup>176</sup> <http://www.martinheinrich.com/issues/families>. Accessed Sept. 3, 2008.

<sup>177</sup> <http://www.alibi.com/index.php?story=23430&scn=feature>. Accessed Sept. 3, 2008.

<sup>178</sup> <http://www.martinheinrich.com/node/921>

<sup>179</sup> <http://www.foodtrade.org/> and <http://www.restaurant.org/pressroom/print/index.cfm?ID=1267>. Accessed Sept. 3, 2008.

<sup>180</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Response for Harry Teague, dated Sept. 18, 2008.

<sup>181</sup> [http://harryforcongress.com/release\\_details.asp?id=11](http://harryforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=11). Accessed Sept. 3, 2008.

<sup>182</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2D-o5DtCtVl>

<sup>183</sup> Steve Terrell, “Gonzales: Bring Jobs to Region a Top Priority,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 20, 2008.

that raises the wages and standards of all workers, not trade that makes it free for employers to export jobs and exploit workers.”<sup>184</sup>

#### **New York 20: Incumbent is Rep. Kirsten Gillibrand (D)**

- ✓ **Gillibrand has a mixed record.** After campaigning on a fair trade platform,<sup>185</sup> Gillibrand then voted for NAFTA expansion to Peru. She voted the fair trade position on Fast Track. Nonetheless, she ran PAID TRADE ADS in her campaign.<sup>186</sup>
- **Sandy Treadwell is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** He campaigned in favor of the NAFTA expansion to Colombia. “When it comes to making tough decisions, the House Democratic leadership too often looks for an escape route,” Treadwell said. “Congress has had 16 months to review the Columbian Free Trade Agreement and it is time for a vote on this measure. If members think it is a bad deal, they will have the ability to vote against it. But to delay a vote simply to protect members facing election this November is an irresponsible action that places partisan concerns ahead of good policy.”<sup>187</sup>

#### **New York 21: OPEN SEAT vacated by fair trader Rep. Michael McNulty (D)**

- ✓ **Paul Tonko is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** According to the *Troy Record*, “The first step to take is to fix NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), which is supporting free trade, not fair trade,” Tonko said.”<sup>188</sup> In a written response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Tonko said, “I will not support a free trade agreement with Colombia until the country cracks down on violence against labor leaders and until that agreement includes labor and environmental agreements... I am willing to co-sponsor legislation that would allow congress to review existing trade agreements to include labor and environmental standards.” He also pledged support for a renegotiation of NAFTA “to strengthen its environmental, labor, and consumer safety standards,” and a repeal of tax breaks for companies that offshore jobs.<sup>189</sup>
- **Jim Burhmaster is the Republican candidate.** Did not campaign on trade.

#### **New York 24: ANTI-NAFTA OFF! Incumbent is Rep. Mike Arcuri (D)**

- ✓ **Arcuri is an 100% fair trader.** Arcuri ran PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>190</sup> He ran on a fair trade platform in 2006,<sup>191</sup> and then voted the fair trade position on the NAFTA expansion to Peru and Fast Track. He is an original cosponsor of the Trade Reform, Accountability, Development and Employment Act.
- **Richard Hanna is the Republican nominee, and campaigned as a fair trader.** According to the *Post-Standard*, “Even on trade agreements – both favor what they called fair trade, not free trade, treaties – they found reason to criticize the other. Said Arcuri: ‘My opponent, I know he said he’s not for free trade agreements, but he’s taking money from a (political action committee) that only supports people that support free trade.’”<sup>192</sup>

#### **New York 25: ANTI-NAFTA OFF! OPEN SEAT vacated by the anti-fair trader Rep. J Walsh (R)**

- **Dale Sweetland is the Republican candidate, and campaigned on some fair-trade themes.** According to the *Post-Standard*, “Sweetland acknowledged he supported NAFTA in 1993 – the year Congress approved it – because he thought the pact would open new markets for U.S. farm products. But NAFTA should be renegotiated, Sweetland said Wednesday, because U.S. businesses face stiffer labor and environmental regulations than their competitors in Mexico. ‘I can’t see that NAFTA has made conditions in Central and Western New York any better. I believe NAFTA needs to be revisited and renegotiated,’ Sweetland said.”<sup>193</sup>

<sup>184</sup> <http://www.mikemcmahonforcongress.com/workers.pdf>

<sup>185</sup> Devlin Barrett, “Rich girl, poor boy twist in Sweeney campaign,” *Associated Press*, Sept. 25, 2006.

<sup>186</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bc-rMLihPpc>

<sup>187</sup> <http://sandytreadwell.com/news/print.aspx?id=69>

<sup>188</sup> Kathryn Caggianelli, “Tonko meets senior citizens at Springs,” *Troy Record*, Oct. 14, 2008.

<sup>189</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response for Paul Tonko, Oct. 30, 2008.

<sup>190</sup> [http://www.arcuri2008.com/images/vid\\_jobs.swf](http://www.arcuri2008.com/images/vid_jobs.swf)

<sup>191</sup> Michael Arcuri campaign website, “Arcuri unveils job plan,” Sept. 14, 2006.

<sup>192</sup> John Stith, “Arcuri, Hanna Trade Barbs,” *Post-Standard*, Oct. 29, 2008.

<sup>193</sup> Mike McAndrew, “Maffei Proposes to Kill NAFTA,” *Post-Standard*, Oct. 9, 2008.



- ✓ **Dan Maffei is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Maffei ran PAID TRADE ADS that criticized offshore tax incentives.<sup>194</sup> In a response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Maffei said, “NAFTA has wreaked havoc on manufacturing jobs in Central New York and we absolutely need to renegotiate the terms... we need to close the loopholes that make it more profitable to send jobs overseas and find real incentives to keep and create jobs here in the US... [I am] interested in renegotiating the terms of trade to make them more fair for American workers.” He also committed to oppose the Colombia FTA. According to *The Post Standard*, “‘Free trade doesn't work,’ Maffei said at a rally at the United Auto Workers regional office. ‘We need to throw out NAFTA.’ Maffei accused Republican opponent Dale Sweetland of continuing to support the NAFTA pact between the United States, Canada and Mexico, and other free trade agreements, despite job losses in the 25th Congressional District.”<sup>195</sup> In 2006, Maffei – a former trade staffer for Ways & Means Chairman Charles Rangel – ran against Walsh, criticizing his CAFTA vote.<sup>196</sup>

#### **New York 26: OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader Rep. Thomas Reynolds (R)**

- ✓ **Chris Lee is the Republican candidate.** He disputed in PAID TRADE ADS that he had offshored work to China, but did not otherwise clarify his trade views.<sup>197</sup>
- **Alice Kryzan is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Her campaign and the DCCC ran PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>198</sup> In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Kryzan agreed to oppose the Colombia FTA and tax breaks for companies that offshore jobs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA, and co-sponsor the Trade Act. Her campaign website says: “I believe that Western New York’s best days are ahead. But we need a representative in Congress who will fight to bring good-paying jobs back to our region and build trade agreements that move from free trade to fair trade, putting workers ahead of multinational corporations. We need a representative who will put our interests – the interests of working families – before special interests... Fight efforts to send American jobs overseas. I will work to ensure that all U.S. trade policies include environmental and labor protections and provide an even playing field for American workers and their families and include U.S. environmental standards, worker safety standards, and product safety standards.”<sup>199</sup>

#### **New York 29: Incumbent is Rep. Randy Kuhl (R)**

- **Kuhl is 100% anti-fair trade.** Voted against fair trade on 6/6 votes. Actually campaigned against fair trade, saying “CAFTA is a net benefit to our agricultural and manufacturing sectors in the 29th District.”<sup>200</sup>
- ✓ **Eric Massa is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>201</sup> In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Massa committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that include NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>202</sup> Massa’s website says, “**Create fair trade policy.** Trade with China has been a disaster for American workers. Like much of the country, this district has seen a steady exodus of jobs overseas, exported to countries with worse labor and environmental practices than ours. Our trade agreements need to be overhauled, to promote *fair* trade, not free trade, and ensure our American workers are protected.”<sup>203</sup> This is a reprise of his 2006 fair trade platform.<sup>204</sup>

<sup>194</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cThrVGjXGw>

<sup>195</sup> Mike McAndrew, “Maffei Proposes to Kill NAFTA,” *Post-Standard*, Oct. 9, 2008.

<sup>196</sup> Erin Kelly, “Campaign 2006: Walsh foe counting on winds of change,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, Oct. 15, 2006.

<sup>197</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FNXPLcK0tkI>

<sup>198</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sKkRGdVq6Yc> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gSBOsDbGyig>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ifoezFydzxU> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_N6nSMgm9cQ](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_N6nSMgm9cQ) and

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TjcvN5pSXUU> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7E1eCehtV\\_4](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7E1eCehtV_4)

<sup>199</sup> <http://www.kryzanforcongress.com/jobsandtheeconomy.php>

<sup>200</sup> <http://www.kuhlforcongress.com/issues/details.aspx?id=27>

<sup>201</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WLhaLZHqKeU> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sjYYaYgeOc4>

<sup>202</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Eric Massa, signed Oct. 7, 2008.

<sup>203</sup> <http://www.massaforcongress.com/Eric%20Massa%202007%20Issues%20Booklet.pdf>

<sup>204</sup> “The first thing we have to do is get away from NAFTA and CAFTA. We have to stop open-door free trade and reverse the tidal wave of jobs migrating overseas... Open-door free trade has destroyed the manufacturing base of this nation. You don’t have to be a PhD. in economics to know that. Just walk a mile in any direction from this office and you’ll see the shuttered family farms and the broken factories.” See Joe Dunning, “Upstart campaign challenges Kuhl,” *The Corning Leader* (New York), Aug. 21, 2006.

## North Carolina

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### Senate

#### Incumbent is Sen. Elizabeth Dole (R)

- **Dole is anti-fair trade.** She voted for CAFTA and similar trade agreements with Peru, Australia and Chile. (She voted against similar agreements with Singapore and Oman.) Nonetheless, she campaigned on her record of getting special provisions for textile companies stuffed into NAFTA-style trade agreements.<sup>205</sup>
- ✓ **Kay Hagan is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Ran a record eight PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>206</sup> Her website features a whole page on positive trade reforms,<sup>207</sup> and she said she would have voted against CAFTA.<sup>208</sup>

### House

#### North Carolina 5: Incumbent is Rep. Virginia Foxx (R)

- ✓ **Foxx has a mixed record.** She voted against CAFTA and for withdrawal from the WTO (her first two trade votes), but then reversed course and voted against fair trade on Fast Track 2008 and CAFTA-style agreements with Bahrain, Oman, and Peru.
- **Roy Carter is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Called for “reform of NAFTA and support [of] increased wages to end the ramped outsourcing of American jobs.”<sup>209</sup> Ran campy PAID TRADE ADS attacking job offshoring.<sup>210</sup>

#### North Carolina 8: Incumbent is Rep. Robin Hayes (R)

- **Hayes is anti-fair trade.** A week before the 2005 CAFTA vote, Hayes stated that he was “flat-out, completely, horizontally opposed to CAFTA.”<sup>211</sup> Arguing CAFTA was an extension of NAFTA, he said it was “not in the best interest of a core constituency I represent. Every time I drive through Kannapolis and I see those empty plants, I know there is no way I could vote for CAFTA.”<sup>212</sup> Hayes initially cast a “no” vote but then was persuaded by Republican House leaders to change his vote to a “yes” after the House Republican leadership kept the voting open 45 minutes past the time limit. CAFTA passed by one vote and many in his district blame Hayes. This was a near-perfect replay of Hayes’ 2001 last minute Fast Track flip-flop that helped pass Fast Track by 2 votes. This issue continued to dominate coverage of the Hayes campaign even in 2008.<sup>213</sup>
- ✓ **Larry Kissell is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Ran five PAID TRADE ads attacking Hayes for providing the tiebreaking votes for CAFTA and Fast Track.<sup>214</sup> His 2006 Citizens Trade Campaign PAC questionnaire response: “My district has been devastated by these trade agreements. I oppose any new trade deals until we start to get back the good, stable paying jobs we’ve lost. My opponent was the deciding vote on both Fast Track and CAFTA. As someone that worked in textiles for 27 years, nobody knows better than I do the difference that one vote makes. By defeating Robin Hayes in November, we not only hold the deciding vote accountable for his betrayals, but we put a real voice for working families in Congress.” In response to a 2008 Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Kissell committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of

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<sup>205</sup> <http://www.elizabethdole.org/docs/pages/Promoting-a-Stronger-Economy-for-North-Carolina.html>.

<sup>206</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O7C9ut6NqIE> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wusIpojKrkA> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f17KUGyINpI> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RwdqK6r6vug> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=94SdKGjdZXM> and [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pXI\\_stLIIE](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pXI_stLIIE) and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i7Sr50VGvyI> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=72uAlcVuNg0>

<sup>207</sup> <http://www.kayhagan.com/issues/trade>

<sup>208</sup> “Hagan details trade policy, hitting Dole on CAFTA,” *Associated Press*, July 25, 2008.

<sup>209</sup> <http://www.roycarterforcongress.com/issues.html>

<sup>210</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MFoHnJ7mX6Y>

<sup>211</sup> Jim Morrill and Tim Funk, “Democrats Attack Hayes over CAFTA: Hayes voted no, then cast decisive vote for trade pact,” *Charlotte Observer*, July 28, 2005.

<sup>212</sup> Tim Whitmire, “CAFTA Vote Switch an Issue for Democrats,” *Associated Press*, July 29, 2005.

<sup>213</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_AiQml4SjII](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_AiQml4SjII)

<sup>214</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nTDxXrCjv9w> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h38tq32yLFM> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mDCB30oBBE4> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uZ9tUCn90BU> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dWsWJKePFWg>

Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that include NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>215</sup>

#### North Carolina 10: Incumbent is Rep. Patrick McHenry (R)

- ✓ **McHenry only voted for fair trade on one out of six occasions, but campaigned on a fair-trade platform.** He did vote against CAFTA, but that was his only fair trade vote out of six: he voted for CAFTA-style deals with Bahrain, Oman, and Peru, and voted against withdrawing the Fast Track timetable from the Colombia FTA. Additionally, he voted against U.S. withdrawal from the WTO, a pact that has facilitated offshoring of U.S. jobs to China. Despite this record, his CAFTA opposition was a major plank of his 2008 campaign.<sup>216</sup> He ran PAID TRADE ADS that falsely claimed that, “Patrick McHenry voted against every unfair trade deal.” The ad additionally stated that, “Daniel Johnson supports labor policies that will send more jobs to China,” without offering any substantiation of what this meant.<sup>217</sup> According to the *Charlotte Observer*, in one of his final debates, “McHenry emphasized his work to boost the district's economy, saying he opposed free-trade agreements that have cost thousands of jobs, supported worker retraining initiatives and voted against tax increases.”<sup>218</sup>
- **Daniel Johnson is the Democratic candidate.** On his website, he had a more muted position on trade, especially considering the district. He said: “The only exports that NAFTA and CAFTA produced were American jobs, and Western North Carolina was the hardest hit. When we needed a voice in Congress all you could hear was silence. Daniel Johnson will not be silent. He will fight for fair, enforceable trade laws that protect American jobs and increase the export of American products.”<sup>219</sup> At the very last minute, this race was counted as non-competitive.

#### North Dakota – no competitive races \_\_\_\_\_

#### Ohio \_\_\_\_\_

#### House

#### Ohio 1: Incumbent is Rep. Steve Chabot (R)

- **Chabot is 100% anti-fair trade.** Voted against fair trade 17/17 times.
- ✓ **Steve Driehaus is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>220</sup> In a campaign press release, Driehaus’ campaign said, “Steve Chabot has failed to protect existing Ohio jobs. Chabot voted to give tax incentives to companies who sent jobs overseas, and then didn't support funding to train workers who had lost their jobs. [CAFTA bill, H.R. 3045, vote 443, 7/28/05].”<sup>221</sup> In response to a U.S. Steelworkers questionnaire, Driehaus said, “I will oppose any free trade agreement that doesn't include the following: fair trade practices, fair wages, protections against labor rights abuses, and fair environmental standards. In addition, I will oppose trade agreements with countries that do not support and protect the right of workers to organize.”

#### Ohio 2: Incumbent is Rep. Jean Schmidt (R)

- ✓ **Schmidt is 100% anti-fair trade.** Voted against fair trade on 4/4 votes.
- **Vic Wulsin is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Her campaign website said: “I also believe we should stop giving tax incentives to companies that outsource jobs to China and India. Instead, we should work together to bring good jobs back to Southern Ohio.”<sup>222</sup> In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Wulsin committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs,

<sup>215</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Larry Kissell, signed Sept. 25, 2008.

<sup>216</sup> <http://www.mchenryforcongress.com/Issues/Issue/?IssueID=1264>

<sup>217</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HgNV25\\_2eCM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HgNV25_2eCM)

<sup>218</sup> Hannah Mitchell, “Differences are stark for 10th District candidates,” *Charlotte Observer*, Oct. 19, 2008.

<sup>219</sup> [http://www.danieljohnson08.org/release\\_details.asp?id=7](http://www.danieljohnson08.org/release_details.asp?id=7)

<sup>220</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Bbs2P14QkU&feature=user> Ran by the DCCC on his behalf.

<sup>221</sup> <http://www.driehaus2008.com/news/1-press-releases/50-driehaus-comments-on-todays-job-loss-numbers-supports-investing-in-new-green-energy-jobs-more-education-and-workforce-training-to-help-ohios-workers.html>

<sup>222</sup> <http://www.wulsinforcongress.com/vicsviews2.htm>

support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that include NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>223</sup>

#### **Ohio 7: ANTI-NAFTA OFF! OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trade Rep. David Hobson (R) – NET GOP PICK-UP!**

- ✓ **Steve Austria is the Republican candidate, and campaigned as a fair trader.** According to the *Dayton Daily News*, Austria is opposed to NAFTA.<sup>224</sup> In PAID TRADE ADS, “Neuhardt made a career at a law firm that advises companies how to outsource jobs. That means less American jobs.”<sup>225</sup>
- **Sharen Neuhardt is the Democratic candidate, and attempted to campaign as a fair trader.** Neuhardt ran a campy PAID TRADE AD that featured people in front of homes and factories saying “We had jobs here, but Steve Austria did nothing, and now they’re here” – while lifting signs labeled China, Mexico, and (bizarrely) France, set against a backdrop of gongs, mariachi music and images of the Eiffel Tower. The ad does not specify what Austria was supposed to have done about the jobs, nor does the closing statement by Neuhardt specify what her trade position would be.<sup>226</sup> Neuhardt did not specify her positions on her website either.

#### **Ohio 11: OPEN SEAT vacated by fair trader Rep. Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D), who passed away.**

- ✓ **Marcia Fudge is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** She told the Ohio Conference on Fair Trade, “Marcia is a supporter of Fair Trade. Although there have been a number of trade agreements enacted by Congress over the years, there are many changes that need to be made as far as trade agreements go. She IS a supporter of Fair Trade!”<sup>227</sup>
- **Thomas Pekarek is the Republican candidate.** Did not have a real campaign infrastructure in this overwhelmingly Democratic district.

#### **Ohio 12: Incumbent is Rep. Pat Tiberi (R)**

- ✓ **Tiberi is an 100% anti-fair trader.** He voted against fair trade 11 out of 11 times. He even campaigned on trade, with his campaign website noting he had received the, “Protector of Property Rights award, in recognition of supporting the property rights community on at least 86% of issues such as free trade (including significant intellectual property protections for participating nations), reform of the Endangered Species Act and votes to address eminent domain abuse following the Supreme Court’s landmark decision last summer in *Kelo v. City of New London*.”<sup>228</sup>
- **David Robinson is the Democratic candidate.** His campaign website says, “Our nation faces extreme economic challenges in the months and years ahead. Some of our problems are short-term and acute; other challenges are more structural and long-term. In overcoming these problems, we have the capacity to emerge stronger than before, better prepared to advance into this new century. A new energy system; Made-in-Ohio jobs and products; fair trade; sustainable development, etc.”<sup>229</sup> He did not feature any specific position.

#### **Ohio 14: Incumbent is Rep. Steve LaTourette (R)**

- ✓ **LaTourette has a mixed record.** He voted for fair trade on Fast Track 1998 and 2001-02, FTAs with Peru, Oman and Chile, and on WTO withdrawal in 2005. But on the particularly high-profile CAFTA vote, he flip-flopped from opposition to support – helping squeeze the pact through at the last minute. The day after CAFTA passed the House, LaTourette justified his CAFTA flip-flop by saying that the head of a furniture manufacturing company in his district that uses plywood had asked him to vote for CAFTA because it would cut an 8 percent tariff on plywood imported from CAFTA countries, thus allowing the company to maintain furniture-making jobs in the district. However, plywood – and almost all wood products – has long

<sup>223</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Victoria Wulsin, signed Sept. 5, 2008.

<sup>224</sup> “Neuhardt is the smarter, bolder choice,” *Dayton Daily News*, Oct. 17, 2008.

<sup>225</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CTbCtBNyjos>

<sup>226</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ZE5L2VmUfM>

<sup>227</sup> Communication of Oct. 31, 2008.

<sup>228</sup> <http://tiberiforcongress.com/news/newsitem.php?section=ACM&id=4736&showcat=3&seq=6>

<sup>229</sup> [http://robinson2008.com/home/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=55&Itemid=71](http://robinson2008.com/home/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=55&Itemid=71)

been duty-free when imported into the United States not only from the CAFTA nations but from scores of other developing countries that also qualify for coverage under various preference programs.<sup>230</sup>

- **Steve O'Neill is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** On his campaign website, he says, "It's time we put America first when it comes to our jobs. Since Steve LaTourette has been in Congress, Ohio has lost more than a quarter-million jobs, most of them high-paying jobs in the manufacturing sector. When you send me to Congress, I will fight tooth-and-nail against job-killing trade agreements that are pummeling our middle-class families."<sup>231</sup>

#### **Ohio 15: OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader Rep. Deborah Pryce (R)**

- **Steve Stivers is the Republican candidate.** Did not campaign on trade.
- ✓ **Mary Jo Kilroy is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** In response to a 2008 Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Kilroy vowed to push for renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, oppose the Colombia, Panama and South Korea FTAs and NAFTA-style anti-food safety and pro-foreign investor protections.<sup>232</sup> In 2008, her campaign website said: "I will vote to close the tax loopholes that encourage corporate giants to send our jobs overseas, and I will work to amend trade agreements that have robbed America of its manufacturing advantages. I will invest in American jobs and put American workers first."<sup>233</sup> In 2006, she ran as a fair trader and had paid trade ads.

#### **Ohio 16: ANTI-NAFTA OFF! OPEN SEAT vacated by anti-fair trader Rep. Ralph Regula (R)**

- **Kirk Schuring is the Republican candidate, and campaigned on fair trade.** His campaign website said: "Level the global playing field by reforming unfair trade laws and ensuring Americans are able to compete with China, Europe, and the rest of the world. Example: American companies, like Wooster Brush, make quality products. However, these success stories are under siege by Chinese manufacturers that illegally copy these products and dump them into the American market. Federal inaction has cost American jobs. We must speed up the response time when facing these law breaking actions."<sup>234</sup> He even ran PAID TRADE ADS promising fair trade policies.<sup>235</sup>
- ✓ **John Boccieri is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>236</sup> *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported that: "Boccieri is a major in the Air Force Reserve who has served in Iraq and Afghanistan. 'We need a change of direction nationally, with respect to what's happening in Iraq, and we need a change with what's happening with our failed trade agreements,' he said. 'I feel I can make a difference.'"<sup>237</sup>

#### **Ohio 18: Incumbent is Rep. Zack Space (D)**

- ✓ **Space is a fair trader.** In 2006, he campaigned on a fair trade platform, including paid trade ads.<sup>238</sup> He voted for fair trade on the NAFTA expansion to Peru and Fast Track. In 2008, he told *The Columbus Dispatch* that: "Space made clear that he would make international trade a major issue against his Republican opponent. Space said 'the horrible trade policies of the past' have 'devastated our working families.'"<sup>239</sup>
- **Fred Dailey is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** According to a *Chillicothe Gazette* story posted on Dailey's website, "'Fred Dailey knows that Zack Space supports drilling and clean coal, but he's desperate and he'll say anything to revive his failing campaign,'" said Alex Goepfert, communications director of the Ohio Democratic Party. 'Let's not forget, this is the same Fred Dailey who lobbied for the

<sup>230</sup> <http://www.citizen.org/trade/cafta/articles.cfm?ID=13918>

<sup>231</sup> <http://www.oneill08.com/issues1>

<sup>232</sup> Ohio Conference on Fair Trade Questionnaire Response by Mary Jo Kilroy, dated Sept. 15, 2008.

<sup>233</sup> [http://www.kilroyforcongress.com/2008/1/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=17&Itemid=27](http://www.kilroyforcongress.com/2008/1/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=17&Itemid=27).

<sup>234</sup> <http://www.schuringforcongress.com/issues>.

<sup>235</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qVeHnzEcFiQ>

<sup>236</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BSXOBYnXuo8>

<sup>237</sup> Sabrina Eaton, "Boccieri to seek Regula seat in Congress," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 10, 2007.

<sup>238</sup> Pamela Schehl, "Padgett, Space vying for Congressional seat," *Mount Vernon News*, Oct. 26, 2006.

<sup>239</sup> James Nash and Jack Torry, "Stivers, Kilroy to Face Off in the Fall," *Columbus Dispatch*, March 5, 2008.



passage of NAFTA and called the job-killing trade agreement ‘good public policy.’<sup>240</sup> Dailey was past president of the Mid-America International Agri-Trade Council.<sup>241</sup>

## Oklahoma

### Senate

#### **Incumbent is Sen. James Inhofe (R)**

- ✓ **Inhofe is anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 16/19 votes.
- **Andrew Rice is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Rice ran PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>242</sup> His campaign website featured a story from *Urban Tulsa Weekly* that said “Rice also said the U.S.’s trade deficit with China, the economy and America’s standing in the world stage are among some of the other issues he hopes to undertake if he’s elected.”<sup>243</sup>

### House

#### **Oklahoma 1: Incumbent is Rep. John Sullivan (R)**

- ✓ **Sullivan is an anti-fair trader.** He voted against fair trade on nine out of 10 votes.
- **Georgianna Oliver is the Democratic candidate.** She did not campaign on trade.

#### **Oklahoma 4: Incumbent is Rep. Tom Cole (R)**

- ✓ **Cole is an 100% anti-fair trader.** He voted against fair trade on 10 out of 10 votes.
- **Blake Cummings is the Democratic candidate.** He did not campaign on trade.

## Oregon

### Senate

#### **Incumbent is Sen. Gordon Smith (R)**

- **Smith is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 11/11 votes since being elected in 1996. Smith campaigned on his support of CAFTA. His website read: “Shutting Down Trade by Ending CAFTA: Jeff Merkley disagrees with Senators Smith and Wyden, who voted twice in favor of CAFTA. Merkley also disagrees with the Oregon Farm Bureau, Oregon Department of Agriculture, Oregon Potato Commission, Oregon Wheat Growers League, Northwest Horticultural Council and the National Cattlemen’s Beef Association – all of whom backed CAFTA. Oregon exports to CAFTA countries equaled \$247 million in 2003 – one of our state’s largest markets.” The website calls Merkley’s position “out of touch.”<sup>244</sup>
- ✓ **Jeff Merkley is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Merkley ran a record nine PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>245</sup> Fair trade has been a major focus of his campaign, with statements and ads for “Buy America” laws and against NAFTA-style FTAs, Fast Track and tax incentives for offshoring jobs.<sup>246</sup> A campaign press release on the Peru Free Trade Agreement read that: “‘The Peru trade deal still sticks too closely to NAFTA. With the loss of thousands of Oregon jobs since NAFTA passed, we have to move away from using it as a model,’ Merkley said. ‘Future trade negotiations would be wise to ditch NAFTA as a starting point. Right now, the Peru agreement just isn’t good enough for American working families.’ The Peru Trade Agreement contains several fatal flaws that would cost Oregon jobs, lock farmers and ranchers into a competitive disadvantage, and replace domestic products with imports at a time when our trade deficit is crippling our economy. Additional problems with the deal include: \*\* Extending NAFTA’s provisions that give foreign investors more rights than Americans to sue the federal and state governments. \*\* Enabling foreign

<sup>240</sup> Loren Genson “Energy Focus of Dailey Trip,” *Chillicothe Gazette*, Aug. 13, 2008.

<sup>241</sup> <http://www.daileyforcongress.com/bio.cfm>

<sup>242</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KShl3xFwUVs> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hQFIS9A83x4>

<sup>243</sup> Brian Ervin, “Meet the Underdogs,” *Urban Tulsa Weekly*, June 18, 2008.

[http://www.andrewforoklahoma.com/newsroom\\_details.asp?id=1088](http://www.andrewforoklahoma.com/newsroom_details.asp?id=1088)

<sup>244</sup> <http://www.gordonsmith.com/news/Read.aspx?ID=126>

<sup>245</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-aEXqF7yow> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=on1tQHxccc> and

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nBy-5MwP0Y> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1qY-G6ExCpk>

And <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-JZZL5-niMo> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xlk7mx49CCKk> and

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k-UkAR81gmk>

<sup>246</sup> [http://www.jeffmerkley.com/2007/11/strengthening\\_o.php](http://www.jeffmerkley.com/2007/11/strengthening_o.php); [http://www.jeffmerkley.com/2008/09/new\\_merkley\\_ad.php](http://www.jeffmerkley.com/2008/09/new_merkley_ad.php);

[http://www.jeffmerkley.com/2007/11/reforming\\_trade.php](http://www.jeffmerkley.com/2007/11/reforming_trade.php).

investors to challenge American public health, environmental, zoning and labor protections in foreign courts. \*\* Blocking government procurement rules that require the hiring of U.S. workers and 'Buy American' provisions. \*\* Setting limits on food safety standards that require the U.S. to rely on foreign regulators and inspectors. Peru has also failed to codify the labor protections of the agreement into law. Merkley said the U.S. should not move forward on an agreement until they raise their standards. 'Fair trade with Peru will ultimately benefit both of our economies, but this agreement doesn't get us there,' he said. 'We can't tie American workers' hands behind their backs. This NAFTA-based plan just doesn't cut it.'"<sup>247</sup>

## House

### **Oregon 5: OPEN SEAT vacated by mixed (and trending anti-fair trade) vote record Rep. D Hooley (D)**

- ✓ **Kurt Schrader is the Democratic candidate.** He did not campaign on trade.
- **Mike Erickson is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** According to *The Oregonian*, "There's a big difference between me and the other three (major) candidates. I bring some real solid business experience to the table,' Erickson said. 'I deal with big decisions for big corporations --the economy, port issues, NAFTA. I've got a good handle on that stuff.'"<sup>248</sup>

## Pennsylvania

### House

#### **Pennsylvania 3: Incumbent is Rep. Phil English (R)**

- **English is anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 16/17 votes. English's campaign website emphasizes some fair trade-tinged themes.<sup>249</sup>
- ✓ **Kathy Dahlkemper is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Dahlkemper ran three PAID TRADE ADS that committed her to "oppose unfair trade deals that ship our jobs overseas" and attacked English for "supporting more of the same failed economic policies that have shipped Pennsylvania jobs to China."<sup>250</sup> Her campaign website says: "What concerns me and many Americans about the topic of free trade is the lack of controls that we are currently experiencing; controls in the form of product safety standards, proper protection of patented technologies, fair labor practices, to name just a few. Many of our businesses have moved all or a part of their manufacturing operations overseas to take advantage of cheap labor and other costs, and in return we are seeing more and more dangerous products coming into this nation, putting our people, including our children, at risk."<sup>251</sup> She also pledged to: "Renegotiate NAFTA and CAFTA: We must level the labor standards playing field; US and foreign businesses should not have incentives to exploit workers in foreign countries, and Congress must work to reform these flawed agreements to put American workers back on top."<sup>252</sup> In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Dahlkemper committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that includes NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>253</sup>

#### **Pennsylvania 4: Incumbent is Rep. Jason Altmire (D)**

- ✓ **Altmire is a fair trader.** Altmire ran PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>254</sup> In 2006, he campaigned on a fair-trade platform.<sup>255</sup> He voted for fair trade on the NAFTA expansion to Peru and Fast Track. In 2008, his campaign website said: "Jason is strongly opposed to any trade policy that ships western Pennsylvania jobs overseas. Jason recognizes that both NAFTA and CAFTA have cost our region thousands of jobs. Therefore, he pledged to vote against any trade policy that contains inadequate protections for American workers and fails to address workers' rights in all nations that are party to the agreement. Due to

<sup>247</sup> [http://www.jeffmerkley.com/2007/11/merkley\\_peru\\_de.php](http://www.jeffmerkley.com/2007/11/merkley_peru_de.php)

<sup>248</sup> Steve Mayes, "Erickson touts record in business, not politics," *The Oregonian*, April 25, 2008.

<sup>249</sup> <http://www.peopleforenglish.org/inner.asp?z=12>

<sup>250</sup> <http://www.kathydahlkemperforcongress.com/node/103> and <http://www.kathydahlkemperforcongress.com/node/103> and

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VQx\\_omlrejs](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VQx_omlrejs) (DCCC)

<sup>251</sup> <http://kathydahlkemperforcongress.com/issues/trade>

<sup>252</sup> <http://kathydahlkemperforcongress.com/node/97>.

<sup>253</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Kathy Dahlkemper, signed Oct. 14, 2008.

<sup>254</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VzGcUAhFXsE> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SIDPJ1como>

<sup>255</sup> Jason Altmire, campaign website, "The Issues," accessed Nov. 3, 2006.



these concerns, Jason voted against the Peru Free Trade Agreement and vowed that he will not support the current version of the Colombia Free Trade Agreement should it be brought to a vote.”<sup>256</sup> In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Altmire committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA, and oppose any trade agreements that includes NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>257</sup>

- **Melissa Hart, a former congressperson and anti-fair trader, is the Republican candidate.** She voted against fair trade 10/10 times. Nevertheless, she campaigned in 2008 on a fair trade platform. Her campaign website said: “As a member of Congress, I saw firsthand that our national leaders had lost touch with communities like ours - and I stood up to Republicans and Democrats alike on issues ranging from unfair trade to reigning in government spending.”<sup>258</sup>

#### **Pennsylvania 5: OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader Rep. John Peterson (R)**

- ✓ **Glenn Thompson is the Republican candidate.** Thompson suggested he was a fair trader, but did not offer specifics.<sup>259</sup>
- **Mark McCracken is the Democratic candidate, and sounded some fair-trade themes.** McCracken said, “The United States must start negotiating trade policies that protect our jobs and decrease the imbalance of trade with other nations. Free trade is a must in a balanced world economy but it must also include fair trade practices on an equal playing field.”<sup>260</sup>

#### **Pennsylvania 6: Incumbent is Rep. Jim Gerlach (R)**

- ✓ **Gerlach is anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 9/10 votes.
- **Bob Roggio is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Roggio said: “We [must] work with the international community to develop fair trade agreements that demand rigorous compliance to environmental standards.”<sup>261</sup> In a response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Roggio vowed to push for renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, oppose the WTO Doha Round, Colombia, Panama and South Korea FTAs and NAFTA-style anti-food safety and pro-foreign investor protections.<sup>262</sup> He also told a Working Families Win Forum that he would support passage of the TRADE Act.<sup>263</sup>

#### **Pennsylvania 10: Incumbent is Rep. Chris Carney (D)**

- ✓ **Carney is 100% pro-fair trade.** Ran four PAID TRADE ADS advocating “Made in America” tax breaks.<sup>264</sup> He campaigned in 2006 on a fair trade platform, and then voted the fair trade position on the NAFTA expansion to Peru and Fast Track. He is a cosponsor of the Trade Reform, Accountability, Development and Employment Act.
- **Chris Hackett is the Republican candidate, and campaigned on some fair-trade themes.** His website says: “Finally, when it comes to job creation, there are trade policies that don’t give the best deal to our farmers and manufacturers. The global economy is here to stay, and that is a good thing since we have the most skilled and best workers in the world. When foreign companies sell goods in America, our consumers benefit and we should preserve that. But when foreign countries do not allow our domestic producers to sell our goods in their markets, we must not stand for it. I will fight to ensure that foreign markets are fully open for our farmers and manufacturers.”<sup>265</sup> In an embarrassing incident earlier this year, the campaign handed out flag lapel pins that were “Made in China.”<sup>266</sup>

<sup>256</sup> [http://jasonaltmire.com/release\\_details.asp?id=36](http://jasonaltmire.com/release_details.asp?id=36).

<sup>257</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Jason Altmire.

<sup>258</sup> <http://www.peoplewithhart.com/>.

<sup>259</sup> <http://www.glennthompson2008.com/trade.html>.

<sup>260</sup> <http://www.mccrackenforcongress.com/issue-trade.htm>.

<sup>261</sup> <http://www.bobroggioforcongress.com/downloads/Bob-Roggio-Jim-Gerlach-Issues.pdf>.

<sup>262</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response by Bob Roggio, dated Oct. 21, 2008.

<sup>263</sup> Working Families Win Forums, Aug. 12, 2008, Reading, Pa; Aug. 19, 2008, Pottstown, Pa.; Aug. 21, 2008, Coatesville, Pa. All at

<http://www.wfwin.org/media/Candidate%20Comparisons/PA6comparison.pdf>

<sup>264</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CDX8ONZNdAc> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ALD1bg-f-f8> and

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iwjzBBNeK8> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OpLui3Yhqlk>

<sup>265</sup> <http://www.chrishackettforcongress.com/issues.php>

<sup>266</sup> “Made In China , Born In The USA,” *Congress Daily*, July 11, 2008.

### **Pennsylvania 11: Incumbent is Rep. Paul Kanjorski (D)**

- ✓ **Kanjorski is a fair trader.** He has voted for fair trade on 19/21 votes. His campaign website says: “Paul has been a champion for increasing the minimum wage and strengthening the ability of unions to fight for workers. He opposed unfair trade deals like NAFTA which disadvantaged American workers. He has worked to improve federal programs to retrain workers who have lost their jobs because of foreign competition.”<sup>267</sup> He is a cosponsor of the TRADE Act.
- **Lou Barletta is the Republican candidate.** His campaign website says that, “And we need to restore faith in the American economy and American dollar around the world.”<sup>268</sup>

### **Pennsylvania 12: Incumbent is Rep. John Murtha (D)**

- ✓ **Murtha is a fair trader, and co-sponsor of the TRADE Act.**
- **William Russell is the Republican candidate.** Did not campaign on trade.

### **Pennsylvania 15: Incumbent is Rep. Charlie Dent (R)**

- ✓ **Dent is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 6/6 occasions.
- **Sam Bennett is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Bennett ran PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>269</sup> Her campaign website says, “The Lehigh Valley knows better than any place in America the costs of unfair trade and tax policies. ... U.S. trade policies supported by Dent such as NAFTA and CAFTA encourage companies to outsource jobs to countries with weak labor standards. The Economic Policy Institute estimates that over a million U.S. jobs have been relocated since the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed into law in 1993. As the Lehigh Valley knows most painfully, the majority of those jobs were in manufacturing industries, but jobs were lost in every state and every industry in this country. I will not back down in Congress on trade policies that promote exporting American jobs.”<sup>270</sup> In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Bennett committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that includes NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>271</sup>

### **Pennsylvania 18: Incumbent is Rep. Tim Murphy (R)**

- ✓ **Murphy is anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 9/10 occasions.
- **Steve O'Donnell is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** His campaign website features statements by unions and Working Families Win that say he committed to pursue fair-trade policies.<sup>272</sup>

**Rhode Island- no competitive races**\_\_\_\_\_

**South Carolina-**\_\_\_\_\_

#### **House**

### **South Carolina-1: Incumbent is Rep. Henry Brown (R-S.C.)**

- ✓ **Brown is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 12 out of 12 votes. On his campaign website, he actually touted his vote for CAFTA.<sup>273</sup> Curiously, also expressed concern about the trade deficit, which his policies worsened.<sup>274</sup>
- **Linda Ketner is the Democratic candidate.** This Food Lion heiress had a vaguely pro-fair trade stance. On her campaign website, she said, “Rather than offering another tax rebate, which disappears in months and ends up in the pockets of foreign companies selling products in America, let’s use the rebate money for jobs

<sup>267</sup> <http://www.paulkanjorski.com/issues/index.php>

<sup>268</sup> <http://loubarletta.com/issues/4>

<sup>269</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=njoXoKF6J5A>

<sup>270</sup> <http://www.bennett2008.com/go/on-the-issues/an-economy-for-all-of-us/>. See also Michael Hays, “Candidates speak at Ricketts Forum,” *Potts Mercury*, Aug. 20, 2008.

<sup>271</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Sam Bennett, signed May 19, 2008.

<sup>272</sup> <http://www.electodonnell.com/news.html>

<sup>273</sup> <http://www.henrybrownforcongress.com/content.asp?id=59710&action=detail&catID=5862&parentID=5084>

<sup>274</sup> <http://www.henrybrownforcongress.com/?name=Site&catID=16990&parentID=16971>

to shore up our failing infrastructures (i.e. roads, bridges, drainage, etc.) in the states... Don't let American companies overseas avoid taxes by leaving profits overseas."<sup>275</sup>

### **South Carolina 2: Incumbent is Rep. Joe Wilson (R)**

- ✓ **Wilson is a 2/3 anti-fair trader.** He voted against fair trade on 8 out of 12 votes, including major votes like CAFTA and Fast Track 2001.
- **Rob Miller is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Ran PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>276</sup> His campaign website said, "South Carolina workers can hold their own against any worker in the world. But the deck is stacked against us by unfair trade treaties. As our new Congressman, Rob Miller will scrap these unfair trade deals and give South Carolina workers a chance to compete again."<sup>277</sup>

### **South Dakota-**

#### **Senate**

### **Incumbent is Sen. Tim Johnson (D-S.D.)**

- ✓ **Johnson has a mixed record, but is trending pro-fair trade.** He opposed NAFTA, CAFTA, and most NAFTA-style FTAs.
- **Joel Dykstra is the Republican candidate.** Did not campaign on trade.

### **Tennessee**

### **Tennessee 1: OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader David Davis (R), who lost a primary**

- ✓ **Phil Roe (R) did not campaign on trade.**
- **Rob Russell is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** He said, "It is estimated that there are currently 11-12 million illegal aliens living, and working, in the US today... So, what is the solution? I believe that it comes in three parts: border enforcement, employer responsibility, and fair trade. Some current legislation, such as the SAVE Act, sponsored by NC Rep. Heath Shuler, addresses many necessary aspects of immigration reform: increased border security, required identity verification by employers (using E-verify), and harsher penalties for those who knowingly hire illegals. I think that this is a good start, but we must also address the trade and economic inequalities that promote illegal immigration if we are serious about curbing this problem."

### **Texas**

#### **House**

### **Texas 7: Incumbent is Rep. John Culberson (R)**

- ✓ **Culberson is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 12/12 occasions. He campaigned against fair trade.<sup>278</sup>
- **Michael Skelly is the Democratic candidate.** He did not campaign on trade, instead sounding vaguely anti-fair trade themes like advocating a high dollar.<sup>279</sup>

### **Texas 10: Incumbent is Rep. Michael McCaul (R)**

- ✓ **McCaul is 100% anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 6/6 occasions.
- **Larry Joe Doherty is the Democratic candidate.** Did not campaign on trade.

### **Texas 22: Incumbent is Rep. Nick Lampson (D)**

- **Lampson has a mixed record.** He voted for fair trade on 6 occasions in a previous stint in the House. He has additionally voted against on 7 occasions, including since returning to the House in 2006.<sup>280</sup>
- ✓ **Pete Olson is the Republican candidate.** He is a proponent of the so-called "NAFTA Superhighway."<sup>281</sup>

<sup>275</sup> <http://www.lindaketner.com/issues/economy>

<sup>276</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FMrT15o4GH0> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UWIuirgv5Xc>

<sup>277</sup> <http://www.robmillerforcongress.com/issues.html>

<sup>278</sup> <http://www.culbersonforcongress.com/en/rel/?80>

<sup>279</sup> <http://www.skellyforcongress.com/issues/>

<sup>280</sup> <http://www.lampson.com/issues/>

<sup>281</sup> Alan Bernstein, "District 22 Candidates Spar over Spending," *Houston Chronicle*, March 27, 2008.

### Texas 23: Incumbent is Rep. **Ciro Rodriguez (D)**

- ✓ **Rodriguez is a fair trader.** He ran an anti-CAFTA focused campaign in March 2006 in a neighboring district before Texas' districts were re-drawn.<sup>282</sup> After he beat former Rep. Henry Bonilla (R) for the 23<sup>rd</sup> district seat, he returned to office (he had served in Congress previously) a fair trade champion. He is a cosponsor of the Trade Reform, Accountability, Development and Employment Act.
- **Lyle Larson is the Republican candidate.** Larson criticized Rodriguez's trade stance during the campaign. According to the *San-Antonio Express News*, "Bexar County Commissioner Lyle Larson, Rodriguez's Republican opponent in November, said that's still too liberal. 'He definitely has a voting record that does not demonstrate a very conservative approach to governance,' said Larson, citing Rodriguez's votes against free trade pacts and energy bills and his support of organized labor over business interests."<sup>283</sup>

### Utah- \_\_\_\_\_

#### House

### Utah 3: OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader Rep. **Chris Cannon (R)**

- ✓ **Jason Chaffetz is the Republican candidate, and a fair trader.** He defeated incumbent 100% anti-fair trader Rep. **Chris Cannon** in a June primary. On "managed trade agreements," Chaffetz said he "wouldn't have voted for them, they're unconstitutional, and should be revoked," according to bird-doggers closely tracking the race. Chaffetz also wrote that he has, "serious concerns and reservations about many of our free trade agreements, such as NAFTA. We have to be most careful as it relates to our sovereignty." On the extended NAFTA implementation programs known as the Security and Prosperity Partnership, Chaffetz said the programs "scare the living daylights out of me. I will do everything I can to get our country out of these. They are real and Congress needs to reverse the course."<sup>284</sup>
- **Bennion Spencer is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** His campaign website says, "Any discussion of immigration must include NAFTA. The North American Free Trade Agreement has been a disaster for the working class of both the U.S. and Mexico. A study by the Economic Policy Institute found that over 1 million U.S. jobs were lost as a result of NAFTA. In Mexico, 1.3 million farm workers lost their jobs in the same period. This has led to a wave of illegal immigrants looking for work in the U.S. Reforming unfair trade policies spawned by measures like NAFTA will stimulate job growth on both sides of the border and encourage illegal immigrants to return home."<sup>285</sup>

### Vermont- no competitive races \_\_\_\_\_

### Virginia \_\_\_\_\_

#### Senate

### OPEN SEAT vacated by anti-fair trader Sen. **John Warner (R)**

- **Jim Gilmore is the Republican candidate.** Calls himself a supporter of "free trade," but ran a video interview on his website that has him questioning the wisdom of more of the same trade policies.<sup>286</sup>
- ✓ **Mark Warner is the Democratic candidate, and anti-fair trade.** According to a *Virginia Pilot* interview posted on Warner's website: "Obama's companion on his trip to Martinsville, Senate candidate Mark Warner, should serve as a valuable guide and a model for offering realistic help instead of false hopes. Warner believes in free trade and has never backtracked on his embrace of globalization."<sup>287</sup>

#### House

### Virginia 2: Incumbent is Rep. **Thelma Drake (R)**

- **Drake is 100% anti-fair trade.** Voted against fair trade on 6/6 occasions.

<sup>282</sup> Rebeca Chapa, "Rodriguez launches bid to regain post," *San Antonio Express*, Oct. 16, 2005; see also Todd J. Gillman, "After CAFTA, Cuellar on his party's hit list," *Dallas Morning News*, Aug. 6, 2005.

<sup>283</sup> Gary Martin, "Rodriguez more moderate since capturing new post," *San-Antonio Express News*, Sept. 15, 2008.

<sup>284</sup> <http://jbs.meetup.com/13/messages/boards/thread/5691241#22501615>

<sup>285</sup> <http://www.bennionspencerforcongress.com/issues.asp>

<sup>286</sup> <http://www.jimgilmoreforsenate.com/?q=node/197>

<sup>287</sup> <http://www.markwarner2008.com/2008/8/21/townhall-in-martinsville>

- ✓ **Glenn Nye is the Democratic candidate.** Nye did not campaign on trade issues, but was a negotiator of the NAFTA expansion to Singapore.<sup>288</sup>

#### Virginia 5: ANTI-NAFTA OFF! Incumbent is Rep. Virgil Goode (R)

- **Goode is a fair trader.** Voted for fair trade on 15/17 occasions. His campaign website says: “Agreements like NAFTA and the trade provisions in fast track authorization lead to the erosion of this country's vital manufacturing base. I do not favor international trade agreements such as these that result in a loss of American sovereignty and jobs.”<sup>289</sup>
- ✓ **Tom Perriello is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Even with Goode’s fair-trade voting record, the campaign and DCCC ran PAID TRADE ADS against Goode for voting for tax breaks to ship jobs overseas.<sup>290</sup> Perriello committed to: “Reject NAFTA-style agreements and promote fair trade. Fair trade means that imports should not be artificially cheap because of human or environmental degradation.”<sup>291</sup> Trade played a leading role in the campaign, with *Roll Call* reporting that “Goode argues that Perriello is playing loose with the truth when he blames Goode for the region’s job losses. ‘We’ve lost manufacturing jobs because of free-trade agreements,’ Goode said. He said that what workers in Southside Virginia really needed in recent years was more Members of Congress voting against free-trade agreements. But Perriello told the crowd at Friday’s rally that it’s Goode who likes to twist the truth, especially when he’s scared of losing. He cited a recent television commercial with a picture of the Democrat that Perriello says was darkened and altered in order to make him appear more sinister. ‘From one side we have a politics of fear. A politics of trying to survive by convincing people just how scary the alternative is instead of offering a plan for change,’ Perriello told the crowd. ‘We’ve seen it from my opponent, Congressman Goode. ... I tell you this: The 10,000 jobs we’ve lost during Congressman Goode’s time is a lot scarier than that picture.’”<sup>292</sup> In response to a Citizens Trade Campaign questionnaire, Perriello committed to oppose the WTO Doha Round and Colombia, Panama and Korea FTAs, support the renegotiation of NAFTA and replacement of Fast Track, and oppose any trade agreements that include NAFTA-style investor rights, among other commitments.<sup>293</sup>

#### Virginia 10: Incumbent is Rep. Frank Wolf (R)

- ✓ **Wolf is anti-fair trade.** He voted against fair trade on 18/21 occasions.
- **Judith Feder is the Democratic candidate.** She did not campaign on trade.

#### Virginia 11: OPEN SEAT vacated by 100% anti-fair trader Rep. Tom Davis (R)

- **Keith Fimian is the Republican candidate, and an anti-fair trader.** His campaign website says: “[a] prosperous nation must embrace a free market system and the rugged ‘can do’ individualism that made this nation great. ... Free trade zones have created hundreds of thousands of jobs in the US and will continue to do so. We need to move government in the direction of being on the side of American workers and businesses so they can continue to compete in the global economy and provide good paying jobs.”<sup>294</sup>
- ✓ **Gerry Connolly is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** His campaign told Working Families Win that he is for fair trade.

### Washington

#### House

#### Washington 8: Incumbent is Rep. David Reichert (R)

- ✓ **Reichert is 100% anti-fair trade.** Voted against fair trade on 6/6 occasions. His campaign website says: “Congressman Reichert supports free trade. 1 in 3 jobs in Washington are to trade, and trade-related jobs are high-paying. Washington is the only state with a trade surplus with China. China is already reaching out to

<sup>288</sup> [http://www.glennnye.com/content/page/title/About\\_Glenn](http://www.glennnye.com/content/page/title/About_Glenn)

<sup>289</sup> <http://www.virgilgoode.com/issues.php>

<sup>290</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UFztCgxp2Is> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9u1wqoIcuc>

<sup>291</sup> <http://www.perrielloforcongress.com/revival/virginia.html>. Accessed Sept. 2, 2008.

<sup>292</sup> John McArdle, “Goode Race Could Be A Surprise,” *Roll Call*, Oct. 28, 2008.

<sup>293</sup> Citizens Trade Campaign Questionnaire Response from Tom Perriello, signed Sept. 19, 2008.

<sup>294</sup> <http://www.keithfimian.com/action/?page=showissue.business>



South American countries to build their trade relationships. In order to compete in this global economy, Washington and the United States must work to continually expand free trade. Congressman Reichert is a member of the *Goods Movement Caucus* and the *House Trade Working Group*. Congressman Reichert voted for DR-CAFTA, U.S.-Bahrain Free Trade Agreement and U.S.-Oman Free Trade Agreement. In the future, Congressman Reichert will work to expand free trade with Vietnam and Peru.”<sup>295</sup>

- **Darcy Burner is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** Burner ran PAID TRADE ADS, talking about unsafe toy imports and offshored jobs.<sup>296</sup> Her campaign website says: “I support fair trade that creates a level playing field for American workers and businesses. As technology and globalization transform our economy, the United States must use its market power to raise the bar on labor, environmental, and intellectual property standards worldwide, rather than accept the lowest common denominator. We have fought for decades for fair standards that advance the well-being of all people, and we are at a moment of opportunity to see those standards adopted worldwide. I will fight to advance the middle class all over the world.”<sup>297</sup> She has also participated in imported toy testing parties with the Steelworkers.<sup>298</sup> She told the Washington Fair Trade Campaign that she supports renegotiation of NAFTA, renegotiation of the WTO and any FTA that limit U.S. procurement policy at any level of government, oppose any agreement that includes limitations on food-safety policy.<sup>299</sup> The press covered her fair-trade views.<sup>300</sup>

## West Virginia

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### House

#### West Virginia 2: Incumbent is Rep. Shelley Capito (R)

- ✓ **Capito has a mixed record on trade.** Capito, while having a fairly bad record on trade, did withstand heavy Bush administration pressure and eventually voted right on Fast Track in 2001-02 and CAFTA in 2005. Her campaign website emphasizes her independence: “Capito has deviated from the presidential line on a number of high-profile issues, included free trade, campaign finance, Canadian drug imports, IRS privatization, overtime legislation, immigration legislation and the Dubai ports deal.”<sup>301</sup>
- **Anne Barth is the Democratic candidate, and a fair trader.** According to the *Associated Press*, “Barth said the key to dealing with fair trade is not to lower U.S. wages and standards, but to raise the standards in Third World countries. She also supports funding programs that help manufacturers stay competitive... Barth ... said it’s time to stop providing tax incentives to companies that send jobs overseas and start offering tax incentives to companies that keep jobs here.”<sup>302</sup> She worked for over two decades for Sen. Robert Byrd (D-W.V.), a leading fair trader.

## Wisconsin

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### House

#### Wisconsin 8: Incumbent is Rep. Steve Kagen (D)

- ✓ **Kagen is 100% pro-fair trade.** Kagen ran PAID TRADE ADS.<sup>303</sup> He voted for fair trade on NAFTA expansion to Peru and Fast Track, and is a cosponsor of the Trade Reform, Accountability, Development and Employment. Additionally, Kagen defeated John Gard on a fair trade platform in 2006. Further, in a 2006 Citizens Trade Campaign PAC questionnaire response, Kagen wrote: “There is often an irrational belief in our nation that the free market can solve any problem. Unfortunately, there are some services which cannot be appropriately priced or are too essential to be given to the lowest bidder. There are other

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<sup>295</sup> <http://www.davereichertforcongress.com/issues/details.aspx?id=18>

<sup>296</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=usBMAKxY8bg> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sctr1b-tNnc&url=http://www.darcyburner.com/> Also, in response to a SPEEA questionnaire in 2006, Burner wrote, “I would oppose any trade legislation that does not protect internationally recognized workers’ right and environmental standards. ... CAFTA, as crafted by the Republicans, is an example of how the GOP and the President have abandoned America’s commitment to an effective and modern globalization policy. Open markets need to be balanced with strong environmental standards, tough labor provisions and a commitment to do more for the American people.”

<sup>297</sup> [http://www.speea.org/news/Candidate\\_responses/Federal\\_Reps/Darcy%20Burner.html](http://www.speea.org/news/Candidate_responses/Federal_Reps/Darcy%20Burner.html)

<sup>298</sup> [http://www.darcyburner.com/pages/issues\\_and\\_positions/](http://www.darcyburner.com/pages/issues_and_positions/).

<sup>299</sup> [http://www.darcyburner.com/blog/archives/at\\_the\\_burner\\_sponsored\\_toy\\_testing\\_events/](http://www.darcyburner.com/blog/archives/at_the_burner_sponsored_toy_testing_events/)

<sup>300</sup> Washington Fair Trade Coalition Questionnaire Response of Darcy Burner.

<sup>301</sup> Elizabeth Ballinger, “Congressional candidates debate trade and economy,” *Jibsheet* (Bellevue, Wa.), Oct. 28, 2008.

<sup>302</sup> <http://www.shelleymoorecapito.com/news/detail.aspx?newsID=95>

<sup>303</sup> “House hopefuls Barth, Cooper, Robb talk trade, jobs,” *Associated Press*, April 4, 2008.

<sup>304</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jpZqRNpWf80>

harms which can sometimes occur alongside privatization, such as a withdrawal of worker protections or degradation of the environment. It is with concerns like these in mind that I would oppose trade agreements which include ‘service’ sector provisions.” His campaign website also ran information on his fair trade platform.<sup>304</sup>

- **John Gard is the Republican candidate.** In a sign of the political saliency of the trade issue, Gard ran paid trade ads in 2006 Kagen wanted to off-shore jobs to China. In 2008, he did not mention trade.

## **Wyoming**

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### **House**

#### **Wyoming at Large: OPEN SEAT vacated by anti-fair trader Rep. Barbara Cubin (R)**

- ✓ **Cynthia Lummis is the Republican candidate.** She did not run on trade.
- **Gary Trauner is the Democratic candidate.** Trauner did not campaign on trade in 2008, after criticizing NAFTA in his much closer 2006 race.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>304</sup> <http://www.kagen4congress.com/news/kagen-promotes-fair-trade-lower-gas-prices-the-daily-news/>

<sup>305</sup> Lucille Rice, “Gary Trauner Interview,” *Planet Jackson Hole*, Oct. 18, 2006.