

Code: F = “policy fix” promise; P = “pork barrel” promise. A promise is considered a “policy fix promise” if its terms relate directly to mitigating or studying possible impacts of a proposed trade agreement.. “Pork barrel promises” relate to promises to fund programs or projects which have little to do with trade.

Summary:

Total Deals: 92

Percentage Unkept, Reversed or Meaningless: 82.6 %

POLICY

Total Policy Fix Deals: 64

Kept = 7

Other = 57

Percentage Unkept, Reversed, or Meaningless: 89 %

PORK

Total Pork Barrel Deals: 28

Kept = 9

Other = 19

Percentage Unkept, Reversed or Meaningless: 68 %

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Member Whose Vote Was Sought	Trade Agreement	Terms of Deal	Outcome of Deal
Rep. F. James Sensenbrenner (R-WI) and other Members of Congress ¹	Chile and Singapore Free Trade Agreements	IMMIGRATION LAW: The Bush administration promised not to make commitments to change U.S. immigration law in future trade talks to allow temporary entry of foreign workers. ² (F)	Still in play. Bush administration officials have made comments at on-going WTO negotiations that suggest that they will entertain new 'temporary entry' rights for foreign workers in WTO service sector talks. ³ This has led Judiciary Committee Chair Sensenbrenner and Ranking Member John Conyers (D-MI) to send a letter to the administration seeking a recommitment to the previous pledge.
Reps. Cass Ballenger (R-NC), Robin Hayes (R-SC), Sue Myrick (R-NC) and other Representatives with textile interests in their district	Fast Track 2001-2002	CUSTOMS INSPECTORS: The Bush administration promised to add 72 new customs inspectors to fight textile/apparel transshipment. (F)	Broken. Customs inspectors were never hired. The U.S. textile and apparel sector has lost 264,100 jobs since 2002 Fast Track approval, ⁴ with as many as 46,828 jobs lost per year as a result of illegal textile transshipment. ⁵
Rep. Jim DeMint (R-SC)	Fast Track 2001-2002	TEXTILE DYING AND FINISHING: In order to obtain DeMint's tie-breaking vote on fast track, DeMint received a signed letter "promising Congressional action to make sure that apparel assembled in Caribbean Basin countries is made from fabric dyed, printed or finished in the United States to qualify for duty-	Kept. After some resistance from the House Ways and Means leadership, the final Fast Track legislation included provisions requiring U.S. dying and finishing in order to qualify for duty free treatment. However, many in the textile and apparel industry criticize DeMint for paying too high a price by giving the final vote that passed to Fast Track, which is likely to do more harm to the industry than the closed loophole is likely to help. ⁶

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		free, quota-free treatment.” (F)	
Rep. Melissa Hart (R-PA), Rep. Bob Ney (R-OH) ⁷ and other GOP Representatives from steel districts	Fast Track 2001-2002	STEEL SAFEGUARDS: The Bush administration promised to impose emergency tariffs on imported steel for a 3-year period, and provide funding for outstanding health care costs for steelworker retirees at bankrupt plants. (F)	Reversed. Emergency tariffs were imposed, but removed in 21 months after a successful WTO challenge brought by countries whose imports were affected. The Bush administration did not attempt to follow through on government funding for steel legacy costs. ⁸
Reps. Mark Foley (R-FL), Adam Putnam (R-FL), Cliff Stearns (R-FL), Dave Weldon (R-FL) and other GOP Representatives from Florida	Fast Track 2001-2002	CITRUS II: The Bush administration promised to protect Florida citrus industry from citrus import surges from Latin America. (F)	In jeopardy. While Rep. Foley touted to reporters that this promise would have teeth, the provision was summarily dropped from the final version of the Fast Track bill in the Senate. The U.S. Trade Representatives’ Office has confirmed that in future U.S. trade negotiations, including the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (which includes citrus super-exporter Brazil) that “nothing [is] off the table” – including citrus. ⁹
Sens. Max Baucus (D-MT), Larry Craig (R-ID), and Representatives from Arkansas and Western states	Fast Track 2001-2002	SOFTWOOD LUMBER: The Bush administration promised to impose high tariffs on Canadian softwood lumber to protect U.S. softwood lumber against Canadian imports, which had surged since the March 2001 expiration of the Canadian Softwood Lumber Agreement. ¹⁰ (F)	Reversed. NAFTA and WTO tribunals ruled in favor of Canada against U.S. tariffs and protection. ¹¹
Rep. Sonny Callahan	Fast Track	CATFISH LABELING:	Kept. The U.S. catfish industry was able to persuade Congress to pass

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(R-AL) and 14 house members ¹²	2001-2002	The Bush administration promised to support an effort to prohibit whiskered fish from Vietnam's Mekong Delta to be imported under the name "catfish," even though they are very similar to the species raised in farm ponds in the Mississippi Delta. ¹³ (F)	legislation forbidding use of the label term "catfish" for similar species from Vietnam. Rep. Mike Ross (D-AR) has since noted that some Vietnamese seafood now is being labeled "Cajun Delight" or "Delta Fresh" in an effort to circumvent the rule. ¹⁴
Reps. Sue Myrick (R-NC), Jim DeMint (R-SC), Cass Ballenger (R-NC), Richard Burr (R-NC), Henry Brown (R-SC), Michael Collins (R-GA) and Rob Portman (R-OH)	Fast Track 2001-02	PAKISTAN TEXTILE AND APPAREL QUOTA: Members of the Congressional Textile Caucus announced a Bush administration commitment to not increase Pakistan's market access in the U.S. textile and apparel market via an increase or reallocation in Pakistan's allocated textile and apparel quotas. ¹⁵ (F)	Broken. In February 2002, the Bush administration raised some of Pakistan's textile quota allotments. The Bush administration claims it never made this promise in the first place. ¹⁶
Reps. Mark Foley (R-FL), Adam Putnam (R-FL), and other GOP Representatives from Florida	Fast Track 2002	FLORIDA AG TASK FORCE: The Bush administration promised to start a Task Force on Florida Agriculture Trade, chaired by Putnam, to find new markets for Florida's agricultural products and to	Worthless. Putnam, who had voted against Fast Track in 2001, reversed his position and supported Fast Track in 2002. After the vote he proclaimed to reporters that the access to administration policymaking that the Citrus Task Force would provide was unparalleled. However, a March 2003 meeting of the Task Force with administration officials yielded no commitment to protect the Florida agriculture industry. In April 2004, Putnam was still asking for a commitment to take cuts in U.S. citrus tariffs off of the negotiating table. However, the USTR has stated

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		protect the industry in future trade negotiations. ¹⁷ (F)	that “nothing is off the table” – including citrus – for FTAA negotiations. ¹⁸ As of April 2005, Putnam had not called a second meeting of the Task Force, and had no further commitment. ¹⁹
Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL)	Fast Track 2001-02	CUBA TRADE: The Bush administration promised that Cuba will not obtain benefits from future U.S. trade policies. ²⁰ (F)	Still in play. Congress is likely to expand some trade benefits to Cuba. It is unclear what the administration will do in response.
Sen. Max Baucus (D-MT), Sen. Tom Daschle (D-SD), and 22 other Democratic Senators; ²¹ Reps. Harold Ford, Jr. (D-TN), Jane Harman (D-CA), Rick Larsen (D-WA), Adam Smith (D-WA), and Ellen Tauscher (D-CA), and other Representatives concerned with displaced workers ²²	Fast Track 2001-2002	TAA III: The Bush administration promised to reform TAA in order to offer health insurance credits and wage insurance supplements to trade-displaced workers. The administration also promised to expand the TAA program to cover service sector workers, including high tech workers, and workers in downstream secondary services related to manufacturing. ²³ (F)	Broken. The language in the final Fast Track legislation did not extend TAA to high tech or most other service workers. Only “upstream” service workers directly linked to manufacturing were covered, such as plant custodians or sales staff, while downstream service workers, such as truck drivers delivering products, logistics and marketing staff, information technology staff and more, were excluded. ²⁴ The final language on health insurance credits burdened unemployed workers with most of the costs of extending their coverage; in addition, the credits were designed in a manner that excluded many workers outright. Only 6 percent of the small category of eligible workers has signed up for the benefit because it is too costly for the unemployed worker and administratively hard to qualify for given the final Fast Track language. The final legislation only included a small pilot program to experiment with wage insurance supplements. However, no data is available about the status of this program. ²⁵ Meanwhile, ongoing administrative problems with TAA have resulted in a string of cases in which the U.S. Court of International Trade found that TAA was improperly denied to workers. ²⁶ Funding promises in the program also resulted in states such as Pennsylvania literally running out of TAA funds in the 2001-2003 fiscal years, although now in funding changes unrelated to any trade vote deal change, this problem has been remedied.
Rep. Solomon Ortiz (D-TX)	Fast Track 2001-01	IMMIGRATION: The Bush administration promised that immigration	Unclear. In the wake of the September 11 attacks, the government made a \$100 million dollar commitment to upgrade security facilities along the entire length of the Texas-Mexico border. It seems likely that this money

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		staffing at U.S.-Mexican border bridges in Ortiz's district would be increased. (P)	would have been dispensed regardless of any promise made to Rep. Ortiz. ²⁷
Rep. Bob Schaffer (R-CO)	Fast Track 2001-02	CDC LAB: The Bush administration promised \$10 million for a Center for Disease Control lab in Fort Collins. ²⁸ (P)	Kept, more or less. While Schaffer's project was appropriated the promised monies, as of June 2005 construction on the project still has not begun. ²⁹ Prior to this, Schaffer lost a GOP Senate primary to Adolf Coors in 2004, and Coors was subsequently defeated by now-Senator Ken Salazar.
Sens. Max Baucus (D-MT), Pat Roberts (R-KS), Trent Lott (R-MS), Tom Daschle (D-SD), Kent Conrad (D-ND), Paul Coverdell (R-GA), Tom Harkin (D-IA), Tim Johnson (D-SD), Bob Kerrey (D-IA) Blanche Lincoln (D-AR), Rick Santorum (R-PA), Charles Grassley (R-IA), Orrin Hatch (R-UT), Connie Mack (R-FL), Patrick Moynihan (D-NY), Charles Robb (D-VA), and John Rockefeller (D-WV).	China PNTR	U.S. AGRICULTURE EXPORTS AND CHINA GMO REGULATION: The Bush administration promised to pressure the Chinese government to remove regulations on genetically modified organisms that were blocking U.S. agriculture exports. A majority of U.S. senators, including most members of the Senate Agriculture and Finance committees had written Chinese President Jiang Zemin, calling upon him to implement a bilateral U.S.-China sanitary and phytosanitary agreement signed in 1999, which was supposed to allow U.S. exports of citrus, meat, and	Kept, more or less, and then watered down in practice. China announced implementation of the bilateral agreement. However, a 2002 U.S. Chamber of Commerce report to Congress complained of China's adoption of measures that regulate the entry of imported genetically modified grains and oilseeds and corn into the Chinese market. According to the report, China's regulations implementing the bilateral agreement require safety certificates, without adequately spelling out how to get certificates or on what basis products would be excluded. ³¹ China also blocked U.S. exports of grain in 2001, citing concerns about Pacific Northwest wheat fungus, in violation of the Senate's understanding on this deal. ³²

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		Pacific wheat to enter the Chinese market unless a ban for animal or plant health reasons had a “sound science” basis. The Senators wrote that a Chinese commitment on this issue should “ensure the passage of PNTR for China.” ³⁰ (F)	
Reps. Solomon Ortiz (D-TX) & Silvestre Reyes (D-TX)	China PNTR	GAS PIPELINE EIS EXPEDITION: The Clinton administration promised expedition of an EPA study of the impact of the proposed Longhorn gas pipeline in Southwest United States. (P)	Kept, but failed. While the promised study was released in Nov. 2000, six months after the China PNTR vote, the pipeline’s operational start-up was far from expedited. The expedited release date for the study hinged on an August 2000 letter from the White House to the EPA mandating that the agency conduct <i>no further environmental impact assessments</i> . Environmental groups challenged the EPA findings in court, delaying the opening of the pipeline until 2005. ³³
Rep. Ken Bentsen (D-TX)	China PNTR	COMMISSION: The Clinton administration promised that the Department of Labor would establish a commission to study the impact of imports on the U.S. workforce (F)	Broken. President Clinton issued an Executive Order establishing a “Commission on Workers, Communities and Economic Change in the New Economy” shortly before leaving office, ³⁴ which was rescinded by President Bush in 2001 when he created the “21st Century Workforce Initiative,” ³⁵ which hosts a series of Trade Expos on general retraining issues but is virtually unknown. No study of the impact on jobs from imports was ever completed. This was the second time that Rep. Bentsen received a deal that was never delivered regarding establishment of a presidential commission on workers in the new economy.
Reps. Doug Bereuter (R-NE), Benjamin Cardin (D-MD), John LaFalce (D-NY), Sander Levin	China PNTR	COMMISSION: The Clinton administration promised to establish a high-level commission that would investigate China’s	Delayed, then ineffective. The Levin-Bereuter language establishing such a commission was included in the China PNTR legislation. However, for two years thereafter, no funding was appropriated for the commission. Although the commission eventually was funded, it has not proved effective and Chinese human and labor rights conditions have

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<p>(D-MI), Nita Lowey (D-NY), Karen Thurman (D-FL), John LaFalce (D-NY), Asa Hutchinson (R-AR), Tom Sawyer (D-OH)³⁶, and Dianna DeGette (D-CO)., Jim DeMint (R-SC),³⁷ and as many as dozens of others</p>		<p>compliance with human rights, trade rules and weapons proliferation measures. (F)</p>	<p>deteriorated.³⁸ Sawyer’s vote in favor of China PNTR, following his support of NAFTA, WTO, and fast track resulted in an energetic effort by his constituents to replace him. The 16-year veteran was beaten in 2002 41 to 21 percent by then 29-year old State Senator Tim Ryan, now the Democratic Congressman for Ryan’s former Akron, Ohio district.</p>
<p>Reps. Ruben Hinojosa (D-TX), Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX), and Gregory Meeks (D-NY)</p>	<p>China PNTR</p>	<p>ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FUNDING II: The Clinton administration promised to create a “New Markets Initiative” which would extend tax credits to targeted poor, communities in order to promote investment and economic development. (P)</p>	<p>Partially Kept. Rep. Meeks reported that he received some benefits under this proposal. However, according to the GAO, the actual program that was established had such a small scope that it was unable to have much effect on promoting development. In addition, the tax credits may not be used by all of those who are eligible, and it is nearly impossible to determine whether the program has met its own vaguely defined objectives.³⁹ Public Citizen efforts to contact the other offices for verification of program outcomes in their district were unsuccessful.</p>
<p>Rep. Martin Frost (D-TX)</p>	<p>China PNTR</p>	<p>ENVIRONMENTAL CLEAN UP OF PLANT SITE: The Clinton administration promised that the U.S. Government would pay \$100-200 million to clean up pollution problems at a Northrup Grumman factory</p>	<p>Broken. The U.S. Navy fought paying any money for 2 years, and eventually opted to pay only \$53 million in a settlement to the Dallas City Council, less than half of the projected cleanup costs.⁴¹ While some of Northrup Grumman’s operations stayed in the Texas district, many more positions were moved to California.⁴²</p>

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		so operations would stay in Rep. Frost's district. ⁴⁰ (P)	
Rep. Michael Thompson (D-CA)	China PNTR	NEW ZIP CODE, PEST ERRADICATION: The Clinton administration promised to establish a new zip code designation for a wealthy suburb in Thompson's district and promised to fight infestation of glassy winged sharpshooters, a pest threatening wineries in the Napa Valley. ⁴³ (P)	Kept. The new zip code became effective on July 1, 2000, and Vice President Al Gore declared emergency government action on the pest in June of the same year, providing \$22.3 million in aid to California. ⁴⁴
Rep. Robert Cramer (D-AL)	China PNTR	WEATHER STATION: The Clinton administration promised to keep a tornado warning station in his district. ⁴⁵ (P)	Kept. The Clinton administration supported Cramer's battle in the appropriations process to obtain millions of dollars to modernize the Huntsville monitoring station. ⁴⁶
Rep. John Porter (R-IL)	China PNTR	VOA FUNDING: The Clinton administration promised extra funding for Voice of America's Radio Free Asia. ⁴⁷ (P)	Kept. The extra funding was provided. However, given that White House budgets actually proposed more funding than promised in this deal, it seems the basis for the funding may have been an administration strategic decision separate from a direct response to this promise.
Reps. Earl Pomeroy (D-ND), Rick Hill (R-MT), and John Thune (R-SD)	Fast Track 1997**	CANADIAN WHEAT II: The Clinton administration made an array of promises to investigate and sanction subsidized sales of durum wheat by the Canadian Wheat Board, which was viewed as subsidizing	Broken. For nearly eight years encompassing Republican and Democratic administrations and deals made over the same issue during several trade fights, no meaningful action has been taken on this or previous related promises. While assorted investigations and negotiations were initiated with differing levels of seriousness, imposition of U.S. countervailing sanctions against Canadian durum wheat and hard red spring wheat in August 2003 was the first serious action taken. However, two NAFTA panels convened at Canada's request ruled in favor of Canada and against

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		durum wheat imports using a variety of mechanisms that result in unfair competition with Northern Plains wheat. (F)	the U.S. policy action. In a parallel process, in 2004, a decade after NAFTA was signed, the United States obtained a split opinion at the WTO on a challenge initiated by the Bush administration on Canadian Wheat Board marketing policies, approving the Board's continued operation. ⁴⁸
Rep. Matthew Martinez (D-CA)	Fast Track 1997	FREEWAY RAMP: The Clinton administration promised to build a freeway extension off of I-710 in Martinez's district. ⁴⁹ (P)	Broken. A decade later, ramp construction is still in the "study" phase. ⁵⁰ Martinez was "primaried out" of office in a challenge by now-Rep. Hilda Solis, who in her campaign focused on Martinez' repeated votes in favor of trade agreements that were viewed as contrary to the district's interests. ⁵¹
Reps. Ken Bentsen (D-TX), Bob Clement (D-TN), Chet Edwards (D-TX), Harold Ford (D-TN), Ruben Hinojosa (D-TX), Darlene Hooley (D-OR), Steny Hoyer (D-MD), Bernice Johnson (D-TX), and Solomon Ortiz (D-TX) ⁵²	Fast Track 1997	TAA II: The Clinton administration promised \$4 billion in funding for Trade Adjustment Assistance, ⁵³ including over \$1 billion in <i>new monies</i> for TAA and NAFTA-TAA. (F)	Broken. By 2002, five years after the initial promise, TAA funding had only grown by 30 percent of the promised amount. ⁵⁴
Rep. Ken Bentsen (D-TX)	Fast Track 1997	COMMISSION: The Clinton administration promised to create a Presidential Commission on Workers and Economic Change to address the effect of changing technology on worker	Broken. While an amendment was offered in a piece of House legislation to create the commission in 1999, ⁵⁶ it appears never to have been created and an extensive news search yields no commission activity. Indeed, five years later in the context of the China PNTR vote, Bentsen received another promise for this same unmet deal, which also never came to fruition.

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		displacement. ⁵⁵ (F)	
Rep. Henry Bonilla (R-TX)	Fast Track 1997	MEXICAN-DOMICILED TRUCKS: The Clinton administration promised to expedite the opening of the U.S. border and U.S. roadways to Mexican-domiciled trucks. ⁵⁷ (F)	Broken. The Clinton administration did not open U.S. roads to Mexican-domiciled trucks, and in contrast took actions to halt border opening. The Bush administration issued regulations to provide access, which were challenged. A 2004 Supreme Court decision authorized the issuance of regulations. However, Mexican-domiciled trucks remain limited to travel within a limited border zone because the Mexican government opposes U.S. regulations requiring safety inspections of Mexican trucking companies’ vehicles prior to receiving access to U.S. highways. ⁵⁸
Reps. Sanford Bishop (D-GA) and Saxby Chambliss (R-GA) and other Georgia lawmakers ⁵⁹	Fast Track 1997	PEANUTS II: The Clinton administration promised to protect the domestic peanut industry by taking into account its import sensitivity in future trade agreements. ⁶⁰ (F)	Broken. The Clinton administration implemented policy changes that continued the phase-out of restrictions on imports of peanuts. ⁶¹ Peanut imports rose to a record high in the late 1990s through 2002, when the number of peanut farmers in Georgia declined from about 6,000 farmers in 1995 to about 4,000 by 2002. Nationally, there was a decline of about 18,000 farmers to 12,000 farmers during the same period. ⁶²
Rep. Michael Bilirakis (R-FL)	Fast Track 1997	PERISHABLE AG GOODS: The Clinton administration promised “consultations” with Congress before beginning future trade negotiations on “perishable agricultural products” or cutting tariffs in this sector. ⁶³ (F)	Meaningless. Because Fast Track was ultimately defeated, the Clinton administration was constitutionally required to go through the normal, non-Fast Track procedure of seeking Congressional approval and mark-up for trade deals until Fast Track was obtained by President Bush in 2002.
Rep. Porter Goss (R-FL) and other Representatives from Florida	Fast Track 1997	TOMATOES III: The Clinton administration promised to more vigorously enforce a 1996 U.S.-Mexico agreement that would allow Mexico to export tomatoes into the	Broken. Investigations found that Clinton administration customs officials were not enforcing the reference price on certain growers from Sinaloa. Then, in 2002, Mexico briefly withdrew from the agreement altogether. ⁶⁵ In an example of the perils of taking a deal that can only deliver if its enforcement outlasts changes in Presidential administrations, the Bush administration has refused to take action on the Florida tomato growers’ and Florida state agricultural officials’ continued allegations of

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		U.S. market, so long as these exports were sold at a U.S.-government established reference price. ⁶⁴ (F)	tomato dumping in the U.S. market by Mexico. ⁶⁶ Total tomato imports into the U.S. grew by 137 percent from 1994 to 2003, ⁶⁷ while the number of tomato farmers in Florida shrank from 250 tomato farmers in 1994 to only 100 today. ⁶⁸
Reps. E. Clay Shaw Jr. (R-FL) and Peter Deutsch (D-FL)	Fast Track 1997	CUSTOMS INSPECTORS: The Clinton administration promised to add 50 customs inspectors for Florida's cruise ship piers. ⁶⁹ (F)	Broken. An attempt to provide funding for the inspectors was attached to legislation granting Clinton Fast Track trade negotiating authority. When that bill was withdrawn, Rep. Shaw was forced to draft emergency legislation and introduce it as a stand-alone bill in order to cover the cost of the customs inspectors. ⁷⁰
Rep. Sonny Bono (R-CA)	Fast Track 1997	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN LABELLING II: The Clinton administration promised to require that perishable imported foods be labeled with their country of origin. This measure was designed to calm domestic avocado farmers worried by the threat of pests, which could potentially cripple their business, posed by the importing of Mexican avocados ⁷¹ (F)	Broken. The Clinton administration did not take action on this promise. While the 1930 Tariff Act requires country-of-origin labeling in theory, its exemptions are so broad as to render it meaningless. The 2002 Farm Bill was supposed to phase in mandatory country-of-origin labeling for fruits, vegetables, meats, peanuts, and other products, but this was delayed by the Bush administration until at least 2006. ⁷²
Rep. Sonny Bono (R-CA)	Fast Track 1997	SALTON SEA: The Clinton administration promised to seek an environmental engineering solution to severe problems	Broken. H.R. 3267, a measure to conduct a feasibility study and construct a project to rehabilitate the Salton Sea, was passed in 1998. However, the study was so woefully inadequate that the Sierra Club sued the investigating agency. ⁷⁴ Clinton never visited the Salton Sea. ⁷⁵

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		with California’s polluted Salton Sea. President Clinton also promised to visit the site in 1998. ⁷³ (P)	
Rep. Howard Coble (R-NC)	Fast Track 1997	TAX BREAK: The Clinton administration promised to reinstate a tax break that allows homeowners to rent their primary residence tax-free for the first fortnight, a measure geared to benefit homeowners in Coble’s district who rent out their homes for an annual furniture show. ⁷⁶ (P)	Broken. According to Rep. Coble’s office, his constituents had to fight against the Clinton administration efforts to close this loophole every year. According to Coble’s office, the Bush administration supports the tax break, and his constituents no longer have to fight to keep this short-term rental arrangement tax-free. ⁷⁷
Sens. William Roth (R-DE), Thomas Daschle (D-SD), and Chuck Grassley (R-IA); Rep. Earl Pomeroy (R-ND), and other representatives with farm interests ⁷⁸	Fast Track 1997	AG EXPORT BARRIER REMOVAL: The Clinton administration promised to put into effect a new policy to identify by name countries with “egregious” barriers to any U.S. agricultural exports through the “Section 301” process, expanding on existing requirements that mandated only the naming of countries with barriers against value-added agricultural products. ⁷⁹ (F)	Broken. The Senate Bill, S.219, became S.2400 (105 th Congress), and died in committee.
Sen. Thomas	Fast Track	MEAT LABELING: The	Meaningless. Countries could have always labeled their country-of-origin

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Daschle (D-SD)	1997	Clinton administration promised support for a voluntary country-of-origin labeling regime for imports of meat into the U.S. market. ⁸⁰ (F)	voluntarily – the issue is whether there is any mandatory program that verifies these claims. As of 2005, Congressional appropriations for country-of-origin labeling for beef have been postponed until at least 2007. ⁸¹
Rep. Bob Etheridge (D-NC)	Fast Track 1997	TOBACCO: The Clinton administration promised to take into account the interests of farmers in administration tobacco policy. “Clearly we have indicated that protecting tobacco farmers as part of any tobacco settlement [on tobacco companies' liability for states' medical costs], is very important to us,” then-Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman told reporters. ⁸² (P)	Worthless. The most significant tobacco policy change, the Master Settlement, was negotiated between cigarette companies and U.S. states, outside the control of the Clinton administration. This agreement did include a compensation mechanism for growers (\$5.15 billion to growers over 12 years). ⁸³ However, the number of farms growing tobacco in the United States fell by 39 percent during the 5-year period 1997-2002, by far the greatest percentage decline in the past 50 years. ⁸⁴
Rep. Tom Sawyer (D-OH) ⁸⁵ , Ruben Hinojosa (D-TX), and Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX) ⁸⁶	Fast Track 1997	CLINTON MEET & GREET: President Clinton promised to visit the Ohio and Texas home districts of Reps. Sawyer, Hinojosa, and Jackson Lee, in order to show his thanks for their support on the failed Fast Track attempt. (P)	Kept, with unintended consequences. A broad-based coalition of Ohio faith, environmental, labor and small business groups and activists who had been demanding Sawyer oppose fast track organized a protest of the Clinton visit. This organizing effort shifted towards unseating Sawyer during meetings to prepare the Clinton protest. The 16-year veteran was beaten in 2002 41 to 21 percent by then 29-year old State Senator Tim Ryan, now the Democratic Congressman for Ryan’s former Akron, Ohio district.
Rep. George Radanovich (R-CA)	Fast Track 1997	WINE II: The Clinton administration promised to	Kept, but worthless. The Clinton administration did not succeed in completing an FTA with Chile. A Chile FTA was implemented by the

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		fight to open foreign markets to U.S. wine, particularly in a U.S.-Chile Free Trade Agreement. ⁸⁷ (F)	Bush administration in 2003 which included tariffs cuts for U.S wine. However, U.S. export sales of wine to Chile remain far below pre-agreement highs. ⁸⁸
Rep. George Radanovich (R-CA)	Fast Track 1997	PEACHES: The Clinton administration promised to take action on European Union subsidies for peaches and canned fruit. ⁸⁹ (F)	Broken. Under the Clinton administration, the USTR ignored Radanovich's appeals to deal with the problem as promised. ⁹⁰ Thus far, neither the Clinton nor Bush administrations have brought a WTO challenge against the EU on the subsidies despite a 1999 USDA report finding EU support for canned peaches was 10-15 times higher than U.S. levels. ⁹¹
Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX)	Fast Track 1997	COMMISSION: The Clinton administration promised to establish a presidential task force to monitor "housing, labor and environmental conditions" along the Mexican border. ⁹² (F)	Reversed. An Interagency Task Force on the Economic Development of the Southwest Border was created in 1999, ⁹³ but dissolved when President Bush came into office. Environmental conditions along the U.S.-Mexico border continue to deteriorate at rapid rates. ⁹⁴
Rep. Solomon Ortiz (D-TX)	Fast Track 1997	BRIDGE: The Clinton administration promised to fund an international cross-border bridge in Brownsville, Texas. ⁹⁵ (P)	Unclear. On April 30, 1999 the Veterans International Bridge at Los Tomates opened, connecting Brownsville, Texas and Matamoros, Mexico. ⁹⁶ However, Cameron County was entirely responsible for paying for the bridge itself, a cost of \$16 million. The federal government contributed only \$20 million (for things like customs inspection, border security, etc.) of the \$68 million total cost. ⁹⁷
Reps. Ken Bentsen (D-TX), Chet Edwards (D-TX), Ruben Hinojosa (D-TX), Bernice Johnson (D-TX), and Solomon Ortiz	Fast Track 1997	U.S.-MEXICO BORDER OFFICE: The Clinton administration promised to provide \$250 million towards an Office of Community and Economic Adjustment to better	Broken. The office was never created. ⁹⁹

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(D-TX) ⁹⁸		coordinate NADBank activities. (F)	
Rep. Ike Skelton (D-MO)	Fast Track 1997	STATEMENT: The Clinton administration promised to issue a statement that trade is important to national security. ¹⁰⁰ (F)	Kept, but meaningless. The Clinton administration regularly linked trade to national security issues well before this promise, so the “deal” itself had no real effect.
Rep. Ruben Hinojosa (D-TX)	Fast Track 1997	WATER TREATMENT FACILITY: The Clinton administration promised to push through a water treatment facility for McAllen, Texas, and Reynosa, Mexico. (P)	Unclear. A McAllen Northwater Plant already existed by 1995 ¹⁰¹ and an expansion of the facility began in 1998. ¹⁰² Hinojosa’s office did not know whether the projects were a result of the Fast Track promise. ¹⁰³
Rep. Brian Bilbray (R-CA)	Fast Track 1997	AUTOMOBILE ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS: The Clinton administration promised to support legislation (HR 8 in the 105th Congress) that would require cars crossing the Mexican and Canadian borders to meet tighter environmental standards. ¹⁰⁴ (F)	Meaningless. The bill passed unanimously and had not been subject to opposition by the Clinton administration, thus no further commitment had been needed to avoid a veto or obtain the President’s signature on this legislation. The legislation that was passed was quite weak only applying to California until other states opt-in. ¹⁰⁵
Reps. William Baker (R-CA), Brown (D-CA), Anne Eshoo (D-CA), Richard Lehman (D-CA),	NAFTA	WINE I: The Clinton administration promised to accelerate the reduction of Mexican tariffs provided for under NAFTA on U.S.	Broken. Cuts on Mexican tariffs on California wine were not accelerated, and Mexico enacted duties on wine during 1998 in a retaliatory measure against U.S. safeguards on broomcorns. ¹⁰⁷

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Norm Mineta (D-CA), Richard Pombo (D-CA), and Ed Royce (R-CA) ¹⁰⁶		exported wine. (F)	
Reps. John Spratt (D-SC), Herbert H. Bateman (R-VA), Howard Coble (R-NC), George Darden (D-GA), Nathan Deal (D-GA), E.G. Hefner (D-NC), Don Johnson (D-GA), Blanche Lambert (D-AR), Marilyn Lloyd (D-TN), J. Roy Rowland (D-GA), and John S. Tanner (D-TN)	NAFTA	EXTENSION OF TEXTILE-APPAREL MFA QUOTA PHASE-OUT: The Clinton administration promised that in on-going GATT Uruguay Round negotiations (which established the WTO), it would seek an extension in the phase-out of the global textile quota system by five years so that the Multi-fiber Arrangement would sunset in 2010 rather than the 2005 date then proposed. (F)	Broken. Clinton administration negotiators agreed to the original 2005 phase-out date weeks after NAFTA passed in 1993, making this the first NAFTA deal-for-votes promise to be broken. The Multi-fiber Arrangement was phased-out on January 1, 2005 as originally scheduled. In the months since the end of quotas, which had allocated set percentages of the U.S. textile and apparel market to the imports of an array of developing countries, Chinese textile and apparel imports have jumped 45 percent for the period Jan- April 2005, compared to the same period a year before. Imports of apparel increased 105 percent, and certain categories have seen increases in the thousands. For example, imports of cotton trousers from China have increased 1,500 percent. ¹⁰⁸ The George W. Bush administration has put into place certain emergency safeguards which are allowed for only three years under the terms of the U.S.-China bilateral agreement setting terms for China's WTO accession. Since NAFTA's implementation, 851,500 U.S. jobs have been lost in the textile and apparel sectors. ¹⁰⁹
Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX)	NAFTA	MILITARY PLANES: The Clinton administration promised to order two C-17 military cargo planes. The factory assembling C-17s was located in Rep. Johnson's district. (P)	Fake. Demand for new C-17's was growing consistently at the time, resulting in Pentagon orders for Rep. Bernice Johnson's district, as well as for factories in other Congressional districts that had capacity. Since the Pentagon purchases from companies were based on a competitive bidding process, Clinton would have been unable to "promise" the Representative that an order would be placed in her district. The administration and Congress had already decided to build the two addition planes regardless of whether or not Rep. Johnson voted for NAFTA. ¹¹⁰
Representatives from Florida. The	NAFTA	TOMATOES, PEPPERS, FLORIDA WINTER	Broken. A significant surge in tomato and pepper imports from Mexico started immediately after NAFTA went into effect. The ITC conducted

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<p>following Reps. voted for NAFTA: Tom Lewis (R-FL), Dan Miller (R-FL), Bill Young (R-FL), Bill McCollum (R-FL), Porter Goss (R-FL), Harry Johnston (D-FL), Alcee Hastings (D-FL), E. Clay Shaw (R-FL), Sam Gibbons (D-FL), and Carrie Meek (D-FL)</p>		<p>VEGETABLES II, Part I: The Clinton administration promised to “take the necessary steps to ensure that the USTR and the ITC take prompt and effective action to protect the U.S. vegetable industry against price-based import surges from Mexico.” This system was to be “enforceable and effective,” and included specific commitments that the ITC would monitor imports of tomatoes and peppers and that the administration would impose safeguards measures against import surges. (F)</p>	<p>annual investigations documenting the import flood and the demise of Florida’s \$4.8 billion winter vegetable industry. However, the Clinton administration took no action to implement safeguards despite compelling ITC data showing that such actions were called for under U.S. trade safeguard law and compatible with NAFTA’s surge protection provisions. In 1996, the Clinton administration inked a meaningless “agreement” on vegetable imports with Mexico. Total tomato imports into the United States from Mexico grew by 137 percent from 1994 to 2003, and Florida shrank from 250 tomato farmers in 1994 to only 100 today, while the winter vegetable industry lost \$1 billion in sales revenues, and 300 Florida winter vegetable operations have gone out of business.¹¹¹</p> <p>NAFTA's safeguard provisions are “totally ineffectual” for perishable commodities, according to a growers’ representative interviewed by <i>Inside U.S. Trade</i>. NAFTA’s tariff-rate quotas, which set a volume limit on imports beyond which tariffs are charged at pre-NAFTA rates, cannot be activated until “the damage is done” for commodities such as tomatoes, he said.</p> <p>In addition, the safeguard for perishable commodities written into NAFTA's implementing legislation, which expedites consideration by the International Trade Commission under Sections 201 and 202 of the 1974 trade act, is “totally ineffective as a safety valve” for industries overrun by surges of imports from Mexico, the tomato representative said.</p> <p>He noted that it did not work because the way that particular U.S. law is structured makes it “virtually impossible” for the ITC to find injury to the domestic industry, as was evidenced in a case brought two years ago by the U.S. tomato and pepper industries.¹¹²</p>
<p>Representatives from Florida. The following Reps.</p>	<p>NAFTA</p>	<p>TOMATOES, PEPPERS, FLORIDA WINTER VEGETABLES II, Part II:</p>	<p>Kept. In 1995, a pilot program was jointly launched by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Department of Defense to allow state departments of agriculture to use the military’s pre-existing commissary</p>

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<p>voted for NAFTA: Tom Lewis (R-FL), Dan Miller (R-FL), Bill Young (R-FL), Bill McCollum (R-FL), Porter Goss (R-FL), Harry Johnston (D-FL), Alcee Hastings (D-FL), E. Clay Shaw (R-FL), Sam Gibbons (D-FL), and Carrie Meek (D-FL)</p>		<p>The Clinton administration promised that the U.S. Agriculture Dept. would seek to establish a distribution program for the U.S. school lunch program that is favorable to fresh fruit and vegetables. As structured at the time, the distribution system favored canned or juiced vegetables, which Florida largely does not produce.¹¹³ (F)</p>	<p>distribution system to increase state school systems’ access to fresh fruit and produce. Industry sources consider the program, called DOD Fresh, to be wildly successful, and Congress recently doubled the programs’ budget.¹¹⁴</p>
<p>Representatives from Florida. The following Reps. voted for NAFTA: Tom Lewis (R-FL), Dan Miller (R-FL), Bill Young (R-FL), Bill McCollum (R-FL), Porter Goss (R-FL), Harry Johnston (D-FL), Alcee Hastings (D-FL), E. Clay Shaw (R-FL), Sam Gibbons (D-FL), and Carrie Meek (D-FL)</p>	<p>NAFTA</p>	<p>TOMATOES, PEPPERS, FLORIDA WINTER VEGETABLES II, Part III: The Clinton administration committed to supporting passage of a then-pending “Minor-Use Pesticide Act,” which would benefit small crop producers.¹¹⁵ (F)</p>	<p>Broken. This bill – H.R. 967 (103rd Congress) - died in committee.</p>

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<p>Representatives from Florida. The following Reps. voted for NAFTA: Tom Lewis (R-FL), Dan Miller (R-FL), Bill Young (R-FL), Bill McCollum (R-FL), Porter Goss (R-FL), Harry Johnston (D-FL), Alcee Hastings (D-FL), E. Clay Shaw (R-FL), Sam Gibbons (D-FL), and Carrie Meek (D-FL)</p>	<p>NAFTA</p>	<p>TOMATOES, PEPPERS, FLORIDA WINTER VEGETABLES II, Part IV:</p> <p>The Clinton administration committed to supporting full funding for the relocation of a research lab of the Agricultural Research Service from Orlando to Fort Pierce, Florida. Accompanying the move would be a commitment to expand the research agenda to include research on pests and other factors affecting winter vegetables grown in Florida.¹¹⁶ (F)</p>	<p>Kept. The laboratory relocated in 1997,¹¹⁷ and expanded its research agenda so that it now studies various factors affecting winter vegetables grown in Florida.¹¹⁸</p>
<p>Representatives from Florida. The following Reps. voted for NAFTA: Tom Lewis (R-FL), Dan Miller (R-FL), Bill Young (R-FL), Bill McCollum (R-FL), Porter Goss (R-FL), Harry Johnston (D-FL), Alcee Hastings (D-FL), E. Clay Shaw (R-FL).</p>	<p>NAFTA</p>	<p>TOMATOES, PEPPERS, FLORIDA WINTER VEGETABLES II, Part V:</p> <p>The Clinton administration promised that the United States would not agree in the Uruguay Round global trade talks at the GATT to cut U.S. tariffs for tomatoes, celery, head lettuce, green peppers and sweet corn by more than</p>	<p>Meaningless. The agreement applied only to imports allowed under the GATT and General System of Preferences, but did not apply to imports negotiated under regional or bilateral agreements, under which U.S. negotiators repeatedly placed every commodity on the table and made cuts.¹²⁰</p>

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<p>Sam Gibbons (D-FL), and Carrie Meek (D-FL)</p>		<p>15 percent. In addition, the Clinton administration promised not to allow any new countries to export those crops to the U.S. duty-free under the Generalized System of Preferences, according to congressional and industry sources.¹¹⁹ (F)</p>	
<p>Representatives from Florida. The following Reps. voted for NAFTA: Tom Lewis (R-FL), Dan Miller (R-FL), Bill Young (R-FL), Bill McCollum (R-FL), Porter Goss (R-FL), Harry Johnston (D-FL), Alcee Hastings (D-FL), E. Clay Shaw (R-FL). Sam Gibbons (D-FL), and Carrie Meek (D-FL)</p>	<p>NAFTA</p>	<p>TOMATOES, Part VI: The Clinton administration promised to phase-out tariffs on tomatoes under NAFTA over a 10-year adjustment period. (F)</p>	<p>Compromised. Actual tomato tariffs were phased-out as scheduled in 2004. However, the Mexican peso devaluation of 40 percent in 1994 effectively resulted in a phase-out of tomato tariffs in 1995. Despite urgent demand to take compensatory action, the Clinton administration refused to do so.</p>
<p>Representatives from Florida. The following Reps. voted for NAFTA: Tom Lewis (R-FL),</p>	<p>NAFTA</p>	<p>CITRUS I, Part I. The Clinton administration promised to obtain greater market access for Florida citrus products in Mexico.</p>	<p>Broken. While overall U.S. citrus exports to Mexico more than tripled under NAFTA, it was through no additional promised actions of the Clinton administration that this occurred.¹²¹ In fact, a U.S. Department of Agriculture report from 2002 found that the Mexican sanitary and phytosanitary standards the citrus industry was targeting still amounted to</p>

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<p>Dan Miller (R-FL), Bill Young (R-FL), Bill McCollum (R-FL), Porter Goss (R-FL), Harry Johnston (D-FL), Alcee Hastings (D-FL), E. Clay Shaw (R-FL), Sam Gibbons (D-FL), and Carrie Meek (D-FL)</p>		<p>(F)</p>	<p>a considerable barrier to trade.^{122 123}</p> <p>On balance, citrus industry groups say that, “NAFTA encouraged under-priced imports, which contributed directly to the erosion of U.S. processing orange prices and grower earnings. [...] This damage occurred without any counterbalancing positive effects on U.S. orange juice exports.”¹²⁴</p>
<p>Representatives from Florida. The following Reps. voted for NAFTA: Tom Lewis (R-FL), Dan Miller (R-FL), Bill Young (R-FL), Bill McCollum (R-FL), Porter Goss (R-FL), Harry Johnston (D-FL), Alcee Hastings (D-FL), E. Clay Shaw (R-FL), Sam Gibbons (D-FL), and Carrie Meek (D-FL)</p>	<p>NAFTA</p>	<p>CITRUS I, Part II: The Clinton administration pledged to limit the cuts in U.S. tariffs on citrus imports in the Uruguay Round of global trade talks to 15 percent, and also promised that no new U.S. trading partners would be allowed in the future to sell fresh or processed citrus products into the U.S. duty-free under the Generalized System of Preferences program.¹²⁵ (F)</p>	<p>Meaningless. This agreement applies only to imports allowed under the GATT and General System of Preferences, and does not apply to imports negotiated under regional or bilateral agreements, under which U.S. negotiators have repeatedly said that every commodity is on the table.¹²⁶</p>
<p>Representatives from Florida. The following Reps. voted for NAFTA: Tom Lewis (R-FL),</p>	<p>NAFTA</p>	<p>CITRUS I, Part III: The Clinton administration promised to incorporate into NAFTA a safeguard mechanism for frozen</p>	<p>Broken. According to industry sources, “Despite the natural, currency and competitive difficulties Mexican producers have faced, U.S. imports of frozen orange juice from Mexico have still exceeded the NAFTA tariff rate quota in every year, except 2001. Thus, Florida orange growers have still had to contend with significant volumes of orange juice from</p>

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<p>Representatives from Florida. The following Reps. voted for NAFTA: Tom Lewis (R-FL), Dan Miller (R-FL), Bill Young (R-FL), Bill McCollum (R-FL), Porter Goss (R-FL), Harry Johnston (D-FL), Alcee Hastings (D-FL), E. Clay Shaw (R-FL), Sam Gibbons (D-FL), and Carrie Meek (D-FL)</p>	<p>NAFTA</p>	<p>CITRUS I, Part IV: The Clinton administration promised to amend Section 201 of U.S. trade law to allow imports of all types of citrus juice from non-NAFTA countries to qualify as perishable produce, and thus merit expedited consideration of industry complaints by the International Trade Commission.¹²⁹ (F)</p>	<p>Meaningless. While Section 201 was expanded to cover “perishable products and citrus products” (technically in violation of the promise to classify citrus products as “perishable products”),¹³⁰ Florida’s citrus industry representatives have regularly deemed these protections inadequate.¹³¹</p> <p>As mentioned above for winter vegetables, agricultural sectors consider the “perishable” product provisions of U.S. trade law to be inadequate and unenforceable.¹³²</p>
<p>Representatives from Florida. The following Reps. voted for NAFTA: Tom Lewis (R-FL),</p>	<p>NAFTA</p>	<p>FOOD IMPORT INSPECTION: The Clinton administration promised to increase inspections of imported</p>	<p>Broken. While the volume of agricultural imports from Mexico grew by nearly 50 percent between 1995 and 2004, the rate of inspection on imported food from Mexico has remained roughly the same as pre-NAFTA levels. It is difficult to obtain detailed information about most forms of inspections of imported food conducted by the government. One</p>

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<p>Dan Miller (R-FL), Bill Young (R-FL), Bill McCollum (R-FL), Porter Goss (R-FL), Harry Johnston (D-FL), Alcee Hastings (D-FL), E. Clay Shaw (R-FL), Sam Gibbons (D-FL), and Carrie Meek (D-FL)</p>		<p>food if there was a significant increase in imports from Mexico. (F)</p>	<p>form of inspection, however, is the USDA's Food Safety and Inspection Service's Foreign Equivalency Audits, where USDA officials go abroad to examine conditions in meat and poultry facilities that are certified to export to the United States. While meat and poultry imports from Mexico have grown 60 percent in the 2000-2004 period,¹³³ equivalency audits have maintained constant at either around 12 or 24 site inspections a year.¹³⁴ Current Bush administration policy is to decrease the number of inspections per level of imports.¹³⁵</p>
<p>Representatives from Florida. The following Reps. voted for NAFTA: Tom Lewis (R-FL), Dan Miller (R-FL), Bill Young (R-FL), Bill McCollum (R-FL), Porter Goss (R-FL), Harry Johnston (D-FL), Alcee Hastings (D-FL), E. Clay Shaw (R-FL), Sam Gibbons (D-FL), and Carrie Meek (D-FL)</p>	<p>NAFTA</p>	<p>METHYL BROMIDE: The Clinton administration promised that there would be no restrictions on the use or manufacture of methyl bromide (a chemical tomato growers used for soil and post-harvest fumigation which was listed for phase-out as an ozone depleting chemical) until 2000 and to provide "full funding" for research to develop "satisfactory alternatives." (P)</p>	<p>Compromised. By 1999, a year ahead of the promised schedule, the administration agreed to a 25 percent reduction in the use of methyl bromide, in violation of the initial 1993 promise.¹³⁶ While the government has invested in research into methyl bromide alternatives, environmental groups say that industry has undermined efforts to come to definitive conclusions on the phasing-in of alternatives to the chemical.¹³⁷</p>
<p>Rep. Sam Farr (D-CA)</p>	<p>NAFTA</p>	<p>CUT FLOWERS: The Clinton administration promised to safeguard the California cut flower sector. Specific</p>	<p>Broken. A significant surge in cut flowers from Mexico began shortly after NAFTA went into effect. The ITC conducted investigations documenting the surge in imports and detailing the demise of California's cut flower industry. However, the Clinton administration took no action to implement safeguards despite compelling ITC data that would support</p>

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		commitments included a promise that the ITC would monitor imports and that the administration would impose safeguards measures against import surges. (F)	such actions under U.S. law as well as show such actions to be compatible with NAFTA’s safeguard provisions.
Reps. Bill Sarpalius (D-TX), Bill Brewster (D-OK), ¹³⁸ and Glenn English (D-OK)	NAFTA	CANADIAN WHEAT I: The Clinton administration promised that it would pressure the Canadian Wheat Board to eliminate wheat subsidies and protect the U.S. durum wheat industry. (F)	Broken. For nearly ten years encompassing Republican and Democratic administrations, no meaningful action was taken on this promise, which has been traded for votes on several trade bills. In 2004, a decade after NAFTA was signed, the United States obtained a split opinion at the WTO on a challenge initiated by the Bush administration on Canadian Wheat Board marketing policies that allows for the continued operation of the Canadian Wheat Board.
Rep. Peter Hoekstra (R-MI), and Representatives from California, Washington and other states	NAFTA	ASPARAGUS: The Clinton administration promised to ensure that “asparagus farmers remain competitive under NAFTA.” (F)	Broken. Asparagus imports from Mexico grow by 55 percent from 1995 to 2004. The Clinton administration took no actions, despite ITC data that would have supported use of U.S. safeguards measures allowed under NAFTA. Import surges have contributed to a 55 percent reduction in production in Washington State alone since 1991.
Representatives in districts with trucking industry interests	NAFTA	TRUCK LENGTH RULES: The Clinton administration promised that it had obtained Mexico’s commitment to allowing U.S. trucking industry-preferred 53 foot trailers on Mexican roads. (F)	Delayed. The administration did not make this commitment a priority. Seven years passed before the 2000 change in Mexican policy allowing 53-foot trailers.
Sen. Charles Grassley (R-IA),	NAFTA	APPLIANCE TARIFF CUT ACCELERATION:	Broken. The Clinton administration did not push for or obtain accelerated tariff cuts for such refrigerators and clothes-washers, for which there is

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Rep. Fred Grandy (R-IA), Neal Smith (D-IA), and other Iowa Representatives		The Clinton administration promised to push Mexico to accelerate reductions on tariffs on U.S.-made appliances, due to members' interest in supporting Maytag, Amana and Frigidaire companies. (F)	significant demand in Mexico. Some accelerated tariff reductions were obtained for dishwashers and clothes-dryers, two goods for which industry sources say there is no Mexican market. ¹³⁹
Rep. Dave Hobson (R-OH), and Representatives from Texas and Oklahoma with flat glass industry interests	NAFTA	FLAT GLASS TARIFF CUT ACCELERATION: The Clinton administration promised to push Mexico to accelerate tariff reductions for U.S. flat glass imports. (F)	Broken. When the Clinton administration raised this proposal, the Mexican government was unwilling to discuss it. Accelerated tariff reductions were not obtained. ¹⁴⁰ Indeed, Mexico increased tariffs on U.S. flat glass imports for several years after NAFTA was signed in retaliation for U.S. raising tariffs on broomcorn brooms after a safeguard case. ¹⁴¹
Representatives with Brussels sprouts interests in their districts	NAFTA	BRUSSEL SPROUTS: The Clinton administration promised to expedite a tariff-quota snapback if Mexican Brussels sprouts imports negatively affected U.S. producers. (F)	Broken. The U.S. industry characterizes the promised snapback as "total failure." Mexican Brussels sprouts were dumped on U.S. market, but the promised interventions were not timely. Total Brussels sprouts imports from Mexico soared several hundred percent between 1995 and 2004.
Rep. Sam Farr (D-CA)	NAFTA	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN LABELLING I: The Clinton administration promised to vigorously enforce U.S. country-of-origin labeling requirements for imports of frozen produce, requiring that such labels be	Broken. The Clinton administration did not act on this promise. While the 1930 Tariff Act requires country-of-origin labeling in theory, its exemptions are so broad as to make it meaningless. The 2002 Farm Bill was supposed to phase in mandatory country-of-origin labeling for fruits, vegetables, meats, peanuts, and other products, but this has already been delayed until at least 2006. ¹⁴²

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		prominent and on the front of packages. (F)	
Rep. Howard McKeon (R-CA)	NAFTA	HIGHWAY FUNDS; The Clinton administration promised to secure federal highway funds for an interchange on Highway 126 linking the Golden State freeway and Antelope Valley Freeway. (P)	Broken. The Clinton administration did not deliver on this promise. A decade later, this interchange has still not been built.
Representatives with sugar, corn or HFCS processing in their districts	NAFTA	SUGAR: The Clinton administration negotiated a NAFTA side letter that it claimed would alter core NAFTA rules regarding sugar imports. The side letter stated that Mexico could only export sugar into the U.S. market if Mexico's sugar production exceeded its domestic sugar <i>and</i> high fructose corn syrup (HFCS) consumption, thereby giving Mexico an incentive to consume more HFCS, and making it much harder for sugar importing interests to import sugar into the U.S. market. The original NAFTA text had a	In jeopardy. Although the side letter was contained in the U.S. implementing legislation, it was not approved by the Mexican government. The Mexican government disputed the legal relevance and meaning of the side letter, arguing that it had the right to import sugar under NAFTA's original terms. When the United States capped sugar imports according to the U.S. version of the sugar formula, Mexico retaliated by launching an anti-dumping measure against U.S. exports of HFCS into the Mexican market. When a WTO panel ruled that this was inconsistent with Mexico's WTO obligations, Mexico imposed a tax on the sale of drinks containing HFCS, thereby penalizing U.S. exporters of HFCS. ¹⁴³ The United States is currently pursuing a WTO case against Mexico for this tax, so far with no progress. ¹⁴⁴ The U.S. Trade Representative's office has indicated that it may be abandoning the original U.S. interpretation of the side letter, putting further uncertainty on whether this NAFTA promise will stand the test of time. ¹⁴⁵ While U.S. sugar interests were protected under NAFTA's tariff rate quota for sugar, CAFTA and other trade deals down the line may jeopardize this protection. Meanwhile, changes in the Farm Bill 1996 already caused the prices paid to cane and beet growers of sugar to be lowered by 20 percent, while retail prices paid to wholesalers of products containing sugar rose has risen from 7.1 to 23.3 percent since 1996. ¹⁴⁶

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		formula that only counted sugar consumption as an import trigger. (F)	
Rep. Bill Sarpalius (D-TX)	NAFTA	RESEARCH FACILITY: The Clinton administration promised to fund construction of a plutonium research laboratory at Pantex nuclear disassembling site at Amarillo, Texas. (P)	Broken. The promised federal funds were never appropriated and the lab was never built.
Rep. Gerry Studds (D-MA)	NAFTA	SHIPYARD FUNDING: The Clinton administration promised \$1.2 billion in federal financing to revive an abandoned shipyard in Quincy, Massachusetts. (P)	Broken. The promised federal funds were never appropriated. Quincy Shipyard remains closed and has been subject to possession and repossession by the government.
Reps. Jay Kim (R-CA), Carlos Moorhead (R-CA), and other Members of Congress	NAFTA	PRISONER TRANSFER TREATY: The Clinton administration promised to increase enforcement of an existing prisoner transfer treaty with Mexico and begin negotiations on a new one. (P)	Broken. The Clinton administration never negotiated a new treaty, while the number of Mexican citizens in the U.S. prison system continued to outnumber all other foreign nationals at significant taxpayer expense, according to the GAO.
Reps. Bill Sarpalius (D-TX) and Glenn English (D-OK)	NAFTA	PEANUTS I: The Clinton administration promised to monitor peanut imports and to use trade safeguard law to protect the U.S. peanut industry. (F)	Broken. Despite a surge of imports and the halving of the number of farms growing peanuts since NAFTA went into effect, no safeguards were imposed. Indeed, the USDA dismantled its peanut program, contributing to the demise of U.S. production levels.
Rep. Dave Hobson	NAFTA	BROOMCORN: The	Reversed. The Clinton administration imposed what was supposed to be

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(R-OH)		Clinton administration promised to monitor broomcorn imports and use trade law to protect the industry. (F)	a three-year tariff safeguard on Mexican broomcorns in Nov. 1996. But in Dec. 1998, a year before schedule, the administration dropped the safeguard when Mexico was successful in a NAFTA challenge to the measure. ¹⁴⁷
Reps. David Price (D-NC), Tim Valentine, (D-NC), and Bob Clement (D-TN) ¹⁴⁸	NAFTA	INTERNATIONAL AIR ROUTES: The Clinton administration promised to award American Airlines two additional routes to London through Raleigh and Nashville. ¹⁴⁹ (P)	Kept. The administration authorized new American Airlines flights from RDU and Nashville to London. However, Nashville flight ended two years later because of American Airlines' financial difficulties. ¹⁵⁰
Rep. J.J. Pickle (D-TX)	NAFTA	COMMISSION: The Clinton administration promised to provide \$10 million for a "Center for the Study of Trade in the Western Hemisphere" in Pickle's Austin district. ¹⁵¹ (P)	Broken. Although the \$10 million was authorized in NAFTA's implementing legislation, it was not provided for in the administration's \$2.5 billion 'NAFTA funding' package, thus adding to the billions of dollars in unfunded NAFTA costs. ¹⁵²
Reps. Bob Smith, (R-OR), Joel Hefley (R-CO), and Wayne Allard, (R-CO), ¹⁵³ and other Representatives from Western States	NAFTA	GRAZING FEES: The Clinton administration promised that the Interior Department would delay a decision on an increase in grazing fees. ¹⁵⁴ (P)	Kept. The Clinton administration delayed the announcement of a package of federal range land reforms which included raising grazing fees, and reopened negotiations with Representatives from western states who opposed the administration's grazing- reform fees. ¹⁵⁵ According to the Sierra Club, fees were actually lowered, resulting in the breaking of a promise then-candidate Clinton had made to the environmental community concerned about "subsidizing the cattle industry while overtaxing people and land." ¹⁵⁶
Rep. Lewis Payne (D-VA)	NAFTA	NIST SITING: The Clinton administration promised to consider Rep. Payne's district for a	Broken. NIST facilities are located in Gaithersburg, Maryland and Boulder, Colorado. There is no record of a location in Bedford or Danville, Virginia (Rep. Payne's district), according to the Bedford County Department of Planning.

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		National Institute of Standards and Technology facility. ¹⁵⁷ (P)	
Rep. Edward Markey (D-MA)	NAFTA	ENERGY: The Clinton administration promised not to reopen free-trade negotiations with Canada on energy. ¹⁵⁸ Because Massachusetts is heavily reliant on imported Canadian energy, Markey opposed language in a proposed NAFTA side letter that would have allowed Canada to limit energy exports to the U.S. in the event of a Canadian emergency need for more energy. ¹⁵⁹ (F)	Unclear. While the Clinton administration did not negotiate the side letter Canada sought regarding energy issues, the Chrétien administration in Canada issued a diplomatic <i>demarche</i> shortly after NAFTA was passed by Congress interpreting its NAFTA commitments as “not requiring any Canadian to export a given level or proportion of any energy resource to another NAFTA country.” ¹⁶⁰ The status of the U.S.-Canada energy trade commitments has not been tested in a NAFTA tribunal, although NAFTA’s actual terms would favor an interpretation in conflict with the Chrétien unilateral declaration.
Reps. Mel Hancock (R-MO) and Bill Emerson (R-MO)	NAFTA	MISSOURI LEVEES: The Clinton administration promised \$150 million to rebuild levees destroyed in 1993 in massive Midwest flooding, projects which had not previously been eligible for federal aid funds. ¹⁶¹ (P)	Broken. Weeks after the November vote, the <i>St. Louis Post Dispatch</i> reported that the Clinton administration had backtracked on the levee offer, and was only offering \$18 million for the repair of previously ineligible levees. Emerson, outraged, proposed another bill requesting more money, which passed the House in late November 1993. ¹⁶²
Rep. Tom Ewing (R-IL)	NAFTA	TAX PHASE-OUT: The Clinton administration promised to phase out a tax on international airline	Broken. President Clinton did agree to phase out the small \$1.50 increase in the Customs processing fee by 1997. ¹⁶⁴ However, in the same year he arranged for massive tax hikes on international airline travel, including a new \$12 arrival fee, as well as a \$6 increase in the international departure

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		travel. ¹⁶³ (P)	fee. ¹⁶⁵
Rep. E. Clay Shaw (R-FL)	NAFTA	EXTRADITION OF RAPIST: The Clinton administration promised to extradite a Mexican man who raped an acquaintance of the Representative. ¹⁶⁶ (P)	Broken. The rapist remains in Mexico. ¹⁶⁷
Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA)	NAFTA	LABOR RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT: The Clinton administration promised to issue an Executive Order extending the coverage of “Section 301” – the section of U.S. trade law that allows for trade benefits to be revoked for countries that fail to meet certain conditions – to include labor rights. The Executive Order would have provided teeth to NAFTA’s weak labor side agreement because otherwise NAFTA would guarantee Mexico’s trade benefits irrespective of its labor practices. (F)	Broken. The Clinton Executive Order was never issued, contributing to NAFTA’s labor side agreement being unenforceable. Moreover, despite Clinton administration assurances that Section 301 would remain usable and effective despite WTO rules that would seem to eviscerate it, the U.S. government settled a WTO case with Japan concerning Section 301 sanctions over film trade (Kodak vs. Fuji) after it became apparent that a WTO panel would issue a formal ruling that Section 301 was no longer usable under WTO requirements.
Rep. Tom Sawyer (D-OH) and other Representatives concerned about	NAFTA	NAFTA LABOR SIDE AGREEMENT: The Clinton administration negotiated a NAFTA labor	Broken. The NAFTA labor commission received only a third of the \$2 million a year promised by the Clinton administration for its operation. While labor law is frequently flouted, the commission established by the side agreement has not ordered remedial actions. Moreover, not a single

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labor rights		side agreement, promising that it would guarantee that each country enforced basic labor standards so as to raise wages and improve working conditions. (F)	illegally-fired worker has been reinstated as a result of the NAFTA labor side agreement.
Representatives concerned about environmental and conservation problems.	NAFTA	NAFTA ENVIRONMENTAL SIDE AGREEMENT: The Clinton administration negotiated a NAFTA environmental side agreement that it promised would ensure improved environmental laws and enforcement. (F)	Broken. The NAFTA environmental side agreement received just over half of the promised \$5 million a year promised by the Clinton administration for its operation. Although the commission established by side agreement permits the imposition of \$20 million dollar fines for repeated failures to enforce certain categories of environmental laws, not a single ruling has been issued by the commission imposing fines. Environmental conditions in Mexico have deteriorated during NAFTA's eleven years of operation.
Rep. Esteban Torres (D-CA), Rep. Ed Pastor (D-AZ), ¹⁶⁸ and other Democratic House members	NAFTA	NADBANK: The Clinton administration promised to establish a \$3 billion North American Development Bank to fund the environmental clean-up of the heavily polluted U.S.-Mexico border region, and to build basic water and sewage infrastructure. (F)	Broken. While the Clinton administration did obtain the \$1.5 billion in paid-in and callable capital funding for the NADBank's initial capitalization, the Bank's operating rules resulted in the disbursal of less than 1 percent of the promised clean-up monies. Thus NADBank funding has not been available for the many needed cleanup and infrastructure projects.
Rep. Esteban Torres (D-CA) and other Democratic House members	NAFTA	BECC: The Clinton administration promised to fund a Border Environmental	Broken. While it was authorized in NAFTA's implementing legislation to receive \$5 million a year, the BECC was appropriated only about half of this amount, while border environmental problems, including the handful of high-profile projects used to sell the BECC and NADBank,

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		Cooperation Commission (BECC) that would coordinate and approve NADBank projects, at rate of \$5 million a year. (F)	remain unresolved.
Rep. Esteban Torres (D-CA)	NAFTA	COMMUNITY ADJUSTMENT AND INVESTMENT PROGRAM: The Clinton administration promised to create a “domestic window” of the NADBank called the Community Adjustment and Investment Program (CAIP). Ten percent of the total capital of NADBank (\$300 million, or \$150 million per country) was to fund community development programs anywhere in either host country, provided the community could show that NAFTA was directly responsible for a particular economic downturn. ¹⁶⁹ (F)	Broken. For an entire year after the passage of NAFTA, no employees were even hired to operate the “domestic window.” Finally, in December 1995, after growing protests from Members of Congress, an administration official was named Interim Director and an advisory committee was appointed. ¹⁷⁰ For several years thereafter, NADBANK’s “domestic window” program did not loan a single cent, nor certify a single community as a possible recipient of development programs. ¹⁷¹ Since its inception, the program has dispersed a trifling 2 percent of the promised \$150 million for U.S. community programs. ¹⁷²
Rep. Floyd Flake (D-NY)	NAFTA	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FUNDING I: The Clinton administration promised \$580 million in federal	Broken. No projects were financed in Flake’s district. ¹⁷⁴

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		Small Business administration funds for community development in Flake’s district. ¹⁷³ (F)	
Representatives concerned with trade-related job loss in their districts.	NAFTA	TAA I: The George Herbert Walker Bush administration promised a \$4 billion per year trade adjustment assistance program for workers. ¹⁷⁵ (F)	Broken. The TAA program received less than \$4 billion total from 1994-2002. ¹⁷⁶

* Note about this appendix: This chart tracks all deals that have been corroborated by press accounts. In some cases, where a bloc of votes are targeted (e.g. Florida representatives), a list of Members who voted for the trade agreement in question is provided. Please send any information on additional deals not listed here to Todd Tucker at ttucker@citizen.org. Public Citizen’s Global Trade Watch will continue to update this chart as additional information becomes available.

** Although Fast Track was not voted on in 1997, many promises were made in an effort to whip up support. This is a listing of those promises, along with Members of Congress that were indicated by the press to have been influenced by the promise of deals.

This appendix was compiled by Todd Tucker and Lori Wallach, with help from Paul Adler, Lina Gomez, Travis McArthur, and Jamie Strawbridge during June 2005.

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¹ “We were gratified that Ambassador Zoellick agreed with these principles and agreed that any changes to American immigration or antitrust law be only considered through the normal legislative process. *It was only because of Ambassador Zoellick's commitment that many members of the House and Senate agreed to support passage in the 108th Congress of legislation implementing the U.S.-Chile and U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreements*” [italics added]. From: Reps. F. James Sensenbrenner (R-WI) and John Conyers (D-MI), Letter to U.S. Trade Representative Rob Portman on WTO Mode 4, May 27, 2005.

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