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April 29, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR: Jane Bobbitt
Dave Carlin
Bill Danvers
Barbara Larkin
Linda Robertson
Rich Tarplin

FROM: Susan Brophy

RE: Fast Track Calls

In an effort to encourage House Democrats to "keep their powder dry", and to consult with Members and solicit their input into the Administration's fast track proposal, we would like Cabinet Members to make phone calls to selected House Democrats. Attached is an assignment list, talking points and background materials; please make sure the assigned Members are contacted by the date noted in the attached list. Please report back the results of your calls to Michael Williams in my office. Thanks for your help.

CABINET LEVEL CONTACTS WITH HOUSE DEMS -- PROPOSED ASSIGNMENTS

Member	Responsible	GATT	NAFTA	Fast Track (1991)	Fast Track (103rd)	Comments/Follow-up
Neil Abercrombie (D-HI)	CB by 5/9	Y	N	N	N	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Gary Ackerman (-NY)	CB by 5/9	Y	N	N	Y	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Xavier Becerra (D-CA)	CB on 5/7	Y	Y	N	N	W&M/Hispanic Caucus
Howard Berman (D-CA)	CB on 5/14	Y	Y	Y	Y	HIRC
David Bonior (D-MI)	CB on 4/29	N	N	Y	N	Leadership
Bill Coyne (D-PA)	CB by 5/9	Y	N	Y	Y	W&M
Rosa DeLauro (D-CT)	CB on 5/7	Y	N	Y	Y	Leadership
Elizabeth Furse (D-OR)	CB by 5/7	Y	N	N/A	N	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Martin Frost (D-TX)	CB by 5/6	Y	N	Y	Y	Rules
Dick Gephardt (D-MO)	CB on 5/7	Y	N	Y	Y	Leadership
Tony Hall (D-OH)	CB on 5/14	Y	N	Y	Y	Rules
Marcy Kaptur (D-OH)	CB on 5/6	N	N	N	N	Progressive Caucus
Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX)	CB by 5/9	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Member suggestion
Gerald Kleczka (D-WI)	CB by 5/9	Y	N	N	Y	W&M
John LaFalce (D-NY)	CB on 4/29	Y	N	N	Y	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA/New Dem
John Lewis (D-GA)	CB by 5/9	N	N	N	N	W&M; leadership; Black Caucus
Karen McCarthy (D-MO)	CB by 5/9	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	New Dem

Member	Responsible	GATT	NAFTA	Fast Track (1991)	Fast Track (103rd)	Comments/Follow-up
Jim McDermott (D-WA)	CB on 5/7	Y	Y	Y	Y	W&M
Robert Menendez (D-NJ)	CB by 5/9	Y	N	N/A	N	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Richard Neal (D-MA)	CB on 5/7	Y	N	Y	N	W&M
Solomon Ortiz (D-TX)	CB by 5/9	Y	Y	Y	Y	Hispanic Caucus
Tom Sawyer (D-OH)	CB by 5/9	Y	Y	Y	Y	New Dem
Jose Serrano (D-NY)	CB by 5/9	Y	N	N	N	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA; Hispanic Caucus
David Skaggs (D-CO)	CB by 5/9	Y	Y	Y	Y	DSG
Louise Slaughter (D-NY)	CB by 5/9	Y	N	Y	Y	Rules
Pete Stark (D-CA)	CB on 5/6	N	N	N	N	W&M
Wednesday Budget Grp.	CB on 5/14					
Women Dems	CB on 4/29					

Member	Responsible	GATT	NAFTA	Fast Track (1991)	Fast Track (103rd)	Comments/Follow-up
Robert Borski (D-PA)	Berger by 5/9	Y	N	Y	Y	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Corrine Brown (D-FL)	SB by 5/9	Y	N	N	N	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA/Black Caucus
James Clyburn (D-SC)	SB by 5/9	Y	N	N/A	N	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA/New Dem/Black Caucus
Bob Filner (D-CA)	SB by 5/9	Y	N	N/A	N	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Bill Luther (D-MN)	SB by 5/9	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Sophmore/New Dem
Paul McHale (D-PA)	SB by 5/9	Y	N	N/A	N	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
John Olver (D-MA)	SB by 5/9	Y	N	N	Y	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA, whip
Ed Pastor (D-AZ)	SB by 5/9	Y	Y	N/A	Y	Hispanic Caucus
Owen Pickett (D-VA)	SB by 5/9	Y	Y	Y	Y	Blue Dog

Member	Responsible	GATT	NAFTA	Fast Track (1991)	Fast Track (103rd)	Comments/Follow-up
Rick Boucher (D-VA)	Daley by 5/1	Y	N	Y	Y	Commerce; Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Julian Dixon (D-CA)	BD by 5/1	Y	N	Y	Y	CSJ Approps Subcom; Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Gene Green (D-TX)	BD by 5/1	Y	N	N/A	N	Commerce;Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Ralph Hall (D-TX)	BD by 5/1	N	N	Y	Y	Commerce
Thomas Manton (D-NY)	BD by 5/1	Y	N	Y	Y	Commerce; Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Glenn Poshard (D-IL)	BD by 5/1	Y	N	N/A	N	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Bobby Rush (D-IL)	BD by 5/1	N	N	N/A	N/V	Commerce; Black Caucus
Henry Waxman (D-CA)	BD by 5/1	N	N	N/V	N	Commerce
Al Wynn (D-MD)	BD by 5/1	Y	N	N/A	Y	Commerce; Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Sid Yates (D-IL)	BD by 5/1	Y	N	N	N	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA

Member	Responsible	GATT	NAFTA	Fast Track (1991)	Fast Track (103rd)	Comments/Follow-up
Scotty Baesler (D-KY)	Glickman by 5/9	Y	Y	N	Y	Ag; Blue Dog
John Baldacci (D-ME)	DG by 5/9	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Ag
Sanford Bishop (D-GA)	DG by 5/9	Y	N	N	N	Ag; Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
George Brown (D-CA)	DG by 5/9	Y	Y	Y	Y	Ag
Eva Clayton (D-NC)	DG by 5/9	Y	N	N/A	N	Ag;Y-GATT, N-NAFTA/Black Caucus
Gary Condit (D-CA)	DG by 5/9	N	N	Y	Y	Ag; requested mtg as follow-up to mtg with Blue Dogs
Bud Cramer (D-AL)	DG by 5/9	N	N	Y	N	Blue Dog
Sam Farr (D-CA)	DG by 5/9	Y	Y	N/A	Y	Ag; target of labor ads
David Minge (D-MN)	DG by 5/9	Y	N	N/A	Y	Ag, Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Bennie Thompson (D-MS)	DG by 5/9	N	N	N/A	N/V	Ag

Member	Responsible	GATT	NAFTA	Fast Track (1991)	Fast Track (103rd)	Comments/Follow-up
Tom Barrett (D-WI)	Rubin by 5/9	Y	N	N	Y	Banking; Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Ken Bentsen (D-TX)	BR by 5/9	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Banking
Steny Hoyer (D-MD)	BR by 5/9	Y	Y	Y	Y	Banking; leadership
Joe Kennedy (D-MA)	BR by 5/9	Y	Y	Y	Y	Banking
Carolyn Maloney (D-NY)	BR by 5/9	Y	N	N/A	N	Banking; Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-CA)	BR by 5/9	Y	Y	N/A	N	Banking
Chuck Schumer (D-NY)	BR by 5/9	Y	N	Y	N/V	Banking; Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Bruce Vento (D-MN)	BR by 5/9	Y	N	Y	Y	Banking; Y-GATT, N-NAFTA

Member	Responsible	GATT	NAFTA	Fast Track (1991)	Fast Track (103rd)	Comments/Follow-up
Chet Edwards (D-TX)	Richardson by 5/9	Y	Y	Y	Y	whip
John Murtha (D-PA)	Richardson by 5/9	Y	N	N	N	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Thomas Sawyer (D-OH)	Richardson by 5/9	Y	Y	Y	Y	Tough vote on NAFTA
Bobby Scott (D-VA)	Richardson by 5/9	Y	N	N/A	Y	Y-GATT, N-NAFTA
Estebban Torres (D-CA)	Richardson by 5/9	Y	Y	N	Y	For. Ops. Approps. Subcom.
John Spratt (D-SC)	Richardson by 5/9	N	Y	Y	N	DPC
Thomas Foglietta (D-PA)	Albright by 5/9 5/14	Y	N	Y	Y	For. Ops Approps. Subcom.
Sam Gejdenson (D-CT)	MA by ~~5/9~~ 5/14	Y	N	N	Y	Int'l Relations
Nita Lowey (D-NY)	MA by ~~5/9~~ 5/14	Y	Y	Y	Y	For. Ops. Approps. Subcom.
Matthew Martinez (D-CA)	MA by ~~5/9~~ 5/14	Y	N	N/V	N	International Relations; Y-GATT, N-NAFTA;
Nancy Pelosi (D-CA)	MA by ~~5/9~~ 5/14	Y	Y	Y	Y	For. Ops. Approps. Subcom.

[illegible]

Member	Responsible	GATT	NAFTA	Fast Track (1991)	Fast Track (103rd)	Comments/Follow-up
Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX)	Shalala by 5/9	Y	Y	N/A	N	
Eva Clayton (D-NC)	DS by 5/9	Y	N	N/A	N	
Lane Evans (D-IL)	DS by 5/9	N	Y	N	N	
Tom Lantos (D-CA)	DS by 5/9	N	N	Y	Y	
Bob Wise (D-WV)	DS by 5/9	N	N	Y	Y	

FAST TRACK TALKING POINTS

- o I am calling to touch base with you on the issue of trade negotiating authority, or "fast track". The Administration is formulating its legislative proposal and we are consulting with Members for input into that process.

NOW, MORE THAN EVER, THE U.S. NEEDS AUTHORITY TO OPEN NEW MARKETS AND BREAK DOWN BARRIERS TO U.S. EXPORTS.

- o **Trade negotiating authority is essential.** Every President since Ford has had fast track authority for key periods with bipartisan support. That is because Congress has consistently recognized that the President must have the authority to break down foreign trade barriers and create good jobs.

- o **Fast Track authority is even more essential today.** The rapidly expanding global economy presents enormous opportunities for our companies and workers. In a world where over 95 percent of the world's consumers live outside the United States, we must export to sustain economic growth at home.

- o **Commercial competitiveness is critical to our global leadership.** Europe, China, Japan and others are forging preferential commercial alliances with emerging markets -- all aliances that put American exports at a disadvantage. Those trade alliances also play a vital role in defining strategic relationships between countries and regions. Our commercial competitiveness is at stake, but so is our leadership role in the world.

- o **Exports create American jobs.** Today, more than 11 million American jobs are supported by exports, including one in five manufacturing jobs – good jobs, paying 13-16 percent more than non-trade-related jobs. Over the last four years, one-quarter of our economic growth came from trade -- and exports created 1.4 million new jobs. If we are to raise our standard of living, we must continue creating jobs through exports.

- o **The United States is the world's strongest competitor.** We have enjoyed the longest period of sustained growth of all of our G-7 partners. Over the last four years, we have created 12 million new jobs, more than all of the other G-7 countries <u>combined</u>.

- o **Our market is already open. Others are not.** The United States is the most open, major market in the world. When we reach trade agreements, we give up very little, while other countries give up far more.

THE POTENTIAL GAINS ARE GREAT, IF WE SEIZE THEM.

- o **Multilateral WTO "built-in agenda"** presents the opportunity to reduce trade barriers further in key sectors, such as:

  - Agriculture: Negotiations to cut barriers in the $526 billion global agriculture market will attack such practices as export subsidies and domestic support programs.

- **Services:** A $1.2 trillion global market - where U.S. firms exported more than $220 billion in 1996 with a surplus of $74 billion. Talks will address a wide range of service sectors, including health care, education, entertainment, tourism and business consulting and advertising.

Global negotiations will address other key areas like intellectual property, customs and government procurement rules.

o **Sectoral Agreements.** We would also use fast track to negotiate agreements in sectors where the U.S. is most competitive. The recent Information Technology Agreement, for example, eliminated tariffs and unshackled $500 billion of trade in semiconductors, computers, telecommunications equipment and software, amounting to a $5 billion tax cut in tariffs on American exports. With fast track authority, we could tear down more barriers in areas like medical equipment, environmental technology, and computer software, areas where America leads the world.

o **Regional Free Trade Agreements.** Continuing regional initiatives present vast opportunities, although this is only one part of the trade agenda. It should be noted that the Administration has not decided how to proceed on a free trade agreement with Chile and it may not be through NAFTA expansion.

- **Latin America and the Caribbean.** This area was the fastest growing market for U.S. exports in 1996. If trends continue, Latin America and the Caribbean will exceed the EU as a destination for U.S. exports by 2000 and exceed Japan and the EU combined by 2010.We remain committed to conclude the Free Trade Area of the Americas by 2005. Chile would be our first step in this process.

- **Asia.** Contains the fastest growing economies in the world, with nearly 3 billion people. Independent forecasters put 1996 GDP for the region at $2.8 trillion and expect real growth of 6% to 7% annually for the next 15 years.

We will also continue efforts with Europe, Africa and other regions.

IF WE DON'T ACT, OUR COMPETITORS WILL.

o **Other countries are breaking down barriers for their companies and workers.** We talk a lot about leveling the playing field, but our competitors are leveling the field, while we sit on the sidelines. Since 1992, our competitors have negotiated 20 regional trade pacts without us. In every region of the world, this process will continue. MERCOSUR is a developing customs union with ambitions to expand to all of South America; the EU has begun a process to reach free trade with MERCOSUR; China's "strategic priorities" include Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Venezuela; Japan has undertaken high-level efforts in Asia and Latin America.

- **The costs of inaction are high.** For example, Canada has reached a free trade agreement with Chile that will eliminate Canada's across-the-board 11 percent tariff for Canadian products. Every time an American company competes to sell to Chile, it will face an immediate 11 percent cost disadvantage vis-a-vis its Canadian competitors.

AS WE DEVELOP A FAST TRACK BILL, WE MUST DEVELOP A BIPARTISAN APPROACH TO THE ISSUES OF LABOR AND THE ENVIRONMENT.

- **The Clinton Administration has achieved more progress in advancing trade-related objectives concerning labor rights and environmental goals than any of its predecessors.** We cannot sustain support among American people for market opening policies without also addressing concerns about the effects of these agreements on labor and the environment. It should be noted, however, that a large portion of the trade agenda -- the sectoral and WTO built-in agenda agreements -- do not implicate labor and environment issues in the same way as free trade agreements.

- **We will continue to negotiate trade agreements that increase progress in these areas, because it is in our long term interest to do so.** As we are doing in the WTO and ILO process, we will address core labor standards in the context of bilateral and multilateral trade wherever attainable. We will also seek to increase environmental accountability of national and international financial institutions.

- **Sitting on the sidelines does not help workers or promote a cleaner environment.** Opening foreign markets does not mean retreating from our commitment to labor and the environment. In fact, it makes it easier to engage these countries on these issues. Denying the President authority to negotiate trade agreements with countries will not help advance their labor or environmental protections. It will simply make it more likely that these countries will remain relatively poor (keeping wages low and discouraging better environmental practices), while crippling our export performance and denying job growth here at home.

WE ARE CONSULTING WITH MEMBERS LIKE YOU TO FORGE A CONSENSUS

- **Timing of a Proposal.** It is necessary to build a bipartisan coalition for passage, therefore I, Ambassador Barshefsky and other Cabinet officials are consulting broadly with Members -- and the relevant interest groups -- to develop a bipartisan consensus. [For Dems: Frankly, we have been consulting more broadly within the Democratic caucus in order to help forge a consensus within the caucus].

- **It is our intention to put forth a proposal for Congressional consideration once the uses and needs for fast track have been fully explained, and once we have achieved some level of consensus on issues such as labor and the environment and how to proceed.**

Basic Fast Track Questions & Answers

Q: **Isn't "fast track" just about expanding NAFTA to include Chile?**

A: No, fast track is about ensuring that America speaks with a united voice as we pursue our trade agenda. The immediate agenda extends well beyond a free-trade agreement with Chile. It includes multilateral negotiations growing out of the WTO built in agenda, which will include, for example, negotiations to reduce barriers to agricultural trade and a whole host of other goods and services, in which the U.S. is the most competitive. It also includes sectoral negotiations, like those that led to the recently-concluded ITA agreement..

More fundamentally, it is about maintaining the competitive position we have regained over the last 4 years. If we do not participate effectively in reduce trade barriers, we will relinquish opportunities for American business and workers to our competitors. Indeed, since 1992, more than 20 regional trade agreements have been negotiated which do not include the United States. Everyday strategic and preferential alliances are being forged without us. Just last week, Canada and the Mercosur countries indicated an intention to form a trade alliance.

We have no credibility with our trading partners if they do not believe we can implement the deals we negotiate. Fast track authority is essential for that reason alone.

Q: **I would like to support you on fast track, but in my district fast track is about NAFTA. They say NAFTA has not been good for America, and it has done nothing to further the labor and environmental concerns that it was supposed to address. How do I respond to that criticism?**

A: First, fast track is not about NAFTA. As I just said, fast track is about giving America the ability to pursue its trade agenda, which has little to do with NAFTA.

Second, NAFTA has provided many benefits, including expanded exports, creation of high wage jobs, and protection of those exports and jobs during Mexico's recession and peso crisis. (See included "Economic Benefits of NAFTA" for details.)

Third, with respect to labor and environmental, the NAFTA side agreements are working to make a bad situation better. The labor and environmental problems in Mexico are decades in the making; it is unrealistic to expect NAFTA to have remedied them in three years. There are continuing problems and they need to be addressed. The NAFTA agreements provide the vehicle for doing so, and have resulted is some significant progress on both fronts.

On the environmental front progress is being made to identify and fund new environmental projects and in Mexico's enforcement of its environmental laws. (See

included "NAFTA Environmental Concerns" for details.)

On the labor front, there is an unprecedented degree of cooperation to address the difficult labor issues and the formal process allowing the submission of complaints about continuing problems has led to solutions, change, and increased attention to these issues. **(See included "NAFTA and worker Rights" for details.)**

More needs to be done and it will be. **But, withholding support for fast track authority will not help workers or the environment.** To the contrary, it will hurt America's competitiveness and leadership role. We will lose the ability to create new export opportunities and attendant high-wage jobs, like those resulting from increased trade over the past 4 years. If we are not involved, we cannot continue to push for progress on the important issues of labor and the environment.

Q: You talk about creating high wage jobs. It is my impression that trading with low wage countries actually depresses wages.

A: The fact is that wages for export-related jobs pay 13-16% more than the national average. Thus, creating additional export opportunities is clearly in America's interest. Our workers are able to compete with workers in low wage countries because they are the most productive in the world. They spend far less time to produce most anything than is required of workers in low wage countries. As a result, in many areas the United States has both higher wages and lower unit labor costs than our low wage trade partners.

Even state of the art facilities in developing countries are in fact far from operating as efficiently as in countries like the United States because of low productivity and frequent quality and availability problems in the domestic goods and service supplying sectors upon which the manufacturing facility depends.

Of course, competitive pressure from low wage countries is likely to be greatest in U.S. industries where labor skills and productivity are lower than average. It is important, therefore, to maintain our commitment to education and worker retraining so that our workers can enjoy the benefits of America's increasing demand for a higher-skilled workforce.

Q: The China MFN vote and "fast track" present an either/or option for Congress. The trade agenda cannot sustain both initiatives, which is more important and which comes first?

A: They are both vital to U.S. interests. Our agenda with China is to push China into enforceable rules-based trade in all areas and continue our progress towards opening China's market. To make progress on these issues depends on being able to have a constructive dialogue with China -- withdrawing MFN would not accomplish that objective.

Fast track is about opening foreign markets, creating opportunities for America, its workers, and its children, and maintaining our leadership role in the world.

China MFN and "fast track" should not be either/or votes.

Q: **When will the Administration introduce fast track legislation?**

A: As you know, the President has made clear that he is committed to renewed fast track authority. He has asked Ambassador Barshefsky to forge a bipartisan consensus on this issue. She has been meeting with members in both Houses and in both parties to shape that consensus. That process is continuing and we are confident such a consensus can be achieved.

Q: **The Administration keeps talking about its success opening foreign markets, yet our trade deficit keeps going up. How is this good for the U.S. economy as it must cost U.S. jobs?**

A: There is no doubt that exports have created new, high-paying jobs. Today, more than 11 million American jobs are supported by exports, including one in five manufacturing jobs. These are good jobs, with jobs supported by merchandise exports paying 13-16 percent more than the U.S. national average wage. Over the last four years, more than one-quarter of our economic growth came from exports -- and export growth has resulted in an additional 1.4 million export-supported jobs.

Trade deficits, by themselves, do not necessarily cost U.S. jobs. Trade deficits and employment both tend to rise when the economy is growing rapidly and consumers and businesses increase their spending. For example, the U.S. current account (the broadest measure of trade) was nearly in balance in 1991, during the last major U.S. recession, yet the unemployment rate peaked at well over 7% in that year. Since 1992, the U.S. economy recovered earlier and has grown faster than those of many of our major trade partners. The relative strength of U.S. growth contributed to the current account deficit expanding to $165.1 billion in 1996; however, by the end of 1996, the unemployment rate was down to 5.4% and over 11 million net jobs had been created in the U.S. economy in just four years.

That said, it is important to bring down the trade deficit. The President and Congress working together over the last four years have made substantial progress in reducing the federal budget deficit and strengthening the national saving rate. As a result, although the trade deficit has increased in dollar terms during this recovery, substantial progress has been made in that the trade deficit has been brought down substantially relative to the size of the overall economy (for goods and services, down from 3.3% of GDP at its peak in 1987 to 1.5% in 1996).

Q: **The NAFTA helped induce the collapse of the peso in 1995 and the decline of the Mexican economy?**

A: The sharp decline in the Mexican economy in 1995 and the peso crash had its roots in Mexico's exchange rate policy in the 1980s, long before the NAFTA was envisioned. The rise in interest rates, collapse of the Mexican financial markets and the 7% decline in production and employment, undermined the Mexican economy, and these events had little to do with the NAFTA.

The NAFTA did force Mexico to meet market-opening obligations, and in spite of a recession three times worse than the U.S. recession of 1991, our exports to Mexico recovered in just 18 months. By contrast, after the peso crash of 1982, Mexico erected across-the-board trade barriers and U.S. exports took seven years to recover.

From the Mexican perspective, NAFTA can, in part, be credited with helping Mexico recover more quickly from this recession than the recession in the 1980's. It took the Mexican economy 4 years to recover from its early 1980s recession. In contrast, in 1996, just one year after the recession, the Mexican economy grew by better than 5% and recovered two-thirds of its production. Mexican growth is expected to exceed 5% again in 1997. In that event, Mexico will have recovered from a worse recession twice as fast as it did from recession in the 1980s.

Q: NAFTA has not really solved the most pressing trade issues between U.S. and Mexico: There is the recent episode of contaminated Mexican strawberries, truck transportation at the border, and the failure of Mexico to protect the interests of U.S. copyright industries. Why go forward with new agreements if we are not solving existing problems?

A: While there remain trade issues to resolve with Mexico, no trading relationship is without such ongoing issues. Neither NAFTA nor any other trade agreement is a panacea; it provides increased opportunities and a process to address outstanding and emerging issues. Pursuant to the NAFTA, we are working to solve our trade issues with Mexico and with Canada.

We have made it clear that trucks entering the U.S. must comply with strict safety and environmental standards. With regard to food safety, the NAFTA imposes among the highest phytosanitary requirements of any trade agreement in the world, which must be complied with before food enters our market

Again, withholding fast track authority will not improve these problems. Issues like this arise with all trading partners, whether we have special trade relations or not. Fast track is important so that we can create economic opportunity, exercise leadership to impose disciplines that minimize the kinds of problems to which you allude and establish processes to resolve problems when they arise.

ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF THE NAFTA

- **Export Expansion:** NAFTA is playing a vital role expanding markets for U.S. products in our first and third largest trade partners, Canada and Mexico. NAFTA also acts as a buffer against reduced access to these markets of 120 million consumers.

  - o With the phasing in of NAFTA, U.S. goods exports have risen to historic records in the last 3 years (1993 to 1996): up 33% to Canada, reaching $134 billion and up 37% to Mexico, reaching $57 billion.

  - o **Sectoral growth:** The strength of U.S. exports to Mexico under NAFTA, even in the face of the peso crisis, is vivid in particular product areas. For example, U.S. agricultural exports to Mexico are up by 52% in 3 years, from $3.5 billion in 1993 to $5.4 billion in 1996. Exports of cereal, led by corn, are up 174% to $1.8 billion. Exports of electrical machinery are up by nearly 60% to $11 billion, and exports of paper are by one-third to $1.5 billion. Even the consumer goods category has shown strong growth, with exports up 34% to $6.5 billion.

  - o A recent article in the Wall Street Journal (4/21/97), in fact, cites strong growth in U.S. manufactured exports to Mexico due to NAFTA as a principal reason behind the current economic boom in the Midwest.

- **High Wage Job Creation:** NAFTA has also supported the expansion of high wage jobs in the United States. Goods exports to Mexico and Canada supported 2.3 million U.S. jobs last year. Such U.S. jobs supported by exports pay 13% to 16% more than the U.S. national average. These jobs have also increased since NAFTA began taking effect, up 122,000 for exports to Mexico (to an estimated 750,000 in 1996) and up 189,000 for exports to Canada.

- **Benefits During Mexican Recession:** NAFTA proved to be extremely important to the protection of U.S. jobs and interests in light of Mexico's international payments difficulties and peso crisis beginning in late 1994. In 1995, a year in which Mexico experienced its worst recession in the 20th century (production and employment down 7%), that country continued to lower its trade barriers to U.S. and Canadian products (in line with its NAFTA obligations), while raising them in certain areas against products from the E.U. and Japan. Our share of Mexico's imports actually rose from 71% in 1994 to 76% in 1996.

  - o In Mexico's previous international payments and peso crisis in 1981-82, U.S. exports were cut in half and took 7 years to recover. In contrast, in 1995 U.S. exports fell by 9% and had fully recovered in 18 months, helping to protect more than 700,000 good paying U.S. jobs supported by exports to Mexico.

  - o NAFTA can also be credited with helping the Mexico recover more quickly from this recession than the recession in the 1980's. It took the Mexican economy 4 years to recover from its early 1980s recession. In contrast, in 1996, just one year after the recession, the Mexican economy grew by better than 5% and recovered two-thirds of its production. Mexican growth is expected to exceed 5% again in 1997. In that event, Mexico will have recovered from a worse recession twice as fast as it did from recession in the 1980s.

- **U.S. Trade Balance with Mexico:** The peso crisis and severe Mexican recession, not NAFTA, were responsible for the widely noted shift in the U.S. trade balance with Mexico -- from a surplus of $1.7 billion in 1993 to a deficit of $16.2 billion in 1996. In fact, NAFTA itself, probably helped limit to some extent the size of the bilateral deficit growth.

  - A recent study published by the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas estimated that U.S. export growth to Mexico has been 7 percent higher than it otherwise would have been due to NAFTA, while U.S. import growth from Mexico was only 2 percent higher per year due to NAFTA.

  - During the Mexican recession and peso crisis, U.S. net employment rose by 4.8 million, the unemployment rate fell from 6.1% to 5.4% and U.S. industrial production rose by over 6% in real terms.

NAFTA ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS

Q: Even though the NAFTA has been in effect for three years, the environmental situation -- particularly in the U.S.-Mexico border region -- has not improved, and may even have deteriorated. Why has the NAFTA not been more effective in addressing these problems?

- The environmental problems that exist in the U.S.-Mexico border region precede the NAFTA and were decades in the making. To expect that after three years the environmental problems in that region would be resolved is simply unrealistic. The question is whether progress is evident; the answer to that question is yes. The NAFTA environmental side agreements (the North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation and the U.S.-Mexico Border Environment Cooperation Agreement) have led to new environmental initiatives along the border and increased enforcement by Mexico of relatively good environmental laws.

- **Environmental Initiatives**: The three environmental institutions created by NAFTA are already taking concrete steps to address the region's environmental problems. (These institutions include The Border Environment Cooperation Commission (BECC) and the North American Development Bank (NADBank), as well as the Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC).)

  - **Certifying and arranging financing for numerous infrastructure projects** designed to reduce pollution and improve the environment in the U.S.-Mexico border region.

    - **The BECC Board has certified twelve projects** in just two years of existence (six U.S. and six Mexican). Of these, the NADBank has approved financing for four water treatment and wastewater projects, with more in the pipeline for approval. The first project to break ground, in Brawley, California, will provide much needed clean drinking water.

  - **The CEC has also begun work on an unprecedented list of environmental projects** in which the three NAFTA governments are cooperating to achieve such diverse objectives as protecting migratory birds, tracking hazardous wastes to ensure they are disposed of properly, and identifying sources of pollution. This work has already begun to create an entirely new and more cooperative framework to address transnational environmental questions.

- **Improved Enforcement**: Mexico has generally good environmental legislation. The NAFTA side agreement is resulting in improved enforcement of those laws.

- **Increased the number of enforcement actions nationwide.** Enforcement actions increased from 3,119 in 1991 to between 12,000 and 13,000 annually during 1993-96; 3500 per year alone occur along the border. As a result of its inspections, in 1996, Mexico ordered 18 total facility closures, 59 partial closures, and fined 2,622 facilities.

- **Increased the number and sophistication of its environmental inspectors.** More than 600 inspectors were trained by USG authorities in such critical areas as safeguarding against illegal CFC shipments and compliance with regulations regarding the transboundary shipment of hazardous wastes.

- **Established environmental auditing program:** To encourage voluntary compliance by plants/factories, a new auditing program was put in place. Between 1992 and 1996, 700 companies participated in the program.

- **Created environmental crimes unit:** The crime unit is part of the Attorney General's office and has the power to impose criminal sanctions.

- Results: As a result of improved enforcement, Mexico reports the number of serious violations dropping. Mexico estimates that maquiladora industry compliance with Mexican hazardous waste laws has climbed from 25% to over 90% from 1992 to 1996. EPA data supports Mexico's estimates. The amount of maquiladora-generated hazardous waste entering the U.S. for proper disposal (as opposed to illegal disposal in Mexico or the United States) has risen from an average of 6,000 tons in 1991-1922 to 12,288 tons, reflecting maquiladora compliance with applicable laws.

NAFTA AND WORKER RIGHTS

Q. **We hear concerns about the Mexican worker rights situation, and that the NAFTA labor cooperation agreement is of no value. How do you respond?**

- The NAFTA labor cooperation agreement is contributing to the progress Mexico has made in enforcing its labor laws, which are as good and comparable to labor legislation in the United States and other industrialized countries.

- It is unrealistic to expect that after three years of operation, the NAFTA labor cooperation agreement would correct the historic problems associated with this emerging economy's labor practices. Progress in reversing that history, however, is evident. That progress has come notwithstanding the worst economic downturn in Mexico's modern history.

- Progress is in the form of increased cooperation to address transnational labor issues and a submission process so that citizens are able to seek enforcement of the worker rights provisions in the agreement.

  - o Cooperation: The North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation (NAALC) (the NAFTA side agreement) is the cornerstone of the most cooperative, institutionally-based relationship on worker rights issues that we have with any developing country in the world.

    - **The NAALC's specific objectives** include: improving working conditions and living standards in each party's territory; promoting basic labor law principles; encouraging cooperation to promote innovation and rising levels of productivity and quality; pursuing cooperative labor-related activities; and promoting compliance with, and effective enforcement by each party of, its "labor law" and fostering transparency in the administration of labor laws.

    - **The NAALC's new institutions are functioning effectively**: To achieve these goals, several new institutions were created. They include: a Ministerial Council and a supporting technical secretariat. They are supported by National Administrative Offices (NAO) in each party to assist, in particular, with the enforcement element of the agreement. Each party also has a National Advisory Committee made up of public, labor and business representatives.

  - o Significant Initiatives: Initiatives are underway in educating and upgrading skills and policy implementation across North America, including in Mexico.

    - Trinational study tours to evaluate practices to improve working conditions. The U.S. Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), in cooperation with the National Safety Congress, have conducted tours in the construction and the petrochemical industries to evaluate and make recommendations on improving conditions in order to reduce worker fatalities.

- **Sponsorship of labor law, worker rights, and industrial relations conferences and seminars**. These programs address best practices and discuss and seek to resolve issues raised in the submission process to avoid formal dispute resolution.

- **Addressing child labor issues:** The NAALC countries are hosting a conference on "Child and Youth Labor in North America" focused on eliminating inappropriate participation of children in the workplace and improving the conditions for children legally in the workplace by reducing risks to health and safety and by safeguarding educational opportunities.

- **Submission Process:** The submission process is playing a catalytic role in "spotlighting" important worker rights issues and bringing them to the attention of the public and before decision makers in Mexico (and the U.S. and Canada). This formal process has led to concrete results:

  - **Registration of Union:** The NAFTA submission process recently resulted in the registration in Mexico of a newly-formed independent union in a Maxi-Switch production facility. This significant development grew out of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) complaint about Mexico's failure to enforce its obligations allowing the freedom of association and the right to organize and bargain collectively. As a result of the complaint, the registration of the Union was accepted as well as the regularization of the procedure in the request for the reinstatement of the workers. The complaint was withdrawn because the union's objectives had been achieved, which the CWA credited to the operation of the NAFTA procedures.

  - **Commitment to address concerns about union registration and internal union democracy:** Six of the submissions reviewed by the U.S. NAO concerned these issues. As a result of these complaints, in August 1996, the Mexican Secretary of Labor, together with the major labor and business organizations, signed a document in front of President Zedillo committing their respective organizations to address these matters.

  - **Restrictions of union organization as unconstitutional:** The Mexican Supreme Court has found that state laws that restrict union organization in the state governments are unconstitutional. The types of restrictions addressed in the decision had been reviewed and publicly reported on by the U.S. NAO in the submission process.

  - **Legislative reform:** Many of the government and party controls on unions in the private sector are now subjects for reform in a bill submitted to the Mexican Senate. These controls and restrictions have been the subject of submissions filed with the U.S. NAO.

- **Regulatory Reform -- Mexican Department of Labor Guidelines:** The Mexican Department of Labor in December, 1996 issued policy guidelines addressing a number of laws and practices restricting union registration and organization. Many of the areas targeted for reform were reported by the U.S. NAO.

  - An internal review of certain labor laws and practices, commissioned by the Mexican Department of Labor, acknowledged that some practices restrict registration of independent unions in Mexico. The review was conducted pursuant to Ministerial consultations resulting from the submission process.

- **"Phantom" unions and "phantom" collective bargaining agreements:** Mainstream Mexican labor organizations and the Secretariat of Labor are considering remedies regarding the registration of "phantom" unions and "phantom" collective bargaining agreements, essentially unions and agreements organized and negotiated without the consent, and sometimes the knowledge, of membership. These practices are the subject of a submission currently under review by the U.S. NAO and have been a significant component of previous submissions.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6348

May 15, 1997

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, I am a strong supporter of extending your Administration fast-track authority to negotiate and implement trade agreements. Since early this year, I have waited patiently for the Administration to present to Congress a proposal demonstrating that the White House was serious about negotiating trade agreements designed to remove barriers to U.S. exports, to the benefit of American companies, workers, and consumers.

I have been urging an early focus on fast-track in order to avoid direct conflict with congressional action on the budget and extension of MFN status for China that will occur in June or July as well as to provide sufficient time for Senate action so that we may have fast-track in place by the end of the year. I have repeatedly said that receiving a proposal from the Administration even during the summer would make it extraordinarily difficult to enact fast-track. However, although voicing strong support for fast-track authority, no concrete steps have been taken by your Administration to reach our objective of enacting trade negotiating authority. Accordingly, your actions dictate that discussion on renewal of fast-track negotiating authority be set aside.

Despite our efforts, your Administration has not accepted the proposed timetable that I am confident would have allowed fast-track renewal to be enacted into law this year. I, together with Congressman Crane, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Trade, recently offered an opportunity to the Administration to mark-up a bipartisan consensus on a fast-track proposal before the Memorial Day recess. Because there is still no movement from the White House on this important issue, and because Democrats have voiced strong opposition to moving fast-track legislation now, it proved impossible to mark-up consensus fast-track legislation during this critical window of opportunity.

Ambassador Barshefsky has done admirable work on Capitol Hill in meeting with Members, especially Democrats, to lay the groundwork for House consideration of fast-track authority. But there comes a time when the preparatory work must end and we move ahead, especially when the congressional schedule requires such timely action.

Fast-track authority is vital if the United States is to exercise a leadership role in international negotiations in order to protect and promote the interests of U.S. producers, workers and consumers. Indeed, our trading partners have already moved forward without the United States by signing more than a hundred trade agreements since fast-track authority expired. The United States was not at the table for those discussions and played no role in shaping their provisions.

I am deeply disappointed that your Administration's delay in seeking fast-track authority will translate directly into missed opportunities for our companies and our workers. Every month that goes by means more lost contracts and more job opportunities foregone for Americans. It is unfortunate that the Administration is unable to give what should be a major trade priority -- early renewal of fast-track negotiating authority-- the attention it deserves.

Sincerely,

Bill Archer
Chairman

E X E C U T I V E   O F F I C E   O F   T H E   P R E S I D E N T

15-May-1997 12:28pm

TO: Steve Ronnel
TO: Andrew Friendly
TO: Nelson W. Cunningham

FROM: Nelson W. Cunningham
Office of the Special Envoy

SUBJECT: SENS. DORGAN, SNOWE TO OPPOSE FAST TRACK TRADE AGREEMENT

Date: 05/15/97 Time: 10:36
SENS. DORGAN, SNOWE TO OPPOSE FAST TRACK TRADE AGREEMENT

Washington-May 15-FWN--U.S. SENATORS BYRON DORGAN (D-N.D.) and Olympia Snowe (R-ME) today informed President Clinton they will oppose the Administration's request for fast track authority to expand the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

"Fast track has put this country on the wrong track," Dorgan said.

In a letter to Clinton, the lawmakers noted that since the United States approved NAFTA under "fast track procedures, the nation has rung up three consecutive, record-breaking merchandise trade deficits, including deficits with our two North American trading partners."

All three international trade agreements approved to date under fast track procedures--NAFTA, the U.S.-Canadian Free Trade Agreement, and the Uruguay round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade--"have failed this nation," Dorgan and Snowe wrote. They said the agreements have:

-- opened U.S. markets wide to foreign products but allowed foreign trading partners to keep their markets closed to U.S. producers;

-- produced record-breaking U.S. trade deficits, accelerating the movement of U.S. manufacturing plants and jobs overseas. The 1996 merchandise trade deficit is the biggest annual trade deficit ever recorded. The January 1997 deficit is the largest monthly trade deficit in history;

-- eroded the standard of living for many American families;

-- weakened the competitive position of the United

States in world markets.

"Fast track is fundamentally an undemocratic procedure in which much of the process is conducted secretly behind closed doors, participation in decision-making is severely restricted, the time for serious and careful review is unnecessarily limited, and the opportunity for making appropriate adjustments and changes is non-existent," the lawmakers wrote.

Dorgan and Snowe noted Article One, Section Eight of the U.S. Constitution specifically grants Congress the responsibility for regulating commerce with foreign nations. "Rather than renewing fast track, we believe it is time for Congress to reclaim its Constitutional prerogative and become a full partner in the development and consideration of trade agreements," the two lawmakers concluded.

Key Trade Players

FREE-TRADE SUPPORTERS

Rep. Bill Archer, R-Texas: As chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Archer will negotiate trade legislation directly with the White House and the U.S. trade representative and then manage those bills on the floor.

Rep. Philip M. Crane, R-Ill.: Chairman of the Ways and Means subcommittee on trade, he is an ardent free-trader who supported NAFTA and GATT and has worked closely with the Black Caucus on trade parity for countries in the Caribbean.

Rep. David Dreier, R-Calif.: An easygoing manner belies an intense commitment to free-trade legislation. He chairs the subcommittee of the Rules Committee that has jurisdiction over fast track, the parliamentary procedure for reviewing trade deals.

Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas: One of the few outspoken free-traders left in the Senate, he is introducing a bare-bones fast-track bill Jan. 21 and will fight Democrats and the White House over attaching labor and environmental standards.

Rep. Jim Kolbe, R-Ariz.: He rallied votes for NAFTA in 1993, GATT in 1994 and the annual renewals of China's MFN status. And he kicked off 1997 by organizing a trip to China for 22 House colleagues.

Rep. Robert T. Matsui, D-Calif.: An assiduous worker whose quiet style can win over fence-sitters on tough trade votes. He is expected to act as a liaison to the White House for free-traders of both parties.

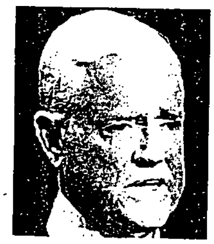
FREE-TRADE SKEPTICS

Rep. David E. Bonior, D-Mich.: The most fervent and influential Democrat who opposed the 1993 NAFTA deal. Now minority whip, Bonior is likely to take a similarly vigorous stand this year.

Rep. Richard A. Gephardt, D-Mo.: The House minority leader has consistently opposed trade deals that fail to accommodate labor unions and, more recently, environmentalists. His 1988 presidential bid was built around the idea that a "fair trade" policy would protect U.S. workers from unfair competition.

Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C.: Though he is often a stubborn loner on foreign policy and usually highly partisan, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee finds support from both parties for his protectionist views. He lobbied hard to block the World Trade Organization's creation by GATT.

Sen. Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C.: With his roots planted firmly in textile country, he remains the foremost Democratic opponent of trade deals in the Senate. Hollings is notorious for attempts to slip protectionist provisions into legislation.



Rep. Marcy Kaptur, D-Ohio: A native of the industrial Midwest, she was chief sponsor of the NAFTA Accountability Act, which would lay the groundwork for reviewing that pact and altering it, if necessary, to protect American jobs.

Rep. Gerald B.H. Solomon, R-N.Y.: A leading opponent of NAFTA, GATT and MFN status for China, the chairman of the Rules Committee uses his leverage with the leadership to ensure that opponents of free trade get a full hearing on the House floor.

July 21, 1997

	Nafta	Gatt	MFN	MFN
tomorrow Diaz-Balert, Lincoln Democrat OH John Barsa 225 4211	n	n	n	n
will call back Frost, Martin Democrat TX Justin Cashmir	y	y	y	y
Hall, Tony Democrat OH Bob Zachritz	n	n	y	y
Ølver, John Democrat MA David Oliveira	n	y	n	n
Regula, Ralph Republican OH Karen Butaro 225 3876	n	y	y	y
will call back will call later Sanders, Bernard Independent VT Bill	n	n	n	n
Serrano, Jose Democrat NY Nadine Berg	n	y	y	y
Taylor, Charles Republican NC Kendra Turchiarolo	n	n	y	n
Walsh, James Republican NY Ron Anderson	n	y	y	y
Weygand, Robert Democrat RI Tom Santos	NIC...			
Wolf, Frank Republican VA Ann Huiskes Unknown	y	n	n	n

Support	Lean Support	Undecided	Lean Oppose	Oppose
36	71	141	54	43
Bentsen	Boswell*	Abercrombie	Andrews	Allen*
Berry*	Cardin	Ackerman	Baesler	Bishop
Blumenaue	Davis*	Baldacci	Barcia	Blagojevich*
Clement	Doggett	Barrett	Borski	Bonior
Dicks	Edwards	Becerra	Boyd*	Carson*
Dooley	Etheridge*	Berman	Brown	Condit
Foglietta	Farr	Boucher	Clay	Costello
Hamilton	Fattah	Capps*	Clyburn	Cummings
Luther	Flake	Coyne	Delauro	Danner
Matsui	Ford*	Davis*	Dellums	DeFazio
Stenholm	Hinojosa*	DeGette*	Dingell	Furse
Tanner	Hooley*	Deutsch	Doyle	Gutierrez
Tauscher*	Jefferson	Dixon	Engel	Jackson
Bachus	John*	Eshoo	Hefner	Kaptur
Baker	Johnson	Gejdenson	Kanjorski	Klink
Barrett	Johnson*	Gephardt	Kennedy	Lampson*
Boehner	McDermott	Gordon	Kildee	Lipinski
Bonilla	Moran*	Green	Kleczka	Martinez
Campbell	Rangel	Hall	Lewis	McGovern*
Christense	Schumer	Hastings	Maloney	McHale
Dreier	Sherman*	Holden	Mascara	Miller
Ewing	Skaggs	Kennedy	McCarthy*	Moakley
Gilchrest	Snyder*	Kennelly	Meek	Nadler
Goodlatte	Archer	Kind*	Mink	Obey
Herger	Armey	LaFalce	Mollohan	Poshard
Houghton	Ballenger	Lantos	Owens	Rahall
Kelly	Bateman	Levin	Pallone	Sisisky
King	Bliley	Lowey	Peterson	Stabenow*
Latham	Calvert	Manton	Sabo	Stark
Livingston	Camp	Markey	Sandlin*	Stupak
Packard	Castle	McKinney	Slaughter	Velazquez
Parker	Chabot	McNulty	Smith*	Bono
Ramstad	Collins	Menendez	Spratt	Bunning
Shays	Crane	Millender-McDonal	Strickland*	Canady
Stump	Dickey	Minge	Tierney*	Chenoweth
Young	Dunn	Neal	Traficant	Doolittle
	Emerson*	Ortiz	Vento	Duncan
	Fawell	Pascrell*	Visclosky	Hilleary
	Gallegly	Pastor	Watt	Hunter
	Gekas	Pelosi	Woolsey	Lucas
	Gilman	Pomeroy	Burton	Royce
	Gingrich	Rivers	Ensign	Stearns
	Granger*	Rodriguez*	LaTourette	Taylor
	Greenwood	Rothman*	Mica	
	Hastings	Rush	Neumann	
	Horn	Sanchez*	Paul*	
	Hyde	Sawyer	Quinn	
	Johnson	Skelton	Riggs	
	Kim	Stokes	Riley*	

	Kolbe	Thompson	Rogers	
	Lazio	Thurman	Ros-Lehtinen	
	Leach	Torres	Scarborough	
	Manzullo	Towns	Tiahrt	
	McCollum	Turner*	Young	
	McCrery	Waxman		
	McDade	Wexler*		
	McIntosh	Wise		
	Myrick	Wynn		
	Nethercutt	Bartlett		
	Petri	Barton		
	Portman	Bass		
	Pryce	Bereuter		
	Roukema	Bilbray		
	Sanford	Bilirakis		
	Schaefer	Brady*		
	Sensenbrenner	Bryant		
	Shaw	Burr		
	Watkins*	Buyer		
	Watts	Callahan		
	Weller	Cannon*		
	White	Chambliss		
		Coble		
		Coburn		
		Cook*		
		Cooksey*		
		Cox		
		Crapo		
		Cubin		
		Cunningham		
		Deal		
		Delay		
		Ehlers		
		English		
		Fowler		
		Fox		
		Franks		
		Frelinghuysen		
		Ganske		
		Gillmor		
		Goodling		
		Goss		
		Gutknecht		
		Hansen		
		Hayworth		
		Hefley		
		Hill*		
		Hobson		
		Hoekstra		
		Hulshof*		
		Istook		

		Johnson		
		Jones		
		Kingston		
		Klug		
		Knollenberg		
		Largent		
		Lewis		
		McHugh		
		McInnis		
		Ney		
		Norwood		
		Nussle		
		Oxley		
		Pappas*		
		Paxon		
		Pease*		
		Peterson*		
		Pickering*		
		Pitts*		
		Pombo		
		Porter		
		Radanovich		
		Rogan*		
		Rohrabacher		
		Ryun*		
		Salmon		
		Saxton		
		Schiff		
		Sessions*		
		Shimkus*		
		Skeen		
		Smith		
		Smith		
		Souder		
		Spence		
		Sununu*		
		Tauzin		
		Thomas		
		Upton		
		Weldon		
		Whitfield		

EPA	USTR	COMMERCE	AGRICULTURE	DEFENSE	NSC	STATE	LABOR	HHS	TREASURY	WHITE HOUSE	McCLARTY
Young, D.	Archer	Bliley	Smith, R.	Packard	Abercrombie	Gilman	Blumenauer	Porter	Livingston	Armey	Olver
Borski	Crane	Tauzin	Stenholm	Kingston	Allen	Hyde	Goodling	Young, C.W.	McCollum	Bonior	Price
Petri	Rangel	Dingell	Barrett, B.	Tiahrt	Bartlett	Hamilton	Clay, W.	Obey	LaFalce	Gingrich	Regula
Wise	Thomas	Oxley	Brown, G.	Wamp	Bateman	Leach	Roukema	Bonilla	Vento	DeLay	Sanders
Poshard	Stark	Waxman	Boehner	Hunter	Blagojevich	Gejdenson	Fawell	Stokes	Schumer	Hastert	Serrano
Molinari	Shaw	Bilirakis	Condit	Spence	Bono	Lantos	Ballenger	Istook	Kennedy, J.	Gephardt	Yates
Gilchrest	Matsui	Markey	Ewing	Skelton	Boyd	Berman	Miller, G.	Hoyer	Flake	DeLauro	Wolf
Barcia	Johnson, N.	Schaefer	Peterson, C.	Dellums	Buyer	Bereuter	Kildee	Pelosi	Waters	Edwards	Weygand
Mascara	Kennelly	Hall, R.	Doolittle	Spratt	Hastings, R.	Ackerman	Martinez	Miller, D.	Maloney, C.	Lewis, J.	Walsh
Kim	Coyne	Barton	Dooley	Evans	Dicks	Burton	Hoekstra	Lowey	Gutierrez	Menendez	Taylor, C.
Horn	Bunning	Boucher	Goodlatte	Hansen	Hefner	Gallegly	Owens	Wicker	Metcalf	Dreier	Diaz-Balert
Franks	Houghton	Shimkus	Clayton	Saxton	Sabo	Ros-Lehtinen	Payne	Northup	Ehrlich	Linder	Hall, T.
Taylor, G.	Herger	Manton	Pombo	Watts	Dixon	Rohrabacher	McKeon	Brown, C.	Roybal-Allard	Moakley	Frost
Quinn	Levin	Upton	Minge	Thornberry	Cunningham	Manzullo	Castle	Clyburn	Barrett, T.	Murtha	
Tauscher	McCrery	Towns	Canady	Pappas	Nethercutt	Royce	Talent	Coble	Velazquez		
Ehlers	Camp	Stearns	Hilliard	Smith, A.	Hobson	King	Mink	Cramer	Watt		
Pascrell	Cardin	Pallone	Smith, N.	Snyder	Skeen	Chabot	Andrews	Conyers	Hinchey		
LaTourette	McDermott	Paxon	Pomeroy	Kasich	Lewis, Jerry	Sanford	Roemer	Cummings	Bentsen		
Kelly	Kleczka	Brown, S.	Everett	Hefley	Weldon, C.	Salmon	Scott	Davis, D.	Jackson, J.		
McGovern	Ramstad	Gillmor	Holden	Gibbons	Fowler	Campbell	Woolsey	Davis, T.	Kilpatrick		
Rahall	Hulshof	Gordon	Lucas	Reyes	Rodriguez	Fox	Fattah	DeFazio	Maloney, J.		
LoBiondo	Nussle	Klug	Baesler	Kennedy, P.	Turner	McHugh	Graham	Doyle	Hooley		
Baker	Neal	Furse	Lewis, R.	McHale	Ortiz	Brady	Hinojosa	Filner	Carson		
Ney	Johnson, S.	Greenwood	Bishop	Harman	Sisisky	McKinney	McCarthy. C.	Gekas	Torres		
Riggs	McNulty	Deutsch	Chenoweth	Meehan	Goss	Hastings, A.	Souder	Hutchinson	Jones		
McDade	Dunn	Crapo	Thompson	Pickett	Stump	Danner	McIntosh	Johnson, E.	Sessions		
Rogers	Jefferson	Rush	Hostettler	Boehlert	Shuster	Capps	Paul	Lipinski	Hill		
Knollenberg	Collins	Cox	Farr	Cooksey	Skaggs	Sherman	Peterson, J.	Lofgren	Riley		
Visclosky	Tanner	Eshoo	Bryant	McInnis	Moran, Jerry	Wexler	Tierney	Mica	Snowbarger		
Pastor	Portman	Deal	Baldacci		Blunt	Rothman	Hilleary	Millender-McDonald	Cook		
Frelinghuysen	Becerra	Klink	Foley			Clement	Scarborough	Morella	Ryun		
Parker	English	Largent	Berry			Luther	Kucinich	Nadler	Weldon, D.		
Dickey	Thurman	Stupak	Chambliss			Davis, J.	Ford	Norton	Aderholt		
Callahan	Ensign	Burr	Goode				Sanchez	Oberstar	Bachus		
Calvert	Christensen	Engel	LaHood				Kind	Pease	Bass		
Cannon	Watkins	Bilbray	McIntyre					Pitts	Costello		
Delahunt	Hayworth	Sawyer	Emerson					Rivers	Doggett		
Duncan	Weller	Ganske	Stabenow					Sandlin	Fazio		
Lampson	Myrick	Green, G.	Etheridge					Schiff	Foglietta		
Radanovich	Pryce	Norwood	John					Sensenbrenner	Forbes		
Shadegg	Solomon	Whitfield	Pickering					Traficant	Frank		
	Slaughter	Wynn	Johnson, J.					Sununu	Gonzalez		
	Kanjorski	McCarthy, K.	Schaffer, B					Smith, C.	Granger		
	Kaptur	White	Boswell					Smith, Linda	Gutknecht		
	Kolbe	Strickland	Thune					Smith, Lamar	Inglis		
	Latham	Coburn	Jenkins					Shays			
	Meek	DeGette	Combest								
	Mollohan	Lazio	Farr								
	Moran, James	Cubin									
	Neumann	Rogan									

July 9, 1997

Staff calls should made by July 16

Steve — fyi from Steve Champlain — CR

VOTING RECORDS OF COSPONSORS OF H.R. 553 (104TH CONGRESS) ON TRADE ISSUES:

1. Charlie Rangel (D-NY)-bad on NAFTA, GATT; okay on China
2. Ed Towns (D-NY)-bad on NAFTA, GATT and China 1994
3. Peter Deutsch (D-FL)- bad on NAFTA
4. Major Owens (D-NY)-bad on all counts
5. Esteban Torres (D-CA)- bad on China 1996.
6. Bob Menendez (D-NJ)- bad on NAFTA and China 1996
7. Alcee Hastings (D-FL)- bad on GATT and China 1996
8. Cynthia McKinney (D-GA)- bad on all counts
9. Albert Wynn (D-MD)- bad on NAFTA and China 94/96

100% FREE TRADE VOTES

REPUBLICANS:

1. Callahan
2. Kolbe
3. Herger
4. Thomas
5. McKeon
6. Dreier
7. Lewis
8. Kim
9. Calvert
10. Packard
11. Shays
12. Johnson (CT)
13. Castle
14. Fowler
15. McCollum
16. Miller (FL)
17. Shaw
18. Linder
19. Crane
20. Fawell
21. Hastert
22. Ewing
23. Manzullo
24. Buyer
25. Leach
26. Nussle
27. McCrery
28. Baker
29. Gilchrest
30. Morella
31. Smith (MI)
32. Ramstad
33. Bereuter
34. Barrett
35. Roukema
36. Franks (NJ)
37. Lazio
38. Paxon
39. Houghton
40. Portman
41. Oxley
42. Boehner
43. Pryce
44. Greenwood
45. McDade
46. Gekas
47. Archer
48. DeLay

DEMOCRATS:

1. Pastor
2. Fazio
3. Matsui
4. Dooley
5. Becerra
6. Roybal-Allard
7. Brown (CA)
8. Skaggs
9. Meek
10. Hamilton
11. Baesler
12. Skelton
13. Flake
14. Sawyer
15. Kanjorski
16. Clement
17. Tanner
18. Edwards
19. Stenholm
20. Frost
21. Ortiz
22. Johnson(TX)
23. Pickett
24. Moran
25. Dicks
26. Jefferson (LA)

49. Bonilla
50. Armey
51. Hansen
52. Bateman
53. Goodlatte
54. Bliley
55. Dunn
56. Petri
57. Hoekstra
58. Camp
59. Knollenberg
60. Parker
61. Ballenger

HOUSE DEMOCRAT TARGETS

1. Marion Berry (D-AR)
2. Vic Snyder (D-AR)
3. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA)
4. Anna Eshoo (D-CA)
5. Sam Farr (D-CA)
6. Gary Condit (D-CA)
7. Brad Sherman (D-CA)
8. Howard Berman (D-CA)
9. Matthew Martinez (D-CA)
10. Estaban Torres (D-CA)
11. Jane Harman (D-CA)
12. Bob Filner (D-CA)
13. Barbara Kennelly (D-CT)
14. Corrine Brown (D-FL)
15. Karen Thurman (D-FL)
16. Jim Davis (D-FL)
17. Robert Wexler (D-FL)
18. Peter Deutsch (D-FL)
19. Alcee Hastings (D-FL)
20. Sanford Bishop (D-GA)
21. Bobby Rush (D-IL)
22. Rod Blagojevich (D-IL)
23. Pete Visclosky (D-IN)
24. Tim Roemer (D-IN)
25. Chris John (D-LA)
26. Ben Cardin (D-MD)
27. Steny Hoyer (D-MD)
28. Richard Neal (D-MA)
29. Martin Meehan (D-MA)
30. Ed Markey (D-MA)
31. Joe Kennedy (D-MA)
32. James Barcia (D-MI)
33. Sander Levin (D-MI)
34. John Dingell (D-MI)
35. David Minge (D-MN)
36. Collin Peterson (D-MN)
37. Karen McCarthy (D-MO)
38. Pat Danner (D-MO)
39. Robert Andrews (D-NJ)
40. Robert Menendez (D-NJ)
41. Gary Ackerman (D-NY)
42. Tom Manton (D-NY)
43. Charles Schumer (D-NY)
44. Ed Town (D-NY)
45. Carolyn Maloney (D-NY)
46. Charlie Rangel (D-NY)
47. Jose Serrano (D-NY)
48. Nita Lowey (D-NY)
49. Louise Slaughter (D-NY)
50. John LaFalce (D-NY)
51. Mike McIntyre (D-NC)

52. Bill Hefner (D-NC)
53. Earl Pomeroy (D-ND)
54. Ted Strickland (D-OH)
55. Elizabeth Furse (D-OR)
56. Earl Blumenauer (D-OR)
57. Tom Foglietta (D-PA)

Eric
@ State

TRADE VOTES IN THE 105TH CONGRESS

QUICK FACTS:

**152 Members of the House were not in Congress during the NAFTA debate.

**283 Members of the House participated in the NAFTA debate.

**Of the 283 that voted on NAFTA: 138 voted in favor of NAFTA (42 Democrats; 96 Republicans)

	NAFTA 11/17/93	**GATT** 11/29/94	**CHINA/MFN** 8/9/94	**CHINA/MFN** 6/27/96	
ALABAMA Callahan (R)	+	+	+	+	
Everett (R)	-	-	-	-	
Riley (R) (Browder(D)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Aderholdt (R) (Bevill(D)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Cramer (D)	-	-	+	+	
Bachus (R)	+	-	+	+	
Hilliard (D)	-	-	-	+	
ALASKA Young (R)	-	-	+	+	
ARIZONA Salmon (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Pastor (D)	+	+	+	+	
Stump	+	-	+	+	
Shadegg (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Kolbe (R)	+	+	+	+	
Hayworth (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	

ARKANSAS Berry (D) (Lincoln(D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Snyder (D) (Thonton(D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Hutchinson (R) (Hutchinson (R))	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Dickey (R)	+	-	-	+	
CALIFORNIA Riggs (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Herger (R)	+	+	+	+	
Fazio (D)	+	+	+	+	
Doolittle (R)	-	-	+	-	
Matsui (D)	+	+	+	+	
Woolsey (D)	-	-	-	-	
Miller (D)	-	-	-	-	
Pelosi (D)	+	+	-	-	
Dellums (D)	-	-	-	-	
Tauscher (D) (Baker(R))	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Pombo (R)	-	-	+	-	
Lantos (D)	-	-	-	-	
Stark (D)	-	-	-	-	
Eshoo (D)	+	+	-	+	
Campbell (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Lofgren (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Farr (D)	+	+	-	+	
Condit (D)	-	-	+	+	
Radonovich (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Dooley (D)	+	+	+	+	
Thomas (R)	+	+	+	+	

Capps (D) (Seastrand (R))	NIC (NIC)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Gallegly (R)	-	-	+	+	
Sherman (D) (Beilenson D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
McKeon (R)	+	+	+	+	
Berman (D)	+	+	-	+	
Rogan (R) (Moorhead-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Dreier (R)	+	+	+	+	
Waxman (D)	-	-	-	-	
Becerra (D)	+	+	+	+	
Martinez (D)	-	+	+	+	
Dixon (D)	-	+	-	+	
Roybal-Allard (D)	+	+	+	+	
Torres (D)	+	+	+	-	
Waters (D)	-	+	-	-	
Harman (D)	-	+	+	+	
Millender-McDonald (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Horn (R)	+	+	-	-	
Royce(R)	-	-	+	-	
Lewis(R)	+	+	+	+	
Kim (R)	+	+	+	+	
Brown(D)	+	+	+	+	
Calvert (R)	+	+	+	+	
Bono (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Rohrabacher (R)	+	-	-	-	

Sanchez (D) (Dornan (R))	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Cox (R)	+	+	-	-	
Packard (R)	+	+	+	+	
Bilbray (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Filner (D)	-	+	+	+	
Cunningham (R)	-	+	+	-	
Hunter (R)	-	-	-	-	
COLORADO DeGette (D) (Schroeder(D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Skaggs (D)	+	+	+	+	
McInnis (R)	+	-	+	-	
Schaffer (R) (Allard-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Hefley (R)	+	-	-	-	
Schaefer (R)	+	-	+	+	
CONNECT. Kennelly (D)	-	+	+	+	
Gejdenson (D)	-	+	-	-	
DeLauro (D)	-	+	+	-	
Shays (R)	+	+	+	+	
Maloney (D) (Franks(R))	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Johnson (R)	+	+	+	+	
DELAWARE Castle (R)	+	+	+	+	

FLORIDA Scarborough (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Boyd (D) (Peterson-D)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Brown (D)	-	+	+	+	
Fowler (R)	+	+	+	-	
Thurman (D)	-	-	+	+	
Stearns (R)	-	+	-	-	
Mica (R)	-	-	+	+	
McCollum (R)	+	+	+	+	
Bilirakis (R)	-	-	+	+	
Young (R)	+	+	-	+	
Davis (D) (Gibbons (D))	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Canady (R)	-	+	+	+	
Miller (R)	+	+	+	+	
Goss (R)	+	+	+	+	
Weldon (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Foley (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Meek (D)	+	+	+	+	
Ros-Lehiten (R)	-	-	-	-	
Wexler (D) (Johnston(D))	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Deutsch (D)	-	+	+	+	
Diaz-Balart (R)	-	-	-	-	
Shaw (R)	+	+	+	+	
Hastings (D)	+	-	+	-	

GEORGIA: Kingston (R)	-	-	+	-	
Bishop (D)	-	+	+	+	
Collins (R)	-	-	-	-	
Linder (R)	+	+	+	+	
Lewis (D)	-	-	-	-	
Gingrich (R)	+	+	+	S	
Barr (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Chambliss (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Deal (R)	+	-	+	-	-
Norwood (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
McKinney (D)	-	-	-	-	
HAWAII Abercrombie (D)	-	+	-	-	
Mink (D)	-	-	-	-	
IDAHO Chenoweth (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Crapo (R)	-	-	+	+	
ILLINOIS Rush (D)	-	-	+	+	
Jackson, Jr. (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Lipinski (D)	-	-	-	-	
Gutierrez (D)	-	-	-	-	
Blagojevich (D) (Flanagan-R)	NIC NIC	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Hyde (R)	+	+	-	+	
Davis (D) (Collins-D)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	

Crane (R)	+	+	+	+	
Yates (D)	-	+	-	-	
Porter (R)	+	+	-	-	
Weller (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Costello (D)	-	-	-	-	
Fawell (R)	+	+	+	+	
Hastert (R)	+	+	+	+	
Ewing (R)	+	+	+	+	
Manzullo (R)	+	+	+	+	
Evans (D)	-	-	-	-	
LaHood (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Poshard (D)	-	+	-	+	
Shimkus (R) (Durbin-D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
INDIANA Visclosky (D)	-	+	+	-	
McIntosh (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Roemer (D)	-	+	+	+	
Souder (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Buyer (R)	+	+	+	+	
Burton (R)	-	-	-	-	
Pease (R) (Myers-R)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Hostettler (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Hamilton (D)	+	+	+	+	
Carson (D) (Jacobs (D)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
IOWA Leach (R)	+	+	+	+	
Nussle (R)	+	+	+	+	

Boswell (D) (Lightfoot-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Ganske (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Latham (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
KANSAS Moran (R) (Roberts-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Snowbarger (R) (Meyers-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Tiahrt (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Ryan (R) (Brownback-R)	NIC (NIC)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
KENTUCKY Whitfield (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Lewis (R)	NIC	-	-	-	
Northup (R) (Ward (D))	NIC NIC	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Bunning (R)	-	+	-	-	
Rogers (R)	-	-	-	-	
Baesler (D)	+	+	+	+	
LA: Livingston (R)	+	-	+	+	
Jefferson (D)	+	+	+	+	
Tauzin (R)	-	+	-	+	
Cooksey (R) (Fields-(D))	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
McCrery (R)	+	+	+	+	
Baker (R)	+	+	+	+	
John (D) (Hayes-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	

MAINE Allen (D) (Longley-R)	NIC (NIC)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Baldacci (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
MARYLAND Gilchrest (R)	+	+	+	+	
Ehrlich (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Cardin (D)	+	+	-	-	
Wynn (D)	-	+	-	-	
Hoyer (D)	+	+	-	-	
Bartlett (R)	-	+	+	+	
Cummings (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Morella (R)	+	+	+	+	
MASS. Olver (D)	-	+	-	-	
Neal (D)	-	+	+	+	
McGovern (D) (Blute(R)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Frank (D)	-	-	-	-	
Meehan (D)	+	+	-	+	
Tierney (D) (Torkildsen (R))	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Markey (D)	+	+	-	-	
Kennedy (D)	+	+	-	-	
Moakley (D)	-	-	-	+	
Delahunt (D) (Studds(D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
MICHIGAN Stupak (D)	-	-	-	-	
Hoekstra (R)	+	+	+	+	

Ehlers (R)	NIC	+	+	+	
Camp (R)	+	+	+	+	
Barcia (D)	-	-	+	+	
Upton (R)	+	+	-	+	
Smith (R)	+	+	+	+	
Stabenow (D) (Chrysler-R)	NIC (NIC)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Kildee (D)	-	-	-	+	
Bonior (D)	-	-	-	-	
Knollenberg (R)	+	+	+	+	
Levin (D)	-	+	+	+	
Rivers (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Conyers (D)	-	-	-	+	
Cheeks-Kilpatrick (D) (Rose-Collins (D))	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Dingell (D)	-	+	+	+	
MINN. Gutknecht (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Minge (D)	-	+	+	+	
Ramstad (R)	+	+	+	+	
Vento (D)	-	+	-	-	
Sabo (D)	-	-	+	-	
Luther (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Peterson (D)	-	-	+	+	
Oberstar (D)	-	-	+	-	
MISS. Wicker (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	

Thompson (D)	-	-	+	-	
Pickering (R) (Montgomery -D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Parker (R)	+	+	+	+	
Taylor (D)	-	-	-	-	
MISSOURI Clay (D)	-	-	-	-	
Talent (R)	-	+	+	+	
Gephardt (D)	-	+	-	-	
Skelton (D)	+	+	+	+	
McCarthy (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Danner (D)	-	-	+	+	
Blunt (R) (Hancock-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Emerson (R) (Emerson B.-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Hulshof (R) (Volkmer-D)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
MONTANA Hill (R) (Williams-D)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
NEBRASKA Bereuter (R)	+	+	+	+	
Christensen (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Barrett (R)	+	+	+	+	
NEVADA Ensign (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Gibbons (R) (Vucanovich -R)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	

N.H. Sununu (R) (Zeliff-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Bass (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
N.J. Andrews (D)	-	-	+	+	
LoBiondo (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Saxton (R)	-	+	+	+	
Smith (R)	-	-	-	-	
Roukema (R)	+	+	?	+	
Pallone (D)	-	-	-	-	
Franks (R)	+	+	+	+	
Pascrell (D) (Martini-R)	NIC (NIC)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Rothman (D) (Torricelli -D)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Payne (D)	-	-	-	-	
Frelinghuysen (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Pappas (R) (Zimmer-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Menendez (D)	-	+	+	-	
N.M. Schiff (R)	+	-	-	+	
Skeen (R)	+	-	+	+	
OPEN (Richardson seat)					
N.Y. Forbes (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Lazio (R)	+	+	+	+	
King (R)	+	+	+	-	
McCarthy (D) (Frisa (R)	NIC (NIC)	NIC	NIC	NIC	

Ackerman (D)	-	+	+	+	
Flake (D)	+	+	+	?	
Manton (D)	-	+	+	+	
Nadler (D)	-	-	-	-	
Schumer (D)	-	+	+	+	
Towns (D)	-	-	-	+	
Owens (D)	-	-	-	-	
Velazquez (D)	-	-	-	-	
Molinari (R)	+	+	-	-	
Maloney (D)	-	+	+	+	
Rangel (D)	-	-	+	+	
Serrano (D)	-	+	+	+	
Engel (D)	-	-	-	-	
Lowey (D)	+	+	-	+	
Kelly (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Gilman (R)	-	+	-	-	
McNulty (R)	-	+	+	+	
Solomon (R)	-	-	-	-	
Boehlert (R)	+	+	-	-	
McHugh (R)	-	-	+	+	
Walsh (R)	-	+	+	+	
Hinchey (D)	-	-	-	-	
Paxon (R)	+	+	+	+	
Slaughter (D)	-	+	+	-	
LaFalce (D)	-	+	+	+	
Quinn (R)	-	-	+	+	
Houghton (R)	+	+	+	+	

N.C. Clayton (D)	-	+	-	-	
Ethridge (D) (Funderburk -R)	NIC (NIC)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Jones (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Price (D)			NIC	NIC	
Burr (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Coble (R)	+	-	+	-	
McIntyre (D) (Rose-D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Hefner (D)	+	-	-	-	
Myrick (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Ballenger (R)	+	+	+	+	
Taylor (R)	-	-	+	-	
Watt (D)	-	-	-	+	
N.D. Pomeroy (D)	-	+	+	+	
OHIO Chabot (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Portman (R)	+	+	+	+	
Hall (D)	-	+	-	?	
Oxley (R)	+	+	+	+	
Gillmor (R)	+	+	+	-	
Strickland (D) (Cremeans-R)	(NIC)			NIC	
Hobson (R)	+	+	-	+	
Boehner (R)	+	+	+	+	
Kaptur (D)	-	-	-	-	

<u>Kucinich (D)</u> (Hoke-R)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Stokes (D)	-	-	-	-	
Brown (D)	-	-	-	-	
Sawyer (D)	+	+	+	+	
Pryce (R)	+	+	+	+	
Regula (R)	-	+	+	+	
Traficant (D)	-	-	-	-	
Ney (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
LaTourette (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
OKLAHOMA Largent (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Coburn (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Watkins (R) (Brewster-D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Watts (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Istook (R)	+	-	+	+	
Lucas (R)	NIC	-	+	+	
OREGON Furse (D)	-	+	+	+	
<u>Smith (R)</u> (Cooley-R)	(NIC)			NIC	
Blumenauer (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
DeFazio (D)	-	-	-	-	
<u>Hooley (D)</u> (Bunn (R))	NIC (NIC)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
PENNSYL. Foglietta (D)	-	+	+	+	
Fattah (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Borski (D)	-	+	-	-	
Klink (D)	-	-	-	-	

Peterson (R) (Clinger-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Holden (D)	-	-	-	+	
Weldon (R)	-	+	-	+	
Greenwood (R)	+	+	+	+	
Shuster (R)	-	+	+	+	
McDade (R)	+	+	+	?	
Kanjorski (D)	+	+	+	+	
Murtha (D)	-	+	+	+	
Fox (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Coyne (D)	-	+	-	-	
McHale (D)	-	+	-	+	
Pitts (R) (Walker-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Gekas (R)	+	+	+	+	
Doyle (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Goodling (R)	+	+	-	-	
Mascara (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
English (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
R.I. Kennedy (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Weygand (D) (Reed-D)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
S.C. Sanford (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Spence (R)	-	-	+	-	
Graham (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Inglis (R)	-	-	-	-	
Spratt (D)	+	-	-	-	
Clyburn (D)	-	+	?	-	

S.D. Thune (R) (Johnson-D)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
TENN. Jenkins (R) (Quillen-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Duncan (R)	+	-	-	-	
Wamp (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Hilleary (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Clement (D)	+	+	+	+	
Gordon (D)	+	+	+	-	
Bryant (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Tanner (D)	+	+	+	+	
Ford, Jr. (D) (Ford, Sr.-D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
TEXAS Sandlin (D) (Chapman-D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Turner (D) (Wilson-D)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Johnson (R)	+	-	+	+	
Hall (D)	-	-	+	+	
Sessions (R) (Bryant-D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Barton (R)	+	+	-	-	
Archer (R)	+	+	+	+	
Brady (R) (Fields-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Lampson (D) (Stockman-R)	NIC (NIC)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Doggett (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Edwards (D)	+	+	+	+	

Granger (R) (Geren	NIC	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Thornberry (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Paul (R) (Laughlin-)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Hinojosa (D) (de la Garza-D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Reyes (D) (Coleman-D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Stenholm (D)	+	+	+	+	
Jackson-Lee (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Combest (R)	+	-	+	+	
Gonzalez (D)	-	-	-	+	
Smith (R)	+	+	-	+	
DeLay (R)	+	+	+	+	
Bonilla (R)	+	+	+	+	
Frost (D)	+	+	+	+	
Bentsen (D)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Armey (R)	+	+	+	+	
Ortiz (D)	+	+	+	+	
OPEN SEAT (Tejeda)					
Green (D)	-	+	-	+	
Johnson (D)	+	+	+	+	
UTAH Hansen (R)	+	+	+	+	
Cannon (R) (Orton-D)	NIC (-)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Cook (R) (Waldholtz-R)	NIC (NIC)	NIC	NIC	NIC	

VERMONT Sanders (I)	-	-	-	-	
VIRGINIA Bateman (R)	+	+	+	+	
Pickett (D)	+	+	+	+	
Scott (D)	-	+	+	+	
Sisisky (D)	-	-	+	-	
Goode (D) (Payne-D)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Goodlatte (R)	+	+	+	+	
Bliley (R)	+	+	+	+	
Moran (D)	+	+	+	+	
Boucher (D)	-	+	+	+	
Wolf (R)	+	-	-	-	
Davis (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
WASH. White (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Metcalf (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Smith (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	-	
Hastings (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Nethercutt (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	
Dicks (D)	+	+	+	+	
McDermott (D)	+	+	-	+	
Dunn (R)	+	+	+	+	
Smith (D) (Tate-R)	NIC (NIC)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
WVA Mollohan (D)	-	-	?	-	
Wise (D)	-	-	-	+	
Rahall (D)	-	-	-	-	
WISC. Neumann (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	

Klug (R)	+	-	-	-	
Kind (D) (Gunderson-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Kleczka (D)	-	+	+	+	
Barrett (D)	-	+	-	+	
Petri (R)	+	+	+	+	
Obey (D)	-	-	-	-	
Johnson (D) (Roth-R)	NIC (+)	NIC	NIC	NIC	
Sensenbrenner (R)	+	-	-	-	
WYOMING Cubin (R)	NIC	NIC	NIC	+	

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Washington, D. C.

FAX TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

DATE: 29-Jul-97

TO: STEVE RONNEL

SUBJECT:

MEMBERS WHO ATTENDED THE JULY 24 FAST TR

FROM: MICHAEL W. WILLIAMS 456-7767
OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

If there are any problems receiving this transmission,
please call the sender, or (202) 395-7370.

The following Members attended the July 24 White House Fast Track Meeting:

Rep. Robert Matsui
Rep. Cal Dooley
Rep. E.B. Johnson
Rep. Steny Hoyer
Rep. Tom Sawyer
Rep. Ron Kind
Rep. Ben Cardin
Rep. Jim Davis
Rep. Howard Berman
Rep. Earl Blumenauer
Rep. David Skaggs
Rep. Ed Markey
Rep. Tim Roemer
Rep. Barbara Kennelly
Rep. Karen Thurman
Rep. Charles Rangel
Rep. Darlene Hooley
Rep. Earl Pomeroy
Rep. Nick Lampson
Rep. Richard Neal
Rep. Anna Eshoo
Rep. David Price
Rep. Leonard Boswell
Rep. Karen McCarthy
Rep. Jim McDermott

Michael W. Williams

07/30/97 01:26:49 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Steven J. Ronnel/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Fast Track Mtg.

EVENT: Congressional Fast Track Meeting

DATE: Thursday, July 31

TIME: 6:30 PM - 7:30 PM

LOCATION: Yellow Oval Room

***Please note, Members of Congress should enter the NW Gate at 6:15PM and park on the NW Drive.

MEMBERS PENDING (5):

Rep. John Murtha
Rep. Joseph Kennedy
Rep. Bob Menendez
Rep. Donald Payne
Rep. Julian Dixon

MEMBERS CONFIRMED TO ATTEND (28):

Rep. Robert Matsui
Rep. James Moran
Rep. Vic Fazio
Rep. Silvestre Reyes
Rep. Charles Stenholm
Rep. Peter Deutsch - Fla
Rep. Zoe Lofgren - Cal.
Rep. Tom Barrett - WI
Rep. Norm Dicks - WA
FR Rep. Jay Johnson - WI
Rep. Chris John - LA
FR Rep. Adam Smith - WA
Rep. David Minge - MN
Rep. Nita Lowey - NY
Rep. Bill Luther - MN
Rep. Vic Synder
Rep. Lee Hamilton

Rep. Martin Meehan - MA
Rep. Michael McIntyre - NC
Rep. David Price - NC
Rep. Floyd Flake - NY
Rep. Bob Clement - TN
FR Rep. Harold Ford Jr. - TN
FR Rep. Ellen Tauscher - CA
Rep. Ike Skelton -
Rep. Bob Etheridge - NC
Rep. Jane Harman - CA
Rep. Carolyn McCarthy - NY

MEMBERS INVITED BUT UNABLE TO ATTEND:
Rep. Martin Frost
Rep. Lloyd Doggett

ADMINISTRATION PARTICIPANTS:
The President
The Vice President
Secretary Rubin
Secretary Glickman
Secretary Daly
Secretary Herman
Ambassador Barshefsky
Administrator Browner
Counselor McLarty
Under Secretary Eizenstat

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Washington, D. C.

FAX TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

DATE: 01-Aug-97

TO: STEVE RONNEL

SUBJECT:

MEMBERS WHO ATTENDED 7

FROM:

MICHAEL W. WILLIAMS 456-7767

OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

If there are any problems receiving this transmission,
please call the sender, or (202) 395-7370.

EVENT: Congressional Fast Track Meeting
DATE: Thursday, July 31
TIME: 6:30 PM - 7:30 PM
LOCATION: Yellow Oval Room

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MEMBERS CONFIRMED TO ATTEND (24):
Rep. Robert Matsui
Rep. James Moran
Rep. Bob Menendez
Rep. Vic Fazio
Rep. Silvestre Reyes
Rep. Charles Stenholm
Rep. Peter Deutsch
Rep. Zoe Lofgren
Rep. Jay Johnson
Rep. Chris John
Rep. Adam Smith
Rep. David Minge
Rep. Nita Lowey*
Rep. Bill Luther
Rep. Lee Hamilton
Rep. Michael McIntyre
Rep. David Price
Rep. Bob Clement*
Rep. Harold Ford Jr.*
Rep. Ellen Tauscher
Rep. Bob Etheridge
Rep. Jane Harman
Rep. Carolyn McCarthy*
Rep. Donald Payne*

*Did not attend

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

July 16, 1997

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you prepare to request that Congress grant new fast track trade negotiating authority, we are writing to ask your support for future trade agreements that promote improved living standards, a cleaner environment, and the protection of human rights in the U.S. and around the globe.

There is no question that international trade is increasingly important to the American economy. The enhanced integration of the economies in this hemisphere is both inevitable and desirable for the future prosperity of our nation. However, to ensure that the benefits of expanded hemispheric trade are maximized and the harmful effects are minimized, it is imperative that we heed the lessons from existing treaties, particularly as they relate to working families and the environment. After carefully examining the impact of NAFTA, we have concluded that a number of changes must be made to the basic structure and implementation of the Agreement before we can support its expansion.

NAFTA Impact

While there is wide disagreement about the economic impact of NAFTA, it is generally accepted that the treaty has produced both winners and losers. A recent study by a coalition of Latino leaders reveals that NAFTA has produced more job loss than job gains. The study concludes that over 315,000 jobs have been lost or threatened compared to 225,000 jobs gained or supported, for a net labor market impact of 90,000 under NAFTA. Moreover, the Latino Coalition study shows that these losses have been particularly severe in certain regions, industries and segments of the workforce. Latinos, African Americans and women, who are more likely to be employed in low-wage, import-sensitive industries, are particularly vulnerable to dislocation due to trade. For example, El Paso, Texas has lost 6,000 jobs as a result of NAFTA, most of which were concentrated in one industry, contributing to an increase in its unemployment rate from 9 to almost 12 percent.

NAFTA Implementation

Unfortunately, the provisions adopted to mitigate the harmful effects of NAFTA have proven deficient and their implementation grossly negligent. The Latino Coalition study shows that, although Latinos have been disproportionately affected by NAFTA, their experience in the training programs designed to assist NAFTA-dislocated workers has led to neither increased employment prospects nor economic well-being. Latinos displaced by NAFTA are significantly under-served by the NAFTA-TAA program and secondary workers are virtually absent. Furthermore, the typical training offered fails to meet the needs of the most vulnerable displaced Latino workers. In short, the NAFTA-TAA program is just a shadow of the program Latino leaders insisted on as a condition of support for NAFTA.

The NAFTA-TAA program clearly requires improvement in its design and structure; but the principal cause of its failure to adequately serve Latino workers is poor implementation by the Department of Labor. As the Latino Coalition study documents, the program has been plagued by the absence of clear regulations and guidance, inadequate outreach and a severe lack of focus. The implementation of the North American Development Bank's (NADBank) Domestic Window program by the Department of the Treasury has proven to be even more problematic.

The NADBank was created at the insistence of Latino leaders to mitigate the harmful effects of NAFTA on American workers and the environment. It was designed to mobilize financing for environmental infrastructure projects along the U.S.-Mexico Border, and to help create jobs in communities that suffered significant job loss as a result of NAFTA. Yet, after three and a half years, the NADBank's Domestic Window, the component designed to create jobs in communities negatively impacted by NAFTA, has failed to issue a single loan or help to create a single job, despite 315,000 jobs lost or threatened due to NAFTA. This legacy of neglect has occurred despite our consistent prodding, pressure and public criticism of the Domestic Window program.

The NADBank's border environmental infrastructure component has been slowed by limitations in the Bank's Charter and the economic characteristics of the border region. For example, only four loans have been approved to date. The Latino Coalition study reveals that many border communities are too small and too poor to afford any interest rate that is not subsidized. The NADBank's lending rates are market oriented, creating the perception that its rates are too high. Further complicating lending in these communities is the Bank's own borrowing costs, which are based on the taxable, not the tax exempt, market. Despite these problems, the NADBank can actually provide financing at lower rates than U.S. commercial banks, and at much lower rates than banks in Mexico. The economic conditions of these communities have also required extensive technical assistance from the NADBank to produce project proposals that are technically and financially feasible.

A serious lack of coordination between the NADBank and the Border Environment Cooperation Commission (BECC) has also delayed the Bank's lending activity. The Latino Coaliton study found that failure to integrate the NADBank into the initial stages of the BECC's project development process has inhibited both institutions from working efficiently and effectively. This lack of coordination has resulted in the certification of projects by the BECC that did not meet the requirements of the Bank's loan and guaranty policies. Unlike the Domestic Window, however, the NADBank's environmental infrastructure component has diligently worked to overcome these obstacles and we are hopeful that the Bank's lending activity along the border will continue to accelerate.

NAFTA's Structural Limitations

Perhaps the single biggest flaw in NAFTA was its failure to incorporate labor and environmental issues as a chapter in the core agreement, rather than as side agreements. So far, the few complaints that have been brought under the labor side agreement have made little or no impact. Only five cases concerning Mexico have been brought under the labor side agreement, and none of these cases has resulted in a union being recognized or noticeable changes being made in the lives of the workers involved. Clearly, if the rights of workers are to be protected in future trade agreements there must be strong mechanisms of enforcement — a mechanism that is not available under NAFTA.

The environmental side agreement has also failed to provide adequate protection from increased production resulting from NAFTA. The increase in post-NAFTA border economic activity has increased cross-boundary population, industrial and toxic emissions and waste. In addition, the North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation (NACEC), which was designed to ensure enforcement of environmental laws under NAFTA has proven to be ineffective. Of the ten complaints filed not a single one has led to either enforcement orders or economic sanctions against any participating country. Yet, the promised improvements to the health and safety of working families along the border has not occurred. The NAFTA environmental side agreement has simply not been adequate to the task.

Conclusion

We continue to share your goal of expanding trade to Chile and ultimately the rest of Latin America. Delegating fast track trade negotiating authority, however, is a responsibility we take very seriously. Before we can support your request for such authority we must be certain that the economic, safety and health interests of our constituents are not compromised by future trade agreements. As the new Latino Coalition study so vividly illustrates, these interests have not been adequately protected under NAFTA. Therefore, until the flaws in the structure and implementation of NAFTA are addressed, we simply cannot support its extension.

Sincerely,

Esteban E. Torres

ESTEBAN E. TORRES
Member of Congress

SILVESTRE REYES
Member of Congress

Loretta Sanchez

LORETTA SANCHEZ
Member of Congress

Ed Pastor

ED PASTOR
Member of Congress

Nydia M. Velázquez

NYDIA M. VELAZQUEZ
Member of Congress

M. G. Martinez

MATTHEW G. MARTINEZ
Member of Congress

José E. Serrano

JOSE E. SERRANO
Member of Congress

Rubén Hinojosa

RUBEN HINOJOSA
Member of Congress

Luis V. Gutierrez

LUIS V. GUTIERREZ
Member of Congress

XAVIER BECERRA
Member of Congress

Ciro D. Rodriguez

CIRO D. RODRIGUEZ
Member of Congress

ROBERT MENENDEZ
Member of Congress

SOLOMON P. ORTIZ
Member of Congress

Sam Farr

SAM FARR
Member of Congress

Gene Green

GENE GREEN
Member of Congress

Lucille Roybal-Allard

LUCILLE ROYBAL-ALLARD
Member of Congress