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UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

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FIRST SESSION

VOLUME 137—PART 9

MAY 22, 1991 TO JUNE 4, 1991

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON, 1991

[Mr. GEPHARDT], the majority leader, who I was pleased to work with in crafting this legislation. Without his leadership, I am sure we would have a great deal more difficulty in moving this issue forward.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McNULTY). The distinguished majority leader [Mr. GEPHARDT] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, this House—like this Nation—faces a fundamental choice. If you believe in your heart that no matter what our negotiators do, it is simply impossible to negotiate a trade treaty with Mexico that would be in America's economic interests, you have to vote to reject the President's request for fast track authority.

But if you believe, as I do, that if we open closed markets today we can open closed factories tomorrow; if you think the right kind of treaty can be strong enough to create new American jobs, and tough enough to protect the environment and Mexican workers; if you think more trade can mean more jobs and better wages, then I urge you to allow this negotiation to go forward. Vote yes. All we are saying is give trade a chance.

The President would like everyone to believe that support for fast track is synonymous with support for a North American Free-Trade Agreement. That simply is not the case. But, the President indicates that neither he nor the Mexican Government is prepared to proceed with negotiations without fast track. He has chosen the vote today on fast track as a symbol of support for these negotiations.

The resolution which Chairman ROSTENKOWSKI and I have introduced presents another course—conditional fast track. Our resolution conditions the continuation of fast track authority on the President living up to commitments: commitments to develop strong rules of origin, enhanced environmental protection, enforcement of worker rights, transition mechanisms for workers and businesses and other important provisions.

If the President presents us with a perfect agreement, he deserves not only an up or down vote, but our support. But, if he presents us with an imperfect agreement, Congress has two choices—either defeat it or amend it.

My willingness to support the request for fast-track is based on the strongly held view that if the President sends to this Congress a trade treaty that trades away American jobs; or tolerates pollution of the environment or abuse of workers, we can and will amend it or reject it. I am serving notice both to the Bush administration and to the Mexican Government: I intend to do just that.

But, I think the potential is there—that the rewards are worth the risk. But we'll never know unless we try. I

think we should try to gain greater access to the Mexican market. There is a \$30 billion traffic in commerce already between our two countries; it is relatively balanced. We have reason to believe that with the lowering of the 10 percent tariff Mexico places on American goods, there will be room to send more American goods—more manufactured, high-valued goods—to that nation. And we must look at the composition of trade, not only its aggregates.

With the right kind of treaty, we'll end discriminatory practices which prevent us from increasing our export opportunities with Mexico. The car manufacturers say that under a free trade agreement with Mexico we would be able to boost exports of American-made Jeeps, vans, cars and trucks. It stands to reason that we would, because the Mexican Government has a balance of trade requirement for certain sectors. That is, for every dollar of exports sold to Mexico, a dollar of Mexican exports must be shipped to America. Another example of trade restrictions is the Mexican Government's 10 percent average tariff on American goods, while the United States charges only 4 percent on Mexican goods. Add to those obstructions the barriers of infrastructure, transportation and the differences in culture and legal systems, and there is ample room for improvement.

The right kind of free trade treaty with Mexico could create more than a quarter-million new American jobs, reduce our global trade deficit by \$8 to \$9 billion, and help stem the flood of illegal workers streaming into the United States from Mexico.

But the right kind of treaty requires closer scrutiny. Under the maquiladora, the Japanese and other Pacific Rim nations currently locate screwdriver plants on the United States-Mexican border and enjoy duty-free importation of their products into the United States. A properly negotiated treaty would limit the ability of other countries to use Mexico as an export platform.

What's more, a properly drawn treaty will ensure that there are good jobs, on both sides of the border and thereby reduce the incentive that Mexicans have to cross the border illegally into the United States in search of work.

Finally, a properly drawn treaty will improve the quality of life for workers and citizens on both sides of the border. Environmental laws and worker rights, properly enforced, can mean everything to the people who live there; cause should be our cause, and we can best represent their cause by pursuing this kind of treaty.

I understand those who are concerned that we will not get the right kind of treaty. The working men and women in my hometown of St. Louis are greatly concerned—as are the loyal, patriotic Americans who organize and represent

them in the labor movement. I understand their concern and I frankly share their skepticism. After 10 years of relentless assault on family incomes—higher taxes and lower wages for middle-class families, while the wealthy have gotten lower taxes and higher incomes—I'm angry too. We've seen too many attacks on the right to organize, a misguided trade policy, yanking the rugs out from under an entire community overnight, and too many negotiations which cost hard-won health benefits.

Of course, people are scared, and they know the last two administrations have done nothing to stop the flood of jobs from the United States. So uppermost in our minds must be playing the kind of constructive role, the oversight role, that Congress can and should play to ensure the goals of this negotiation are carried out.

But the answer is not to kill a treaty that hasn't even been written—or even negotiated yet. The answer is to keep the pressure on. I am serving notice today that Congress will do that. Chairman ROSTENKOWSKI, Senator BENTSEN, and I will sound like the song by the police that goes, "Every breath you take, every step you take, every move you make, we'll be watching you." Trust but verify: that will be our policy.

And if the President brings back a treaty that fails to match assurances he provided in the action plan, we're going to amend it, or reject, and I will help lead the fight to do that.

One of the most important victories to emerge from this issue is that from it we are having the beginnings of a long-overdue national debate on trade. What a contrast with the almost nonexistent public debate on the United States-Canada Free Trade Agreement. During this debate, the treaty was front page news in Canada and was the centerpiece issue in a national election campaign. In our country, it was hard to find anyone who even knew we were negotiating.

There is no more vital issue than developing good paying jobs for our families. Because this issue is about jobs, it is about our national destiny. This is about the productive capacity of the Nation to employ people, boost their standards of living, raise their expectations, and compete with their rivals in the international marketplace.

In democracies we need these kinds of rational debates on so many issues, and we have them on so few of them. This is the issue of the future, this is our future. I say let's pass fast track, let's keep careful watch on our negotiators, and let's bring back a treaty that will ensure that there's room at the table for labor, Mexico, and all of us. And that we will have the high-skill, high-paying jobs that will put more bread on the table for families on both sides of the Rio Grande.

Congressional Record -- House

Thursday, May 23, 1991

102nd Cong. 1st Sess.

137 Cong Rec H 3597

REFERENCE: Vol. 137 No. 79; Continuation of Senate Proceedings of May 22, 1991, Issue No. 78; and Proceedings of May 23, 1991, Issue No. 79.

TITLE: EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESPECT TO THE U.S. OBJECTIVES THAT SHOULD BE ACHIEVED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS OF FUTURE TRADE AGREEMENTS

SPEAKER: Mr. APPLEGATE; Mr. ARCHER; MR. BARRETT; Mr. BOEHLERT; Mr. CAMPBELL of California; Mr. CARPER; MR. CLEMENT; Mr. CLINGER; MR. COYNE; Mr. CUNNINGHAM; Mr. de la GARZA; Mr. DORNAN of California; Mr. DREIER of California; Mr. EDWARDS of Texas; Mr. GEPHARDT; Mr. GREEN of New York; Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut; Mrs. KENNELLY; Mr. LEACH; Mr. LEWIS of Florida; MR. MATSUI; MR. MILLER OF OHIO; MR. PENNY; Mr. RITTER; Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI; Mr. ROYBAL; Mr. SARPALIUS; Mr. SCHUMER; Ms. SLAUGHTER of New York

TEXT:

Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

...

Mr. Speaker, I yield the remaining time to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Gephardt] , the majority leader, who I was pleased to work with in crafting this legislation. Without his leadership, I am sure we would have a great deal more difficulty in moving this issue forward.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McNulty). The distinguished majority leader [Mr. Gephardt] is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. GEPHARDT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, this House -- like this Nation -- faces a fundamental choice. If you believe in your heart that no matter what our negotiators do, it is simply impossible to negotiate a trade treaty with Mexico that would be in America's economic interests, you have to vote to reject the President's request for fast-track authority.

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But, I think the potential is there -- that the rewards are worth the risk. But we'll never know unless we try. I think we should try to gain greater access to the Mexican market. There is a \$30 billion traffic in commerce already between our two countries; it is relatively balanced. We have reason to believe that with the lowering of the 10 percent tariff Mexico places on American goods, there will be room to send more American goods -- more manufactured, high valued goods -- to that nation. And we must look at the composition of trade, not only its aggregates.

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And if the President brings back a treaty that fails to match assurances he provided in the action plan, we're going to amend it, or reject, and I will help lead the fight to do that.

One of the most important victories to emerge from this issue is that from it we are having the beginnings of a long-overdue national debate on trade. What a contrast with the almost non-existent public debate on the United States-Canada Free Trade Agreement. During this debate, the treaty was front page news in Canada and was the centerpiece issue in a national election campaign. In our country, it was hard to find anyone who even knew we were negotiating.

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In democracies we need these kinds of rational debates on so many issues, and we have them on so few of them. This is the issue of the future, this is our future. I say let's pass fast track, let's keep careful watch on our negotiators, and let's bring back a treaty that will ensure that there's room at the table for labor, Mexico, and all of us. And that we will have the high-skill, high-paying jobs that will put more bread on the table for families on both sides of the Rio Grande.

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MAY 9, 1991, THURSDAY

SECTION: COMMERCE AND TRADE SPEECHES OR CONFERENCES

LENGTH: 3297 words

HEADLINE: PRESS CONFERENCE WITH:
REPRESENTATIVE RICHARD GEPHARDT (D-MO)
SUBJECT: FAST TRACK AUTHORITY REAUTHORIZATION
HOUSE RADIO AND TV GALLERY, THE CAPITOL

BODY:

REP. GEPHARDT: Congress is about to consider whether to grant the administration's so-called fast track authority. If adopted, that means the President can get a vote on future trade agreements, such as a new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or a North American Free Trade Agreement, within 60 days after he submits them. Moreover, it limits the ability of Congress to amend the implementing language of trade treaties.

Almost everyone agrees that the GATT treaty should be handled expeditiously and without amendments because we recognize that an agreement reached among 107 nations is simply not amenable to renegotiation. That doesn't mean that there are no differences about our goals for GATT; there are. The Congress has already enacted negotiating objectives for this treaty and the administration knows our resolve in having these objectives met.

At its essence, this debate is about whether to extend fast track authority for implementing legislation that would follow a yet-to-be-concluded North American Free Trade Agreement. But this issue is about more than procedure. For many years, I have fought to advance two principles on international trade. First, the patently unfair treatment of American products in foreign countries robs us of jobs at home. Second, that trade policy means more than reducing tariffs. It means defining our national strength, determining control of our economic destiny, and deciding whether our families' standard of living will rise or fall.

In this expansive view of trade, what we call trade policy also includes non-tariff barriers to trade, training and adjustment, research and development, exchange rates and anti-trust laws, environment and education, corporate responsibility and workplace democracy, presidential leadership and national purpose. For the last 11 years, this truth has eluded both the Reagan and the Bush administrations. Their failure to recognize the world as it is instead of how their ideologies say it should be has cost American workers their jobs, American industries their markets, and all Americans a measure of control of

their economic destiny. We need time to make fundamental changes in all the areas I've described if America is going to succeed economically in the 21st Century.

Because this Republican administration, like its predecessor, has been willing to pursue trade policies that cost American jobs, I approach the proposed grant of fast track authorization for future trade agreements with a great deal of skepticism. Over a long and productive dialogue, I raised several important concerns with the administration. I can say today that on many of the issues they have moved a good distance.

Responding to Congressional pressure, the administration has agreed to significant protections for American jobs: Retraining, and other support for those Americans who may lose their jobs despite the protections I've advocated; stringent environmental protections; strict rules to ensure that other nations don't use Mexico as an export platform; strong new provisions to protect Mexican workers against abuse; transition measures to help American companies adjust to a changed world; and an escape clause that will allow us to suspend aspects of the treaty that might have an unintended negative effect on the American economy.

At bottom, fast track is a grant of negotiating authority, and we must recall John Kennedy's advice, "Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate."

Rather than fearing to negotiate, we should recognize that the right kind of free trade treaty could create more than a quarter million new American jobs, reduce our trade deficit by eight to nine billion dollars, and help stem the flood of illegal workers streaming into the United States from Mexico.

I have decided to support fast track authorization for negotiating trade treaties based on what I might call a "trust but verify" trade policy. This consists of first, providing fast track authority; second, passing a resolution reminding the administration of our objectives; and third, retaining the right under house rules to amend the treaty as fast track clearly provides, if the treaty and the implementing language they send the Congress fail to live up to these objectives.

In light of the many commitments from the administration to protecting American jobs and advancing American interests through the treaty, I am prepared to support an extension of fast track authority for trade treaties. But I do so with this caveat: If the administration sends to this Congress a trade treaty that trades away American jobs or tolerates pollution of the environment or abuse of workers, we can and we will amend it or reject it. I'm serving notice both to the Bush administration and to the Mexican government I intend to do just that. That's what "trust but verify" is all about.

I'd be happy to entertain any questions.

Yes?

Q Isn't this third provision in effect killing fast track -- the "no amendments" approach to that legislation?

REP. GEPHARDT: This is the rules in the Constitution of the United States.

Under the Canadian treaty, when the treaty was finished there were negotiations between members of Congress and our negotiators and the Canadian negotiators, and changes were made in the treaty and the implementing legislation before there was a vote. And if those changes had not been made it was Congress' prerogative, under our rules and under our Constitution, to provide for a rule for consideration in the House that would allow for amendments in certain areas.

Fast track does two things. One, it calls for a vote on the implementing legislation within 60 days after the treaty is sent to the Congress and the implementing legislation attached to it is sent to the Congress. Second, the rules said there should be an up or down vote. Primarily that was written for two reasons: One, to not have any number of amendments on individual commodities or items; second, because the Senate doesn't have rules. Nothing in the fast track legislation ever did or ever tried to override the rules of the House of Representatives, which clearly state that we can fashion a rule that allows for amendments.

The reason I sent the letter to the President raising all of these important issues that to me are critical to both prying open markets in Mexico, to American businesses and American products, and protecting American jobs, and against the loss of American jobs to Mexico, was precisely so that those important social and economic issues got negotiated properly between the parties, and if they were not treated properly that we could go back and try to change it, either through further negotiation between the parties, under pressure from the Congress, or that the Congress could go ahead and try to amend the implementing legislation to make it what we want it to be.

Q Can I follow up? You're going to be meeting, I believe, later today with Secretary Serra of Mexico. You met already. What do you think his reaction will be to this and what kind of assurances you will be looking from him as to, you know, comply with your conditions as far as Mexico is concerned?

REP. GEPHARDT: I don't know what his reaction will be. What we seek is a negotiation that treats these important issues and areas. What I'm fighting for here is what I have always fought for in trade policy: We've got to pry open foreign markets. We've got to get access for our products in foreign markets. We don't have that today in Mexico. For instance, there's a rule in effect today in Mexico that says for every car imported into Mexico from another country, say, the United States, there has to be a car exported out of Mexico to that country.

So every time we sell a Chrysler or a Ford or a GM product into Mexico that's made in the United States, we have to accept one that's made in Mexico back into the United States, so that there's exact equal balance of trade in the area of automobiles. That's a big problem. We might be able to sell a lot more cars in Mexico than Mexico could sell here. That may be an area where we would have an advantage and we could sell American-made products. So that market is in that way closed to our businesses and our workers. My goal again in trade has been to pry open foreign markets, to give us equal access and necessary access

to foreign markets, and to make sure that we protect American jobs and have a rising standard of living in this country.

Now I think it is possible -- it will be hard, it will be difficult, but it is possible to write a treaty that advantages the United States as well as it is in Mexico's interest. That's why we wrote the letter to the President and that's why we feel so strongly about this.

I don't know what the Secretary's opinion will be. I'm happy to meet with him or anyone else, but he needs to understand how strongly the Congress feels about this and how closely, if authority is granted to negotiate, we will be following this treaty on behalf of our constituency.

Q What do you think the head count is in the House and what do you think it will be now that you've taken a position?

REP. GEPHARDT: I have no idea. I haven't counted it and I haven't looked at counts. So I don't know what the count is.

Q You don't have an instinct for it?

REP. GEPHARDT: I really don't. I really don't. I haven't approached that part of it. Yes?

Q Can you spell out what might be in your second point of the resolution? Is that something that you have drafted or will draft detailing -- REP.

GEPHARDT: We will express the concerns that were expressed in the letters that went to the President, the issues that we feel are important on behalf of American jobs and American workers to be taken up seriously in this negotiation. We will state Congress' intent to oversee this negotiation very intently through its entire period however long it goes, and we also state what I said in my statement that we intend to try to amend this implementing legislation and treaty, if necessary, in order to get the goals that we've set out here to be satisfied.

The President has to earn fast track. He has to earn the ability to get an up-or-down vote on a treaty. But if he doesn't treat these issues to the satisfaction of the Congress then we retain the right to amend this treaty, to amend the implementing legislation and to see that the treaty is one that is in the interest of American workers and American business.

Q Will this resolution immediately follow the vote on fast track?

REP. GEPHARDT: It probably will.

Yes?

Q You're going to introduce it?

REP. GEPHARDT: Yes.

Q (Off mike) -- you could amend the implementing language without amending the treaty itself, therefore allowing trade to go through yet having your concerns addressed in the implementing language? Is that your intention at this point?

REP. GEPHARDT: We never do get the treaty in the House of Representatives.

We do not approve or disapprove a treaty, whether you have fast track or no track or any track. Under any procedure, we get implementing legislation, period. Now if we amend that implementing legislation in such a way that it causes a change to be made in the treaty, then the negotiators have to go back

to the Mexican negotiators and try to get that change made. Now to go back to Canada, when they finished with the treaty negotiation, they came back with a treaty and then they write implementing legislation that comes out of the treaty. That went to the House and went to the Senate. But before it was voted on in that 60-day period, there were further negotiations caused by pressure from the Congress to change provisions in the implementing legislation and therefore in the treaty. And they went back and they renegotiated those items and got them changed.

Now if they hadn't gotten them changed or if the negotiators had say, "Hey we can't do that, we can't get a change," then the Congress could put an amendment to that part of the treaty -- rules of origin was one of the issues -- they could have put an amendment to that part of the treaty so that part of the implementing legislation which would have caused a change in the treaty or no treaty.

Q So is today's effort a shout across the bow to the administration which says if you don't do it to our satisfaction we're going to use that 60-day window to force you to do so.

REP. GEPHARDT: It is trust but verify, trust but verify. I am not willing to write a blank check to this or any administration on a trade negotiation. And we're saying as clearly as I know how to say it to our government, and to the Mexican government, that if this treaty is insufficient, if it does not adequately address the concerns that have been over and over again offered by many of us, that we retain the right and will amend this treaty through implementing legislation.

Q Given the position you've adopted here today, my understanding is -- you can correct me -- that you still expect a vote on the House floor on an outright rejection of any fast track extension?

REP. GEPHARDT: Yeah. Yes, the Dorgan measure will be voted on on the floor, and it is an outright disapproval. Again, fast track does two things. It causes a vote in 60 days after the legislation is sent and, second, it says there should be an up or down vote. But as I also said, in the House of Representatives we have under our Constitution and our rules the right to amend, and that right has been used as pressure in the Canadian situation, and we will use it in this case.

Q But, Mr. Gephardt, I think I recall your testimony before the Ways and Means Committee when you first mentioned about -- (word inaudible) -- fast track, you mentioned then the possibility of changing the rule at any time during the negotiations to reopen -- (off mike) -- and to change the rules and withdraw fast track. The way I understand this, you reserve that right for the period after the negotiations are completed. Is that --

REP. GEPHARDT: No, under -- we have the right during the negotiation to withdraw the fast track authority. That also is in the statute. And that can be done. We can say we disavow the fast track; we want to go back off of that, which would mean you don't have a 60-day requirement. And we can do that.

Q And is this the same thing --

REP. GEPHARDT: No, it is my understanding -- and we have checked this carefully with our own parliamentarians, and it has been well-documented and well-thought out, that we have the ability under our rules to fashion a rule that would allow an amendment or amendments to the implementing legislation. I'm not saying today that I know there are going to be amendments or that the treaty will be poorly negotiated. I hope it is not. I hope they do a good job. I hope they get a treaty that is in the American interest and fights for American workers and American jobs and American businesses. I think that can be done, and I hope that's done. But if it isn't done, we're not going to stand by and just say we've got to vote up or down.

Now, we may decide that it's so defective that all we can do is try to defeat it.

Q Can we call this a cautious endorsement of fast track?

REP. GEPHARDT: I think it's a realistic view of what needs to happen here. This is a very important issue to the American people, to American workers, to American businesses, to American unions. And I must tell you that I've heard from a lot of workers in my hometown and all over the country who have said we are losing jobs in this country, we're losing wages in this country. Jobs are leaving the United States and going to Mexico, they're going to Singapore, they're going to Japan, they're going all over the world, and somebody's got to do something to stop it.

Now I believe, as I've said repetitiously, ad nauseum, I have said trade can be good for the United States and our workers. If we can get access to foreign markets, we can compete. We can hold our standard of living. We can hold our jobs. And I happen to see this instance as a time when we can get access to the Mexican market that we don't have today. And I also believe if we have trade with Mexico, the Mexican economy can rise, wages can rise there, and we can sell more goods in the Mexican market. I see it as a possible opportunity.

But we've got to be careful. We have to be skeptical. We have to be cautious because the record in these negotiations by this and the past administration has not always been what we've wanted it to be. And the Congress under our Constitution has a clear and direct and solemn responsibility with regard to trade legislation. From day one in this country, we have been having arguments about trade.

Q Before the Canadian treaty, was the implementing legislation ever amended by the House under -- (inaudible) -- fast track? Could this be the first time that this would ever be done?

REP. GEPHARDT: I'm not certain. I can check that. I don't know the answer to it. But I would say to you that in Canada it was a de facto amendment of the treaty. That's what happened.

Q (Off mike.)

REP. GEPHARDT: Members of Congress told the administration at the end of the negotiation after the treaty was done and the implementing legislation was down here, members of Congress said, "We will not do this unless you change this." And they went back to the negotiating table and got it changed. And I feel

certain that if they had not done that, members would have offered amendments and then there would have been votes on amendments on the floor.

Q (Off mike) -- did those meetings change your mind or make up your mind on fast track? And what are your -- (inaudible) -- of those meetings -- (inaudible.)

REP. GEPHARDT: Well, I wanted to go there to express to them personally what I've tried to express to our own government, and so that they would understand exactly what I am saying, what my concerns are, and why I have those concerns, so that there would be no mistake about what I was saying and what is meant in this. I didn't want any misunderstanding about this. And I wanted them to know from me, face-to-face, what this is about, how strongly I feel about it, and what the Congress intends to do in trying to deal with this in what I think is a reasonable manner to deal with it.

Q You say "they", I mean, does that mean both -- (inaudible.)

REP. GEPHARDT: Yes.

Q -- do they have the same position on the trade agreement? I mean, I know that -- (inaudible) -- is the -- (inaudible) -- of the opposition in Mexico, and for sure, he has a different position from -- (inaudible.)

REP. GEPHARDT: I understand they have different positions. But I wanted them, as leaders in their country, to understand what the position here was and what our concerns were. And that's what I think we got across.

Q Would the resolution apply or be directed just toward -- (inaudible) -- or would it apply to fast track in general, and, therefore, to the Uruguay Round?

REP. GEPHARDT: The resolution? It talks about both. It talks about our goals in both.

Q You don't think that might affect the Uruguay Round negotiations, then, with 107 countries that you said might not be willing to negotiate if they knew that something would be amended?

REP. GEPHARDT: I don't know what their position will be. All I can tell you is what our Constitution and our rules dictate.

Q In other words, we would be able to amend the GATT agreement -- (inaudible.)

REP. GEPHARDT: Again, our Constitution, our rules, say that the Congress, the House, fashions its own rules in consideration of legislation.

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May 10, 1991, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A16

LENGTH: 612 words

HEADLINE: Gephardt Backs 'Fast-Track' Authority;
Action Seen as Critical to Bush's Efforts on Trade Treaty With Mexico

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Guy Gugliotta, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) yesterday endorsed President Bush's request for "fast-track" authority to negotiate a free trade agreement with Mexico, but warned that Congress could and would amend any treaty that failed to protect U.S. jobs or the environment.

Despite the qualifiers, Gephardt's announcement removed what could have been a critical obstacle to Bush's efforts to push forward on the agreement.

The majority leader has espoused protectionist policies in the past, and would have been the loudest voice opposing the Mexico treaty had he chosen not to back it.

A White House spokesman said of Gephardt's announcement, "We welcome his support."

Fast-track authority allows the president to negotiate trade treaties and present them to Congress to be approved or disapproved without amendment.

The Bush administration regards fast-track as an essential negotiating tool, holding that no nation would bargain in good faith if it thought that the final product would be shredded by amendments on the floor of Congress.

The Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee are scheduled to vote Tuesday on resolutions to deny fast-track authority, and have pledged to bring the resolutions to the floor even if they are disapproved. Unless the Senate or the House specifically votes to deny fast-track, however, the extension automatically will go into effect June 1.

The votes are expected to be close.

Debate has been fierce, with free trade supporters of the treaty opposed by lawmakers fearing the agreement will cause damage to the regional environment and a massive hemorrhage of jobs to low wages in Mexico.

Gephardt had been the leading fence-sitter in this debate, but yesterday he told reporters that an "action plan" submitted by Bush to Congress last week had gone "a good distance" toward answering his misgivings.

As a result, he said, "I have decided to support fast-track authorization" based on what he described as a "trust-and-verify" trade policy.

In return for his support, he said, he has introduced a resolution "reminding the administration" of congressional concerns about environmental damage, job loss, compensation for U.S. workers displaced as a result of the treaty and abuse of the free trade zone by third countries seeking to sneak foreign goods into the United States without duties or tariffs.

Finally, he reserved the right of the House to change rules governing handling of the completed treaty, and thus permit amendments, if it failed to live up to expectations.

A senior administration trade official said "the key thing" in Gephardt's position "is that he has supported the extension of fast track." Gephardt's qualifiers, the official said, are neither "necessary nor helpful," and "address concerns that we are already prepared to address."

Sources close to Gephardt explained that his position did not necessarily represent a departure from the fast-track procedure, but underscored the House's demands to be consulted during negotiations and its right to make changes it deemed necessary.

The sources noted that this procedure had been used following negotiation of the 1988 U.S.-Canada free trade agreement. Congress examined the pact, changes were negotiated with the Reagan administration and the Canadian government and the vote on the treaty had then been taken in accordance with fast-track.

"We must be careful, skeptical, cautious," Gephardt said. "It is possible to write a treaty that advantages both the United States and Mexico," he added. But "I am not willing to write a blank check to this or any other administration on trade negotiations."

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May 10, 1991, FRIDAY, FIVE STAR Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 614 words

HEADLINE: GEPHARDT ADVANCES TRADE PACT HE OKS 'FAST TRACK' TO
MEXICAN ACCORD

BYLINE: Charlotte Grimes Post-Dispatch Washington Bureau

BODY:

WASHINGTON - With presidential reassurances on labor and environmental concerns in hand, House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt, D-Mo., endorsed on Thursday a special legislative procedure for a free-trade treaty with Mexico. But sticking to his skepticism about the administration's trade policy, Gephardt warned that he would oppose any treaty that did not live up to the protections for Americans that President George Bush has promised. "In light of the many commitments from the administration to protecting American jobs and advancing American interests through this treaty, I am prepared to support an extension of fast-track authority for trade treaties," Gephardt announced at a press conference. The fast-track procedure requires Congress to vote within 60 days on a treaty and allows no amendments from the floor. The procedure would be extended automatically at the end of the month without a vote to kill it. But Gephardt added: "If the administration sends to this Congress a trade treaty that trades away American jobs, or tolerates pollution of the environment or abuse of workers, we can and we will amend it or reject it." Gephardt's endorsement removed one of the major stumbling blocks to extending the fast-track procedure to Bush's proposal for a trade agreement with Mexico. Gephardt now is directly at odds with the labor unions that have been some of his strongest supporters and has antagonized some environmentalists and consumer activists. Organized labor, environmentalists and some members of Congress are campaigning against the process. The fast-track procedure applies also to the talks on the world's trading rules, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT. Many trade experts have predicted a tough fight over the details of the Mexican agreement but speculated that Congress would not be willing to let the GATT negotiations go down with the special legislative procedure. The administration wants the treaty with Mexico as part of Bush's plan to set up the world's largest single market in North America. Canada and the United States have a free-trade agreement. Mexico is the U.S.'s third-largest trading partner. Gephardt said his decision was part of his policy of opening foreign markets to American goods. "I happen to see this

instance as a time when we can get access to the Mexican market that we don't have today," Gephardt said. "And I also believe that if we have trade with Mexico, the Mexican economy can rise, wages can rise there and we can sell more goods there." In an interview, Gephardt expressed sympathy with unions, which argue that a Mexico agreement would hurt American jobs and wages. "I can understand how they're outraged about this and why they would think no treaty is a good treaty," he said. But, he added, "My conclusion is that is possible to have a treaty that is in our interest and in our workers' interest in terms of jobs and standard of living and wages. And therefore we should try." But borrowing a favorite phrase of Ronald Reagan, Gephardt said that he had adopted a "trust but verify" trade policy on the Mexico agreement. "I am not willing to write a blank check to this or any administration on a trade negotiation," Gephardt said. Until Thursday's announcement, Gephardt had not committed himself on the fast-track issue. Instead, he engaged in lengthy negotiations with administration officials, including a meeting with Bush, over job and environmental concerns. Among them: a phase-in time for the two markets to adjust to each other; help for dislocated workers; and requirements to strengthen enforcement of Mexico's anti-pollution laws.

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May 24, 1991, FRIDAY, FIVE STAR Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Pg. 3C

LENGTH: 835 words

HEADLINE: ON TRADE, TRUST BUT VERIFY CONGRESS RETAINS RIGHT TO
AMEND IMPLEMENTING; LANGUAGE OF MEXICAN TRADE TREATY

BYLINE: Richard A. Gephardt

BODY:

For thousands of working men and women in my hometown of St. Louis, the first months of 1991 have been filled with irony. Workers at places like McDonnell Douglas and Chrysler felt their hearts swell with pride as we won the war, and then sink with despair as they lost their jobs. The question nags at them constantly: How can a nation that moved so decisively for military aims react so lethargically when our economic strength is threatened? After a decade in which the ladder of economic opportunity was replaced with a treadmill of frustration, no wonder they are concerned about the specter of losing still more jobs to a free-trade agreement with Mexico. In the debate over the proposed U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement, Americans are witnessing a frustrating clash between some who employ the rhetoric of free trade to drive down American wages and drive off American jobs and others who fear their jobs, their hopes and their standard of living will be the first things exported under such an agreement. The Bush administration, like its predecessor, initially approached the issue of free trade with Mexico through the blinders of its rigid ideology. It seemed as though the administration wanted to throw open our borders, without regard to unintended - but not unforeseeable - consequences in terms of jobs, the environment and worker rights. The stakes are indeed high: The wrong kind of treaty could plunge Americans' already staggering standard of living lower still. But we don't have to have that kind of treaty. If we think anew - and use this opportunity to expand U.S. jobs, protect the environment and defend the rights of Mexican workers - we can negotiate a treaty tough enough to advance our interest and strong enough to ensure prosperity on both sides of the border. Although our exports to and imports from Mexico are in basic balance, there is clearly much we would like to change about our trade relationship. Mexico has a balance of trade requirement for certain sectors. That is, for every dollar of exports sold to Mexico, a dollar of Mexican exports must be shipped to America. Another example of trade restrictions is the Mexican government's 10 percent average tariff on U.S. goods, while the United States charges only 4 percent on Mexican goods. Add to those obstructions the barriers of infrastructure, transportation and the differences in culture and legal systems, and there is ample room for improvement. The right kind of free trade treaty could create more than a quarter-million American jobs, reduce our global trade deficit by \$9 billion and help stem the flood of illegal workers streaming into the United States from Mexico. Because they were rightly concerned about the Bush administration's willingness to negotiate such a treaty, American workers - especially the labor

groups that organize and represent millions of them - raised doubts, asked questions and demanded answers. And so Congress decided to shape the parameters within which the treaty will be negotiated. Congressional Democrats, including Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen and myself, carried many of these concerns to the administration. We were encouraged by its response. Maybe, just maybe, our president is beginning to offer the trade leadership we need. Not consistently, not boldly and not yet for the long-term, the president, on the U.S.-Mexico free-trade issue, has nonetheless shown some recognition of the new realities. For example, in response to congressional pressure, the administration has agreed to try to address: Protections for American jobs, retraining and other support for those Americans who may lose their jobs. Stringent environmental protections. Strict rules to ensure that other nations don't use Mexico as an export platform. Transition measures to help U.S. companies adjust to the changed world, and an escape clause that will allow us to suspend aspects of the treaty that might have an unintended negative effect on our economy. As a result, I support the House-passed fast-track authorization for negotiating trade treaties, based on what I might call a trust-but-verify approach. This consists of first providing negotiating authority; then passing a resolution reminding the administration of our objectives; and finally, retaining the right to change the treaty's effect by amending its implementing language if it fails to live up to these objectives. The rules of the House of Representatives are clear: No matter what track a piece of legislation proceeds on, the House is always empowered to offer and adopt amendments. If the administration sends to Congress a treaty that trades away American jobs, or tolerates pollution, or abuses workers, we will amend it or reject it. I am serving notice both on the Bush administration and on the Mexican government: I intend to do just that. That's what trust but verify is all about. Richard A. Gephardt, D-St. Louis, is majority leader of the House of Representatives.

'Fast Track' Trade Procedures Extended

After intense White House lobbying, the Bush administration won a two-year renewal of special "fast track" procedures governing congressional consideration of trade agreements.

President Bush argued that the renewal was necessary if the administration was to continue multilateral trade talks on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and begin talks on a U.S.-Mexico free-trade pact. Fast-track procedures gave Congress 60 days to act once a trade agreement was submitted, and required an up or down vote without amendments.

The renewal process turned into a referendum on the controversial U.S.-Mexico trade talks, as Democrats charged that removing trade and investment barriers would take jobs from U.S. workers and that businesses would head south to take advantage of inexpensive labor and lax environmental laws.

Bush and Mexico's President Carlos Salinas de Gortari had agreed in June 1990 to negotiate a free-trade agreement.

The plan was accelerated by a stalemate in global trade talks under GATT and by Salinas' decision in the spring of 1990 that more open trade with the United States was the best route to economic development for Mexico.

Bush formally notified Congress of his plans to negotiate such a pact in September 1990. After months of high-level talks, he announced in early 1991 that Canada — which already had a free-trade agreement with the United States — would join the U.S.-Mexico talks. The goal would be a North American Free Trade Agreement.

Central to the White House victory on the fast track was an "action plan" issued May 1 addressing concerns about the U.S.-Mexico pact. The administration pledged to reject any weakening of U.S. environmental laws, to provide for worker adjustment assistance and to provide some industries threatened by the free-trade pact with long transition periods.

Congress had until June 1 to block the fast track extension; after that, fast track procedures would have continued automatically for two more years.

Opponents in both the House and Senate tried but failed to win support for resolutions barring the extension.

If either chamber had voted for the resolution, the procedure would have been blocked.

The House defeated the effort 192-231 on May 23. (Vote 115, p. 28-H)

BOXSCORE

• **Fast-Track Disapproval (S Res 78, H Res 101).** The legislation would have barred extension of fast-track procedures to bills implementing trade agreements entered into after May 31, 1991. Under the fast-track procedures, Congress had to approve or disapprove a trade agreement without amendments. The U.S.-Mexico trade agreement and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade were covered under this bill.

Reports: S Rept 102-56, H Rept 102-63

KEY ACTION

May 1 — The administration submitted its "action plan" on the U.S.-Mexico free-trade pact to Congress.

May 14 — The House Ways and Means Committee voted 9-27 to reject the measure, H Res 101, to deny a two-year extension of fast-track authority.

May 14 — The Senate Finance Committee reported the measure, S Res 78, unfavorably, 15-3.

May 23 — The House voted 192-231 to reject H Res 101.

May 24 — The Senate voted 36-59 to reject S Res 78.

June 1 — The extension went into effect.

The Senate followed suit on May 24, 36-59 (Vote 86, p. 12-S).

Three Months of Debate

Bush's request March 1 for an extension of the fast track set off three months of debate, in which a loose but vocal coalition of labor and environmental groups opposed to a U.S.-Mexico pact teamed up to fight the White House, and Democrats struggled to find a common stand on the issue.

The AFL-CIO, which strongly opposed the U.S.-Mexico talks, made defeat of the fast track a top priority for the year. Labor officials argued that the Bush administration was using free trade with Mexico as a substitute for foreign aid — and that U.S. workers would pay the price in the form of lost jobs.

Environmental groups warned that a U.S.-Mexico free-trade agreement would exacerbate pollution along the border, while creating pressure to loosen U.S. environmental laws as businesses moved south to take advantage of weak Mexican enforcement of its pollution controls.

Human rights advocates worried about working conditions in Mexico. And U.S. fruit and vegetable growers voiced concern about added competition.

But the opponents found it difficult to devise a common strategy. The fast track was key to both the U.S.-Mexico talks and the GATT negotiations. Some members, particularly those from farm and textile-producing states, wanted to kill the GATT talks. But a larger group, mainly lawmakers from the Rust Belt, wanted to focus on the Mexico talks. There was no easy way to stop one set of negotiations without bringing down the other.

The opposition also lacked leadership from the top. Rep. Richard A. Gephardt, D-Mo., came under intense pressure from organized labor and some environmental groups to lead the charge, turning a procedural issue into a major political confrontation with Bush. But, while he spoke frequently in support of their concerns, Gephardt ultimately backed the extension.

Most of the Democratic leadership cautiously supported extension of the fast track. That included Speaker Thomas S. Foley of Washington and the heads of the two committees that oversaw trade, Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois and Finance Chairman Lloyd Bentsen of Texas. In part, their leanings reflected a traditional free-trade position. But Democrats also feared that if they campaigned against a U.S.-Mexico free-trade pact, Bush would be able to portray them as protectionist.

"My inclination is to be supportive" Rostenkowski said in March. "But I see the storm brewing out there."

Test of Presidential Authority

For its part, the White House saw the fast-track vote as a major test of presidential authority. "I am going to work tirelessly," Bush said April 7, after a meeting with Salinas. "The credibility of the United States as a trading partner is on the line here." By early May, U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills had met individually with about 150 members of Congress, including two-thirds of the Senate, according to her office. Members of Ways and Means got the personal touch. Rufus Yerxa, a former top committee aide who was serving as Bush's chief negotiator at the GATT talks, was brought back to spend several months selling the fast track on Capitol Hill.

The administration's chief lobbyist in the House, Nicholas E. Calio, devoted almost all of his time to the issue and postponed plans to leave the administration for the private sector until after the House vote. "We've not left a lot to chance here," Calio said.

Bush met with key Democrats Rostenkowski, Bentsen and Gephardt to discuss the issue and pressed Republicans to hold firm.

The administration argued that a free-trade agreement would stimulate Mexican development, lessening pressure on workers to cross the Rio Grande in search of work in the United States. It would lock in reforms by Salinas' government that had transformed Mexico's economy from one of the world's most protected to one of the more open. And it would provide U.S. companies with a vast labor pool and a more stable investment climate.

"We as a country will become more of a world-class competitor," U.S. Trade Representative Hills said.

Hills discounted the possibility of "wholesale migration" of industries and jobs to Mexico, saying that most tariffs on trade between Mexico and the United States had decreased in recent years, and that U.S. industries already would have left if there were an advantage to doing so.

"Companies have stayed located in the United States for good reasons," Hills said, citing a well-educated work force, superior infrastructure and the availability of capital.

A study by the U.S. International Trade Commission released Feb. 7 concluded that the overall benefits to the U.S. economy of a free-trade agreement with Mexico would be small "in the near to medium term" but that liberalized trade probably would increase Mexican growth, making it better able to buy U.S. goods and services.

Action Plan on Mexico Trade Pact

The turning point came May 1, when the White House released its action plan. Bentsen and Rostenkowski had written to Bush in early March requesting such a plan to allay congressional fears about a U.S.-Mexico pact. Gephardt had made a similar request.

Throughout the 80-page document, the administration avoided making ironclad pledges and reiterated its contentions that the agreement would not threaten jobs and would help the environment. But, at virtually every step, it also conceded that the doomsayers had legitimate concerns. The highlights:

- Most Mexican and U.S. tariff and import barriers would be reduced gradually.
- The administration would seek a provision allowing a temporary restoration of duties or other barriers if imports from Mexico or Canada "are a substantial cause of serious

What 'Fast Track' Means

Congress initiated the fast track as part of the 1974 Trade Act, partly to avoid becoming mired in the nitty-gritty of negotiating trade agreements. The procedure gave lawmakers 60 days from the submission of a trade agreement to vote the measure up or down; amendments were not allowed.

In the 1988 omnibus trade act, Congress reauthorized the procedure until 1991. A two-year extension until 1993 was permitted if neither the House nor the Senate objected. The hope was that the short time frame would spur negotiators to complete the Uruguay Round of GATT talks. (1974 *Almanac*, p. 553; 1988 *Almanac*, p. 222)

Once a trade agreement was reached, the administration and Congress informally negotiated legislative language to implement it, after which the bill was formally introduced and the fast track kicked in.

The fast track provided that:

- Committees had 45 days to consider the bill; they could not amend it.
- Each chamber had to vote on the bill within 15 days after the committee deadline.
- A motion to proceed to the bill in either chamber had to be acted on without delay or debate.
- Debate in each chamber was limited to 20 hours, and amendments were not in order. In the House, the time was divided equally between those who favored the bill and those who opposed it. In the Senate, debate time was divided equally between the majority and minority leaders.

injury to a domestic industry."

- The agreement would include rules to prevent third countries from funneling their goods through Mexico to evade U.S. tariffs. The administration said it would seek a domestic-content rule of more than 50 percent for automotive imports.

- The administration promised to work with Congress to craft a program to provide services to workers who lost their jobs as a result of the U.S.-Mexico pact.

- The Labor Department would sign an agreement with the Mexican government providing for cooperation in the areas of occupational health and safety, work conditions, child labor and labor statistics. Enforcement would also be reviewed.

- The administration vowed not to negotiate lower standards than were currently in law in the areas of pesticides, energy conservation, toxic waste, and health and safety. And it maintained the right to bar entry to products that did not meet those standards.

With the action plan, the administration succeeded in driving a wedge between organized labor and some environmental organizations. Among the groups that expressed cautious support were the National Wildlife Federation, the National Audubon Society, the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) and the Environmental Defense Fund. Opposed to the fast track were the Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace and Public Citizen, a consumer group.

The administration won the most plaudits for promising to include officials of environmental organizations on panels that advised Hills. Organized labor conceded that

losing environmental support was a blow. Said AFL-CIO lobbyist William J. Cunningham, "A lot of members have expressed concern about the environment. This just provides them some cover."

The plan received quick endorsement from key Democrats. Rostenkowski held a news conference to urge support for an extension. A statement from Bentsen said Bush had made "significant concessions" that "will give some comfort" to undecided lawmakers.

Indeed, Rostenkowski, Bentsen and others helped shape Bush's plan in the weeks leading up to its release. At their insistence, for example, the administration softened its stance against promising government benefits for workers who lost their jobs as a result of a free-trade agreement.

On May 9, Gephardt announced that he would support Bush's request for a fast-track extension, although he reiterated his position that Congress could still reject the agreement outright or simply suspend the fast track and permit amendments after the pact had been negotiated.

"I am prepared to support an extension of fast-track authority for trade treaties," Gephardt said. "But I do so with this caveat: If the administration sends to this Congress a trade treaty that trades away American jobs, or tolerates pollution of the environment or abuse of workers, we can, and we will, amend it or reject it."

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

With the fight against the fast track unraveling, the Ways and Means Committee met May 14 to consider a bill (HR 101) to revoke the procedure. Although Rostenkowski opposed the bill, he had promised sponsor Byron L. Dorgan, D-N.D., that he would get a vote in committee and a later vote on the floor. Dorgan, who sought to kill the fast track because he opposed administration efforts to reduce agriculture subsidies under GATT, had introduced the bill on March 6.

The committee rejected Dorgan's resolution 9-27 and reported it unfavorably by voice vote. Then, by voice vote, it approved a resolution (H Res 146) emphasizing that Congress could suspend the fast track if the administration did not keep its promise to include adequate protections for U.S. workers, industries and the environment in the U.S.-Mexico agreement. Rostenkowski and Gephardt sponsored the non-binding resolution to give cover to the rank and file.

"There are members on both sides of the aisle who want to vote for something satisfying, as much as they can, labor's demands," Rostenkowski said.

The House Rules Committee voted May 14 to send both the resolution of disapproval and the Rostenkowski-Gephardt measure to the floor.

In a private caucus the day after the Ways and Means vote, some Democrats criticized their leaders, especially Gephardt, for locking arms with the administration. Yet the decision reflected the calculation — partly political, partly philosophical — that it was not wise to oppose Bush's trade policy and risk being branded a protectionist.

The House on May 23 voted 192-231 to reject HR 101. The non-binding resolution passed easily, 329-85.

On the same day Ways and Means acted, the Senate Finance Committee met and voted 15-3 to report S Res 78 unfavorably to the floor. The measure disapproving the fast track had been introduced on March 6 by Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C. Like Dorgan, Hollings wanted to block a GATT agreement; he was opposed to administration efforts

to phase out textile import quotas as part of the accord.

The committee votes foreshadowed a robust margin of victory for the administration on the floor. "This was a pretty good indication of the support there is for fast track," said Tom Daschle, D-S.D., who voted against the extension along with fellow Finance Committee members Donald W. Riegle Jr., D-Mich., and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y.

The full Senate voted May 24, rejecting Hollings' resolution 36-59. The vote gave Bush a congressional endorsement to continue GATT negotiations and to begin talks on the proposed U.S.-Mexico free-trade agreement.

Bentsen, a crucial Bush ally in the trade fight, called the vote a "momentous occasion for the Senate," determining whether the United States chooses to "move forward or backward as a country."

Defeat for Labor

The Senate and House votes were a blow to organized labor. Labor lobbyists and their supporters were hampered by the fact that they could find no way to promote a vote on Mexico without also sinking the GATT talks. Democratic leaders, principally Bentsen and Rostenkowski, strongly opposed efforts to change the rules to permit a separate vote on Mexico.

Lobbyists for the AFL-CIO discarded efforts to promote a separate vote in the House when it became clear in the days before the vote that the leadership would not support such a move. Their vote count showed only 140 lawmakers solidly committed to voting against the fast-track extension, well short of the majority needed to pass the Dorgan resolution of disapproval.

So labor scaled back: It supported a plan by Sander M. Levin, D-Mich., which called on the Bush administration to report on the progress of the Mexico negotiations by May 1, 1992. Basically, labor sought to keep the issue on Congress' agenda, in hope of creating sufficient pressure for a vote on withdrawing the fast track for the Mexico talks sometime in 1992.

According to top House leadership aides, Gephardt, seeking to satisfy as many of labor's demands as possible, floated the idea of amending the fast-track extension to provide for such a midterm review. But the idea was quashed by Rostenkowski, who strongly backed the administration's desire for an unamended endorsement of its negotiating authority.

In a last-ditch effort, the AFL-CIO tried to persuade House lawmakers to reject the rule governing floor debate. When that failed, even opponents conceded that a House majority vote in favor of extending the fast track had become a foregone conclusion.

In the Senate, Riegle wanted to offer his own plan, which would have extended the fast track for one year, rather than two, and permitted amendments to the Mexico agreement in several areas, including labor standards, adjustment assistance and the environment. Riegle feared the Mexico talks would lead his state's automobile and auto parts manufacturers to move assembly plants south. But under Senate rules, the Hollings resolution could not be amended.

Riegle vowed to try to bring up his bill in the Senate later in the year, either as a free-standing measure or by attaching it to a must-pass bill. But such a measure would have been a target for a filibuster. And once the extension had been approved, the steam went out of efforts to block the fast track.

HOUSE VOTES 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116

109. HR 2100. Fiscal 1992 Defense Authorization/Abortion. AuCoin, D-Ore., amendment to provide servicemen and their dependents stationed overseas with reproductive health services, including privately paid abortions, at military hospitals. Adopted 220-208: R 35-129; D 184-79 (ND 129-51, SD 55-28); 1-0, May 22, 1991. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

110. HR 2100. Fiscal 1992 Defense Authorization/Passage. Passage of the bill to authorize appropriations of \$291 billion for the Defense Department and defense-related programs for fiscal 1992. The bill would terminate new production of the B-2 Stealth bomber and funding for early deployment of SDI programs as well as remove the prohibition against women flying combat missions. Passed 268-161: R 26-138; D 242-22 (ND 160-20, SD 82-2); 1-0-1, May 22, 1991. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

111. H Con Res 121. Fiscal 1992 Budget Resolution/Rule. Adoption of the rule (H Res 157) to waive all points of order against and provide for House floor consideration of the conference report on the resolution to set binding budget levels for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1992: budget authority, \$1.590 trillion; outlays, \$1.448 trillion; revenues, \$1.169 trillion; deficit, \$278.8 billion. Adopted 257-164: R 0-164; D 256-0 (ND 174-0, SD 82-0); 1-0-1, May 22, 1991.

112. H Con Res 121. Fiscal 1992 Budget Resolution/Conference Report. Adoption of the conference report on the resolution to set binding budget levels for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1992: budget authority, \$1.59 trillion; outlays, \$1.448 trillion; revenues, \$1.169 trillion; deficit, \$278.8 billion. The conference report conforms with the spending caps for defense, international and domestic discretionary spending and with the pay-as-you-go requirements established by the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990 (PL 101-508). Adopted 239-181: R 8-155; D 231-25 (ND 154-19, SD 77-6); 1-0-1, May 22, 1991.

113. HR 2251. Gulf War Refugee Supplemental Appropriations/Conference Report. Adoption of the conference report to appropriate \$572 million in fiscal 1991, consisting of \$235.5 million in humanitarian aid to Iraqi refugees and international peacekeeping operation, \$320.5 million for the incremental costs of the Defense Department's humanitarian relief operations, and \$16 million for military service organizations providing financial aid to U.S. military personnel and their families. Adopted 387-33: R 143-18; D 243-15 (ND 166-10, SD 77-5); 1-0-1, May 22, 1991.

114. H Res 101 & H Res 146. Fast-Track Resolutions/Rule. Adoption of the rule (H Res 158) to provide for House floor consideration of the resolution to disapprove a two-year extension of fast-track procedures that would require legislation implementing trade agreements to be considered within 60 days of introduction under limited debate and with no amendments permitted. Adopted 274-148: R 144-17; D 129-131 (ND 73-105, SD 56-26); 1-0-1, May 23, 1991.

115. H Res 101. Disapproval of Fast-Track Procedures/Adoption. Adoption of the resolution to disapprove the president's request to extend for two more years fast-track procedures that would require legislation implementing trade agreements to be considered within 60 days of introduction under limited debate and with no amendments permitted. Rejected 192-231: R 21-140; D 170-91 (ND 128-50, SD 42-41); 1-0-1, May 23, 1991. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

116. H Res 146. Grant Fast-Track Procedures/Adoption. Adoption of the resolution to express the sense of the House that fast-track procedures should be extended and that a variety of objectives should be achieved in trade agreements negotiated by the United States. Adopted 329-85: R 156-4; D 173-80 (ND 105-67, SD 68-13); 1-0-1, May 23, 1991.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

Democrats Republicans
Independent

	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
ALABAMA								
1 Callahan	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Dickinson	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Browder	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X
4 Bevil	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Cramer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Erdreich	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Harris	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Al Young	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
ARIZONA								
1 Rhodes	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Vacancy	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Stump	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 Kyl	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Kolbe	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	+	Y	N	Y	N
2 Thornton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Hammerschmidt	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Riggs	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Harger	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Pelosi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Boxer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Lantos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Campbell	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Dealittle	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 Condit	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
17 Dooley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 Lagomarsino	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
20 Thomas	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
21 Gallegly	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 Moorhead	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
26 Berman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
27 Levine	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 Waters	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
30 Martinez	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Dymally	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
33 Dreier	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
34 Torres	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
35 Lewis	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
37 McCandless	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
38 Dornan	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 Dannemeyer	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
40 Cox	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
41 Lowery	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N

	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
42 Rohrabacher								
43 Packard	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
44 Cunningham	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
45 Hunter	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Skaggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Campbell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Allard	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Hefley	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Schaefer	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Delahoussaye	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 DeLauro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Shays	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Franks	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Johnson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
DELAWARE								
Al Carper	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Peterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 James	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 McCollum	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Stearns	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Young	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Bilirakis	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Ireland	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 Bacchus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Lewis	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 Goss	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 Johnston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 Shaw	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
16 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
17 Lehman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
18 Ros-Lehtinen	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 Foscini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Thomas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hatcher	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ray	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Lewis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Gingrich	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Darden	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rowland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Abercrombie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Mink	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 LaRocco	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Stollings	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Hayes	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Savage	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Russo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Sangmeister	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Lipinski	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Hyde	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Porter	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Annunzio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Crane	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 Favrell	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 Hastert	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 Vacancy								
16 Cox	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
17 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 Michel	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 Bruce	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Durbin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Costello	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Poshard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
INDIANA								
1 Visclosky	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Roemer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N

ND Northern Democrats SD Southern Democrats

4 Long
5 Jontz
6 Burton
7 Myers
8 McClos
9 Hamilt
10 Jacobs

IOWA
1 Leach
2 Nussle
3 Nagle
4 Smith
5 Lightfo
6 Grand

KANSAS
1 Robert
2 Slattery
3 Meyers
4 Glickm
5 Nichols

KENTUCKY
1 Hubbar
2 Natche
3 Mazzol
4 Bunnir
5 Rogers
6 Hopkin
7 Perkins

LOUISIANA
1 Livings
2 Jeffers
3 Tausin
4 McCr
5 Huckab
6 Baker
7 Hayes
8 Hollow

MAINE
1 Andrev
2 Snowe

MARYLAND
1 Gilchre
2 Benke
3 Cardin
4 McMill
5 Hoyer
6 Byron
7 Mfume
8 Marale

MASSACHUSETTS
1 Vacanc
2 Neal
3 Early
4 Frank
5 Atkins
6 Mavrou
7 Markey
8 Kennedy
9 Moakley
10 Shudds
11 Donnell

MICHIGAN
1 Conyers
2 Pussell
3 Wolpe
4 Upton
5 Henry
6 Carr
7 Kildee
8 Traxler
9 Vande
10 Camp
11 Davis
12 Bonior
13 Collins
14 Hertel
15 Ford
16 Dingell
17 Levin
18 Broome

MINNESOTA
1 Penny
2 Weber
3 Ramst
4 Vento

Southern s:
Omitted vc

	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
4 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Jontz	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 Burton	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	
7 Myers	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
8 McCloskey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
10 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	

IOWA	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Leach	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
2 Nussle	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	
3 Nagle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
5 Lightfoot	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
6 Grandy	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	

KANSAS	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Roberts	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
2 Slattery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
3 Meyers	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
5 Nichols	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	

KENTUCKY	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
4 Bunning	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
5 Rogers	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
6 Hopkins	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	
7 Perkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	

LOUISIANA	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Livingston	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
2 Jefferson	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	
3 Tauzin	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	
4 McCrory	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
5 Huckaby	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
6 Baker	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
7 Hayes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
8 Holloway	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	

MAINE	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
2 Snowe	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	

MARYLAND	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Glickrest	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
2 Bentley	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
3 Cardin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
4 McMillen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
5 Hoyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
6 Byron	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
7 Mfume	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
8 Marolla	Y	Y	N	Y	+	Y	Y	

MASSACHUSETTS	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Vacancy	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	
2 Neal	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Early	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
4 Frank	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
5 Atkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
6 Marvroules	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	
8 Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
9 Moakley	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	
10 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
11 Donnelly	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	

MICHIGAN	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Conyers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
2 Pursell	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
4 Upton	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
5 Henry	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
7 Kildee	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
8 Traxler	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
9 Vander Jagt	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
10 Camp	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
11 Davis	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
12 Bonior	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
13 Collins	Y	N	Y	+	Y	Y	Y	
14 Hertel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
16 Dingell	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	
17 Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
18 Broomfield	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	

MINNESOTA	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Penny	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Weber	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
3 Ramstad	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	

	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
6 Sikorski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
7 Peterson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
8 Oberstar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	

MISSISSIPPI	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
2 Espy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
3 Montgomery	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
4 Parker	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
5 Taylor	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	

MISSOURI	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
2 Horn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
4 Skelton	N	Y	?	?	?	?	N	
5 Wheat	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
6 Coleman	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	
7 Hancock	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	
8 Emerson	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	
9 Volkmer	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	

MONTANA	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	#	#
2 Marlenee	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	

NEBRASKA	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Beranuter	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
2 Hoagland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
3 Barrett	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	

NEVADA	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Bilbray	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
2 Vucanovich	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	

NEW HAMPSHIRE	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Zeiliff	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
2 Swett	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	

NEW JERSEY	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
3 Pallone	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
4 Smith	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
5 Roukema	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
6 Dwyer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
7 Rinaldo	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
8 Roe	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
9 Torricelli	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
10 Payne	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
11 Galla	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
12 Zimmer	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
13 Saxton	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	

NEW MEXICO	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Schiff	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
2 Skeen	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
3 Richardson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	

NEW YORK	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Hochbrueckner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
3 Mrazek	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
4 Lent	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
5 McGrath	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	
6 Flake	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
7 Ackerman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
8 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
9 Manton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
10 Schumer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
11 Towns	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
12 Owens	Y	N	Y	#	Y	Y	Y	
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
14 Molinari	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
15 Green	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
16 Rangel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
17 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
18 Serrano	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
19 Engel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
20 Lowey	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	
21 Fish	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
22 Gilman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
23 McNulty	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
24 Solomon	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
25 Boehlert	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
26 Martin	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
27 Walsh	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
28 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
29 Horton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
30 Slaughter	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
31 Paxon	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	

	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
32 LaFale	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
33 Nowak	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
34 Houghton	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	

NORTH CAROLINA	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
2 Valentine	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Lancaster	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
4 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
6 Cable	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	
7 Rose	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
9 McMillan	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
10 Ballenger	N	N	N	N	+	Y	Y	
11 Taylor	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	

NORTH DAKOTA	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116
AL Dorgan	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	

OHIO	109	110	111	112	113
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SENATE VOTES 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88

	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Murkowski	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Stevens	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
McCain	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y
Seymour	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
COLORADO								
Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
Brown	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
Dodd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lieberman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Roth	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
FLORIDA								
Graham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Moak	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
GEORGIA								
Fowler	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	#	Y	Y
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Inouye	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
Craig	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Symms	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
INDIANA								
Coats	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Lugar	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N

	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
IOWA								
Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
Grassley	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
KANSAS								
Dole	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Kassebaum	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McConnell	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Cohen	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Kerry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
Wellstone	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Cochran	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Lott	N	N	N	N	N	N	X	Y
MISSOURI								
Bond	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Danforth	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Burns	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
Eaton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kerrey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEVADA								
Bryan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Reid	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Rudman	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Smith	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Lautenberg	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Bingaman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Domenici	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
D'Amato	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Sanford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Helms	?	?	?	?	?	#	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Conrad	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Nickles	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Packwood	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Wofford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Specter	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Chafee	N	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Thurmond	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Sasser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

Democrats Republicans

	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Gramm	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
UTAH								
Garn	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Hatch	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jeffords	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Robb	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Warner	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Adams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Garten	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rockefeller	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
Kohl	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Kasten	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Wallop	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N

ND Northern Democrats SD Southern Democrats

Southern states - Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., Ky., La., Miss., N.C., Okla., S.C., Tenn., Texas, Va.

81. S 3. Campaign Finance/Tax-Exempt Status. Boren, D-Okla., motion to table (kill) the McConnell, R-Ky., amendment to the Boren substitute amendment, to deny tax-exempt status to organizations participating in campaigns. Motion agreed to 56-41: R 1-41; D 55-0 (ND 39-0, SD 16-0), May 23, 1991.

82. S 3. Campaign Finance/Party Conventions. Boren, D-Okla., motion to table (kill) the McConnell, R-Ky., amendment to the Boren substitute amendment, to repeal public financing of party conventions. Motion agreed to 53-45: R 0-42; D 53-3 (ND 37-3, SD 16-0), May 23, 1991.

83. S 3. Campaign Finance/Public Financing. Boren, D-Okla., motion to table (kill) the McConnell, R-Ky., amendment to the Boren substitute amendment, to prohibit public financing of Senate campaigns until the Federal budget is balanced. Motion agreed to 53-45: R 0-42; D 53-3 (ND 39-1, SD 14-2), May 23, 1991.

84. S 3. Campaign Finance/Disclosure Reports. Boren, D-Okla., motion to table (kill) the Gramm, R-Texas, amendment to the Boren substitute amendment, to require organizations that intend to make an expenditure of \$5,000 or more on political activities, to file a written report disclosing the intended expenditure at least 10 days in advance. Motion agreed to 54-44: R 0-42; D 54-2 (ND 40-0, SD 14-2), May 23, 1991.

85. S 3. Campaign Finance/Passage. Passage of the bill to revise federal laws governing the financing of federal campaigns by providing for a voluntary system of spending limits for elections that gives candidates public subsidies as an incentive to partici-

pate. Motion agreed to 56-42: R 5-37; D 51-5 (ND 39-1, SD 12-4), May 23, 1991. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

86. S Res 78. Disapproval of Fast-Track Procedures/Adoption. Adoption of the resolution to disapprove the president's request to extend for two years fast-track procedures that would require legislation implementing trade agreements to be considered within 60 days of introduction under limited debate and with no amendments permitted. Rejected 36-59: R 5-36; D 31-23 (ND 23-16, SD 8-7), May 24, 1991. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

87. S 173. Telecommunications Equipment Manufacturing Competition Act/Desert Storm Parade Representation. D'Amato, R-N.Y., amendment to express the sense of the Senate that any country that has repeatedly provided support for international acts of terrorism should not be represented in any form at the Desert Storm victory parade to be held in Washington, D.C., on June 8, 1991. The amendment was directed at opposing any Syrian presence in the parade. Adopted 92-6: R 41-2; D 51-4 (ND 35-4, SD 16-0), June 5, 1991.

88. S 173. Telecommunications Equipment Manufacturing Competition Act/Remove Domestic Content. Hollings, D-S.C., motion to table (kill) the Gramm, R-Texas, amendment to remove the domestic content and local manufacturing requirements in the bill. Motion agreed to 64-32: R 12-30; D 52-2 (ND 36-2, SD 16-0), June 5, 1991. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

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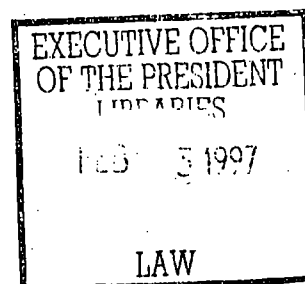
Congressional Record

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(PAGES 11805 TO 13313)



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON, 1991

CAMPAIGN FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE

MEMORANDUM

TO: MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

FROM: ROBERT BOROSAGE AND ROGER HICKEY
CAMPAIGN FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE

RE: THE FAST TRACK DECISION: WHY U.S. LEADERSHIP IN THE GLOBAL
ECONOMY REQUIRES A "NO" VOTE

The approaching vote on fast track trade authority poses a fundamental historic choice to both parties. The Congress can ratify blindly the existing lowest-common-denominator approach to trade agreements, or legislators can respond to the growing concerns of the American people, halt the rush to fast track, and open a real debate about our country's leadership in the international economy.

The expanding global market is fueling growing demands of Americans for a new set of rules to insure that trade does not become a race to the bottom, undermining our wages, jobs and hard-won consumer and environmental protections. The public outcry from a wide range of constituencies will only intensify if the Congress rushes to extend the NAFTA model by ratifying fast track. Instead, Democrats and Republicans of all political stripes who care about working families and the environment should join together to derail the fast track, and force an historic debate about American leadership in the new global economy.

I. Fast Track in History

The White House has chosen not to build labor rights and environmental protections into its fast track proposal. The president argues that fast track is vital to American leadership. He poses the choice as one between free trade and protectionism, between opening new markets and building walls. The president suggests that if fast track is defeated, our influence to affect events will wane as other countries forge ahead without this country.

This rehashed and dated rhetoric is a shameless burlesque of reality. The reality is that the global market already exists. The great corporations and investment houses will continue to extend it, whether the Congress passes another treaty or not. The GATT process has already eliminated or reduced most tariffs, and created the World Trade Organization to enforce the reductions. Countries like Chile are opening their markets to attract capital, with or without trade accords. As the opposition to fast track understands, building walls is inconceivable; withdrawing from the world is unimaginable.

The question now is, given the global economy, what are the rules? It is not whether America leads, but where it leads. The business community implicitly understands this. Companies view regional accords like NAFTA primarily as laboratories for testing new laws

and rules that can later be extended in global negotiations. They are less interested in reducing tariffs, which are coming down anyway, than in drafting new protections for foreign investment, copyright, corporate prerogatives – often requiring countries to rewrite domestic commercial, environmental and consumer laws. They want these arrangements to be enforceable through trade sanctions.

The opposition to fast track is not arguing against trade. It understands that trade will continue to grow, barring a global recession. Rather it is arguing that the global rules should protect people as well as property, and that regional accords like extending NAFTA to Chile be used to model ways to enforce core labor rights and environmental standards with trade sanctions. Americans – and domestic US businesses – have a large stake in this. It places the weight of the US government on the side of lifting standards up across the world, rather than standing idly by as desperate and despotic countries woo capital by crushing workers or cashing in the environment.

Fast track is thus not a technical or procedural question, but the beginning of what will clearly be a long struggle for progressive reform of the global economy. As both the president and Speaker Gingrich suggest, this era is akin to that at the beginning of the century, when great corporations and banks forged a national industrial economy in the United States.

At that time, the transformation from an agricultural economy to an industrial one, from farm to city, from a local to a national marketplace generated massive disruption and resistance. Populist movements formed; workers and farmers organized. Muckrakers exposed grotesque working conditions and powerful monopolies.

Led by the Republican president Teddy Roosevelt, progressives in both major parties then began to pass reforms necessary to curb the power of the great trusts, and insure that the bounties of the new economy would be more widely shared. Roosevelt's "New Nationalism" defined the reform agenda of the next decades – anti-trust, banking reform, child labor prohibitions, minimum wage, fair labor standards, food and drug laws, labor rights, environmental protections. More enlightened corporate leaders understood that they would benefit from regulation and added their support. Over time boundaries were placed upon competition and the marketplace, and these helped to build a prosperous middle class and a strong nation.

Now, the creation of the global economy and the transformation from an industrial to an information age pose a parallel historic challenge. Already the increasing power of the global corporations and investment houses that dominate the new economy is generating reaction. Angry leaders of the Asian "tigers" growl at Wall Street speculators. Striking Argentine and Indonesian workers take to the streets. American mothers in Michigan are outraged when their children get sick from untested strawberries imported from Mexico. Mexican mothers protest as their children drink water fouled by modern US multinationals that have set up maquiladoras in part to avoid US environmental regulations. US textile companies scramble to put together codes of conduct to protect them from consumer reactions to revelations about sweatshop labor.

The debate about fast track is simply part of what inevitably must be an on-going and fundamental struggle to create boundaries around the global market, to hold global corporations and financial speculators accountable, to insure that the benefits of the new economy are more widely shared.

At the beginning of this century, the Democratic Party made its reputation – and secured its working and middle class voting base – as the party of reform. Moderate Republicans, in the tradition of Teddy Roosevelt, worked to insure that the Republican party was not totally branded the party of big business. Now it is time for that “vital center” of progressive reform to come together again.

President Clinton has chosen not to lead the drive for reform. He promised to build labor rights and environmental protections in the original NAFTA accord, but relegated them to side agreements and to rhetorical initiatives at the WTO. The failure to fulfill the environmental promises or to put energy or teeth into the labor accords in NAFTA has proved the inadequacy of that route.

Now the president, once again, asks for unconditional fast track authority, while promising to negotiate side accords, and to raise the issue in international circles.

But having failed to forge a vital center for reform at home, the president essentially forfeits his ability to lead abroad. American presidents campaigned vigorously to create the global marketplace. The process of reforming it requires a similar willingness to stand up and lead.

Pat Buchanan urges Republican conservatives to vote against fast track, invoking the spirit of Roosevelt's New Nationalism. But it is Democrats of all stripes and moderate and progressive Republicans who should lay claim to the mantle of progressive reform by opposing the current fast track proposal.

II. Fast Track and Politics

Contrary to conventional wisdom, the vote on fast track may have political significance. With the economy in relatively good shape, incumbents feel relatively secure. Most will campaign on the claim that they voted to cut taxes and balance the budget. Analysts suggest that the vote on fast track is unlikely to have much weight with voters' decisions. Thus, many Democrats and moderate Republicans are reluctant to oppose fast track legislation and stand against the President, the Republican leadership, the Business Roundtable, the vast majority of big ticket political donors, editorial writers and pundits. But in an era of bipartisan politics, the debate over fast track may be one of the few issues that can have dramatic impact on the coming elections.

The general public remains skeptical about trade, despite growing optimism about the economy. Most think that trade costs more jobs than it creates. According to a July Hart and Teeter poll for the Wall Street Journal/NBC, 61% of Americans oppose “having Congress grant the President fast-track authority.” A BankBoston poll last November reported that an astounding 73% of the country believes that “labor rights and environmental issues should be negotiated as part of trade agreements.”

Doubts about the benefits of trade extend across both parties. The February Fabrizio poll on the feuding factions of the Republican Party revealed that skepticism about free trade was one of the few issues to attract majorities of every faction.

This skepticism is likely to sharpen over the next months as the trade deficit, already at record heights, continues to grow. If the economy slows, as the Federal Reserve now predicts, and companies continue to downsize and relocate, popular concerns will surely build.

Fast track is an issue that divides the vast majority of large campaign donors in both parties from the majority of the voters in both parties. In the midst of the campaign finance scandals, legislators who choose to vote with their contributors rather than their constituents are opening themselves up to an insurgent's challenge.

This is particularly true for Democrats and moderate or progressive Republicans. Legislators correctly assume that, whatever their inclinations, people are unlikely to determine their vote on this one issue, particularly if the economy continues to grow. But the question of fast track – of labor rights and environmental protections – is a matter of passionate concern with the activist base of the Democratic party – labor union, environmental, consumer, and human rights activists. These activists have significant influence – particularly in off election years – in educating voters and getting out the vote. They are not likely to oppose Democratic incumbents, but their disillusionment can be costly. Democratic moderates who depend on mobilizing low income voters and reaching out to middle income independents in the suburbs are likely to face lower turnout from both. It was precisely the decline of turnout among low-income voters after the last NAFTA struggle in 1994 that cost Democrats control of the Congress.

For moderate Republican incumbents, a vote for fast track and against labor rights and environmental protections can also pose political risk. Voting with the Business Roundtable and Newt Gingrich against protections for people, and with contributors against the constituents, confirms the worst images of the Republican Party. It also provides an insurgent with a big, defining issue to help raise the money and engage the activists necessary for a serious challenge to an incumbent.

But the true political significance of the fast track issue relates to the historic juncture. With public disillusionment growing about politicians and political corruption, the question is which party and which elected officials will claim the mantle of leadership in the new era of a global economy. The battle over fast track offers a major opportunity for leaders of each party to show where they stand in the struggle to shape the future.

Roger Hickey and Robert L. Borosage are co-directors of the Campaign for America's Future. The Campaign for America's Future was started in 1996 by more than 100 prominent Americans who want to encourage new leadership to solve our country's pressing economic and social problems.

OUTLOOK

Commentary and Opinion

On the 'Fast Track' To Nowhere

*Clinton Has Lost His Way
In the Debate Over Trade*

By Robert L. Borosage

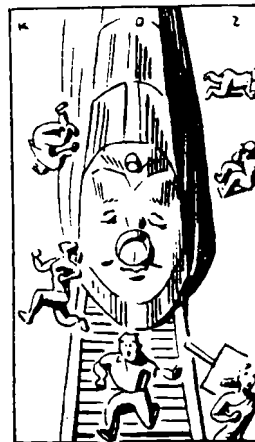
In recent weeks Bill Clinton has dithered over an implicit choice: Will he be a modern-day Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican who forged a bipartisan coalition for progressive reform at the beginning of this century? Or will he be remembered as another Grover Cleveland, the long-forgotten Gilded-Age Democrat who dedicated himself to assuring business that there was no difference between the two parties?

For Clinton, the legislative debate known in Washington jargon as "fast track" poses a fundamental choice of national leadership. Last week, the president submitted legislation to Congress that would empower him to negotiate trade agreements that the Congress must vote up or down without amendment. The administration wants fast track authority primarily to bring Chile into the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)—which links the United States, Mexico and Canada. The ultimate goal is to establish a free trade area throughout the Americas.

The stakes are much larger than the specifics. The fierce congressional debate that kicked off last week is the beginning of a historic contest over who will write the rules of the new global economy.

The president understands this. In 1992, candidate Clinton staked out a progressive, popular position on the trade issue. He excoriated President Bush for not taking the steps needed to "harness the global economy to the benefit of all of our people." In defining his foreign policy vision in a 1993 address at American University, the newly elected president emphasized that "regional and bilateral agreements provide opportunities to explore new kinds of trade concerns." NAFTA, he argued, should ensure that "the environment, that living standards, that working conditions are honored."

But Clinton soon retreated in the face of Republican opposition. In campaigning for congressional passage of NAFTA in 1993, he relegated



BY MARTIN KOZLOWSKI
FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

See FASTTRACK, C2, Col. 1

Robert Borosage is co-director of the Campaign for America's Future and contributing editor of the Nation magazine.

Hitches Along the 'Fast Track'

FAST TRACK, From C1

labor and environmental concerns to unenforceable agreements and did little to promote them.

Four years later, Clinton has once again acceded to the Republican party leadership that adamantly rejects the notion of building social protections into trade treaties. Indeed, Clinton's proposal incorporates the clever "compromise" language offered by House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Archer (R-Tex.) that uses the rhetoric of protecting workers to restrict the president's authority to negotiate labor and environmental provisions. In doing so, the president aligns himself with the Business Roundtable, virtually all big-ticket campaign donors and a chorus of editorialists, commentators and economists and against the majority sentiments of his own party and the majority of the American people.

Advocates of fast track authority repeat the mantras of "free trade" and "leadership." Will "other countries continue to look to the United States to lead," as Clinton declared earlier this month, or watch as we become "withdrawn from the world?"

But it is precisely leadership that the president's critics are demanding. In contrast to the 1993 NAFTA debate, the opposition today is not led by demagogic populists like Ross Perot or Pat Buchanan but by progressives like House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt, Jesse Jackson and AFL-CIO President John Sweeney.

"The question," says Sweeney, "is not whether America must lead, but where we must lead. It is not whether we are internationalist, but what values our internationalism serves."

Proponents of labor rights and environmental protections argue that the United States must take the lead in the historic effort to establish fair rules for the global economy, rules that protect people as well as property.

Clinton's suggestion that opponents are isolationist is just a rehash of free-trade rhetoric that is now obsolete. No one disputes that the global economy now exists.

The information revolution has generated a growing global market, dominated by a relative handful of corporate behemoths. Export-Import Bank officials estimate that fully one-fourth of U.S. manufacturing exports are accounted for by 15 corporations with household names such as General Electric, General Motors and Boeing Corp. These companies have been shedding American jobs as they restructure for global production and distribution.

This reality transforms the trade debate from even 1992-93. The issue is no longer about free trade versus protectionism. Trade negotiations no longer focus on cutting tariffs; rather, they focus on organizing the global market.

Corporations want to use regional accords to test new protections for capital investment, copyright and other business prerogatives. Supporters of environmental and labor rights clauses argue that it is time to test how to use trade sanctions to bolster labor rights, as well as copyrights.

President Clinton often likens the historical moment to the progressive era at the beginning of the century, and with good reason. The Industrial Revolution produced a national market dominated by great corporate trusts. Popular protest grew against what Roosevelt called the "malefactors of great wealth." A populist movement challenged laissez-faire complacency. Muckrakers exposed grotesque working conditions and corporate abuses. Progressives, led by Roosevelt, forged a bipartisan coalition to put boundaries around the market. Against fierce resistance of the most purblind corporations, and with the support of the more enlightened who understood the benefits of regulation, Progressives fought for antitrust

laws, food and drug regulation, child-labor bans, a minimum wage and a progressive income tax. Roosevelt's "New Nationalism" laid the groundwork for 20th-century economic reforms and the creation of the great American middle class.

Popular movements are once again challenging the business agenda. Muckrakers are exposing sweatshop conditions from El Monte, Calif., where young women were locked behind barbed-wire fences while sewing garments for leading U.S. department stores, to Xian, China, where machinists make \$40 a month making parts for Boeing airplanes. Human-rights activists are organizing boycotts against goods produced with child labor. Workers in China, Thailand, Vietnam and Indonesia have staged demonstrations and walkouts to protest starvation wages, hazardous working conditions and arbitrary layoffs. This year, striking public workers in France and UPS workers in the United States won widespread public support.

The implicit global agenda of "the new internationalism," as Sweeney has dubbed it, resembles the domestic agenda of Roosevelt's new nationalism 95 years ago. Just as Roosevelt's foes blasted his program as unworkable, unnecessary and un-American, so fast track proponents caricature the demand for labor rights and environmental protections as an attempt to impose American values on foreign cultures or foist a U.S.-level minimum wage on developing countries that cannot afford it.

But labor rights—the right to organize, bargain collectively, strike—are not simply American values; they are enshrined in international covenants signed by virtually every nation, and they are fought for by workers around the world. Reformers are not demanding that countries enforce the U.S. minimum wage, but a minimum wage adequate to the country. The point is to put the weight of the U.S. government on the side of those trying to put civilized limits on the competition for capital and to empower workers to gain their fair share of the rewards of global growth.

At the height of his popularity, the president could choose to unite the Democratic party with Republican moderates into a vital center for reform. But to date the president has chosen to challenge the likes of General Electric CEO Jack Welch on the golf course rather than confront him or his fellow executives in the political arena. He has shown little of Roosevelt's willingness to indict "corporate arrogance," to rally the country against the "power of the mighty industrial overlords." He has been more a Cleveland who, while running for president in 1884, reassured worried industrialists that "the transfer of executive control from one party to another does not mean any serious disturbance of existing conditions."

Clinton is now seeking to have it both ways: reassuring his Republican and business allies while offering token concessions to his own party and most loyal supporters. The White House added more language on labor rights and environmental protection to the text of the proposal he submitted last week. The president pledges to promote labor rights at the World Trade Organization. He will offer a bigger, better package on trade-adjustment assistance for families and communities that are displaced by trade. He will escalate his "fair trade rhetoric." But in the end, as one aide told the New York Times, "we guarantee nothing other than to talk about these issues."

Clinton's failure to use the bully pulpit to forge a reform coalition at home forfeits any chance of leadership on these issues abroad. That is why the debate about fast track promises to be so fierce. If opponents can defeat the president's proposal, they may force him finally to don the mantle of Teddy Roosevelt rather than spurn it.

and unfair trade practices. These laws need to be strengthened, utilized, and not ignored.”[National Journal's Congress daily 9/25/9]

Opposition from the Left

Workers Deserve Respect and Rights

M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) pledged at the AFL-CIO convention in Pittsburgh that he would do everything he could to ensure any fast-track trade legislation includes workers' rights and environmental protections. Kennedy, long a favorite of unionists, said, "Workers' rights deserve at least as much protection as business rights. No workers should be treated with less dignity than a compact disc."[Newsday, September 26, 1997]

Workers should have the same protection as Big Business

“(AFL-CIO) Delegates leapt to their feet to applaud Mr. Gephardt when he said, "If intellectual property and capital deserve protections in the core free-trade treaties, with trade sanctions to enforce it, so do labor laws and environmental laws, on an equal basis."[The New York Times, 9/24/97]

OPPONENTS OF FAST TRACK PAPERS, PUNDITS AND EXPERTS ON FAST TRACK

Organizations who oppose East Track Outside Groups - Unions

Our Jobs will go to Mexico

"Across the country, American businesses are using the threat of moving production to Mexico -- where workers can earn \$4 a day -- to hold wages down and fight union organizing campaigns. In fact, 24 percent of the corporate executives said they were likely to use it "as a bargaining chip to keep wages down." [AFL-CIO homepage]

Union will lose their voice in negotiations

"With the fast-track authority, the president negotiates trade agreements that Congress isn't allowed to amend. That means the only vehicle for giving American workers and consumers a voice in the process is eliminated. And that's why fast-track trade deals lack the rules and standards we need to protect our jobs, our wages, our environment and our safety." [AFL-CIO Homepage]

Fast Track is Unsafe for Americans

"Every 7 seconds, big companies send a truck from Mexico across the border into the United States - 12,000 a day, more than 3 million a year. Government figures show that at least half don't meet U.S. safety standards. But only 1 of every 200 Mexican trucks is inspected at the border! Right now, those trucks have to stay in narrow border zones where freight is picked up by American trucks for delivery throughout the United States. But big corporations are pushing President Clinton to give them unlimited use of trucks from Mexico on all U.S. highways. These companies are willing to risk public safety so they can exploit Mexican drivers - who earn as little as \$7 a day. Big Companies want Congress to give Clinton special "fast track: authority to negotiate an even bigger NAFTA - on his own- without any input from Congress or the American public." [Teamsters Homepage]

It's Just like NAFTA

"Fast Track is a term for legislation that allows the President to push a bill quickly without amendments. When Congress gives the President "fast track" authority, it can only vote "yes" to pass the bill or "no" to defeat it. If Congress gives President Clinton this fast-track authority, they are. In effect, giving the Administration the right to negotiate future trade agreements exactly the way the Administration wants to. Because the Administration's position NAFTA expansion will not help workers, we must oppose "fast track." [UNITE homepage]

Pledge to stop a nasty proposal

"With "fast track," Congress can only vote to approve or disapprove those agreements after the fact. It cannot amend or change the trade agreement in any fashion...The Clinton Administration hints that it doesn't want an extended squabble in its "fast track" proposal because it's such a divisive issue among Democrats..." This fight is winnable," declares IP Tom Buffenbarger. "We learned important lessons from the NAFTA fight and the public now understands why we were

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HEADLINE: China urged to open trade channels

BYLINE: Rich Miller

DATELINE: BEIJING

BODY:

BEIJING -- Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin voiced uneasiness Thursday over China's mounting trade surplus with the USA and suggested that Beijing consider using some of its huge foreign currency holdings to buy more imports.

"China would benefit enormously . . . from increased two-way trade -- not just exports but imports," Rubin said.

The U.S. trade deficit with China climbed 17% last year to nearly \$40 billion and looks set to rise further in 1997. Rubin, in a meeting with Chinese executive Vice Premier Zhu Rongji, raised the possibility of China using some of its \$131.6 billion in foreign currency reserves to buy imported machinery and capital goods. Zhu in turn talked of the importance to China of having strong reserves, according to Rubin.

Some analysts believe China was able to build up such big reserves by artificially holding down the value of its currency. A weak currency would make Chinese exports less expensive on world markets and would thus tend to boost the country's trade surplus.

The Treasury chief also told Zhu of Boeing's desire to sell more airplanes to China. "I mentioned Boeing," Rubin said. "I did not try to sell Boeing planes."

Analysts say that Seattle-based Boeing is hoping to sell about 30 aircraft to China in a deal that would be worth roughly \$2 billion.

Trade is expected to feature high on the agenda when Chinese leader Jiang Zemin visits Washington Oct. 28-29 for a summit with President Clinton.

Beijing wants Washington to back its bid to join the World Trade Organization so China can be assured access to the USA and other foreign markets. But the United States is withholding approval until China agrees to remove barriers to imports and to open its financial markets to more foreign competition.

Address of Congressman Richard A. Gephardt President's Renewal of Fast Track Authority

**September 18, 1997
St. Louis, Missouri**

I want to thank Bill Schicker for providing the venue for my here at McMahon speech today. Bill has been a good friend over the years and represents the best qualities St. Louis' business community has to offer.

When the possibility of delivering this speech here today was discussed with me, I was asked whether I minded that there would be some foreign made cars here on the lot. I was assured that those vehicles could be removed -- so as not to provide an "improper" backdrop for my speech.

The question shows a complete misunderstanding of my views on international trade. Like many other issues, there's often far too much heat, but not enough light.

I welcome these imports. The American consumer should have access to the best products made anywhere in the world. The openness of our market is a strength -- it represents the confidence of our people in their ability to compete in the world economy.

So the Ford Escorts you see here on the lot -- made in Mexico -- represent confidence. They're fine products.

And these imports often strengthen, not undermine our economy. Despite the unfairness of Japan's trade policies over the years -- an issue I continue to press on -- in a way Japan's policies actually strengthened our automobile industry. Faced with competitive products the leaders in Detroit responded. Today our automobile industry is back at fighting strength making products that are high quality and that appeal to our consumers. I wish that it wasn't the challenges of Japan's auto industry that brought about these changes, but we're back.

Today I'm here to talk about another trade issue -- the President's request for fast track trade negotiating authority. Despite the time and effort I have put into this issue, I want to shed more light on it today.

Let me, for a moment, provide some context. Far too often people seek to minimize an issue to pigeonhole the debate -- and this is one of those cases. But, like many others, the questions are far more complex. I am confident the American people can separate the wheat from the chaff -- to understand the national issues and to confront them in a clearheaded thoughtful way.

That's why I'm here today addressing the people of St. Louis. The people of my District represent the best this nation has to offer. They are forward looking, hard working people who work hard and play by the rules. They know that we're in a world economy and, far from shying away from it, they're embracing it. They're taking the tough steps necessary to compete in the world economy -- and they're winning. They're helping some of our nation's most competitive companies Anheuser Busch, Monsanto, Ralston Purina -- win in the world marketplace.

Two days ago, President Clinton formally requested the Congress approve legislation known as fast track that he says is necessary for him to negotiate new trade agreements. First expanding the North American Free Trade Agreement, known as NAFTA. Then, concluding other trade agreements as well.

The Administration has tried to couch this debate as a battle between free trade and protectionism. As a debate about whether we build the bridge to the economy of the future or whether we retreat to the past.

Quite frankly, that debate is an old debate and it's over. The United States is the most open economy on

the face of the earth. The United States has helped lead the world to promote more open trade. And, the people of the United States are helping to build the economy of the future. No one wants to move backwards.

So these old arguments avoid the new debate that we need.

The new debate the real debate is about what America stands for. What are our goals for our people, our nation and our world.

Americans have asked what our new organizing principle should be. From the Presidency of that great son of Missouri, Harry Truman, to the fall of the Berlin Wall, our purpose, properly, was to contain communism. Now it must be to extend freedom.

Our guiding principle has, and must continue to be how to promote democracy, growth and opportunity here at home and around the world. Others may be scrambling to find their purpose and their way. While they may question their path, America never has.

America stands for something more than money. We are still be the beacon of democracy, of hope, of opportunity. We must not auction off our future or our values to make a quick buck. And the irony is that a quick buck made in this way may be very costly down the road.

That fight must continue, just as it did in the days when we confronted communism and fought fascism.

In December 1940, President Roosevelt declared in a fireside chat that America "must be the great arsenal of democracy." Then, President Roosevelt was talking about planes, boats, arms and munitions.

Today, ideas are the ammunition in the arsenal of democracy. And we must promote the idea of free but fair trade as the weapon of choice. We must send a signal to the world that communicates the architecture of a world trading system based on proper values and standards that, over time, create compatibility between all nations and a higher standard of living for all people.

In my public life, I have always believed that first hand knowledge and examination of an issue is vital to a reasoned policy. I have spent a great deal of time and energy not just listening to the academics, and the theorists, but talking to real people the people whose problems we are seeking to address and solve. I have traveled to examine, first hand, what the problems are and to try to understand how proposed solutions might address these problems.

That's why I visited Mexico on seven separate occasions during the NAFTA negotiations to see for myself exactly what was happening. I have never been content to hear about the facts from others.

That's also why I traveled to South America in August visiting Argentina, Brazil and Chile. And, that's why last Friday I made my second trip this year to our border with Mexico.

In South America I visited with the Presidents of each of the countries and their principal ministers. I met with labor and environmental leaders. And, I went out to the local communities to hear firsthand from the people.

I was struck by the fragility of their democracies. Each of the countries has rejected military rule only in the last 20 years. I heard from mothers in Chile about family members lost forever. I learned of the so-called "dirty war" in Argentina that claimed the lives of thousands and thousands who dared to disagree with their government. Just last week a reporter had his face disfigured by those seeking to quiet the voices of dissent.

Every week, hundreds of Argentine woman march below the balcony where Eva Peron once spoke. These mothers are demanding that their country must never forget the sons, daughters, husbands and friends who were murdered by the forces of tyranny.

In Chile, the women I met with also spoke of "the fingerprints" of the Pinochet government that remain

indelibly etched in their minds. Time may heal some wounds, but they will never forget.

I was also alarmed at the economic disparity. Of the stratification of the economy that left those at the top very, very well off but left to many struggling at the bottom. And the disparity is growing. The top 20% of Chileans control 61% of the GDP: The bottom 20% controls only 4% of the nation's GDP. This inequality exists despite the tremendous expansion of trade in the region..

We must not fuel this inequity but that's exactly what our current trade policy is doing. A United Nations report describes the same phenomenon on a wider stage: "As trade and foreign investment have expanded, the developing world has seen a widening gap between winners and losers...The greatest benefits of globalization have been garnered by a fortunate few.". And, President Clinton's former Secretary of Labor, Bob Reich said echoed this same analysis arguing for an approach "to improve the lot of workers; not only in this country but also in other countries." We must remember severe inequality and democracy have proven to be moral enemies.

Here in America, our economy is also yielding very uneven results. Despite macroeconomic figures that deserve praise, economic inequity is growing. Our inner cities are crying for attention. Far too many families are finding it necessary to send additional family members into the workforce, to work more hours and more jobs simply to pay the bills. Far too many Americans feel like they're running in place or falling behind.

Our trade policy should promote change, not ratify the status quo.

In 1961, President Kennedy announced "The Alliance for Progress." His bold plan was tempered by concern. He said:

"unless we broaden the opportunity for all of our people unless the great mass of Americans share in increasing prosperity then our alliance, our revolution, our dream, and our freedom will fail." He went on to say, "our greatest challenge comes from within the task of creating an American civilization where spiritual and cultural values are strengthened by an every- broadening base of material advance where, within the rich diversity of its own traditions, each nation is free to follow its own path towards progress."

Our current trade policy is taking us in the wrong direction. We are in danger of promoting economic growth that divides rather than unites. We are rewarding corruption and tyranny. And, if we are not careful, we are in danger of sowing the seeds of democracy's demise.

Today I would like to outline an approach to trade policy that expands the arsenal of democracy to include trade policy. An approach that can further our spiritual and cultural values as President Kennedy called for. And, as important, it will broadly advance our material well being.

At its core I am advocating a trade policy that enhances, not undermines human rights. Among these human rights are the ability to share in the fruits of ones labor to know that if you work hard and play by the rules, you'll have a chance to succeed. The ability to enjoy a clean, healthy and safe environment. The ability to enjoy a childhood that opens up to a vista of opportunity and joy not that looks upon a destiny and legacy of work and lost hope. The ability to practice ones religion. The ability to look to a world free from the threat of weapons of mass destruction.

There are many who argue that there are costs to the trade policy I am advocating. At times, they're right. Doing what is right often exacts a price. But, there may be a far higher price in the long term if we do not act.

Earlier this year we had a debate about extending most-favored-nation trade status, known as MFN, to China. There, in all its glory, we graphically saw how our trade policy undermines our countries most basic goals.

China's government tramples upon its peoples most basic human rights. It persecutes Christians and other believers. It degrades the environment looking upon it as simply a dumping ground of economic

development. It trades in weapons of mass destruction to regimes that are bent on destroying free peoples. It looks upon prison labor as a tool of competition.

I opposed extending MFN status to China. Access to the U.S. market is a privilege, not a right. I believe that the communist government in Beijing has forfeited that privilege. It is time we revoke China's Most Favored Nation status.

China and every other country must know that unlimited access to the U.S. market comes with certain responsibilities.

Now we are presented with the question of whether to grant the President fast track trade negotiating authority.

Fast track is an extraordinary grant of Congressional power. The Constitution gave Congress the power over international trade. That authority must only be delegated if Congress is assured that its goals and objectives are to be followed. Congress must not abdicate its responsibility to its constituents or the country.

I have supported fast track authority in the past. In 1991, after lengthy discussions, I supported President Bush's request for authority. At the time I referred to President Kennedy's admonition that we should "never fear negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate."

Today, I regret to say that I can not support President Clinton's request. Rather than promoting change and opportunity, I believe that it will undermine it.

The President's request actually does less on labor rights and the environment than provided for under the fast track authority given to President Bush. Congress owes the President and our trading partners a clear statement of what we expect in future agreements. We must not mislead anyone as to what our expectations are. And, agreements reached under the President's request would not meet the expectations of the American people. It would not raise our standard of living or that of our trading partners it would undermine it.

I want the President to negotiate new trade agreements. We're in a global economy we're not going to build walls around the United States. Americans welcome the competition.

But the premise of President Clinton's request is that we have no choice, we can not advocate a progressive trade policy either because of the Republican majority in Congress or the advocates of the status quo in academia, the press, and among our trading partners.

Change never comes easily. It requires leadership.

I also question whether we are, as President Kennedy warned, negotiating out of fear. Fear that others will reach agreements quicker. That others will enter markets before our companies do.

Democracy, human rights and freedom always reach center stage when allowed to blossom. And their advocates will triumph in spirit and in reality as well. We must not put a price-tag on our beliefs.

We can, and must, do better. In addition to being right, it is in our deep self-interest to do so.

In part the fast track debate is a referendum on NAFTA. Fast track advocates say that this is unfair indeed, one senior Administration official said that "you're never going to hear the word NAFTA" during the debate. That's like a used car salesman saying that its unfair to ask to look under the hood or to test drive a car.

Well, unfortunately, no matter how much they object, it is fair to talk about NAFTA. We've taken it for a test drive. And, it's a lemon.

Just last week I visited Juarez, Mexico to see firsthand whether NAFTA has helped to make a difference

in people's lives.

It has. For the worse. I visited families living in the packing boxes of the very products they produce. Ramshackle houses of cardboard, scrap wood, bottle caps whatever they could find standing against a backdrop of sparkling factories built by some of America's finest corporations.

I met workers forced into the workforce as little more than children to help their families subsist. When I asked one young woman her name, she asked me which name I wanted: her real name or the one that she uses on falsified work papers that allowed her to work at age 14. Robbed of her childhood, she hopes for an education and a future.

I visited a kindergarten where bright-faced young children hid in their mothers skirts. They often come to school hungry or with stomach maladies from the water that even the local population is scared to drink.

I saw a river of human and industrial waste that was overpowering in its magnitude and stench. Juarez, a city of 1.2 million has no wastewater treatment. Each day, the environment dies another death.

NAFTA was promoted as helping to right these wrongs. To promote change. Just the contrary has happened. NAFTA validated the status quo.

Maquiladoras the plants set up in Mexico with the primary purpose of exporting their products to the U.S. were supposed to cease to exist once NAFTA passed. The proponents of NAFTA argued this as did former President Salinas in a direct conversation with me.

Yet today there are more Maquiladoras and almost double the number of workers in these plants than when NAFTA began. And these workers are making 25% less than they did at the time. The average workers I met takes home about \$30 a week. This is not a living wage virtually anywhere in the world.

Last year we saw our trade deficit with our NAFTA partners Canada and Mexico reach more than \$35 billion. Half of that was with Mexico. Let's remember that we had a trade surplus when NAFTA started.

Again, we're told that this analysis is unfair. But for the peso crisis, everything would be fine. Here, they're wrong. These trends were in place prior to NAFTA. And, as I and others argued, the peso crisis was looming on the horizon during the negotiations. Financial issues should have been dealt with just like drugs and other issues that were either inadequately addressed or swept under the rug.

But the question today is how do we learn from our mistakes? How do we reach new agreements that improve upon NAFTA not just expand it?

The President's request only continues the status quo.

We can, and must, do better. We've figured out the supply side of trade. And, just like Reaganomics, a trickle-down trade policy won't work. We've got to figure out the demand side of trade as well.

Henry Ford knew that unless he paid his workers a decent wage, they couldn't afford the products they were producing. We need to take this lesson and apply it to our trade policy.

During my trip last week to Juarez, workers laughed at the question of whether their unions would help them. Unions, if they exist, are sham organizations like the company unions that once existed in this country. Our companies who set up shop there are given a union contract at the same time a union contract that they can show the workers who complain about unsafe working conditions or inadequate pay.

A central component of our trade policy must be the enforcement of workers rights. In most cases I'm talking about the enforcement of the laws that a country has on its books. In Mexico, for instance, the law is quite good it's just rarely enforced. And the failure to enforce workers rights should be treated just like the violation of our intellectual property rights. For workers rights is a trade issue as well.

It's the right thing to do. It's also in our deep self interest. If worker pay rises they can afford to buy their products and ours. And, as a study done for the Department of Labor documented earlier this year, low pay in Mexico is being used as a tool to dampen our wages and income. More and more of our companies are using the threat of going to Mexico or elsewhere to keep wage demands down.

The enforcement of environmental laws and the fight for environmental protection must be a central component of our trade policy as well. Environmental degradation must not be the comparative advantage of the 1990s. We've got to protect the world's environment and the health and safety of people all around the globe. And, to put it in terms for those who only look to the bottom line, lax environmental laws and enforcement are an enticement to those firms looking to cut their costs. We must not allow our companies or those from any other country to engage in a shopping expedition to locate their facilities in places with the lowest pay and environmental quality. We must be a force for progress or we will import the lowest standards that exist elsewhere

We also need a trade debate that's honest with the American people. Food safety is an issue of health, not protectionism. Our people deserve to know that their food supply is safe for themselves and their families. We must not risk another incident like the tainted strawberries that reached schoolchildren in Michigan last year.

We need to recognize that, as we open our borders, the threat of increased drug trade must be addressed. Now, more than 70% of the drugs coming into the U.S. come through Mexico. As we've opened our borders, we've failed to provide the resources to examine the products coming in. As a Customs Inspector at the border told me last week "we weren't prepared for NAFTA."

We need to deal with financial issues to ensure that our country is not exposed to the potential for another peso bailout like we had to do with Mexico. In recent months, developing country markets and currencies around the globe have been in turmoil. A number of nations had to ban together to bail out Thailand to the tune of \$16 billion. This issue must be addressed.

We need to recognize that any trade agreement even one done perfectly will have winners and losers. But we need to ensure the greatest success for the winners and ease the transition for the losers. This isn't a welfare program, it's a competitiveness program.

When the European Union integrated the lower wage countries of Spain, Portugal and Greece into the EU it recognized the importance of this issue. Well over \$100 billion has been spent \$27 billion this year alone. Clearly, we're not talking about a program as large, but we've got to address this issue not only for our workers but for our farmers, our businesses and our communities.

Let's also recognize that there were a lot of commitments made to achieve NAFTA's passage. Before the Administration begins making new promises, they should fulfill the ones of the past.

Now we're told that the appropriate place to deal with these issues is at the World Trade Organization, the International Labor Organization and in other venues. This is an effort to wrap the Administration in the right rhetoric without doing much of anything.

First if you believe, as I do, that the success of a trade agreement requires that we deal with all of these issues, then you wouldn't leave these issues to some later time. That's like signing a contract to buy a house but saying you'll agree to the price later. The leverage of the trade agreement, the "Good Housekeeping" seal of approval that a country gets by signing an agreement with the U.S. should be used to reach a comprehensive, not an incomplete, agreement.

And, as we all know, the business community wouldn't leave intellectual property or the protection of their investments to some later agreement or alternative forum.

Second, the President has had time and for the first two years of his Administration a Democratic Congress to fight for these issues. Little, if anything has been done. The law requires that the President fight for a working party just a working party, not an agreement at the WTO and that hasn't been done.

Not one core ILO convention has been sent to the Senate for ratification. It's a little late to argue that now is the time to act. Conclusion

Since coming to Congress, I have fought for a trade policy to open markets, expand opportunity and promote our country's basic ideals. In the 1980s, I fought for market access and was called a protectionist. I simply wanted our farmers, workers and businesses to have the same opportunity to sell their products in foreign markets as other countries had here.

That debate here at home is largely over. Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives now know that market access is an important and worthwhile objective. While we may fight for this objective in different ways, we largely agree on the goal.

Now the fight is a larger one. One that connects our economic interests with our goals and ideals. While selfless, it is also self-interested. For the approach I am advocating is in our best long-term economic interest.

America is and must always be the arsenal of democracy. But we have always done more than manufacture munitions; we have also forged freedom's foundations.

The principles and practices of democracy that we have helped to develop here in the United States have stirred the souls and inspired the actions of freedom-fighters around the world.

The daily drama of political debate; the union movement that brings a measure of decency, dignity, and democracy into the work place; and the struggle to clean and conserve our natural environment these, too, must be America's exports, along with our cars and our computers.

In Poland, the only heavy equipment in the arsenal of democracy were the mimeograph machines we sent over. Today, Poland is free because we stood with the Polish people for what is right.

In South Africa, we helped wage an economic war against the evil apartheid regime. The business community fought against this effort -- they said no one would join us. Initially, they were right as others sought to profit from tyranny and repression.

But, we stood for what is right and apartheid has been defeated. Nelson Mandela was able to walk out of his jail cell to the Presidency of his country. And, our businesses are now back in force profiting from a free and open economy and a people that feel a debt of gratitude to those who stood with them. They knew the people of America were on their side.

Fighting their fight because it is our fight too.

In Chile, a country that is next in line for a free trade agreement, there is a boulevard named after President Kennedy. I walked on this street just a few weeks ago. President Kennedy is a hero throughout South America because he understood that economic security and democracy go hand-in-hand. That America stood for something more than just money.

It's time that we renew our fight for our values. The principles that built not only our prosperity, but our democracy. Dictators abroad and cynics at home have always underestimated the inherent idealism of the American people. At every crucial moment in history they have been proven wrong.

President Wilson said: "Sometimes people call me an idealist. Well, that is the way I know I am an American. America, my fellow citizens -- I do not say it in disparagement of any other great people -- America is the only idealistic nation in the world."

Today, let us renew our idealism and, in so doing, renew our prosperity. Let us expand our minds while we expand our markets, our opportunity and promote democracy.

We must not put rhetoric before reality this debate is not only about dollars and cents, it is about what is right and what is wrong.

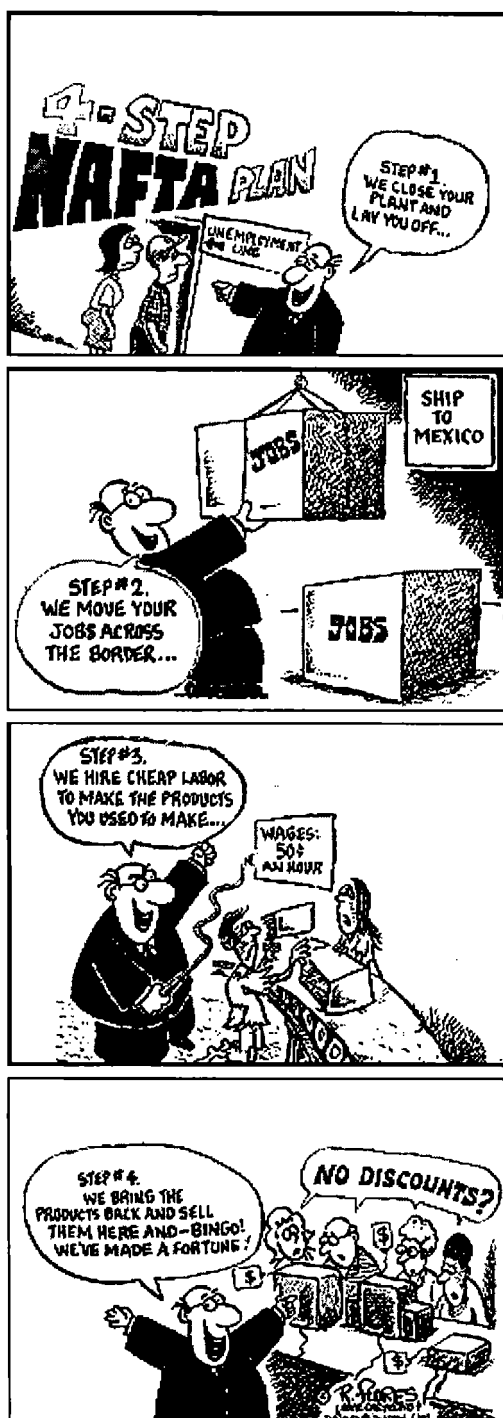


ACTION ALERT!

→If It Doesn't Work, Why Expand It?

Move to Railroad NAFTA-type Trade Pacts through Congress Means Lower Wages, Lost Jobs

Many business leaders are lobbying Congress and the public for a law that would let them expand the NAFTA trade pact with Mexico and Canada to Chile and other South American countries on a Fast Track.



NAFTA has helped American companies move production to where they can pay \$5-a-day wages and freely pollute the environment. And it's been a disastrous experiment for workers in the U.S., Canada and Mexico.

Fast Track, which Congress is expected to vote on this fall, would give the Clinton Administration the power to negotiate trade pacts that Congress must vote up or down with very little debate, and with no amendments allowed.

To help you contact your Senators and Congressional Representative -- even if you don't remember who they are -- the UAW has set up a special Congressional Contact Center. This will help you quickly compose a letter to email and/or print out and mail to your representatives on NAFTA and other issues. You just put in your zip code and make a few choices. The center also gives you information on Congress and your representatives.

NAFTA has been so bad for workers and the public, that Democratic leaders like Dick Gephardt have come out against Fast Track. Many others can be expected to vote against it -- if they know the public is watching, and that we don't want Congress to give up its duty to allow public debate and input into trade deals.

President Clinton's longer-range goal is negotiating a free trade accord covering all the nations of North America and Latin America by 2005. The Administration delayed the vote to give business leaders and the White House time to gear up a public relations campaign in support of bringing Chile into NAFTA.

The Facts on How NAFTA & Fast Track Hurt Americans & Workers in All Three Countries

What you can do

The vote on Fast Track is expected to be very close. To counter heavy lobbying from the business community, workers across the nation must speak out and protest. Please call or write your Representative and Senators on this priority issue. To write, use the:

UAW Congressional Contact Center

To call your Senators and Representative,, call toll-free at: **1-800-LABOR-21**, or: **1-888-7-AFL-CIO**, and ask for their offices. Urge them to oppose any Fast Track legislation that would spur negotiations toward expanding NAFTA to other countries. Let them know that NAFTA has caused tremendous harm, and it would be a big mistake to expand this failed trade agreement.

When millions of voices join together, we will be heard.

Other Important Action Alerts:

Protect your right to join a group management doesn't control!

What Happened to Past Action Alerts?

Other news from Washington

The UAW's **Washington Report** is on-line.

Inside Politics & Behind the Scenes: Links to help you get the low-down on what's going on in the halls of Congress and White House and with political parties and politicians, other activist groups, and behind the scenes.

Sponsored by the International Union, UAW.

UAW Home

Feedback

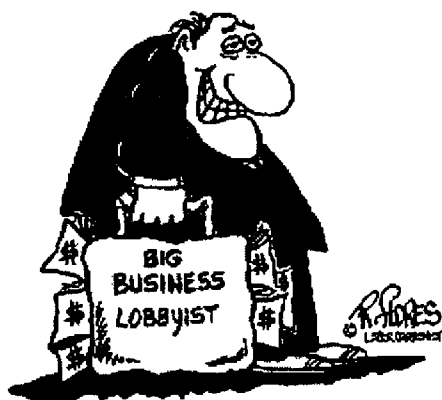
Breaktime

What's New

Search



UAW Rejects "Fast Track"



The UAW strongly urged Congress to reject so-called "fast track" legislation aimed at allowing NAFTA to be expanded to Chile and other Latin American countries.

UAW President Stephen P. Yokich made clear that the union will work hard to defeat the free-trade lobby's fast-track plan, which would prevent the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate from amending trade agreements reached by U.S. negotiators.

The fast track debate is set to be "NAFTA II" -- a rerun of the divisive legislative fight that ended up creating a free trade agreement for the U.S., Mexico and Canada.

"We believe NAFTA has proved to be an unmitigated failure for workers in all three countries, and especially workers in the U.S. automotive industry," the UAW said in a letter to Representatives.

"Expanding this failed trade agreement to other countries will only serve to aggravate the problems of falling wages and job loss which have been the legacy of NAFTA," the union said.

Prior to NAFTA taking effect, the U.S. ran a trade surplus with Mexico. But with NAFTA in place, that surplus was replaced last year with a trade deficit of more than \$16 billion.

The U.S. deficit in auto trade with Mexico last year was \$15.1 billion, up from \$6.1 billion in 1994 (NAFTA's first year) and \$11.9 billion last year.

The overall U.S. deficit with Canada last year was \$22.8 billion, with \$12.7 billion in automotive products.

The total U.S. trade deficit with its NAFTA trading partners last year rose to more than \$39 billion -- and \$28 billion of that was in the auto sector.

"These higher automotive trade deficits translate into the loss of thousands of good-paying jobs in the U.S.," the UAW letter to House members said.

"Using the Commerce Department multiplier, we have lost about 200,000 jobs in the automotive sector," the union noted.

So far, the U.S. Labor Department has certified 110,000 workers as being eligible for NAFTA Trade Adjustment Assistance -- a substantial number, but one that understates the magnitude of the problem.

The legislative proposal on fast-track negotiating authority comes at a time when NAFTA has placed immense downward pressure on the standard of living of American workers.

"It is now commonplace for many companies to threaten to move work to Mexico in order to undermine the efforts of American workers to improve their wages, benefits and working conditions," the union letter stated.

The UAW told Representatives that the purchasing power of Mexican workers' wages has declined by 25 percent under NAFTA, while unemployment has increased.

Also, pro-NAFTA House members claimed that the rationale for the maquiladora factories would disappear under the free trade agreement, but the factories have expanded instead.

"The much-touted labor side agreement has proved to be ineffective," the UAW letter from Legislative Director Alan Reuther said.

"Although numerous petitions have been filed protesting the violation of worker rights and standards in Mexico, so far there have not been any sanctions or changes in government policy toward worker rights protections."

Back to Washington Report

**What's
Happening**

UAW Home

Feedback

Breaktime

What's New

Search


Solidarity

May 1997

Point of View

Fast Track To Disaster

Richard Gephardt

Solving the problem of stagnant U.S. wages must be a focus of America's trade policy. We need assurance that future trade agreements will be better than NAFTA.



Trade policy affects each and every one of us. In a world economy, it is our major link to the rest of the world. If we fail to have a trade policy that reflects our interests, we put at risk our economic growth and our ability to increase wages, incomes, and our standard of living.

But in addition to raising our own standard of living, trade should encourage increased growth and opportunity abroad. If it doesn't, then U.S. companies will simply chase low wages around the globe, relocating jobs in countries where they can ignore worker rights and exploit weak environmental regulations. And those companies that do want to stay here will find that they increasingly have to cut corners and costs to compete -- putting still more downward pressure on our standard of living and environmental policies.

One of the cornerstones of U.S. trade policy in recent years has been the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Unfortunately, it simply hasn't worked. Wages in Mexico have dropped 25 percent since NAFTA. Wages for most Americans, which have been stagnant or declining for 20 years, have not been helped by NAFTA. I do not believe we should provide authority to negotiate new trade agreements unless we can be assured that our negotiators will reach agreements that move us forward rather than simply validate the status quo or, worse, move us backward. We must fight this shortsighted and misguided approach.

Recently I had the opportunity to visit Mexico to review the impact of NAFTA. We saw 21st century technology combined with 19th century living and working conditions. I met workers who worked in high-tech "clean rooms" and who left work at night to live in homes without running water, sewage, or electricity.

Mexican families want what we all do, a nice home in a safe neighborhood with even better opportunities for their children. But rather than improving conditions, NAFTA has validated Mexico's backward system of labor relations, wage-setting mechanisms, and environmental enforcement.

While Mexican workers produce goods for the U.S. market, they are not yet consumers in their own right. Mexicans cannot afford to buy the autos they produce, so these vehicles are shipped North. The trade deficit with Mexico in autos and auto parts soared to \$15 billion last year. In fact, autos and auto parts comprise more than 90 percent of the record \$16

billion trade deficit with Mexico.

And, now, Mexico is becoming a producer of consumer electronics and even semiconductor chips. Increasingly Asian companies are using Mexico as a low tariff export platform to the U.S. The Mexican government must do less export promotion and more to stimulate domestic consumer demand. The U.S. can no longer absorb the exports of developing nations without gaining fair market access in return for them.

That's why I oppose giving the President authority to negotiate new trade agreements that would exclude labor and environmental issues. Solving the problem of stagnant U.S. wages must be a focus of trade policy. I will not support a so-called "fast track" authority to negotiate new trade agreements that do not address this central concern. "Fast track" denies Congress the right to offer amendments to any agreement. It gives a blank check to the negotiators.

Some business leaders and even some in the Administration tell us the sky is falling.

They say: "We need this fast track trade negotiating authority and we need it now." Regardless of its impact on U.S. workers, they support any fast track as vital to building a bridge to the 21st century. I want to build a bridge to the 21st century as much as they do, but fast track isn't necessary to the construction. We need assurance that our future trade agreements are better than NAFTA, and if it doesn't pass this basic test, fast track should not pass the Congress.

If we can require that Mexico enforce its intellectual property laws via trade sanctions, why can't trade agreements cover labor and environmental issues? Labor rights and the environment must be full chapters in the core text of those agreements. A country that does not protect human rights does not afford its people the ability to demand fair compensation for their efforts. Countries must be required to enforce their own laws. If they do not, we must be able to impose sanctions and limit some trading rights until they do.

The American people know that our future lies in expanding economic engagement, not shying away from it. Given fair trade rules, American farmers, workers and businesses can compete successfully against anyone. America's continued leadership of the global economy demands that we increase the support for our policies among our people. That means that we must fight for their interests, that we fight for fair trade, and that we ease the transition for those who might be adversely affected by trade.

Over 110,000 Americans have received trade adjustment assistance because their jobs were shipped to Mexico due to NAFTA. The real number of lost jobs is several times that. We need to expand worker training programs as a response to unfair trade and as a means of giving Americans the opportunity to learn new job skills. We can't afford to leave anyone behind.

The UAW has fought for the rights and interests of its members and working people around the globe. I've been proud to stand with you and your members in the past. Working together, we'll continue that fight.

Richard Gephardt is the Democratic Party leader in the U.S. House of Representatives. He represents Missouri's Third Congressional District.





Solidarity

May 1997

A group of UAW members visits a Chrysler plant in Toluca, Mexico last December. Chrysler, which has invested \$1.28 billion in Mexico in the past six years, pays its Mexican workers \$1.55 an hour, less than one-tenth of what UAW-Chrysler workers earn.



The current battle over NAFTA revolves around

President Clinton's request that Congress grant him "fast track" authority to negotiate expansion of the treaty. "Fast track" means that the House and Senate would not be able to review the treaty or offer amendments-and would have to vote it up or down, as negotiated.

A number of pro-labor Democrats in Congress have mounted a campaign against "fast track." And the UAW is counting on its members to let Congress know how they feel."

You are a political army," Yokich told 1,500 delegates to the UAW's legislative conference in April in Washington. "You're the best political army in the nation." He urged them to go back and tell the trade story to union members, to help mobilize opposition to NAFTA extension.

In addition to political lobbying, U.S. unions are expanding their ties with democratic and independent unions in Mexico. If such unions can be strengthened, companies will have a harder time playing U.S. and Mexican workers off against each other on the basis of wages.

In that spirit, the UAW invited the Frente Autentico del Trabajo (FAT), an independent union, to send representatives to its last convention. And Mexican workers and UAW members have exchanged informal visits with each other. Last December, nine members of a UAW Region 1A international solidarity group visited Chrysler and GM workers in Toluca, Mexico."

These auto workers do the same work that we do," said Maria Winters, a UAW Local 845 member from Ford's Sheldon Road plant in Canton, Michigan, "but they make only \$1 an hour and so, unlike us, they can't afford to buy the cars they build. I think that by sharing information about what's going on in each other's countries, we can back each other up."



**NO
MORE
NAFTA**

Back at the Sandvik plant in Warren, Michigan, Bob Braner

wonders what he'll do when the only job he's known for 31 years ends. Four years ago, he suffered a heart attack and had heart surgery. While he'd like to go to truck-driving school to find a second career, he knows his medical history will preclude getting in.

While the union has negotiated health insurance for another year, once that's up, how will he be able to buy new insurance? Where will the income come from to pay his mortgage? Why should his youngest son have to choose the Army instead of Northern Michigan University, where he'd been accepted? Those are the questions that run through his mind."

It's like you have to start all over," says his wife, Donna, "just when it should be a time in

your life to start thinking about relaxing a little, with the kids about gone. It's causing a lot of stress in our family."

Braner says it's not just him; his co-workers are feeling scared, too. "You can cut the tension in the plant with a knife."

Local 771 has applied for government help like Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA). If it comes through, workers will get some help for training and job search.

And Braner, who's also the UAW Community Action Program (CAP) chair for his local, has sent a letter to members urging them to let Congress know how they feel about NAFTA's extension. His co-worker, Bruce Davis, would like to see "massive demonstrations."

"We're only 27 workers," Braner says. "And we're up against a big company that doesn't care about us. But these are our lives, and our families' lives. If the politicians were in our shoes, they'd think differently." *David Elsila*

To let Washington know how you feel about NAFTA's expansion, call your Senators or Representative toll free at (800)522-6721, and the White House at (202) 456-1414. Keep informed on latest developments by calling the UAW toll-free Legislative Hotline: (800) 482-3334.

Solidarity - May, 1997



Economic Policy Institute

ECONOMIC POLICY INSTITUTE / INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES /
 INTERNATIONAL
 LABOR RIGHTS FUND / PUBLIC CITIZEN'S GLOBAL TRADE WATCH / SIERRA CLUB
 U.S. BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION

NAFTA a Failure Thus Far, Group Reports, Should Be Repealed Or Drastically Revised

Treaty Failed to Fulfill Predictions Made by Promoters

To Executive Summary

WASHINGTON-The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has failed to perform as promised and should be repealed or significantly restructured, reports a coalition of six policy-research organizations. Although NAFTA has benefited some sectors of the economy, its overall impact on working families in the three signatory countries-the United States, Canada, and Mexico-has been negative.

In anticipation of the release by President Clinton of a congressionally mandated "comprehensive study on the operation and effects" of NAFTA, the group has prepared a report that examines the overall impact of NAFTA since its implementation. *The Failed Experiment: NAFTA at Three Years* evaluates the promised benefits of the agreement in several broad areas: the general economies of the participating countries, the living standards of their populations, labor relations throughout North America, and the continent's environment. It finds that NAFTA has fallen far short in each of these areas.

In the United States, NAFTA:

- * Put downward pressure on wages and living standards;
- * Created "deep and probably chronic" trade deficits with its neighbors;
- * Displaced more than 400,000 jobs;
- * Weakened workers' rights and reduced employee bargaining power;
- * Exacerbated environmental and public-health damage along the U.S.-Mexico border;
- * Compromised food safety standards; and
- * Increased drug trafficking due to insufficient border inspections and heavier truck traffic from Mexico.

In Mexico, NAFTA:

- * Precipitated the 1994 peso collapse, which led to an economic depression;
- * Eliminated more than 2 million jobs;
- * Reduced real hourly wages by 27% from 1994 levels;
- * Caused the failure of more than 28,000 small businesses; and
- * Weakened labor standards and increased violations of worker rights.

Canada, too, has suffered the continued effects of a recession that began in 1989 with the ratification of the original U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement. The effective merger with the U.S. economy has increased unemployment and forced Canada to begin to dismantle its longstanding social safety net, resulting in falling standards of living for the average Canadian.

The six organizations that contributed to the report concluded that NAFTA should be scrapped or significantly revised in order to create a trade agreement that complements the goal of high and rising living standards for all workers.

The organizations are the Economic Policy Institute; the Institute for Policy Studies; the International Labor Rights Fund; Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch; the Sierra Club; and the U.S. Business and Industrial Council Educational Foundation.

For more information, contact:

Economic Policy Institute:
Nan Gibson (202) 331-5546
Marcus Tonti (202) 331-5536

Institute for Policy Studies:
John Cavanagh (202) 234-9382
Sarah Anderson

International Labor Rights Fund:
Pharis Harvey (202) 544-7198

Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch:
Lori Wallach (202) 546-4996
Bob Naiman
Chris McGinn

Sierra Club: Dan Seligman (202) 675-2387

U.S. Business and Industrial Council Educational Foundation:
Alan Tonelson (202) 628-2211

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The Economic Policy Institute / Send us a message at economic@cais.com



RAPID RESPONSE ActionCALL

July 21, 1997

STOP NAFTA FAST TRACK AUTHORITY

The administration is seeking FAST TRACK authority to negotiate a NAFTA extension. We do not need an extension of any program that continues to damage American workers and their families. **NAFTA HAS BEEN A DISASTER FOR WORKERS.**

When NAFTA was originally passed we were assured it would increase jobs by broadening markets and increasing exports. Sadly, the major increase in exports has been our good paying American jobs. Major corporations are increasing profits by exporting our jobs to low wage countries and placing ever increasing downward wage pressure on the ones that survived. Good jobs that supported our families and communities are now being exported to workers that earn as little as 65 cents an hour. NAFTA has devastated countless American families and American communities that relied on those jobs. Most of us know someone that has lost a job due to NAFTA and the numbers continue to grow.

WRITE A PERSONAL SIGNED LETTER TODAY:

TO a Senator:

The Honorable (insert full name), U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510
Dear Senator (insert last name)

To a Representative:

The Honorable (insert full name), U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
Dear Congressman or Congresswoman (insert last name)

**TELL THEM NO NAFTA EXTENSION - NO FAST TRACK
AUTHORITY**

In order to stop a NAFTA extension we must stop FAST TRACK authority.

- ☐ If FAST TRACK authority is granted, a trade agreement that costs good Jobs can be rammed through without careful consideration.
- ☐
- ☐ Congressional Committees have only 45 days to review the agreement.
- ☐
- ☐ After the 45-day review period, the "fast track" agreement must be voted on within 15 days.
- ☐
- ☐ Congress cannot amend any treaty and related legislation. The vote is strictly "yes" or "no".

DERAIL "FAST TRACK AUTHORITY"

SUGGESTED POINTS FOR YOUR LETTER

The record is clear, NAFTA has been a disaster for U.S. workers and the U.S. economy, why enlarge the disaster. Vote no on fast track.

Voting for fast track authority to extend NAFTA is voting to put U.S. workers' jobs on a "fast track" out of the country. With over 650,000 jobs lost to date its time to derail NAFTA, not expand it.

Companies just want this agreement so they can continue to flee from the decent worker, child and environmental protections of this country to exploit workers elsewhere.

By granting fast track authority you ensure that no amendments concerning worker rights, human rights, child labor and environmental protections can be added to any trade agreement for years to come.

In this country environmental standards have been set to protect the "global environment". What good does this do when we make trade agreements that give U.S. companies an incentive to move production to countries with little or no environmental protection enforcement.

NAFTA did nothing to address workers' rights - the right to strike, the right to organize, and the right to freely associate. This has led to great exploitation of workers in Mexico, please do not grant authority to extend this exploitation further.

The NAFTA agreement with Mexico and Canada has cost over 600,000 U.S. jobs - isn't that enough! Vote NO on fast track authority.

WRITE A PERSONAL SIGNED LETTER TODAY;

To a Senator: The Honorable (insert full name), U.S. Senate

Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator (insert last name)

To a Representative: The Honorable (insert full name), U.S. House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman or Congresswoman (Insert last name)

TELL THEM NO NAFTA EXTENSION - NO FAST TRACK AUTHORITY

Page 2 of 2

Members may communicate directly with their elected representatives by locating email addresses at The Electronic Activist or Contacting the Congress or Congress.org

Note: The Electronic Activist, Contacting Congress and Congress.org links are outside links which provide email addresses for public officials. They are not part of the USWA Home Page and the Steelworkers neither control nor endorse their contents.

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RAPID RESPONSE

InfoFAX

June 30, 1997

FAST TRACK MEANS U.S. JOBS LOST

Since the inception of NAFTA over 625,000 U.S. jobs have been lost. There have been 5,260 known USWA members displaced because of NAFTA. On April 30th, 1997 LTV Corp. announced it had made its first direct investment in Mexico by purchasing 25% interest in Lagermex. David Hoag, CEO add, "LTV's participation in Lagermex will enable our shareholders to benefit from the growing Mexican market and NAFTA". By attempting to extend this agreement to Chile, and other countries, even more good paying jobs in this country will be lost.

FAST TRACK MEANS DOWNWARD PRESSURE ON WORKERS' WAGES

Not only is NAFTA causing some U.S. workers to lose jobs but it is also endangering the standard of living of all American workers. It is now commonplace for companies to threaten to move production to Mexico when American workers try to improve their wages, benefits, and working conditions. Between 1993 and 1995 50% of U.S. employers threatened to close plants when their workers tried to unionize. In Chile, and other Latin American countries, wage levels for all jobs are far lower than comparable jobs in the U.S. and they don't have the benefits of U.S. jobs. If "Fast Track passes and NAFTA is extended, there will be even greater incentive for companies to move production South to exploit these conditions. Over the last ten years real wages for all workers in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico, the NAFTA countries, have declined.

FAST TRACK MEANS An INCREASING TRADE DEFICIT

A \$1.7 billion trade surplus with Mexico in 1993 has turned into a \$16 billion trade deficit in 1996. Every one billion dollars of imports causes 14,000 lost jobs according to the Economic Policy Institute.

FAST TRACK MEANS EXPLOITATION OF WORKERS

In Mexico wages today, after three years of NAFTA, average between \$0.65 and \$1.05 per hour. The shacks many of these workers are forced to live in have no heat or plumbing and cost them fully one third of their wages to rent. Child labor is now epidemic with approximately 800,000 child laborers ages 6 to 14 working in Mexico Since the inception of NAFTA the number of Mexicans considered extremely poor has more than doubled to 64% of the working population.

FAST TRACK MEANS EXPLOITATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT

The flood of new factories to Mexico has caused an environment nightmare in many areas. Many plants discharge industrial wastes, including toxins and heavy metals, without pretreatment into the residential sewer systems or local waterways. This lack of enforcement of environmental standards is already a problem in Chile and other Latin American countries. The harm to the environment, and to families living near these factories is unimaginable.

NO NAFTA EXTENSION

NO FAST TRACK AUTHORITY

United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO/CLC * Five Gateway Center * Pittsburgh PA 15222 * (800)248-8792 <http://www.uswa.org>

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NAFTA: Bad For Workers On Both Sides Of The Border

Teamsters News Releases On NAFTA

- ☐ New GAO Study: Trade Deals Like NAFTA Threatening U.S. Food Safety (May 29, 1997)
- ☐ ABC Nightline Reveals DEA Hid Information on Mexican Drug Smuggling During 1993 NAFTA Debate (May 8, 1997)
- ☐ GAO Study Shows: Increased Inspection Efforts Can't Stop Flow of Unsafe Trucks from Mexico into U.S. (April 14, 1997)

Congressional Update

- ☐ The Latest on What's Happening in Congress with "Fast-Track" to a Bigger NAFTA

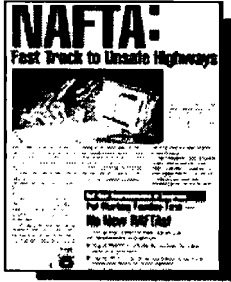
Facts About NAFTA

- ☐ NAFTA and Drugs
- ☐ NAFTA and Trucking

Leaflets

Congress will be considering legislation as soon as September to expand NAFTA to other countries. These leaflets can be copied and distributed one at a time to help members tell Congress how NAFTA hurts working families.

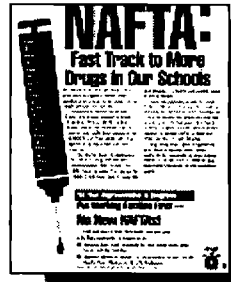
[Note: Leaflets take extra time to download.]



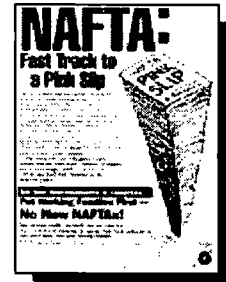
"Fast Track to Unsafe Highways"



"Fast Track to Unsafe Foods"



"Fast Track to More Drugs in Our Schools"



"Fast Track to a Pink Slip"



[Send Us Your Feedback](#)

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Teamsters Update on Congress

September 2, 1997

CONGRESS RETURNS ACT NOW TO STOP FAST TRACK

Sometime next week, President Clinton is expected to introduce his "Fast Track" bill the trade negotiating authority he needs to expand NAFTA to Latin America and beyond. A vote is expected by the end of the month. Under Fast Track, Congress can only vote up or down on new trade deals; they can't make changes. Fast Track and NAFTA are a threat to good jobs, to highway and food safety, and to our schools and neighborhoods because of the increased flow of drugs across the Mexican border. Anyway you cut it, NAFTA has been good for big business but not for America's working families. ACTION: All Teamster members should call their Representatives now using the toll-free number 1-888-723-5246. Leaflets for distribution at worksites, membership meetings and in the community are available by calling the Government Affairs Department at 202-624-8741.

SENATE TO TAKE UP TEAM ACT

Before the August recess, Republican Senate Leader Trent Lott (R-MS) told reporters that passage of the TEAM Act (S. 195) would be one of his top priorities when the Senate returned after Labor Day. The TEAM Act would undermine our collective bargaining rights and our ability to organize by allowing companies to set up so called "employee committees." We call them company unions. We'll have a better idea in a week or so about the Senate's timetable for a vote. ACTION: We need to put extra pressure on the following Senators to convince them to vote against the TEAM Act: Bingaman (D-NM), Bumpers (D-AK), Feinstein (D-CA), Graham (D-FL), Lieberman (D-CT), D'Amato (R-NY) and Specter (D-PA). Leaflets for distribution to Teamster members are available from the Government Affairs Department (202-624-8741).

UPS VICTORY PUTS SPOTLIGHT ON PART-TIME JOBS

Our victory in the UPS strike and our message about part-time jobs destroying the American dream for working families has opened some eyes on Capitol Hill. Rep. Joseph Kennedy II (D-MA) is proposing a National Commission on Fairness in the Workplace. The commission would investigate how big business is creating more and more part-time and temporary jobs that mostly pay substandard wages and benefits while offering little job security. In a letter to other representatives, Kennedy wrote: "Our nation must begin to acknowledge that many Americans must now work two and three part-time jobs in order to piece together a full-time paycheck and still come up short-handed when trying to make ends meet ... what is happening to working people, union and non-union alike, truly is a national emergency." We're working with Rep. Kennedy to build on the momentum created by our success to keep the issue of part-time jobs in the public spotlight. We'll keep you posted.

WHAT PRICE SAFETY?

For years, big corporations and their supporters in Congress have been trying to gut workplace safety

laws and funding for new job safety standards. Now, for those who won't support workplace safety on its merits, a new study by the National Safety Council shows the economic damage caused by ignoring safety on the job. The Council reports that workplace deaths and injuries cost \$121 billion in 1996. That includes lost wages and productivity, health care, and administrative costs. The average cost of a work-related fatality was \$790,000, and the average cost of a work-related injury was \$26,000. Instead of moaning about the cost of complying with job safety laws, opponents of workplace safety should recognize that there is no moral or economic justification for putting a worker's safety at risk.

TIP OF THE TEAMSTER HAT TO: CA Local 572, IL Local 327, NV Local 533 and PA Local 261 for writing and publishing Letters to the Editor opposing Fast Track, and the Retiree Chapter at IN Local 142 for making a \$2,135 contribution to DRIVE.

**Call Congress Toll Free At 1-888-723-5246
Ask The Operator For Your Representative Or Senator**

Send an E-mail to Your Representative or Senator



Send Us Your Feedback

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NAFTA:

Fast Track to Unsafe Highways



Four people were killed in Orange County, California recently when this truck slammed into a row of cars. The company that owned the truck was using a driver from Mexico who did not have a valid U.S. driver's license.

Every 7 seconds, big companies send a truck from Mexico across the border into the United States — 12,000 a day, more than 3 million a year.

Government figures show that at least half don't meet U.S. safety standards. But only 1 of every 200 Mexican trucks is inspected at the border!

Right now, those trucks have to stay in narrow border zones where freight is picked up by American trucks for delivery throughout the United States.

But big corporations are pushing President Clinton to give them unlimited use of trucks from Mexico on all U.S. highways. These companies are

willing to risk public safety so they can exploit Mexican drivers — who earn as little as \$7 a day — to haul freight now handled by U.S. drivers.

The corporate special interests also are pushing Congress and the Clinton administration to expand

NAFTA to Chile and other countries in Latin America.

Big companies want Congress to give Clinton special "Fast Track" authority to negotiate an even bigger NAFTA — on his own — without any input from Congress or the American public.

Tell Your Representative in Congress:

**Put Working Families First —
No New NAFTAs!**

Call toll-free, 1-888-723-5246, and ask your U.S. Representative in Congress to:

- Oppose Fast Track authority for new trade deals that harm working families.
- Oppose efforts to permit big corporations to use unsafe trucks from Mexico on all U.S. highways.

Note: You can ask for your U.S. Representative by name.



[Back to the NAFTA Page](#)

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NAFTA:

FAST TRACK TO UNSAFE FOODS

- In March, children in many states got hepatitis from eating infected strawberries from Mexico.
- In June, there was an outbreak of a disease called cyclospora caused by imported raspberries.

Your family could be the next to get sick from eating contaminated food from countries where U.S. corporations don't have to follow the same food safety rules.

The NAFTA trade deal has dramatically increased the amount of fruits and vegetables imported into the United States.

The government estimates that less than 1

percent of this produce is inspected at the border, even though imported fruits and vegetables contaminated with bacteria and illegal pesticides regularly land on grocery store shelves.

Now, corporate special interests want to make things even worse. They're pushing Congress and the Clinton administration to expand NAFTA to Chile and other countries in Latin America.

Big companies want Congress to give Clinton special "Fast Track" authority to negotiate an even bigger NAFTA — on his own — without any input from Congress or the American public.



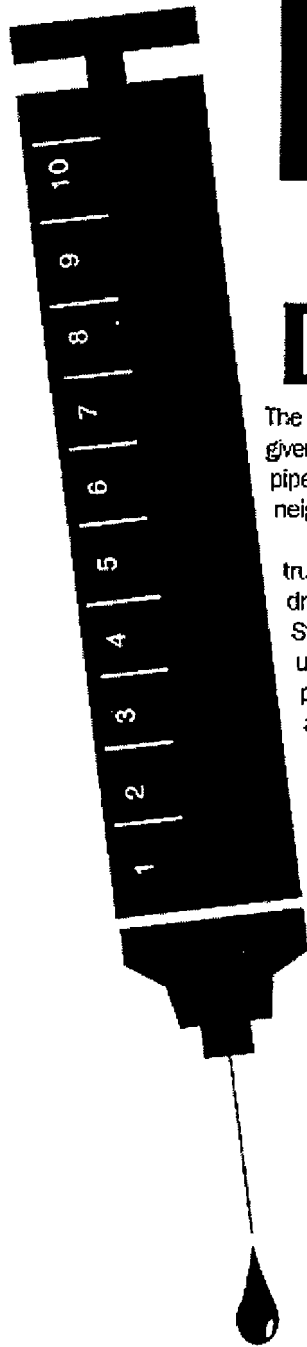
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[Back to the NAFTA Page](#)

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NAFTA:

Fast Track to More Drugs in Our Schools

The NAFTA trade deal with Mexico has given drug smugglers a ready-made pipeline to bring even more drugs into our neighborhoods and schools.

Government officials admit that trucks carry a huge amount of illegal drugs from Mexico into the United States. NAFTA has increased the volume of truck traffic from Mexico by 50 percent in just three years, and drug agents along the border just can't keep up.

The former head of intelligence for the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, Phil Jordan, told ABC News recently, "For the godfathers of the drug trade in Colombia

and Mexico . . . NAFTA was a deal made in narco heaven."

Now, big corporations want to make these problems even worse. They want to increase the number of trucks entering the U.S. from Mexico and give them unlimited access to all U.S. highways. And they're pushing Congress and the Clinton administration to expand NAFTA to Chile and other countries in Latin America.

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[Back to the NAFTA Page](#)

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NAFTA:

Fast Track to a Pink Slip

The NAFTA trade deal with Mexico has been a disaster for working families on both sides of the border. Under NAFTA, U.S. companies have destroyed 420,000 American jobs — while the basic wage in Mexico has dropped below \$4 a day.

Many American workers have been pressured to accept lower pay or benefits — under the threat that their jobs will be moved, too.

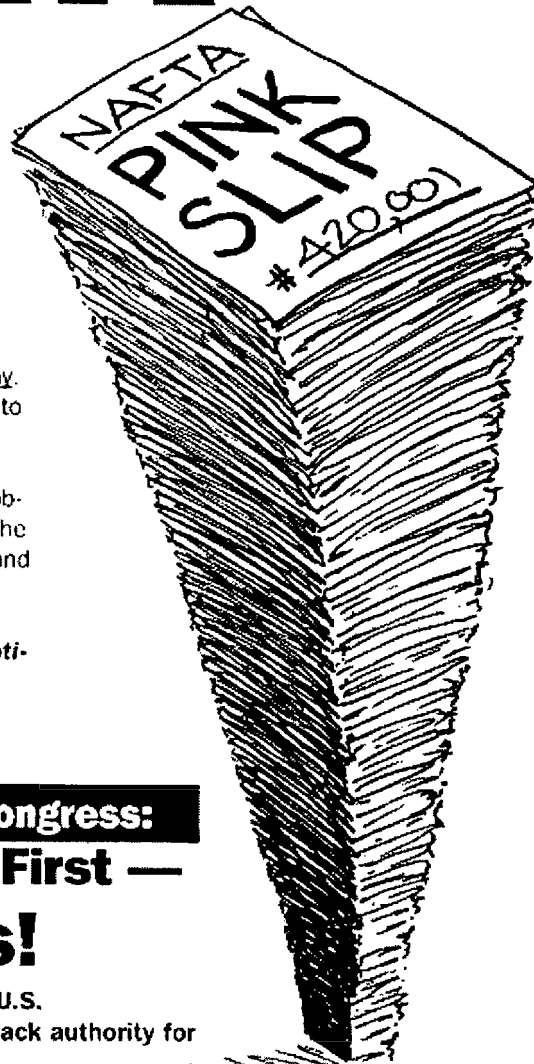
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[Back to the NAFTA Page](#)

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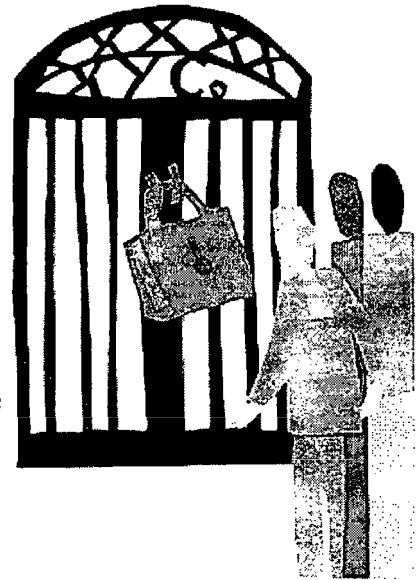
The NAFTA Scam

It is now three years since the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) became law. The results are in: NAFTA is a disaster for workers in the United States, Mexico and Canada.

The U.S. and Canada have lost thousands of jobs because of NAFTA. Mexico is trapped in a severe economic crisis in which workers bear the largest burden as their working conditions worsen. The U.S.-Mexico border was a health and environmental disaster when the NAFTA agreement was signed in 1994. Today, the border area is worse because of additional health and environmental problems caused by the impact of NAFTA.

Despite this, the Administration, influenced by business lobbyists, wants to apply NAFTA to Chile and the 27 countries known as the Caribbean Basin, and ultimately to all of South and Central America.

In this UNITE FIGHTsize we investigate the problems with NAFTA and the ways we can take action to fight back against the business interests that are pursuing this anti-worker strategy.



NAFTA's impact on American workers

American workers know what has happened to them because of NAFTA: loss of jobs and a decline in living standards. How could NAFTA have such a devastating impact on American workers?

In 1993, the year before NAFTA was passed, the U.S. had a \$1.7 billion trade surplus with Mexico. This means that Mexicans were buying more American goods than Americans were buying from Mexico.

After NAFTA, however, the situation was reversed. American business fled to Mexico in search of lower wages and lax labor and environmental regulations. They produced goods in Mexico to sell in the U.S. Our trade surplus with Mexico became a \$16.2 billion dollar trade deficit.

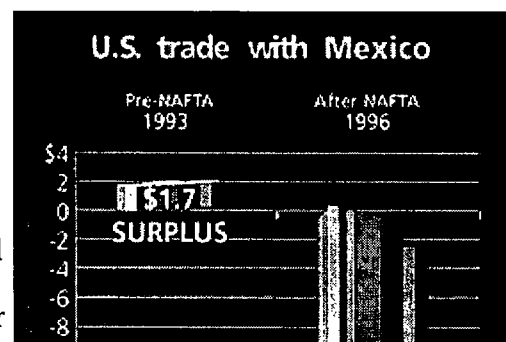
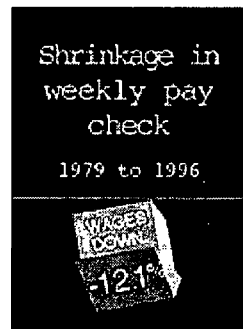
Due to this trade deficit, the U.S. has lost over 250,000 jobs.

When workers lose their jobs because a plant relocates to Mexico, they usually experience a serious decline in their standard of living, even if they get new jobs. Workers rehired after losing their jobs in the early 90's suffered an annual pay loss of over \$4,400.

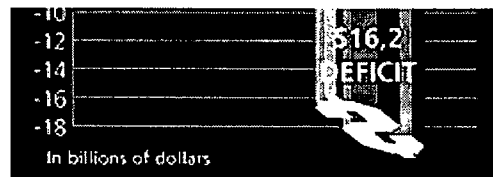
Corporations use NAFTA as a bargaining chip to limit union organizing and keep wages down.

As bad as NAFTA has been for jobs, it may have damaged wage levels even more

During the debate over NAFTA, a Wall Street Journal poll found that a majority of executives from large companies already had plans to shift some production to Mexico and that a large number intended to use NAFTA "as a bargaining chip to keep down



intended to use NAFTA "as a bargaining chip to keep down wages in the U.S." This trend continues. According to a recent study, in more than half of union organizing drives, the threat of moving jobs to Mexico or closing plants was used to limit organizing success.



NAFTA contributes to a corporate strategy-investment overseas, production cutbacks at home and sharp demands for wage and benefit concessions from workers-that has had a devastating impact on American families. Hundreds of thousands of people have lost their jobs, many of them permanently. Communities have been drained of resources and income, and years of accumulated skills have been wasted.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a massive wave of plant closures and layoffs hit Canada. Tens of thousands of workers permanently lost what had once been secure and decent jobs. NAFTA has added to the high Canadian unemployment rate and job insecurity. Similar to the United States, after NAFTA, Canada lost jobs as its trade deficit with Mexico grew from \$2.9 billion to \$4.3 billion. Also, like the United States, Canadian workers' pay has not kept up with inflation and wages have been much slower to rise when compared to gains in worker productivity.

NAFTA has also contributed to undermining Canada's strong social programs, particularly unemployment insurance and national health care. The Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Canadian Chamber of Commerce are trying to cut Canada's social programs while blaming cuts on international competition. Rather than maintain Canada's "high road" social safety net, they want to reduce social welfare benefits by forcing Canadian workers to lower their expectations.

After NAFTA went into effect, Mexico fell into serious social, political and economic crisis. The Mexican peso lost 50% of its value; the government was nearly bankrupt. An armed uprising in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas highlighted the country's economic, geographic and racial divisions. Political assassinations and allegations of corruption continue to undermine faith in the political system at the highest levels of government.

Defenders of NAFTA claim that the economic crisis in Mexico was not caused by NAFTA, but rather by Mexico's currency crisis. But, to ensure NAFTA's passage, the U.S. government supported a corrupt and financially incompetent political regime in Mexico. The Mexican government stalled on the necessary currency adjustments in order to attract U.S. investment and capital.

The Mexican economic crisis is characterized by two broad trends. Many Mexican manufacturers have gone bankrupt, resulting in the loss of over one million jobs in Mexico. Meanwhile, there has been an increase in foreign-owned manufacturers that export mostly to the United States.

There has been a tremendous increase in the number of maquiladora plants-foreign owned plants that receive special tax breaks and export almost all of their production to the U.S.-and an almost 50% increase in the maquiladora work force since NAFTA began. According to the Mexican government, the maquiladoras employ more than 800,000 workers. These plants are exempt from tariffs on imported raw materials and components as long as the final product is exported. The wages workers earn at these jobs make it almost impossible to raise a family. For example, a gallon of milk costs almost three hours of wages. Mexican workers have borne the brunt of the economic crisis in Mexico. Despite the increases in productivity and quality, real manufacturing wages in Mexico are 25% lower than they were before NAFTA.

Maquiladora Facts

According to the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, General Motors is Mexico's largest foreign employer. The 74,500 employees of GM's Mexican maquiladora operations

MAQUILADORA EMPLOYMENT

	Electronics	Transportation Equipment	Textiles & Apparel
Plants	528	180	565
Employment	253,221	157,233	124,491

74,500 employees of GM's Mexican maquiladora operations earn around 70 cents an hour in 54 factories in 27 different Mexican cities. In Juarez City, Mexico, across from El Paso on the U.S.-Mexico border, the average wage of a maquila worker is 44 cents an hour.

- According to the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, General Motors is Mexico's largest foreign employer. The 74,500 employees of GM's Mexican maquiladora operations earn around 70 cents an hour in 54 factories in 27 different Mexican cities.
- In Juarez City, Mexico, across from El Paso on the U.S.-Mexico border, the average wage of a maquila worker is 44 cents an hour.
- No independent union has ever been certified in Juarez.

Why NAFTA isn't working for workers

NAFTA's single biggest defect is its failure to adequately address workers' rights- the right to strike, the right to organize and the right to freely associate. The failure to adequately enforce such core labor laws in Mexico means that Mexican wages have failed to rise.

While businesses demanded-and got-a provision in NAFTA that requires Mexico to protect the rights of investors, there is no similar provision for enforcement of Mexico's labor laws or, for that matter, Mexico's environmental laws. This means that when Mexico fails to enforce its labor laws, resulting in Mexican workers' wages being held down and their rights denied, there is little that we can do other than complain.

There is a labor side agreement-it isn't part of the actual trade treaty- that, in theory, addresses workers' concerns. But in practice, it is nearly useless. Five cases concerning Mexico have been brought under the labor side agreement for labor violations in Mexico. But there has been no noticeable change on the ground. Take, for example, the cases at General Electric in Ciudad, Juarez or Honeywell in Chihuahua where workers were fired for trying to organize independent unions. Those unions remain unrecognized. Those workers have not been reinstated.

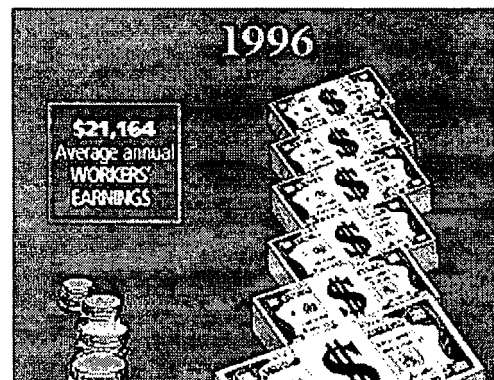
In the maquiladoras, workers don't have the ability to fight for better working conditions. If they complain, they are fired. Maquiladora owners keep lists of "problem" employees who are blacklisted because of their complaints.

If we don't have an effective way of addressing this problem, Mexican workers aren't going to get a fair deal. They won't be fairly compensated for their hard work and Mexican workers will not be able to buy the goods they make, or goods made by workers in the U.S. or Canada.

UNITE members-and all workers in North America-are painfully aware of NAFTA's impact on workers. But, someone is surely benefiting from this trade agreement. If they weren't, there wouldn't be this new push to expand NAFTA even further. So, who's reaping the rewards?

Multinational corporations benefit from NAFTA

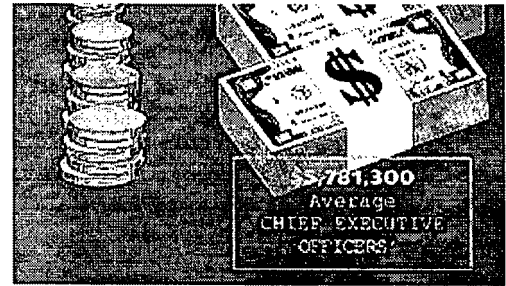
The NAFTA legislation is 2,000 pages, almost all of which is



The NAFTA legislation is 2,000 pages, almost all of which is concerned with reducing trade barriers and protecting foreign investors in Mexico.

Mexico's attraction for corporations is not the small Mexican consumer market (Mexico's economy is less than 4% of the U.S. economy). It is the labor force of more than 30 million people willing to work for a tiny fraction of U.S. wages.

Corporations seeking to maximize profits will tend to locate production where costs are lowest. Of course, there are other factors: worker skills and reliability, quality of physical infrastructure, communications networks, and political stability, among others. Even so, the vast differences between wages in the U.S. and Canada and Mexico and the inconsistent enforcement of labor standards and workplace regulations in Mexico combine to provide a powerful incentive for multinational corporations to move production to Mexico.



Big business interests and their political allies are proposing to extend NAFTA, first to Chile and then to the Caribbean Basin, and ultimately to all of Latin America...

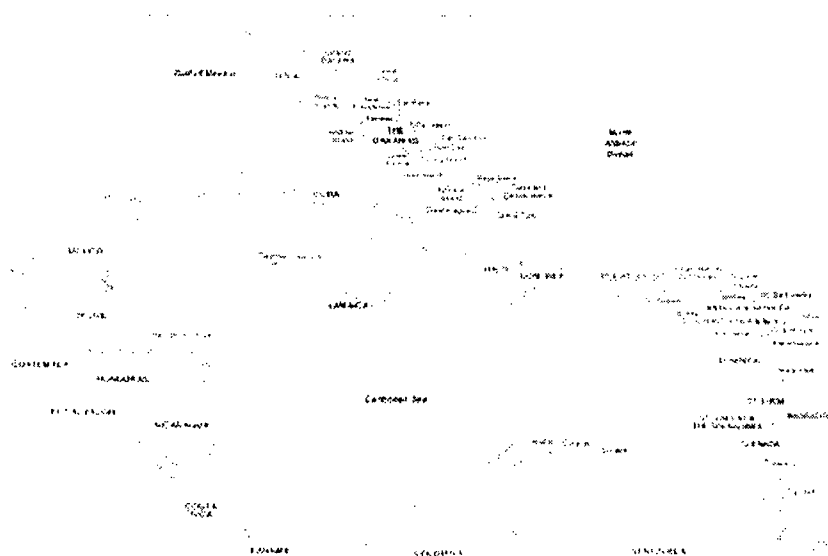
The Clinton Administration's position on NAFTA

The Clinton Administration does not want to fix NAFTA so that it will help workers. Instead, the first step in the Administration's plan is to apply NAFTA to Chile and the Caribbean.

To achieve this expanded NAFTA, the Administration wants to get "fast track" negotiating authority from Congress.

Opposing Fast Track

Fast track is a term for legislation that allows the President to push a bill quickly without amendments. When Congress gives the President "fast track" authority, it can only vote "yes" to pass the bill or "no" to defeat it. No amendments are allowed. If Congress gives President Clinton this fast-track authority, they are, in effect, giving the Administration the right to negotiate future trade agreements exactly the way the Administration wants to. Because the Administration's position on NAFTA expansion will not help workers, we must oppose "fast track."



In addition to extending NAFTA to Chile, the Administration is also proposing parity- that is, equal application of NAFTA's provisions-for the 27 countries in the Caribbean Basin.

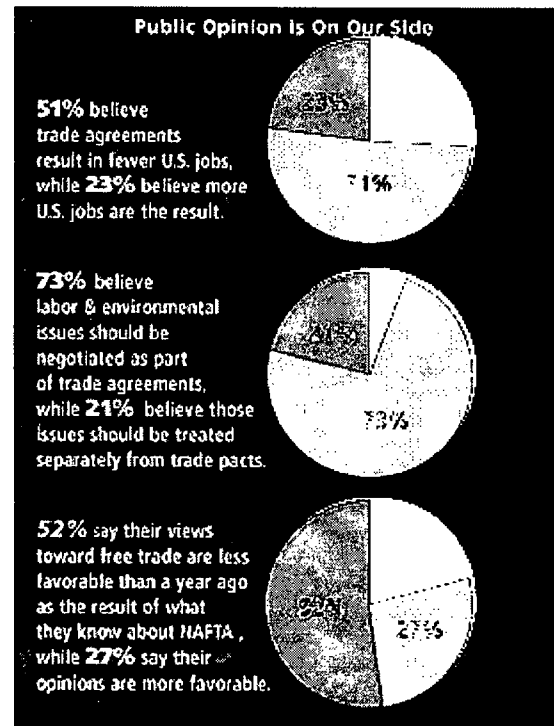
Providing NAFTA parity to the Caribbean would extend to this region all the disadvantages of NAFTA. There would be strong protection for the rights of investors and multinational corporations with little concern for workers' rights and labor and environmental standards. NAFTA parity for the Caribbean will put thousands of UNITE members' jobs at risk, worsen human rights in the Caribbean and perpetuate the poverty of these countries. With imports already flooding in from the Caribbean, there is no reason to further encourage them.

We want fair trade agreements

The real problem is not trade with Mexico and Canada, but rather the specific set of rules included in NAFTA. Our current trade agreements protect investors, multinational corporations, patent and copyright holders, and speculators. Workers are the only interested party whose rights are not addressed by these agreements.

It should be the explicit policy of the United States that there will be no more international trade and investment agreements without specific provisions to enforce worker rights. This would put multinational corporations on notice that workers deserve an equal playing field. Then, corporations won't be able to take advantage of workers in countries which have a deliberate policy of suppressing free trade unions in order to attract foreign investment.

UNITE wants NAFTA renegotiated to guarantee the right to organize unions, the right to minimum health and safety standards, and prohibitions of child and prison labor. UNITE members and their families need a new NAFTA that benefits the working people of all three countries.



What you can do

- ☐ Tell your Senators and Congresspeople to oppose fast-track and to oppose extension of NAFTA to Chile, the Caribbean Basin countries or any other country. You can call your members of Congress-free of charge-through UNITE's direct line to the Capitol switchboard, which is 1-800-648-3516.
- ☐ If you or a friend or family member have been hurt by NAFTA, tell your story to your member of Congress.
- ☐ Work in your local or region to publicize the concerns of UNITE members regarding NAFTA.
- ☐ Work with allies like the Citizens' Trade Campaign and others in your area.

UNITE members have been hurt by NAFTA through lost jobs, closed plants, and employer threats. But we are not alone. NAFTA harms workers-union and non-union. It pollutes the environment by encouraging corporations to do the wrong thing both inside and outside the factory.

It's time to fight back!

For more information on NAFTA and other issues critical to workers jobs, families and communities, email UNITE!
Or print out this card and send it to:

UNITE
1710 Broadway
New York, NY 10019-5299

Attn: Political Dept.

[Back to "Reclaim The American Dream"](#)
[Back To The UNITE Home Page](#)

We can do it all. It's the right thing to do.

#

U.S. House Democratic Leadership

Q&A

Sen. Byron Dorgan

North Dakota Democrat leads Senate opposition to fast track trade authority

Sen. Byron Dorgan (D-N.D.), a freshman who faces reelection next year, is the leading Senate opponent of fast track legislation for trade agreements. His position puts him in opposition to President Clinton and many in his own party, who believe that the NAFTA and GATT agreements already have proven a great success.

The senator gave his views on *The Hill Reporter*, a daily radio call-in show that originates from the newsroom of *The Hill* and is broadcast on 87 stations of the United Broadcasting Network. He was interviewed by Louise Schiavonne, the program's host, and Albert Eisele, editor of *The Hill*. The following are excerpts:

Q. Yesterday, the president kicked off his campaign to win congressional authority to pursue "fast track," which is sort of an extension of the North American Free Trade Agreement or NAFTA, as it has come to be known — something that a lot of people are not impressed by. I wonder, Sen. Dorgan, where you stand on this new expanded fast track?

A. Well, I oppose fast track, but this isn't a debate about the track or being fast or slow. It's a debate about trade policy. Our trade policies are not working for this country. We have the largest merchandise trading deficit in American history. We have serious trade problems with China, Japan, Canada, Mexico and none of those problems are being actively solved or worked on or addressed and my thought is that we ought to solve the trade problems we have from the treaties we have already negotiated rather than rush off to have new treaties to negotiate.

Q. Well, have we survived NAFTA?

A. Well, NAFTA has been a disaster as you know. We started with NAFTA at a \$2 billion trade surplus with Mexico. Now we have nearly a \$60 billion deficit with Mexico. Anyone that thinks that's a success isn't thinking very much.

Q. What's behind it? Why would the president be pursuing a policy, which, as you put it, is such a big loser for us?

A. Well, there's only one view on trade in Washington, D.C., and it's a view that's pushed by the U.S. multi-national companies, the Chamber of Commerce and others. They want to produce where it's cheaper to produce and sell into established market places. That means moving your production to Mexico or Sri Lanka or Bangladesh or Indonesia and paying very low wages. Then you also have to monkey with things like anti-pollution of air and water and child labor laws and so on. So you produce in those circumstances, increase your profits and sell your product in Pittsburgh, Fargo and Los Angeles. That's good for corporations, but not very good for this country.

Q. You know there is another aspect of this which is the competition with Canadian wheat coming in to North Dakota — competing with North Dakota farmers. Is that one of the reasons you're opposing this bill?



Sen. Byron Dorgan (D-N.D.) says NAFTA has been a disaster for American workers.

A. Part of it. We have Canada as a part of NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement. When we negotiated the agreement our trade deficit with Canada was about \$11-12 billion a year. Now it's doubled to nearly \$23-24 billion a year. That's not working well either. And secondly, with respect to Canada, we have a very serious grain problem. We have grain flooding across our borders with Canada, especially Durum wheat, and it's unfairly subsidized, traded by a monopoly trading enterprise that would be illegal in this country at secret prices. You know, the fact is you can't get any of these trading problems solved. All of these agreements they negotiate pull our teeth and then we complain we can't chew anymore.

Q. Well, the Clinton administration has acknowledged that they oversold the benefits of NAFTA, but are they now saying that we've got some data that say that it's working and that in the long-term it will be beneficial to the U.S. economy?

A. Yeah, well, in the long run we're all dead. I mean I'm much more interested in what's going to happen this month, this year, this decade, but you know I'm not anxiously waiting, sitting around 100 years, waiting for trade agreements to work. We ought to expect in this country that when we have a trade agreement with Japan or China, Canada or Mexico, for that matter, that it be fair and that we not run huge, huge trade deficits with these countries and that's what's happening. And why? Because of unfair trade.

Let me give you an example with

China, if you don't mind. You know China, now, has a \$40-plus billion surplus with us or we have a deficit with them. They ship us all these goods. Well, now, they need to buy airplanes, but guess what. Do they now come to buy airplanes from the best airplane manufacturer in the world — in the U.S.? No. What they

'Our trade policies are not working for this country'

say is we want to buy airplanes; we will buy them from you, but you must manufacture them in China. It's outrageous. That's not the way trade should work.

Q. Do you believe President Clinton is carrying the water of these big corporations who have ponied up a lot of soft money to fund campaigns?

A. There's only one view on trade, as I said, and you could, in my judgment, you could put on a blindfold and listen and you won't discern much difference between trade policies of previous administrations and this administration. I wish there were some differences and it's not that I think we should put walls around our country or prohibit imports. It's, I think, that we should say to countries that have these huge, huge surpluses with us, "Look, if you're going to ship to America, then we expect to be able to ship our goods to your country, as well."

Q. Why is it that the president would pursue this kind of trade policy? Is it because he is catering to the requests from big corporations who have put up a lot of money to get Democrats elected?

A. You know, they put up a lot more money to get Republicans elected, more than double, incidentally.

Q. Well, then what's it all about?

A. My sense is that there is no thoughtful discussion about international trade in this country because there is only one view that is accommodated. For example, you can't get an op-ed piece in *The Washington Post* that is opposed to fast track ... they just don't print those kinds of things. There is only one view of this. You're either for expanded trade and you're for fast track and all these trade agreements or you're some xenophobic isolationist stooge.

Well, that's the way the debate goes. I reject that. I think this country can have a trade policy that says, "Let's have a lot of imports into this country to give consumers a wide choice, but let us have the nerve and will of the country to say to Japan and other countries that we're not going to be a sponge for all of your goods if you close your markets to us. We expect to get our goods into your markets as well."

Q. I think that's the view that we hear the most on this program and I think that if you talk to the average American that they would definitely have that view.

Sen. Dorgan, we talk over and over again about campaign finance reform and issues of this type and it seems that if people would use their vote to go out and express the views that they want, for instance, on fast track that they would vote for people that embrace their point of view and not vote for those who don't. That if they outvoted the people with the big money the outcome might be different in battles like this.

A. Well, we'll see. My sense of all of this is that the largest international corporations used to be American companies. You know they used to say the Pledge of Allegiance in the morning here and salute our flag, but now they're international. They don't care where they produce and they are interested in international profits not some sort of economic nationalism.

And so they have helped frame the political dialogue here so that there's a description of expanded trade and fast track and free trade and all that sort of thing in their image. Well their image is not about whether we have a crippled manufacturing industry or big trade deficit. Their image is: Are they making more profit by producing in Mexico or Bangladesh? I think that we, as a country, ought to be concerned about the largest trade deficits in history.

They are very significant trade deficits that will hurt our country in the future and we have to deal with them. And my point to the president is, don't push this fast track nonsense on us until there is a demonstration that we are willing to solve the trade problems which now exist and they are very difficult problems.

Welcome to the AFL-CIO



ACTION SITE

**A working families' guide to putting America's trade deals on
the right track -- not the fast track. Because America can't
afford any more NAFTAs!**



Why the fast track is the
wrong track



Send a "not so fast" message
today



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activists



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info and ammo



Congress is about to decide whether to give the president the authority to negotiate more fast-track trade deals. But fast-track deals don't include standards to protect workers and consumers. They don't give Congress a chance to fix what's wrong. They may be great deals for big businesses that ship our jobs across the border, but they leave America's working families behind.

How do we know this? Because we already have a fast-track deal--the NAFTA deal we passed three and a half years ago. Ever since NAFTA, we've lost 420,000 jobs, more contaminated food has found its way into our supermarkets, and air and water pollution along the border has become worse than ever.

But there is a better way. Tell Congress to go slow and get it right. America needs fair, balanced trade deals--negotiated on the right track, not the fast track.

What's New:

The Business Roundtable is raising \$3 million to pressure Congress into more fast-track NAFTA deals. For details, check out the Fast Track Alert.

The Stop Fast Track Action Site is part of the AFL-CIO's National Issues Mobilization Program. To find out more, click here.

| Get The Facts | Tell Congress | Spread The Word | See What's New |
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WHY THE FAST TRACK IS THE WRONG TRACK



Send a "not so fast" message today



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A news bulletin for fair trade activists



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America can't afford any more NAFTAs

- **America needs fair trade, not fast-track trade deals that don't allow input from Congress.**

With fast-track authority, the president negotiates trade agreements that Congress isn't allowed to amend. That means the only vehicle for giving American workers and consumers a voice in the process is eliminated. And that's why fast-track trade deals lack the rules and standards we need to protect our jobs, our wages, our environment and our safety.

- **The "fast track" brought us NAFTA--and look where that got us.**

The fast-track NAFTA deal with Mexico and Canada in 1993 is a perfect example of what happens when we rush into agreements that don't take into consideration the concerns of workers and consumers. Ever since the NAFTA deal was struck:

1. America lost **420,000 jobs** as corporations shifted production to Mexico, where wages average about \$4 a day. According to a Wall Street Journal poll in 1992, 40 percent of corporate executives admitted they were likely to shift production to Mexico because of NAFTA.
2. Employers are using the threat of plant closures to drive **wages down**. People who found new employment after their jobs moved to Mexico took an average pay cut of \$4,400. And a Cornell University study shows that since NAFTA, employers have tripled the rate at which they shut down production to avoid union organizing.
3. Air and water **pollution** along the U.S.-Mexico border has become significantly worse. The amount of hazardous waste crossing the border increased 30 percent in 1995, and hepatitis A cases in border communities has risen to two to five times the national average.
4. Increased agricultural imports and inadequate border inspections have led to an increase in **unsafe food** in American supermarkets and **unsafe trucks** on our nation's highways.

- **Fast-track trade gives corporations too much power.**

Trade deals are supposed to benefit everyone--including workers and consumers in all countries involved. They're supposed to be about trading *goods*, not exporting *jobs*. But without rules or standards to protect workers and consumers, corporations take advantage of fast-track trade agreements to reap higher profits--at our expense.

□ **Americans believe the fast track is the wrong track.**

A recent NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll found that 61 percent of Americans oppose fast-track authority for negotiating trade deals. They want *fair, balanced* trade, not fast-track trade. By overwhelming margins, they are convinced that Congress should play a role in the crafting of our nation's trade agreements.

□ **When you move too fast, you make mistakes.**

America has negotiated hundreds of successful trade agreements without fast-track authority. Given NAFTA's failure, why rush into more fast-track trade deals? Better the right track than the fast track.

STOP FAST TRACK! Send a message to Congress today:
America's trade should work for everyone. Go slow and get it right.

The Stop Fast Track Action Site is part of the AFL-CIO's National Issues Mobilization Program. To find out more, [click here](#).

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SEND A "NOT SO FAST" MESSAGE TODAY



America needs fair trade, not another NAFTA. That's the message Congress needs to get--in a hurry. Corporations are pressuring Congress to give the president more "fast track" authority-- and to pass a bill quickly, before the nation has a chance to debate it.

Now it's up to working families to remind Congress that it's their job to look out for the interests of workers and consumers in our trade agreements. Call, write or e-mail your Representative and Senators and let them know that:

- ☐ **America already has one fast-track deal too many, and NAFTA has already done too much damage to our jobs, our wages, our environment and our food safety.**
- ☐ **America's trade deals should be fair and balanced, and they should include standards that protect workers and consumers.**
- ☐ **By denying Congress input in the process, fast-track negotiations deny working families a voice and give corporations a free rein to profit from lower wages--at our expense.**
- ☐ **The overwhelming majority of Americans oppose fast-track authority for negotiating trade deals. American voters want Congress to review our trade agreements and make amendments when they're needed.**
- ☐ **It's time for Congress to live up to its responsibilities to America's working families--and vote NO on "fast track."**

Make sure Congress gets the message TODAY!

Click here if you want to write a letter or send an e-mail to your Representative or Senators.

The Stop Fast Track Action Site is part of the AFL-CIO's National Issues Mobilization Program. To find out more, click here.

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America can't afford any
more NAFTAs

Fast-track trade deals can affect every working family in America. Not only will many working Americans lose their jobs due to NAFTA-style trade deals, but many others will be forced to accept lower wages from employers who threatening to move production to another country--or else. Still others will be harmed by increasingly unsafe food and polluted air and water. And as our factories close, the impact on local economies and tax revenues will hurt small businesses, hospitals and entire communities.

Congress needs to hear from the workers and consumers who have the most to lose if America agrees to another NAFTA deal. Now's the time to spread the word--and ask your friends, family members and co-workers to tell Congress to say NO to fast-track trade deals.

If you need a flyer to help get out the word--in your neighborhood or workplace, or at social or community gatherings--click on one of the buttons below.

- ☐ Imagine if every time you ask for a raise,
the boss threatens to move.



- ☐ The "fast track" brought us NAFTA, and
look where that got us.



- ☐ Ever since NAFTA, our jobs have been on
the "fast track" to Mexico.



The Stop Fast Track Action Site is part of the AFL-CIO's National Issues Mobilization Program. To find out more, [click here](#).

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**Imagine if every time you ask for a raise,
the boss threatens to move.**



Welcome to the world of fast-track trade. When America rushes into trade deals like NAFTA -- without negotiating rules to protect workers and consumers -- it gets easier for corporations to take our jobs elsewhere. And working Americans lucky enough to keep their jobs are often pressured to accept lower pay -- or else.

Across the country, American businesses are using the threat of moving production to Mexico -- where workers earn \$4 a day -- to hold wages down and fight union organizing campaigns. In fact, 24 percent of the corporate executives polled just before NAFTA was implemented said they were likely to use it "as a bargaining chip to keep wages down.

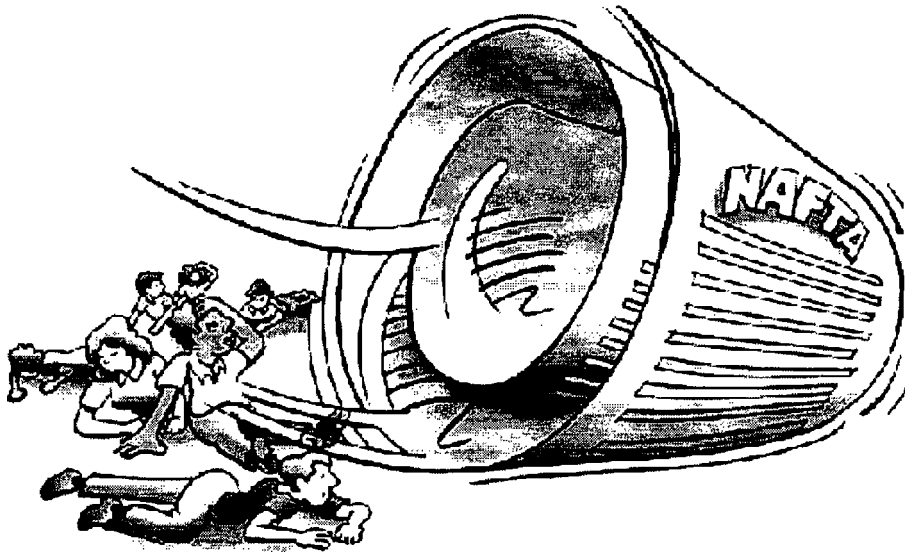


From the working men and
women of the AFL-CIO

At a time when most working Americans are struggling to get by, some of the biggest corporations in America -- GM, Chrysler, Boeing, Procter & Gamble and more -- are raising \$3 million for a campaign to pressure Congress for more fast-track NAFTA deals. There's only one way to stop it. Tell Congress to say no.

Call 1-800-97-AFLCIO. Tell your representatives in Congress to say no to fast-track trade deals.

The "fast track" brought us NAFTA, and look where that got us.



What would you call a trade agreement that lets corporations ship our jobs across the border, profit from lower wages, harm our environment and jeopardize the safety of our food? It's a fast-track NAFTA deal hurriedly negotiated without input from Congress and without rules to protect workers or consumers.

Over the last three and a half years, the fast-track NAFTA deal has cost American workers 420,000 jobs. More contaminated food has found its way into America's supermarkets. Unsafe trucks are spilling out onto the nation's highways. Illegal drug trafficking is on the rise. And air and water pollution has become much worse along the U.S.-Mexico border, where incidences of hepatitis A are now two to five times the national average.

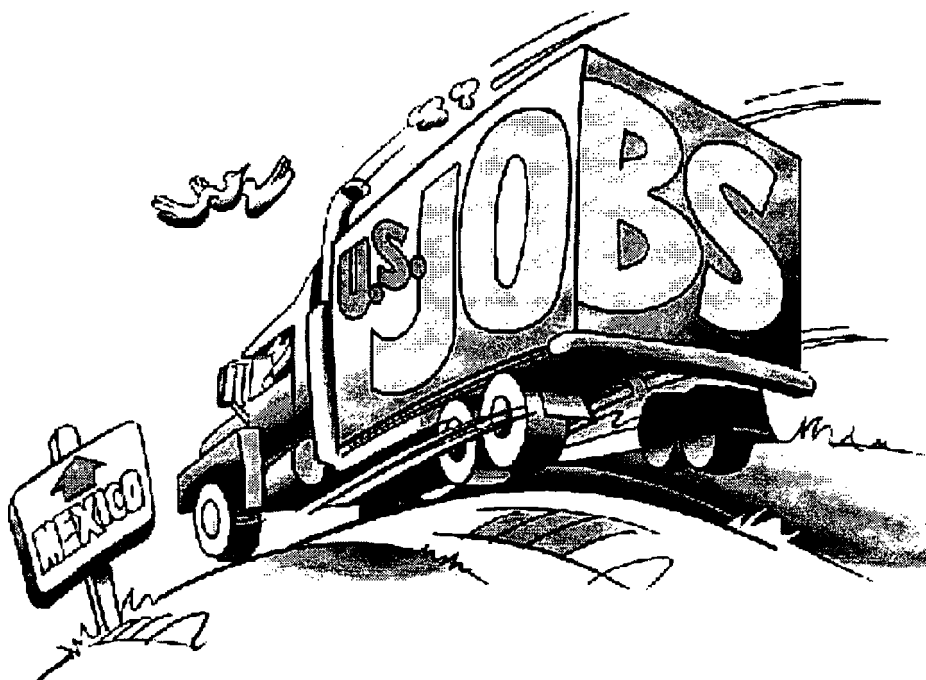


From the working men and women of the AFL-CIO

Now big corporations are asking Congress to let the president negotiate more fast-track NAFTA deals. But why don't we learn from our mistakes? let's slow down and get it right.

Call 1-800-97-AFLCIO. Tell your representatives in Congress to say no to fast-track trade deals.

Ever since NAFTA, our jobs have been on the "fast track" to Mexico.



It's been three and a half years since America rushed into the NAFTA deal, and the results are in. So many corporations chased lower wages to Mexico that America has lost about 420,000 jobs. And as our factories close, the impact on local economies and tax revenues is hurting small businesses, hospitals and entire communities.

Is that what our trade deals are supposed to do? Make it easier for American businesses to pull up stakes? Not exactly. But NAFTA failed to include standards to protect our jobs, wages, environment and safety, and Congress wasn't even given the chance to fix what was wrong. So instead of fair, balanced trade that benefits everyone, corporations made out like bandits while American workers and consumers were left behind.



From the working men and women of the AFL-CIO

Now corporations are asking Congress to give the president more fast-track authority to extend the NAFTA deal to other countries. There's only one way to stop it. Tell Congress to say no.

Call 1-800-97-AFLCIO. Tell your representatives in Congress to say no to fast-track trade deals.



A NEWS BULLETIN FOR FAIR TRADE ACTIVISTS



Why the fast track is the
wrong track



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more NAFTAs

NOT SO FAST, CONGRESS

Thousands of working families from coast to coast are sending members of Congress a message: "Stop fast track. America can't afford any more NAFTAs."

Legislation to allow for more fast-track trade deals--and extend NAFTA to other countries in South America--could be introduced in Congress as early as September 10. But around the country, many union activists already are setting up meetings with their congressional representatives to urge them to reject the bill and distributing flyers in the workplace to encourage union members to write, call or send a postcard to Congress.

This month, the AFL-CIO is coordinating a massive outreach effort to activate union members in the "Stop Fast Track" fight by distributing hundreds of thousands of postcards to communities around the country. Many AFL-CIO unions also are staging demonstrations and actions designed to draw attention to the absence of environmental, safety and worker protections in the fast-track NAFTA deal.

Working families want Congress to know is that it's their job to protect the interests of workers and consumers in America's trade deals--by reviewing and amending them as needed, not just vote them up or down.

BUSINESSES RAISING BIG BUCKS

Since Congress rushed into the fast-track NAFTA deal three and a half years ago, so many corporations chased lower wages to Mexico that America has lost about 420,000 jobs. Now, big businesses are after more NAFTA deals--and they're raising big money to pressure Congress into going along.

Leading the charge is the Business Roundtable, a well-financed corporate lobby group that played a key role in the passage of NAFTA. Boeing, Procter & Gamble, GM, Chrysler and other Roundtable members issuing an urgent fundraising plea--saying that millions of dollars are needed for direct lobbying and advertising to "demonstrate the

importance of fast-track to our nation's economic future." Their plan is to push a bill through Congress as fast as possible, rather than have a national debate on the impact of fast-track trade. One look at the fast-track record, and it's easy to see why. The speedy NAFTA deal was a windfall for big businesses, but workers and consumers were left in the dust.

AMERICA SAYS NO TO FAST TRACK

According to a recent poll by NBC/Wall Street Journal, Americans overwhelmingly disapprove of giving the President "fast-track" authority to negotiate more trade agreements. The survey conducted this summer found that fully 61 percent of Americans opposed fast-track trade negotiations, compared to only 32 percent in favor of them. Respondents also were more likely to say NAFTA has had a negative impact on the United States than a positive one.

Americans favor trade deals that are fair and balanced and benefit everyone involved. They believe Congress should provide input in trade deals and protect the interests of workers and consumers, not just businesses.

The Stop Fast Track Action Site is part of the AFL-CIO's National Issues Mobilization Program. To find out more, [click here](#).

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Why the fast track is the wrong track



Send a "not so fast" message today



Download flyers from our online toolkit



A news bulletin for fair trade activists



Sign up here and we'll keep you posted



America can't afford any more NAFTAs

To find out more about fast-track NAFTA deals and how to stop them, check out the following sites:

- ☐ [International Association of Machinists](#)
- ☐ [International Brotherhood of Teamsters](#)
- ☐ [UNITE](#)
- ☐ [United Steelworkers of America's Rapid Response](#)
- ☐ [United Auto Workers](#)
- ☐ [Economic Policy Institute](#)
- ☐ [Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch](#)

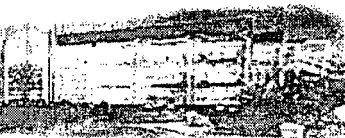
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August 8, 1997

Just Say NO' to Fast Track Ploy

Here we go again!

With budget deliberations out of the way, Congress faces a well-orchestrated White House campaign seeking expanded trade negotiating powers for President Clinton. We're looking at a replay of the so-called "fast track" legislative battles that gave birth to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In essence, "fast track" proponents ask Congress to give up its authority to oversee trade agreements and give the President a free hand in negotiating such agreements.

With "fast track," Congress can only vote to approve or disapprove those agreements after the fact. It cannot amend or change the trade agreement in any fashion. The issue is likely to come before Congress shortly after it returns from the August recess. The Clinton Administration hints that it doesn't want an extended squabble on its "fast track" proposal because it's such a divisive issue among Democrats. At the same time, workers and their unions will also be fighting congressional votes on the Team Act, "comp time" and other anti worker proposals.

Too, the Business Roundtable and other puppet masters in the corporate sector will be pulling the strings to push this nasty proposal to an early vote. They're pledging a \$3 million war chest for their pro-fast track effort and already have begun a media campaign.

"This fight is winnable," declares IP Tom Buffenbarger. "We learned important lessons from the NAFTA fight and the public now understands why we were fighting." The AFL-CIO selected several key congressional districts for special attention and is planning a coordinated effort to block this fast track bid. "This will be the biggest AFL-CIO issue fight in 1997, and it will be peaking on Labor Day... This is a fight we cannot afford to lose," an AFL-CIO official warns. You can help by corraling your congressional representatives while they're visiting their home districts. Urge them to just say "no" to this "fast track" proposal.

-
- ☐ Enter your 5-digit or 9-digit zip code below to find your Representative and Senators and send them an email or fax regarding this issue:

Zip: -

IAM Backs Strikers in UPS Battle

Striking Teamsters at UPS drew a pledge of support from IP Tom Buffenbarger, who asked IAM members to "render all possible assistance and support to our IBT brothers and sisters in this dispute." In a letter to IAM locals with members at UPS, Buffenbarger urged that the fullest measure of support be given to the strikers to the "extent permitted by your contract and the law."

Management's demand to increase the number of part-time workers is a key issue in the dispute. That demand mirrors a disturbing trend away from permanent full-time employment throughout Corporate America. It's a seedy ploy to boost already bloated profits and continue the steady erosion of good, well-paying career jobs.

"Part-time and temp work is the fastest-growing sector of the great American jobs machine and the underside of today's boom. Manpower, a temp service, is today the nation's number one employer. As implied lifetime commitments by companies to workers continue to evaporate, this trend is accelerating," economist Robert Kuttner wrote in a recent Washington Post article. "It's a frank management strategy to cut costs by degrading work."

Workplace Injuries Top Costs of Major Diseases

A high-profile report shows on-the-job deaths and injuries are far more common than previously believed and cost U.S. society more than Alzheimer's disease or AIDS, and at least as much as cancer and heart disease.

This month's Archives of Internal Medicine released what researchers called the most complete single-year study of occupational deaths, injuries and disease ever conducted in the U.S. In 1992, the study found, on-the-job accidents killed 6,500 American workers and injured 13.2 million more. That translates into a daily toll of 18 deaths and 36,000 injuries. Earlier government estimates placed the number at 17 deaths and 9,000 injuries a day.

The study found job-related illnesses (including lung disease and chemical poisonings) killed 60,300 workers and sickened 862,200 more in 1992. That translates into 165 deaths a day and 2,300 new daily cases of occupational disease, compared to previous estimates of 137 deaths and 1,095 new cases of job-related disease per-day.

The total cost of job-related deaths, injuries and illnesses (including medical care and lost pay) was a whopping \$171 billion in 1992, the researchers found. That compares to total costs of \$30 billion for AIDS; \$67.3 billion for heart and circulatory system diseases, and \$170.7 billion for cancer that same year.



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U.S. News



GEPHARDT'S TRADE MISSION

Back home in Missouri, the Democratic leader has learned that even constituents who don't like him like his tough stand on trade

BY PAUL GLASTRIS

Jerry Lammert was cordial enough when his congressman, Richard Gephardt, showed up at his front door two Saturdays ago. The two men chatted for a couple of minutes before Gephardt--out knocking on doors in his district--moved on up the street, past lawns of zoysia grass thick and flat as putting greens. The liberal House minority leader, however, is not exactly Jerry Lammert's kind of guy.



KEVIN HORAN FOR USN&WR

Lammert is a burly, 56-year-old commercial real-estate broker and amateur gun collector who hasn't voted for a Democrat for president in two decades. When the congressman was gone, Lammert began complaining: about Gephardt's backing of gun control measures, about his ardent support of organized labor, and about the way he "plays on the fears of seniors" by hyping threats to Medicare.

And yet every two years, Lammert pulls the lever for Gephardt as reliably as retired shortstop Ozzie Smith used to scoop up grounders for the St. Louis Cardinals. The main reason, says Lammert, is trade. Gephardt opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and is sharply critical of White House plans to extend free trade to South America. So is Lammert. "I can see jobs going out of the country with the blessings of the government," he complains. "They say it isn't going to happen, and then it does happen."

Lammert's distrust of free trade--and corollary support for Gephardt--illustrate an underappreciated fact of American politics: Labor unionists aren't the only ones suspicious of free trade. A substantial majority of the American public--the same public that snaps up imported cars and foreign-made clothes--says it is uncomfortable with the process that brings them these goods. This majority, which shows up consistently in opinion polls, includes many of the moderate, suburban swing voters who make or break presidential elections.



Last Wednesday, President Clinton reopened the trade debate when he formally asked Congress for "fast track" authority to negotiate new trade agreements with countries such as Chile and Argentina. "Fast track" is essentially a pledge by Congress to vote up or down, without amendment, on whatever treaties or trade agreements the administration negotiates. With

his request, the president may have kicked off the campaign to succeed him in 2000. Most observers foresee a Democratic primary battle between Gephardt, the leading critic of free trade in Congress, and Vice President Al Gore, the presumptive nominee. Gore and Clinton believe that despite strong union opposition to unfettered free trade, the issue will not prove decisive with voters--at least not as long as the economy stays strong.

Problems with NAFTA. Last Friday, Gephardt staged an event in Mexico to dramatize his view of the costs of unregulated trade. Standing by the Rio Bravo Industrial Park in Ciudad Juárez, which houses plants operated by Ford, General Electric, and Johnson & Johnson, Gephardt said weak NAFTA side agreements on labor and the environment have led to exploitation of Mexican workers, decreased wages in the United States, and increased pollution on both sides of the border. "What we've done is what I call free trade on the cheap," he says. "We haven't put in place any of the structures that would allow commerce to be successful."

Gephardt promises to support fast track, but only if he's assured that the next round of agreements will be tougher than NAFTA. Specifically, he wants the new agreements to mandate that other countries must enforce at least their own labor and environmental laws or face economic sanctions from the United States. The White House is now weighing how far it can go to meet Gephardt's demands and still muster enough votes among congressional Republicans to pass fast track.

Critics charge that Gephardt's demands are designed not to improve the negotiations but to blow them up. Gephardt counters that free-trade advocates are willing to demand that other countries enforce intellectual property laws that protect U.S. entertainment companies from video piracy. Why not, he asks, demand that countries enforce labor and environmental laws that protect the jobs and wages of American workers?

The American public that listens to these arguments has a long record of schizophrenia in its views of trade. Voters like the low prices and wide selections that open trade brings, but they feel that other countries have gotten the better of trade deals. In each of the past three presidential races, candidates with widely differing ideologies and followers (Gephardt in '88, Ross Perot in '92, Pat Buchanan in '96) made serious political headway by



KEVIN HORAN FOR USNEWS

attacking the near universal consensus among academics, politicians, and the media in favor of free trade. Because each of these candidates ultimately lost, the conventional political wisdom has held that union members are about the only committed foes of wide-open trade.

Poll results suggest that the reality is different. A recent nationwide NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll, for example, found that 61 percent of adults oppose granting President Clinton fast-track authority to pursue further free-trade agreements. The great majority of Americans, says Republican pollster Ed Goeas, are "economic nationalists" who are "not willing to trade away American jobs for some future benefit promised by some pie-in-the-sky economic theory." This pattern prevails among white-collar professionals as well as blue-collar union members, a fact on display in Gephardt's district. "To be perfectly honest, I don't like labor unions," admits Jerry Lammert after Gephardt's visit, "but I think they're right on this one."

Perot country. St. Louis is a union town, and so is Gephardt's voting district. Missouri's Third District is nonetheless something of a swing district. Although Clinton won pluralities in the district in 1992 and 1996, Ross Perot did considerably better here than in the country as a whole. The district begins a couple of miles south of the Gateway Arch, in the white-ethnic, brick-bungalow neighborhoods of South St. Louis where Gephardt was born and where he once served as alderman. It runs south along the Mississippi River, through a belt of suburbs where most of his constituents live. These are mostly blue-collar suburbs, the kind where the homes have carports instead of garages and the strip malls have pawn shops instead of Starbucks. Most people who reside here disapprove of the congressman's socially liberal positions, such as his vote against last year's welfare reform bill. Yet support for his position against free trade actually runs slightly higher in suburban Jefferson County (70 percent) than in urban South St. Louis (68 percent).

None of this surprises local Republicans, who for more than 20 years have tried and failed to unseat Gephardt. "The trade issue appeals to Gephardt's own natural voters and to the undecideds," laments a local Republican operative, "because it makes him look tough."

One firm whose employees might be expected to support free trade, but don't, is Essex Cryogenics, located in the St. Louis suburb of Affton. Essex manufactures liquid oxygen tanks for America's export-dependent defense industry. Workers at the plant are nonunion, and proudly so. And yet few believe that unregulated global trade is in the firm's best interest, or their own. "I don't like American jobs going down to Mexico," says assembler Jan Griffin, 56. "I don't see how we can compete with countries that don't have environmental and safety regulations like we do," adds welder Spencer Storey, 38.

Middle managers at Essex also worry about foreign competition, though for different reasons. Quality assurance chief Jack Sheehan explains that specialized subcontractors like Essex used to be sheltered by the clubby nature of the defense industry, which has historically favored domestic suppliers. But that's begun to change under the rigors of Vice President Al Gore's "reinventing government" efforts. Now, for example, the Pentagon is forcing Essex to use a low-cost, Mexican-manufactured pressure gauge on certain of its oxygen tanks. The gauge, asserts Sheehan, is of dubious quality; it's an accident waiting to happen. "And when it does," he adds, "we'll be the fall guys." Given a choice between Gore and Gephardt,

Sheehan says he would vote for Gephardt.

Some of Gephardt's constituents, of course, disagree vehemently with his views on the need to control trade. "The more we try to regulate how foreign countries operate, the harder it will be to get any trade going with them," complains Frank Forst, president and co-owner of Sinclair & Rush, a Jefferson County manufacturer of plastic parts for industry. Since NAFTA, the company's exports to Mexico have risen from \$50,000 to \$500,000 a year. Overall, Missouri's exports to other countries rose 56 percent between 1992 and 1996, and exports to Mexico jumped 106 percent from 1993 (pre-NAFTA) to 1996.

Debates over the economic impact of free-trade agreements will continue. Meanwhile, this political fact remains: Five years into an export-led economic recovery, the majority of Americans remain suspicious of free trade. The depth of that suspicion will help determine the future of Al Gore--and Dick Gephardt.

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