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Election 2010

The Best Defense Was a Good Fair Trade Offense

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Introduction

House Democrats that ran on fair trade platforms in competitive and open-seat races were three times as likely to survive the GOP tidal wave as Democrats who ran against fair trade. The GOP tsunami obliterated many candidate-specific features of the midterm contests, but trade, job offshoring and/or government purchases of foreign-made goods were a stunningly persistent national focus of midterm election campaigns, with 205 candidates campaigning on these issues. A record number of 75 Republicans adopted some fair trade messaging as well, 44 of whom won their races. More than sixty races became "fair trade offs," where both the Democrat and Republican ran on fair trade themes.

Only 37 candidates campaigned in favor of more North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)-style trade agreements - about half of these candidates lost. Seven of the only eight Democrats to run in favor of status quo trade policies lost their elections, as did four of the antifair trade New Democrat Trade Task Force members with competitive races. Meanwhile, major proponents of this agenda either ran from their record or lost their elections, as described below. While anti-fair trade Democrats fared particularly poorly in the election, the cosponsors of the TRADE Act kept their losses low, and many of the leaders from the pro-fair trade House Trade Working Group campaigned on trade and won their re-election races. Several fair trade candidates also posted impressively close results in districts where the partisan leanings went strongly against them, such as the 47-51 percent losses for Virginia's Tom Perriello or Mississippi's Gene Taylor. (Notably, both of their GOP opponents also ran on fair trade, with Perriello's opponent Robert Hurt saying he would vote against the Korea FTA, and Taylor's opponent Steven Palazzo criticizing China trade policies.²)

The national salience of criticizing the trade status quo was emphasized by the use of this theme in a stunning 220-plus paid fair-trade television ads in this cycle, compared to 25 such ads in 2006 and 138 in 2008. This followed on polling that showed that, on a bipartisan basis, Americans think "free trade agreements" (FTAs) have caused more harm than good and have identified job offshoring as the number one cause of U.S. economic woes.

Our analysis also finds that historic numbers of Republicans – including 33 of the 63 that successfully claimed Democratic-held House seats – ran against the phenomenon of jobs and tax dollars being offshored through stimulus spending. And a surprising number of incoming freshmen Republicans – including those from Alabama, Georgia, New York and Virginia – committed to do something about these problems through reform of our trade policies.

Among other findings of our research:

Many incoming freshmen Democrats and Republicans replace supporters of status quo trade policies.

• In Kentucky, Republican Senate candidate Rand Paul (whose campaign website criticized U.S. membership in the World Trade Organization as a subversion of sovereignty) replaces retiring Republican Jim Bunning, a reliable vote for unfair trade on the Senate Finance Committee.

- In Louisiana, Democrat Cedric Richmond criticized unfair trade deals in a paid television ad, and defeated House Republican Anh Cao, who had supported the Bush-initiated Trans-Pacific FTA.
- In Delaware, Democrat John Carney replaces retiring nine-term unfair trader Rep. Mike Castle (R). Carney pledged to push for trade policies that will reduce offshoring.
- In the House race for Staten Island, Republican Michael Grimm (who pledged to renegotiate existing trade agreements) defeated Democrat Michael McMahon, who had signed onto various unfair trade initiatives before inexplicably signing onto the TRADE Act a major fair trade initiative weeks before the election. McMahon's campaign did not highlight fair trade issues.
- Marlin Stutzman, the successful Republican candidate in Indiana's Third District, told *The New York Times* that "the economy, not foreign policy, had dominated the conversations he has had with voters during the campaign. To the extent he has thought about foreign policy, he said, it has largely been about trade. 'We are looking out for American jobs first,' he said. 'We have to be creative in finding ways to make sure that American jobs are here.'"³ Stutzman replaces retired Republican Mark Souder, who had been a reliable vote for Bush administration unfair trade initiatives.
- Finally, Republican Mo Brooks in Alabama defeated Democrat-turned-Republican Rep. Parker Griffith in the Republican primary. Brooks' campaign said the government should "insist on fair trade policies" with China.

Democrats with a record of supporting unfair trade have battlefield conversions. Sen. Patty Murray (Wash.) has voted against the fair trade positions on all 13 trade votes going back to her 1993 support for NAFTA. However, in 2010, Murray won the record for highest number of fair trade television ads of any congressional race (seven). Murray went on to defeat her opponent with her newly acquired fair trade message.

Broad resonance of fair trade themes, including outside the Rust Belt. The Murray race shows that fair trade is playing far outside the Rust Belt, reinforcing the 2008 finding when Sen. Jeff Merkley (D-Ore.) won in a campaign highlighting fair trade. This is also in evidence in places like Hawaii, where Colleen Hanabusa (who ran ads against offshoring) handily defeated House Republican Charles Djou (who ran this year's only paid ad *in favor* of the Korea trade deal). Rep. Martin Heinrich (D-N.M.) also ran three paid ads on unfair trade deals and offshoring.

Thinning ranks and schizophrenia in key Democratic unfair trade group. The New Democrat Trade Task Force is the key group within the House Democratic Caucus pushing unfair trade policies. Four lost their re-election bids: Reps. Suzanne Kosmas (Fla.), Harry Mitchell (Ariz.), Melissa Bean (Ill.), and Bob Etheridge (N.C.); and two retired: Artur Davis (Ala.), who lost his primary for the gubernatorial bid, and Vic Snyder (Ark.). Ironically, Kosmas and Etheridge – along with fellow task members Ron Kind (Wisc.) and Rick Larsen (Wash.) – ran paid ads attacking job offshoring. Adam Smith (Wash.), also of the task force, did not focus on his advocacy of unfair trade, but instead on his work on trade adjustment assistance. Some voters were not convinced by these battlefield conversions: Etheridge's successful GOP opponent Renee Elmers attacked his vote for permanent normal trade relations with China, while Kosmas' GOP opponent Sandy Adams criticized the flow of stimulus dollars overseas.

Unfair trade a losing campaign theme. Moreover, seven of the only eight Democratic House candidates that ran on unfair trade lost. This includes incumbents like Walt Minnick (Idaho) and Ike Skelton (Mo.), as well as open-seat candidates like Chad Causey (Ark.) and Joe Garcia (Fla.). Other Democratic supporters of status-quo trade policies will not be returning to the next Congress. Some were fired, including Reps. Solomon Ortiz (Texas), Baron Hill (Ind.) and Bobby Bright (Ala.), who was a key Democratic supporter of Bush's Korea trade deal. Others retired, including Snyder, Dennis Moore (Kan.) and John Tanner (Tenn.), the current chair of the House Ways & Means Trade Subcommittee.

Republicans run from their record: In 2005, Rob Portman was the Bush administration's U.S. Trade Representative who won approval for the controversial CAFTA. And in 2008, Portman served as an advisor to Sen. John McCain's presidential campaign, telling Fox News that support for NAFTA is not something one needs to run away from when campaigning in Ohio. But his successful 2010 Ohio Senate race did not heed his own advice. The Portman campaign's detailed jobs plan had no mention of unfair trade deals or Portman's key role in pushing them. Indeed, the booklet instead emphasized steps that Portman took to crack down on China's unfair trade practices.

In several high-profile races, Democrats' timidity and record kept them from adequately capitalizing on their GOP opponents' unfair trade record. The clearest example of this is the Ohio Senate race, where Lee Fisher (a Democratic state official with a record of trade promotion activities) was unable to convincingly cast himself as an alternative to the CAFTA-promoting Portman. The Missouri Senate race was another instance of this phenomenon. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.) ran the House whip operation that helped pass CAFTA. But his successful 2010 Senate race attacked his Democratic opponent, Robin Carnahan, for her history of promoting trade during the Clinton administration in her role as an official at the Export-Import Bank.⁶ Finally, Democrat Dan Seals, who had served as a trade official in the Clinton administration Commerce Department, ran his third consecutive attempt to take the Ill.-10 House seat. For the third time, his campaign did not vigorously highlight unfair trade practices or job offshoring, and he lost a third time, in one of the only House races that political pundits thought stood a chance of flipping from GOP to Democratic control.

The rest of the report is structured as follows. The first section offers easy-to-use tables that provide race-by-race data on the candidates in monitored House and Senate races, including the importance of trade in the races. The second section reviews recent polling data and the crucial policy decisions President Obama now faces on trade. It asks whether Obama will note the bipartisan voter ire about the trade status quo and the election's reaffirmed mandate for the trade policy changes he promised in 2008. Alternatively, he can reject this mandate, and risk his own reelection prospects by pushing three leftover Bush NAFTA-style trade pacts and using the same Clinton-Bush model for a Pacific Rim trade deal. The third section explains the methodology behind our key finding that fair trade candidates did better than non-fair trade candidates, taking into account key variables such as the partisan leaning of the district. Finally, the appendix is a longer form qualitative analysis of the fair trade themes from the 182 races.

Section I: Results of Analysis of House and Senate Races

Candidates in open-seat and competitive races that campaigned on fair trade were as much as three times more likely than those that campaigned against fair trade to win their election.

The unfair trade penalty holds regardless of chamber or party. Our summary findings in Table 1 show the number of candidates in open-seat and competitive races in each party in each chamber that campaigned for fair trade, campaigned against fair trade, and did not take a position on fair trade. It also presents the percentage of each category that won their elections.

As the table shows, there were 110 House Democratic candidates that campaigned on fair trade. Forty-six percent of House Democratic candidates that campaigned on fair trade won, as opposed to 13 percent for House Democratic candidates that campaigned against fair trade. This means that House Democratic candidates that campaigned on fair trade were three times more likely than those that campaigned against fair trade to win their elections.

Thirty-five percent of Senate Democrats that campaigned on fair trade won, as opposed to none that campaigned against fair trade or took no position.

The unfair trade penalty was also present for the GOP: 80 percent of fair trade oriented Senate Republican candidates won their campaigns, while only 67 percent of anti-fair trade candidates did. While the penalty is weaker for House Republicans (57 versus 53 percent), it is notable that more Republican candidates (70) campaigned on fair trade than those that campaigned against it (19). Fifty-seven percent of 70 amounts to 40 candidates, or just one seat greater than the number of seats that House Republicans needed to flip in order to gain control of that chamber. (Note that these are not necessarily the same 39 candidates, since some of the 70 represent seats already in GOP hands, but the number gives a sense of the magnitude involved.) Fifty-three percent of 19, by contrast, is only 10 seats.

| Table 1: Breakdown of Win-Loss Ratios by Party and Trade Position | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|--|---|---|--|--|
| Party / Chamber | Races Monitored | Campaigned on fair trade (number who won/number of fair traders) | Unfair trader (number who won/number of unfair traders) | Did not have a position (number who won/number no position) | | |
| House Dems | 159 | 51/110 = 46% | 1/8 = 13% | 11/41 = 27% | | |
| House GOP | 159 | 40/70 = 57% | 10/19 = 53% | 46/70 = 66% | | |
| Senate Dems | 23 | 7/20 = 35% | 0/1 = 0% | 0/2 = 0% | | |
| Senate GOP | 23 | 4/5 = 80% | 6/9 = 67% | 6/9 = 67% | | |

The following tables offer a race-by-race analysis of the House and Senate returns. We indicate whether the race was an open-seat race vacated by a retiring member (a "1" in that column means it was). All candidates were rated as being for or against fair trade, or whether they took no position. (Please consult our methodology section below for more details on how the campaign discourse was analyzed.)

| | 7 | Гable 2: Н | ouse Candidat | e Trade Positions a | nd Race (| Outco | mes | |
|-------|----------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| State | District | Currently Held By | Dem Candidate | GOP Candidate | Open Seat? | GOP win? | Dem on fair trade | GOP on fair trade |
| AL | 2 | D | Bobby Bright | Martha Roby | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| AL | 5 | R | Steve Raby | Mo Brooks | 1 | 1 | No Pos. | For |
| AL | 7 | D | Terri Sewell | Don Chamberlain | 1 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| AR | 1 | D | Chad Causey | Rick Crawford | 1 | 1 | Against | No Pos. |
| AR | 2 | D | Joyce Elliot | Tim Griffin | 1 | 1 | For | Against |
| AR | 3 | R | David Whitaker | Steve Womack | 1 | 1 | For | For |
| AR | 4 | D | Mike Ross | Beth Ann Rankin | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| AZ | 1 | D | Ann Kirkpatrick | Paul Gosar | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| AZ | 3 | R | Jon Hulburd | Ben Quayle | 1 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| AZ | 5 | D | Harry Mitchell | David Schweikert | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| AZ | 7 | D | Raul Grijalva | Ruth McClung | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| AZ | 8 | D | Gabrielle Giffords | Jesse Kelly | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| CA | 3 | R | Ami Bera | Dan Lungren | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| CA | 11 | D | Jerry McNerney | David Harmer | 0 | 0 | For | Against |
| CA | 18 | D | Dennis Cardoza | Mike Berryhill | 0 | 0 | No Pos. | For |
| CA | 19 | R | Loraine Goodwin | Jeff Denham | 1 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| CA | 20 | D | Jim Costa | Andy Vidak | 0 | 0 | No Pos. | For |
| CA | 33 | D | Karen Bass | James Andion | 1 | 0 | No Pos. | For |
| CA | 45 | R | Steve Pougnet | Mary Bono | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| CA | 47 | D | Loretta Sanchez | Van Tran | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| CO | 3 | D | John Salazar | Scott Tipton | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| CO | 4 | D | Betsy Markey | Cory Cardner | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | Against |
| CO | 7 | D | Ed Perlmutter | Ryan Frazier | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| CT | 4 | D | Jim Himes | Dan Debicella | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| CT | 5 | D | Chris Murphy | Sam Caliguri | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| DE | 0 | R | John Carney | Michelle Rollins | 1 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| FL | 2 | D | Allen Boyd | Steve Southerland | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | For |
| FL | 5 | R | Jim Piccillo | Richard Nugent | 1 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| FL | 8 | D | Alan Grayson | Daniel Webster | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| FL | 12 | R | Lori Edwards | Dennis Ross | 1 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| FL | 17 | D | Frederica Wilson | | | 0 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| FL | 21 | R | Raul Martinez | | | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| FL | 22 | D | Ron Klein | Allen West | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | For |
| FL | 24 | D | Suzanne Kosmas | Sandy Adams | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| FL | 25 | R | Joe Garcia | David Rivera | 1 | 1 | Against | Against |
| GA | 2 | D | Sanford Bishop | Mike Keown | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |

| GA | 7 | R | Doug Heckman | Rob Woodall | 1 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
|----|----|---|----------------------|------------------------------|---|---|---------|---------|
| GA | 8 | D | Jim Marshall | Austin Scott | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | For |
| GA | 12 | D | John Barrow | Barrow Ray McKinney | | 0 | For | For |
| | | | Colleen | | | | | |
| HI | 1 | R | Hanabusa | Charles Djou | 0 | 0 | For | Against |
| IA | 1 | D | Bruce Braley | Ben Lange | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| IA | 2 | D | Dave Loebsack | Mariannette Miller- Meeks | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| IA | 3 | D | Leonard Boswell | Brad Zaun | 0 | 0 | For | Against |
| ID | 1 | D | Walt Minnick | Raul Labrador | 0 | 1 | Against | No Pos. |
| IL | 8 | D | Melissa Bean | Joe Walsh | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | For |
| IL | 10 | R | Dan Seals | Bob Dold | 1 | 1 | No Pos. | Against |
| | | | Debbie | | | | | |
| IL | 11 | D | Halvorson | Adam Kinzinger | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| IL | 14 | D | Bill Foster | Randy Hultgren | 0 | 1 | For | Against |
| IL | 17 | D | Phil Hare | Bobby Schilling | 0 | 1 | For | Against |
| IN | 2 | D | Joe Donnelly | Jackie Walorski | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| IN | 3 | R | Tom Hayhurst | Marlin Stutzman | 1 | 1 | For | For |
| IN | 4 | R | David Sanders | Todd Rokita | 1 | 1 | No Pos. | Against |
| IN | 8 | D | Trent Van Haaften | Larry Buschon | 1 | 1 | For | For |
| IN | 9 | D | Baron Hill | Todd Young | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| KS | 1 | R | Alan Jilka | Tim Huelskamp | 1 | 1 | Against | No Pos. |
| KS | 3 | D | Stephene Moore | Kevin Yoder | 1 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| KS | 4 | R | Raj Goyle | Mike Pompeo | 1 | 1 | For | Against |
| KY | 3 | D | John Yarmuth | Todd Lally | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| KY | 6 | D | Ben Chandler | Andy Barr | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| LA | 2 | R | Cedric Richmond | Anh Cao | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| LA | 3 | D | Ravi Sangisetty | Jeff Landry | 1 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| MA | 4 | D | Barney Frank | Sean Bielat | 0 | 0 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| MA | 5 | D | Niki Tsongas | Jon Golnik | 0 | 0 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| MA | 6 | D | John Tierney | Bill Hudak | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| MA | 10 | D | Bill Keating | Jeff Perry | 1 | 0 | For | For |
| MD | 1 | D | Frank Kratovil | Andy Harris | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| ME | 1 | D | Chellie Pingree | Dean Scontras | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| ME | 2 | D | Mike Michaud | Jason Levesque | 0 | 0 | For | Against |
| MI | 1 | D | Gary McDowell | Dan Benishek | 1 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| MI | 2 | R | Fred Johnson | Bill Huizenga | 1 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| MI | 3 | R | Patrick Miles | Justin Amash | 1 | 1 | For | For |
| MI | 7 | D | Mark Schauer | Tim Walberg | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| MI | 9 | D | Gary Peters | Rocky Raczkowski | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| MI | 13 | D | Hansen Clarke | John Hauler | 1 | 0 | For | For |
| MN | | D | Tim Walz | Randy Demmer | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| MN | 6 | R | Tarryl Clark | Michele Bachmann | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| MN | 8 | D | Jim Oberstar | | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| | 3 | D | | Chip Cravaack | | 0 | | |
| MO | 1 | 1 | Russ Carnahan | Ed Martin | 0 | | For | For |
| MO | 4 | D | Ike Skelton | Vicky Hartzler | 0 | 1 | Against | For |
| MO | 7 | R | Scott Eckersley | Billy Long | 1 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| MS | 1 | D | Travis Childers | Alan Nunnelee | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| MS | 4 | D | Gene Taylor | Steven Palazzo | 0 | 1 | For | For |

| NC | 2 | D | Bob Etheridge | Renee Ellmers | 0 | 1 | For | For |
|----|----|---|---------------------|--------------------------|---|---|---------|---------|
| NC | 4 | D | David Price | William Lawson | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| NC | 7 | D | Mike McIntyre | Ilario Pantano | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| NC | 8 | D | Larry Kissell | Harold Johnson | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| NC | 11 | D | Heath Shuler | Jeff Miller | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| ND | 0 | D | Earl Pomeroy | Rick Berg | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| NE | 2 | R | Tom White | Lee Terry | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| | | | Carol Shea- | | | | | |
| NH | 1 | D | Porter | Frank Guinta | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| NH | 2 | D | Ann Kuster | Charlie Bass | 1 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| NJ | 3 | D | John Adler | Jon Runyan | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| NJ | 6 | D | Frank Pallone | Anna Little | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| NJ | 12 | D | Rush Holt | Scott Siprelle | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| NM | 1 | D | Martin Heinrich | Jon Barela | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| NM | 2 | D | Harry Teague | Steve Pearce | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| NM | 3 | D | Ben Ray Luján | Tom Mullins | 0 | 0 | No Pos. | Against |
| NV | 3 | D | Dina Titus | Joe Heck | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| NY | 1 | D | Tim Bishop | Randy Altschuler | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| NY | 4 | D | Carolyn McCarthy | Fran Becker | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| NY | 13 | D | Mike McMahon | Michael Grimm | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | For |
| NY | 19 | D | John Hall | Nan Hayworth | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| NY | 20 | D | Scott Murphy | Chris Gibson | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| NY | 22 | D | Maurice Hinchey | George Phillips | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| NY | 23 | D | Bill Owens | Matt Doheny | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| NY | 24 | D | Mike Arcuri | Richard Hanna | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| NY | 25 | D | Dan Maffei | Ann Marie Buerkle | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| NY | 29 | D | Matt Zeller | Tom Reed | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| OH | 1 | D | Steve Driehaus | Steve Chabot | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| OH | 6 | D | Charlie Wilson | Bill Johnson | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| OH | 10 | D | Dennis Kucinich | Peter Corrigan | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| OH | 12 | R | Paula Brooks | Pat Tiberi | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| OH | 13 | D | Betty Sutton | Tom Ganley | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| OH | 15 | D | Mary Jo Kilroy | Steve Stivers | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| ОН | 16 | D | John Boccieri | Jim Renacci | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| ОН | 18 | D | Zack Space | Bob Gibbs | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| OK | 5 | R | Billy Coyle | James Lankford | 1 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| OR | 1 | D | David Wu | Rob Cornilles | 0 | 0 | For | Against |
| OR | 4 | D | Peter DeFazio | Art Robinson | 0 | 0 | No Pos. | For |
| OR | 5 | D | Kurt Schrader | Scott Bruun | 0 | 0 | No Pos. | Against |
| | | | Kathy | | | - | | 8 |
| PA | 3 | D | Dahlkemper | Mike Kelly | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| PA | 4 | D | Jason Altmire | Keith Rothfus | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| PA | 6 | R | Manan Trivedi | Jim Gerlach | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| PA | 7 | D | Bryan Lentz | Patrick Meehan | 1 | 1 | For | For |
| PA | 8 | D | Patrick Murphy | Mike Fitzpatrick 0 1 For | | | For | |
| PA | 10 | D | Chris Carney | Tom Marino | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| PA | 11 | D | Paul Kanjorski | Lou Barletta | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| PA | 12 | D | Mark Critz | Tim Burns | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| PA | 15 | R | John Callahan | Chris Dent | 0 | 1 | For | Against |

| PA | 17 | D | Tim Holden | Dave Argall | 0 | 0 | For | For |
|----|----|---|----------------------|------------------------|---|---|---------|---------|
| RI | 1 | D | David Cicilline | John Loughlin | 1 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| SC | 1 | R | Ben Frasier | Tim Scott | 1 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| SC | 3 | R | Jane Dyer | Jeff Duncan | 1 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| SC | 4 | R | Paul Corden | Trey Gowdy | 1 | 1 | No Pos. | For |
| SC | 5 | D | John Spratt | Mick Mulvaney | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| SD | 0 | D | Stephanie Herseth | Kristi Noem | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| TN | 3 | R | John Wolfe | Charles Fleischmann | 1 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| TN | 4 | D | Lincoln Davis | Scott DesJarlais | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| TN | 5 | D | Jim Cooper | David Hall | 0 | 0 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| TN | 6 | D | Brett Carter | Diane Black | 1 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| TN | 8 | D | Roy Herron | Stephen Fincher | 1 | 1 | For | For |
| TX | 17 | D | Chet Edwards | Bill Flores | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | For |
| TX | 23 | D | Ciro Rodriquez | Quico Canseco | 0 | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| TX | 25 | D | Lloyd Doggett | Donna Campbell | 0 | 0 | No Pos. | No Pos. |
| TX | 27 | D | Solomon Ortiz | Blake Farenthold | 0 | 1 | Against | No Pos. |
| UT | 2 | D | Jim Matheson | Morgan Philpot | 0 | 0 | Against | Against |
| VA | 2 | D | Glenn Nye | Scott Rigell | 0 | 1 | Against | Against |
| VA | 5 | D | Tom Perriello | Robert Hurt | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| VA | 9 | D | Rick Boucher | Morgan Griffith | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| VA | 11 | D | Gerry Connolly | Keith Fimian | 0 | 0 | For | Against |
| WA | 2 | D | Rick Larsen | John Koster | 0 | 0 | For | For |
| WA | 3 | D | Denny Heck | Jaime Herrera | 1 | 1 | For | For |
| WA | 8 | R | Suzan DelBene | Dave Reichert | 0 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| WA | 9 | D | Adam Smith | Dick Muri | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| WI | 3 | D | Ron Kind | Dan Kapanke | 0 | 0 | For | No Pos. |
| WI | 7 | D | Julie Lassa | Sean Duffy | 1 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| WI | 8 | D | Steve Kagen | Reid Ribble | 0 | 1 | For | For |
| WV | 1 | D | Mike Oliverio | David McKinley | 1 | 1 | For | No Pos. |
| WV | 3 | D | Nick Rahall | Elliot (Spike) Maynard | 0 | 0 | For | For |

| Table 3: Senate Candidate Trade Positions and Race Outcomes | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|----------|-------------------------|-------------------|--|
| State | Currently Held By | Dem Candidate | GOP Candidate | GOP win? | Dem on fair trade | GOP on fair trade | |
| AK | R | Scott McAdams | Joe Miller | 1* | For | No Pos. | |
| AR | D | Blanche Lincoln | Jon Boozman | 1 | Against | Against | |
| CA | D | Barbara Boxer | Carly Fiorina | 0 | For | Against | |
| CO | D | Michael Bennet | Ken Buck | 0 | For | No Pos. | |
| СТ | D | Richard Blumenthal | Linda McMahon | 0 | For | Against | |
| DE | D | Chris Coons | Christine O'Donnell | 0 | For | For | |
| FL | R | Kendrick Meek | Marco Rubio | 1 | For | Against | |
| IL | D | Alexi Giannoulias | Mark Kirk | 1 | For | Against | |
| IN | D | Brad Ellsworth | Dan Coats | 1 | For | Against | |
| KS | R | Lisa Johnston | Jerry Moran | 1 | For | Against | |
| KY | R | Jack Conway | Rand Paul | 1 | For | For | |
| LA | R | Charlie Melancon | David Vitter | 1 | For | No Pos. | |
| MO | R | Robin Carnahan | Roy Blunt | 1 | For | Against | |
| NC | R | Elaine Marshall | Richard Burr | 1 | For | No Pos. | |
| ND | D | Tracy Potter | John Hoeven | 1 | No Pos. | No Pos. | |
| NH | R | Paul Hodes | Kelly Ayotte | 1 | For | For | |
| NV | D | Harry Reid | Sharon Angle | 0 | For | No Pos. | |
| OH | R | Lee Fisher | Rob Portman | 1 | For | No Pos. | |
| PA | D | Joe Sestak | Pat Toomey | 1 | For | No Pos. | |
| UT | R | Sam Granato | Mike Lee | 1 | No Pos. | For | |
| WA | D | Patty Murray | Dino Rossi | 0 | For | Against | |
| WI | D | Russ Feingold | Ron Johnson | 1 | For | For | |
| WV | D | Joe Manchin | John Raese | 0 | For | No Pos. | |

^{*} Lisa Murkowski, although a write-in candidate, was a Republican incumbent and was treated as a Republican in this report.

A Fair Trade Advantage Across More and Less Competitive Races

Table 4 below shows the win-loss ratios of House Democratic candidates by fair trade position, and sorted by the competitiveness of their races as determined by the Cook Political Report on October 28, 2010.

| Tab | Table 4: House Democratic Win-Loss Ratios by Competitiveness and Trade Position | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|--|--|---|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Cook Rating Oct. 28 | Races Monitored | Campaigned on fair trade (number who won/number of fair traders) | Unfair trader (number who won/number of unfair traders) | Did not have a position (number who won/number no position) | Percentage Win Across Positions | | | |
| Likely D | 24 | 16/16 = 100% | 6/7 = 86% | 1/1 = 100% | 23/24 = 96% | | | |
| Leaning D | 27 | 19/23 = 83% | 1/3 = 33% | 0/1 = 0% | 20/27 = 74% | | | |
| Toss Up | 50 | 14/39 = 36% | 2/8 = 25% | 0/3 = 0% | 16/50 = 32% | | | |
| Leaning R | 23 | 0/14 = 0% | 0/7 = 0% | 0/2 = 0% | 0/23 = 0% | | | |
| Likely R | 15 | 0/11 = 0% | 0/4 = 0% | N/A | 0/15 = 0% | | | |
| Not Rated | 20 | 2/7 = 29% | 2/12 = 17% | 0/1 = 0% | 4/20 = 20% | | | |
| SUM | | 51/110 = 46% | 11/41 = 27% | 1/8 = 13% | | | | |

There are two things to note. The first is the sheer breadth of candidates that campaigned on trade in every competitiveness category. Second, for every competitiveness category where Democrats won any seats, fair traders were more likely to win than candidates that campaigned against fair trade or that stated no position on fair trade.

A closer look at the data reveals more. First of all, given the GOP tidal wave that hit Democrats, it is to be expected that Democrats took fewer seats in the Toss-Up category than in the Lean and Likely Democratic categories, in both percent and numerical terms. (And they captured none of the Lean or Likely Republican seats in which they were competing.)

But looking at just the 50 Toss-Up seats in play, a fair trade-oriented candidate was more likely to win their race than a candidate that ran against fair trade or took no position. The same goes if we look at only the Leaning or Likely Democratic seats.

Many Blue Dogs and New Democrats Survived with Fair Trade

An equally interesting exercise is to examine the shifts and trends within the Democratic Party's caucus groups most likely to be in a competitive race this year: the Blue Dogs and the New Democrats.

It's a little known fact that, even though both groups have some members that are very vocally against fair trade, half of the 51 Blue Dogs and a third of the 70 New Democrats in the 111th Congress cosponsored the TRADE Act, a bill that envisions a fundamentally fairer way of expanding trade and exports.

Table 5 gives a breakdown for just the incumbent New Democrat and Blue Dog candidates. As can be seen, many more chose to run on fair trade than did not. Indeed, savvy fair traders within

the New Democrat Caucus such as Rep. David Wu (D-Ore.) campaigned and won on opposition to offshoring. Wu went further and called for trade policy that would require that our trading partners observe democratic and human rights norms – positions that helped Wu bridge both blue collar and social liberal voters within his Portland area district and fight back his toughest electoral challenge in years.

| Table 5: House Democratic Win-Loss Ratios by Selected Caucus and Trade Position | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|---|---|---|------------------------------------|--|--|
| Caucus | Incumbents Monitored | Campaigned on fair trade (number who won/number of fair traders) | Unfair trader (number who won/number of unfair traders) | Did not have a position (number who won/number no position) | Percentage Win Across Caucus | | |
| Blue Dogs | 37 | 13/25 = 52% | 1/3 = 33% | 3/9 = 33% | 17/37 = 46% | | |
| New Democrats | 41 | 18/32 = 56% | 0/1 = 0% | 1/8 = 13% | 19/41 = 46% | | |

Indeed, those endangered Blue Dogs and New Democrats that campaigned on fair trade were more likely to survive than those who did not.

Anti-Fair Traders a Negligible Share of Democratic Caucus, While GOP Adopts Democratic Fair Trade Positions

The share of the Democratic Caucus that is against fair trade has shrunk to negligible proportions. For instance, of the 11 anti-fair trade Democrats in the New Democrat Trade Task Force, only 7 will be returning to the new Congress. (This takes their share of the Democratic Caucus from an already low 4.2% to a tiny 3.6%.) Or look at the 23 anti-fair trade Democrats that signed a letter to President Obama in support of Bush's pending trade deals. Only 16 will return, which means their percentage of the Caucus went from 9% to 8%.

But this is only one side of the story. Tea Party voters and candidates are also highly skeptical of unfair trade policy. This year, Republicans were willing to take a page from (what had been until recently) the book of fair trade Democrats and attack job offshoring. So, of the 24 TRADE Act sponsors that went down in defeat last Tuesday, 15 of them faced GOP opponents who *also* campaigned on fair trade, as Table 6 below shows.

| Table 6: Democratic Sponsors of TRADE Act Who Lost Their Re-election Bids | | | | | |
|---|----------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|
| State | District | Co-sponsor of Trade Act | GOP Campaigned on Fair Trade | | |
| FL | 8 | Alan Grayson | | | |
| GA | 8 | Jim Marshall | ✓ | | |
| IL | 14 | Bill Foster | | | |
| IL | 17 | Phil Hare | | | |
| MI | 7 | Mark Schauer | | | |
| MN | 8 | Jim Oberstar | ✓ | | |
| MS | 1 | Travis Childers | | | |
| MS | 4 | Gene Taylor | ✓ | | |
| NH | 1 | Carol Shea- Porter | ✓ | | |
| NY | 13 | Mike McMahon | ✓ | | |
| NY | 19 | John Hall | | | |
| NY | 24 | Mike Arcuri | ✓ | | |
| ОН | 6 | Charlie Wilson | ✓ | | |
| ОН | 15 | Mary Jo Kilroy | ✓ | | |
| ОН | 16 | John Boccieri | | | |
| ОН | 18 | Zack Space | ✓ | | |
| PA | 3 | Kathy Dahlkemper | | | |
| PA | 8 | Patrick Murphy | ✓ | | |
| PA | 10 | Chris Carney | ✓ | | |
| PA | 11 | Paul Kanjorski | | | |
| SC | 5 | John Spratt | ✓ | | |
| VA | 5 | Tom Perriello | ✓ | | |
| VA | 9 | Rick Boucher | ✓ | | |
| WI | 8 | Steve Kagen | ✓ | | |

Candidates of Color Ran and Won on Fair Trade

Though some leveled charges of xenophobia against ads that questioned the unbalanced U.S. economic relationship with China, most of the China-related ads that ran in the 2010 election cycle were not bashing Chinese people – they were bashing unfair trade deals and policies, voted on in Washington, that had the effect of offshoring jobs to other countries. In other words, the reason goods are not made in America is because of policies that were made in America.

Candidates of color (including a number of Indian-Americans and Asian-Americans) in both parties have launched some of the strongest attacks on job offshoring this election cycle.

This includes Rep. David Wu (D-Ore.) in Portland, who bears the distinction not only of being an Asian-American campaigning for fair trade, but also a Democrat showing that you can

campaign and win on fair trade in the Pacific Northwest, where the (incorrect) conventional wisdom is that this message does not play well with voters.

Democrats and Indian-Americans Manan Trivedi in Pennsylvania and Raj Goyle in Kansas also posted credible showings in GOP-leaning districts. Both campaigned extensively on fair trade themes. As an NPR column argued, "The trick for these candidates is to never let voters forget you are running to represent Sacramento, or Wichita – not Bangalore. Raj Goyle does this by campaigning very hard on fighting outsourcing of Kansas jobs. Ami Bera agrees, 'we have to keep those jobs here because we have over 12 percent unemployment." Bera ran against Dan Lungren in California.

In Hawaii, Democratic candidate Colleen Hanabusa criticized job offshoring in paid television ads, and was successful in her effort to unseat GOP incumbent Charles Djou, who ran the campaign's only television ad in favor of the Korea FTA. Both candidates are Asian-American.

Democrat and Congressional Hispanic Caucus member Loretta Sanchez fought back a challenge from Vietnamese-American GOP candidate Van Tran in this heavily Latino-American and Asian-American district. She campaigned against unfair trade with Vietnam, and against other anti-worker trade deals.

In Louisiana, African-American candidate Cedric Richmond beat Vietnamese-American GOP incumbent Anh Cao. Richmond ran paid television ads against unfair trade deals, while Cao attacked unfair trade with Vietnam (even though he had supported the Bush-initiated Trans-Pacific FTA while in office).

In Georgia, Democratic incumbent and African-American Sanford Bishop won re-election in his majority White-American, deep South district, and ran paid television ads attacking NAFTA and China trade policy. (Bishop has had complicated trade policy history – voting for the WTO and China's entry into it, while voting against NAFTA and cosponsoring the fair trade TRADE Act.) Meanwhile, his fellow Democratic incumbent Jim Marshall did not campaign on his fair trade record, and lost to Austin Scott, a Republican that emphasized Buy America themes. (Both Marshall and Scott are white.)

Ryan Frazier, an African-American GOP candidate in Colorado, criticized the fact that the stimulus bill was not used to buy only U.S.-made goods. Allen West, an African-American GOP candidate in Florida, asserted that the cap-and-trade bill would accelerate job offshoring. Their Democratic opponents approached these candidates in different ways: Ed Perlmutter in Colorado ran anti-offshoring ads of his own and won, while Ron Klein in Florida was mum on trade and lost.

And Latino voters in California and Nevada strongly backed Democratic Senate incumbents Barbara Boxer and Harry Reid, who both campaigned against policies that send jobs abroad.

Finally, 75 percent of the Congressional Black Caucus, nearly half of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and Asian-American members like Reps. Mazie Hirono (D-Hawaii) and Judy Chu (D-Calif.) have endorsed the TRADE Act, which simultaneously pushes for good jobs here at home,

while prioritizing stronger environmental justice, workers rights and democratic protections for our trading partners. Not to mention a fellow named Barack Obama, who also campaigned and won on these themes – winning not only communities of color but making serious inroads into the white working class.

In sum, elected officials do not seem to have much difficulty reconciling justice for communities of color at home and abroad with a strong working class message of standing up for job creation in the United States. They know as well as anyone that the quality of manufacturing and other jobs here at home is a major reason that families from Asian-Pacific, African-American and Latino-American communities have ascended to the middle class.

Section II: Political and Policy Context

This election season, hundreds of candidates across the country campaigned on their opposition to jobs and tax dollars going overseas. This makes sense, given poll returns that show opposition to unfair trade practices is one of the few things that unite Americans of different incomes and political parties. But while about half of the ads link this offshoring to a specific policy, many do not.

A key part of the explanation is so-called "trade" agreements like the World Trade Organization (WTO) and North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Since these pacts went into effect, 43,000 manufacturing establishments have closed, 5 million manufacturing jobs have been lost, and inequality has skyrocketed. Brand name goods once made here are now being made offshore and imported back to the U.S. for sale, leading to rising trade deficits. And our exports to the 17 countries with which we have NAFTA-style deals have grown at half the pace of that to countries with which we do not have these agreements.⁸

So, while NAFTA and the WTO have been called "trade agreements," they would be more accurately understood as "offshoring agreements" that guarantee special treatment and lower risks for firms that relocate to low-wage countries.

These pacts did not come down from God or the invisible hand from college economics textbooks. They were part of an intentional strategy on the part of large U.S. corporations seeking to offshore production, their lobbyists, and politicians to fundamentally change the way the American economy works.

Cut to the current election cycle. Virtually every Democrat in a tough race has at least one paid television ad attacking offshoring, and about half of the ads propose changes to the tax system to combat it.

But that's just one piece of the problem. Multinational corporations have long complained that foreign judicial systems provide unreliable protection for their overseas investments, not to mention the risk that governments there might introduce new labor or environmental regulations they don't like. Presumably, these concerns are one deterrent from shuttering factories in places like Peoria and Buffalo.

Now, NAFTA-style deals make it easier to offshore by removing this deterrent. They allow corporations to bypass national judicial systems and launch attacks on governments in international tribunals for interfering with the companies' future expected profits. The "judges" are selected in part by the corporation, and the trade pact "rules" they enforce have been tailored to corporations' demands. Often the mere threat of one of these cases can cast a chill on public interest regulation. Under NAFTA alone, governments have been ordered to pay over \$200 million to corporations for the privilege of enacting new rules to protect the environment, consumers and more.

Or look at the other side of the aisle. It was not only former governor Sarah Palin, who earlier this year caused a stir when she posted on Facebook that stimulus cash was being spent on

foreign-made goods. ¹⁰ Rather, this message was pumped out to GOP campaigns nationwide for candidates not running against past trade pacts, with over 60 Republican congressional candidates lambasting the offshore leaking of our tax dollars. There were nearly 30 paid GOP television ads on the topic. The irony of this counter messaging is rich. It was GOP leaders and their corporate funders who led the campaign to ensure that the 2009 Stimulus bill did not contain strong Buy American provisions. And, the pacts that they have supported, such as WTO, NAFTA and FTA impose constraints on how we can use our tax dollars. ¹¹ That's right: these deals say we cannot give preference to local producers.

A generation ago, we would not have had this problem. "Buy America" or "Buy Local" rules meant that, whenever possible, tax dollars collected in our communities should be spent here on locally made goods. But the trade pacts require that the federal and many state governments must exempt foreign-made goods from these purchasing requirements if they were made in one of 52 countries with which we have certain trade pacts.

This campaign has shown that there is ample support for fixing anything that leads to the offshoring of jobs and tax dollars. This must include revisiting flawed trade agreements that limit our space for addressing these concerns. President Obama himself campaigned and won attacking unfair trade agreements and their pro-offshoring rules related to investment and government purchases. ¹²

Unfortunately, there are indications that the Obama administration's policies are moving in the wrong direction. President Barack Obama set a deadline to announce the fate of the George W. Bush-negotiated Korea Free Trade Agreement (FTA): the Seoul G-20 summit, a week after the midterm elections. And a recent *New York Times Magazine* profile indicates that White House advisors may still be underestimating the bipartisan rejection of the Bush-Clinton-Bush trade policies.¹³

At issue is whether the Obama administration will remove the investment rules, which promote offshoring of jobs, and the financial deregulation requirements, while fixing the pact's unbalanced commercial terms. Pursuing this option means key Democratic validators – members of Congress, unions and other base groups – would declare the pact a first step toward the trade reforms Obama promised so he could win key swing states during his 2008 presidential campaign. Alternatively, he could pursue a second option: slapping his own base and voters in key swing states by announcing that he will submit the old Bush text for congressional passage without de-NAFTA-izing it. This would betray the campaign promises he used in 2008 to win over key swing voters in Ohio, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Virginia, thereby damaging his re-election prospects.

The stakes are high for the Obama administration, since the Korea FTA would be the first trade pact submitted to Congress under Obama's watch. Bush negotiated the deal and based it on the NAFTA model. Although Bush signed the Korea deal in 2007, he never submitted it to Congress, as it faced widespread opposition from lawmakers who recognized that it was untenable to have more FTAs styled after NAFTA, a larger trade deficit and continued traderelated U.S. job loss.

Five economic and political factors make it perilous for the Obama administration to decide not to renegotiate the pact and take ownership of Bush's Korea FTA.

Unfair Trade Deals Becoming Even More Unpopular

Recent polling indicates that American public opinion over the past few years has intensified from broad opposition to *overwhelming* opposition to NAFTA-style trade deals.

A September NBC News-Wall Street Journal poll found that the impact of trade and outsourcing is one of the only issues on which Americans of different classes, occupations and political persuasions agree. Eighty-six percent said outsourcing of jobs by U.S. companies to low-wage foreign nations is a top cause of our economic woes – by far the top concern, with deficits and health care costs well behind. Interestingly, the only causes that got a majority of support were related to corporate greed, not excessive regulation. Sixty-nine percent of Americans think that "free trade agreements between the United States and other countries cost the U.S. jobs." This is a new high. Among those surveyed, Republicans are even more concerned than Democrats. Also noteworthy is that those who find no real impact from trade deals have overtaken those who feel that trade deals have been beneficial.¹⁴

Fifty-three percent of Americans believe "free trade" agreements (FTAs) have hurt the U.S., up from 30 percent in 1999, with the shift mostly attributable to a change in thinking by upper-income Americans. Only seventeen percent now believe that "free trade" agreements have benefited the United States. An NBC News-Wall Street Journal poll asking the same question in 2007 found that 46 percent of respondents believed FTAs were harmful compared to 28 percent who believed they were helpful. In other words, sentiment against FTAs shifted from a 3-to-2 margin in 2007 to a 3-to-1 margin in 2010. Another notable fact from the September 2010 poll is that 61 percent of self-identified Tea Party supporters believe "free trade" agreements have hurt the U.S., while "among those earning \$75,000 or more, 50% now say free-trade pacts have hurt the U.S., up from 24% who said the same in 1999." ¹⁵

And the Korea FTA, specifically, has political liability. Polling on strategic messaging for the midterm elections has found that voters respond enthusiastically to candidates' statements in opposition to NAFTA-style FTAs. In the course of testing Democratic messages for voter response, Democratic polling firm Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research found that 45 percent of voters are much more likely or somewhat more likely to support a Democratic candidate if he or she were to highlight an opponent's support of the Bush-negotiated Colombia, Panama and South Korea FTAs. Of four possible messages, the anti-FTA message was just as powerful in swaying voters as a statement in support of tax cuts for the middle class rather than rich Americans. The anti-FTA message was more powerful than a message on opposing tax breaks for companies outsourcing American jobs and statements linking the opposing candidate to former President Bush's policies.

These findings are in line with other recent polls:

USA Today / Gallup, Nov. 20-22, 2009

• Twice as many Americans volunteered that "keeping manufacturing jobs here/stopping sending overseas" and "higher taxes on imports/Buy American" are the best ways to create more U.S. jobs, as compared with other policies (like lowering taxes).

Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, Oct. 28-Nov. 8, 2009

- Forty percent of Americans including 42 percent of Republicans and 45 percent of Independents said that "free trade agreements—like NAFTA, and the policies of the World Trade Organization" have been "a bad thing" for the United States, while 10-15 percent less of these demographics said they have been a good thing. This is a dramatic reversal from a 2004 poll in which Americans believed that these trade agreements have been a good thing, by a 47-34 margin.
- Only 4 percent of Americans believe that these policies have helped the financial situation of them and their family; and only 11 and 13 percent respectively believe that they have led to higher wages and more jobs. By contrast, 33 percent don't even believe that these policies lower the price of products that they buy a key claim of NAFTA-WTO supporters.

Zogby, September 2008

• NAFTA opposition is the majority position across every demographic. *Hispanics are among the most anti-NAFTA*, as are progressives, liberals, Democrats and internationalists.

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner, September 2008

• A majority of voters are cool to NAFTA, regardless of party affiliation, ideology, gender, age, generational cohort, race, educational level, union membership status, marital status, parental status, religion, how they feel about the direction of the country, and which party controls their congressional district. Catholic, swing and independent voters – among the most sought after constituencies – are among the most anti-NAFTA voting blocs in the country.

CNN/Opinion Research Corporation, July 1, 2008

• 51 percent of Americans view foreign trade as a threat to the economy, compared to only 35 percent of Americans who felt free trade posed a threat to the economy in 2000.

Rasmussen Reports, June 18, 2008

- 56 percent of Americans believe that NAFTA should be renegotiated. Only 16 percent believe it should *not* be renegotiated.
- 71 percent say positions on pacts are important to them in terms of how they will vote. Only 20 percent say it is not important.

Political Liability and Controversy Surrounding Korea FTA Builds

During the 2008 presidential campaign, candidate Obama pledged to chart a new course for American trade policy. He said that he would include strong, enforceable labor and environmental protections in trade pacts and exclude the damaging foreign investor rights enforcement that threatens public interest regulations.¹⁷ The campaign lobbed paid ads and serial

mailings at working-class households in Ohio and North Carolina (among other states) focused on differentiating Obama from McCain on this issue.

Advocates for the Korea FTA within the Obama administration who believe in only cosmetic changes to the agreement seem to be underestimating both the enormous political liability a flip-flop on these commitments would cause and the depth of the opposition to the NAFTA model in Congress and among the voting public.

Within a few weeks of Obama's announcement at the G-20 summit, 110 members of the House of Representatives sent a letter to Obama warning that they could not support the Korea FTA in its current form. The signatories included leadership, New Democrats and Blue Dogs – atypical of critical letters on trade pacts. They cited the FTA's unacceptable provisions on labor rights, foreign investment and financial services, and its unbalanced commercial terms. The letter noted that moving forward with "another job-killing FTA" was "unthinkable" in the current economic climate. ¹⁸

After Obama's announcement, labor unions and environmental groups also quickly voiced their opposition to the Korea FTA and urged deep changes to the text of the agreement. AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka stated, "We remain deeply concerned about and strongly opposed to the U.S.-South Korea trade agreement as negotiated by the Bush Administration. ... Our negotiators should go back to the table to address the imbalanced market-access provisions in the agreement and to revisit the flawed investment, procurement and services provisions as well." The Sierra Club declared, "As it stands, the U.S.-Korea FTA poses a significant threat to our democracy and to environmental protections. We must fix the investment chapter as well as rework the text with an aim to protect workers' rights." In addition, a coalition of more than 550 faith, family farm, environmental, labor, manufacturing, consumer protection and civil society organizations signed a letter opposing the agreement in its current form. ²¹

NAFTA-Style Trade Pacts Associated With Lower Export Growth

It is not only political reality but also economic reality that could impact Obama's Korea FTA push. A study conducted by Public Citizen found that U.S. exports to countries that are FTA partners have grown at less than half the rate of exports to all other countries.²² The study found that if U.S. exports to trade deal partners had simply grown at the rate of exports to other countries, the U.S. would have exported \$72 billion more over the past 10 years, which could have supported tens of thousands of high paying jobs.

Prior to the release of the study, corporate lobbyists had tried to frame the passage of a NAFTA-style Korea FTA as a measure that would help double exports over the next five years, a goal set by Obama in his State of the Union address. For example, Frank Vargo of the National Association of Manufacturers in an April op-ed wrote, "To achieve his goal [of doubling exports], the president must call for immediate passage of the three pending FTAs and open more foreign markets through rapid negotiation of additional fair and reciprocal trade agreements." With the release of Public Citizen's new study, lobbyists can no longer argue that more NAFTA-style FTAs will serve the goal of U.S. export growth.

The USITC Projects A Rising Deficit With Bush's Korea FTA Text

The U.S. International Trade Commission, an independent agency tasked with providing Congress impartial analysis of trade policy, conducted a study on the probable economic effects of the Korea FTA. The results of the study are not helpful to those seeking to pass the FTA without the modifications Obama described during his campaign – and that Democrats, Congress and Democratic base groups have been demanding.

The USITC study predicted that implementation of the Korea FTA would lead to an increase in the overall U.S. trade deficit in goods. ²⁵ A growing deficit is a drag on U.S. economic growth and leads to further job losses as imported goods displace domestic production. Furthermore, the USITC estimated that the U.S. trade deficit in motor vehicles and parts could rise by as much as \$700 million if the Korea FTA were to be implemented using Bush's text, jeopardizing thousands of auto manufacturing jobs that help support the American middle class. ²⁶

The USITC study did not directly deal with the Korea FTA's effects on the overall number of jobs in the U.S. The Economic Policy Institute conducted its own study on the Korea FTA based on the historical experience with NAFTA and China's entry into the World Trade Organization. The study predicted that the implementation of the Korea FTA in its current form would lead to the net loss of 159,000 American jobs in the first five years of its implementation.²⁷

Proponents of the Korea FTA in the administration have touted figures in the USITC's study but have done so in a selective way that conceals the main findings of the report. In a speech delivered on July 30, U.S. Trade Representative Ron Kirk claimed, "Increased exports due to the Korea deal alone may support as many as 70,000 additional jobs nationwide." The claim that the Korea FTA would support 70,000 jobs is apparently derived from the USITC's projection of the increase in exports to Korea under the Korea FTA, but it ignores the effect of increased imports and the influence the Korea FTA would have on U.S. trade with the rest of the world. As noted above, the USITC study predicts that the U.S. goods deficit would increase under the Korea FTA, which would destroy more jobs than it creates.

Trade Negotiator Admits Little Potential for U.S. Gains in Korea FTA

Ambassador Karan Bhatia offered a frank assessment of the impact of FTAs upon the U.S. while he served as Bush's Deputy U.S. Trade Representative. In an October 2006 speech to a Korean audience, Bhatia said that it was a "myth" that "the U.S. will get the bulk of the benefits of the FTA." He went on to say, "If history is any judge, it may well not turn out to be true that the U.S. will get the bulk of the benefits, if measured by increased exports." He added that, in the instance of Mexico and other countries, "the history of our FTAs is that bilateral trade surpluses of our trading partners go up," meaning that the U.S. trade deficit with those countries increased.²⁹ agenda, while putting Obama's re-election in peril.

SECTION III: Methodology

Beginning in September 2010, Public Citizen began monitoring any open seat race, or race deemed competitive by the Cook Political Report. This includes any race designated as Toss-Up, Lean Republican, Lean Democrat, Likely Republican or Likely Democrat. Our final report considers only those races that were deemed competitive by the Cook Political Report or were open seat races as of October 28, 2010.³⁰ This represented a total of over 362 candidates in 182 races, including:

- 159 House races, including 20 open-seat races not ranked as competitive.
- 23 Senate races, including three open-seat races not ranked as competitive.

A team of Public Citizen researchers examined the campaign websites of all 362 candidates at least twice in the final weeks of the election season: first manually, and then using an automated computer script that searched the candidates' website domain names for specified keywords, including: "trade," "overseas," "NAFTA," "CAFTA," "Peru," "Korea," "Colombia," "China," "Panama," and variations on the word "outsourcing" and "offshoring." Additionally, our researchers analyzed all of the television ads posted on the YouTube pages of all 362 candidates, or an approximate 800 ads.

The Democratic candidates were counted as fair traders if their campaign:

- mentioned job offshoring on their website;
- mentioned more specific facets of trade policy on their website;
- campaigned against a Bush-initiated trade agreement, including trade deals with Panama, Korea, Colombia, or the Trans-Pacific region;
- mentioned offshoring in a television ad; or
- mentioned more specific facets of trade policy in a television ad.

All Republican candidates were counted as fair traders if their campaign:

- criticized specific facets of trade policy per se on their website or in ads;
- criticized on their website job offshoring related to climate or stimulus legislation;
- criticized in a paid ad job offshoring related to climate or stimulus legislation;

If candidates met none of these criteria, they were considered as having no position. If they ran in favor of one of the pending trade agreements in campaign ads or on their campaign website, they were considered an anti-fair trader. The small number of important independent candidates were evaluated in a similar fashion.

Our methodology is highly conservative: if a candidate had a voting record in favor of fair trade, or discussed their fair trade position in venues other than their website or YouTube site, they were still counted as having "no position." Thus, career-long fair trade champion Rep. Peter DeFazio of Oregon, for instance, was counted as having "no position" because of a lack of fair-trade themed ads on YouTube, which may also be explained by the fact that the campaign was only recently deemed competitive by the Cook Political Report. Alternatively, ads may have been produced, but were not posted on YouTube. If all of these cases were tallied up, it would boost the overall number of fair traders in this election.

APPENDIX: CANDIDATE TRADE PROFILES BY STATE

We analyzed the trade positions in all competitive and open-seat races. "Competiveness" was determined by the Cook Political Report's ratings as of October 28, 2010.

Alabama

Alabama-2: Bobby Bright is incumbent.

- Democrat: Bright. Website said: "A strong proponent of fiscal responsibility, Congressman Bright is pushing to spur business growth and job creation in Alabama by advocating for competitive tax rates for businesses and trade expansion." ³¹
- GOP: Martha Roby. Nothing on trade.

Alabama-5: Open seat vacated by Parker Griffith (R).

- Democrat: Steve Raby. Nothing on trade.
- Republican: Mo Brooks. Website says: "The federal government should make American companies more competitive in the international market place by insisting on fair trade policies. For example, we must stop China from artificially setting currency exchange rates at levels that do not reflect market values and which, in turn, undermine the ability of American companies to compete." 32

Alabama-7: Open seat vacated by Artur Davis (D). Safe Democratic.

- Democrat: Terri Sewell. Says: "We also have to stop big corporations from taking our tax money for job creation but then moving Alabama jobs overseas," said Sewell."³³
- GOP: Don Chamberlain. Website says: "Utilizing the homeport, our coalition could develop a reverse-NAFTA economic revitalization plan. Under this plan, we could approach Mexico's industries to provide heavy duty castings for automobile and heavy equipment companies. Alabama industries could then machine refine these castings into final products for these industries." ³⁴

Alaska

Alaska-Senate: Open seat vacated by Lisa Murkowski, who lost primary.

- Democrat: Scott McAdams. Campaign website says: "Over the last decade, the United States has shed more than 5 million manufacturing jobs, half of which can be attributed directly to our trade deficit with China. By one estimate, about one-fourth of all U.S. jobs are susceptible to outsourcing within the next 10 to 20 years. Scott will fight to end tax loopholes and tax breaks that encourage sending U.S. jobs overseas. Scott will: End corporate tax loopholes for job outsourcing and off-shoring, Prohibit states from outsourcing contracts using federal funds, Repeal tax breaks for companies that locate jobs overseas or shut down plants in the U.S., and Impose an excise tax on any customer service call originating in the U.S. that is then handed off to someone working in a foreign call center." 35
- GOP: Joe Miller criticizing Murkowski on some grounds related to trade and immigration. Campaign website says: "Heavy taxes and regulations strangle our businesses, stifle innovation, and send more and more jobs overseas."
- Independent: Murkowski is running as a write in. Nothing on trade.

Arizona

Arizona-1: Ann Kirkpatrick incumbent.

- Democrat: Kirkpatrick. Campaigned on offshoring. ³⁸ Ran paid ad on offshoring.
- GOP: Paul Gosar. Criticized stimulus for leaking. Website claimed he had not "pledged to protect tax breaks for companies shipping American jobs overseas." 40

Arizona-3: Open seat vacated by Shadegg (R).

- Democrat: Jon Hulburd. Says: "We must also offer incentives such as tax breaks for businesses for domestic and foreign industry investment in our state and in our nation, and keep jobs in our country by stopping exportation of American jobs abroad."⁴¹
- GOP: Ben Quayle. Website said: "The U.S. has the second highest corporate incomes taxes, second only to Japan. We must become more competitive globally to keep jobs here at home. If Washington politicians don't cut taxes, companies will continue to move jobs overseas." 42

Arizona-5: Harry Mitchell incumbent.

- Democrat: Mitchell. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: David Schweikert. Nothing on trade.

Arizona-7: Raúl Grijalva is incumbent.

- Democrat: Grijalva. Website noted U.S.-Mexico trade deficit. ⁴³ Two paid ads attacked offshoring. ⁴⁴
- GOP: Ruth McClung. Defended offshore tax loopholes. 45

Arizona-8: Gabrielle Giffords.

- Democrat: Giffords. Website says: ""Jesse Kelly has no plan to create jobs," said Giffords for Congress campaign manager Rodd McLeod. "If he feels real concern for Southern Arizonans who have lost their jobs, I don't see why he would try to raise their taxes with his national sales tax scheme and let corporations that send jobs overseas stop paying income taxes at all."
- GOP: Jesse Kelly. Says: "For too long, politicians in Washington implemented biggovernment policies that pushed businesses overseas. It's time we bring them back with open arms. We must stop punishing success and work to reduce personal income taxes, investment taxes and business-ownership taxes."

Arkansas

Arkansas-Senate: Blanche Lincoln (D) is incumbent.

- Democrat: Lincoln. Campaign website features a paid radio ad from Former President Clinton supporting NAFTA. ⁴⁸ Pledged support for pending trade deals. ⁴⁹ However, the issues page of Lincoln's website during general campaign stated: "She also voted to repeal tax breaks for companies that move their operations, and American jobs, offshore." ⁵⁰
- GOP: Rep. John Boozman. Website said: "I am committed to encouraging free trade agreements, such as this one, that will yield benefits for Arkansas' economy. In this report

from KNWA, I note how approval of the U.S.-Panama Free Trade Agreement truly will benefit Arkansas' economy."⁵¹

Arkansas-1: Open seat vacated by Marion Berry (D).

- Democrat: Chad Causey. Says, "I would also support a trade deal with Panama." ⁵²
- GOP: Rick Crawford. Nothing on trade.

Arkansas-2: Open seat vacated by Vic Snyder (D).

- Democrat: Joyce Elliot. Attacked candidate on web for supporting NAFTA and Korea FTA.⁵³ Ran paid ad on offshoring.⁵⁴
- GOP: Tim Griffin. Website says: "I support free trade provided that there is a level playing field between the U.S. and other countries, including basic labor and environmental standards." "We must pass the Panamanian, Korean and Columbian Free Trade Agreements sooner rather than later." 55

Arkansas-3: Open seat vacated by Jon Boozman (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: David Whitaker. Says: "While unemployment hovers near ten percent and the deficit grows day-by-day, international competitors like China and India continue to strengthen their economies and move forward into the 21st century. Congress should not stand for America being second place in anything. David will fight to create new, smarter jobs that will stay in Arkansas and won't end up overseas. He believes that Congress must seek solutions that will reward small businesses that invest in the American workforce and not those companies that dance the Bailout Two-Step by taking our hard-earned tax money overseas to give jobs to China. We must put Americans back to work building and producing goods in this country, and we must build workplaces that provide a living wage for Arkansans." 56
- GOP: Steve Womack. Website said: "President Obama needs to restore strict limits on the transfer of missile and space technology to China and when I'm elected to Congress, I'll make sure we focus on closer oversight authority to ensure that the Obama administration does not undermine United States security and sovereignty." Also said: "Cap and Trade leads to driving up prices for middle-class families and small businesses and shipping more American jobs overseas." 58

Arkansas-4: Mike Ross is incumbent.

- Democrat: Campaign website says: "We need fair trade, not free trade. We need to rethink some of our trade agreements that are hurting American manufactures. And, we need to sign new trade agreements with countries that can afford to buy our products so we are shipping products overseas not jobs. We should also rework our tax policy so that we're not rewarding multinational corporations that are shipping jobs overseas." ⁵⁹
- GOP: Beth Ann Rankin. Nothing on trade.

California

California-Senate: Barbara Boxer is incumbent.

- Democrat: Boxer. Website says: "Senator Boxer sponsored an amendment that would have ended tax subsidies to U.S. companies for employers that shipped production overseas." Ran paid ads on offshoring. 61
- GOP: Carly Fiorina. Campaign website says: "Approve Free Trade Agreements. As a U.S. senator, Carly will support and vote to approve the United States' free trade agreements with South Korea and Colombia, as well as the Panama Trade Promotion Agreement." 62

California-3: Dan Lungren is incumbent.

- Democrat: Ami Bera. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Lungren. Nothing on trade.

California-11: Jerry McNerney incumbent.

- Democrat: McNerney. Says: "I'm upset by how many good American jobs have gone overseas in recent years, and I've helped lead the charge to crack down on outsourcing. I introduced a bill called the Stop Outsourcing and Create American Jobs Act to get tough on companies that ship our jobs abroad. My bill closes tax loopholes used by big corporations to send jobs overseas and gives preferences in government contracts to companies that hire workers here at home. Times are still tough, and we have a lot more work ahead of us on the economy. Creating jobs in our area is one of my priorities, and I'll keep doing everything I can to give small businesses the tools to succeed and to stop the outsourcing of good American jobs." 63
- GOP: David Harmer. His campaign website featured an article that said: "Two commissioners -- Val Oveson, the state's chief information officer, and David Harmer, executive director of the state Department of Community and Economic Development -- cautioned against moves that would violate procurement laws or foreign trade agreements or have long-term impacts on the economy. Thomas said it is "entirely possible" to write legislation requiring the work be done in the United States on the basis of homeland security and identity theft issues. "I think that shrinks the concerns," he said. "Outsourcing benefits both parties, or it doesn't happen," said Harmer, who noted that the United States is a net importer of jobs. Anxiety always results when there is an economic shift to more-efficient producers, he said. Harmer called it "a big mistake" for government to restrict the use of the most-efficient producer. He also said protectionist barriers delay the economic impact of such job shifting..."

California-18: Dennis Cardoza is incumbent.

- Democrat: Cardoza. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Mike Berryhill. Criticized stimulus leakage. 65

California-19: Open seat vacated by George Radanovich (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Loraine Goodwin. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Jeff Denham. Nothing on trade.

California-20: Jim Costa is incumbent.

- Democrat: Costa. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Andy Vidak. Says: "Support increased fair trade and export markets." 66

California-33: Open seat vacated by Diane Watson. Safe Democratic.

- Democrat: Karen Bass. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: James Andion. Says: "James opposes policies and laws that cause jobs to move out of Los Angeles and overseas." 67

California-45: Mary Bono is incumbent.

- Democrat: Steve Pougnet. Website says: "In the last 12 years, Congresswoman Bono Mack has let jobs leave this district at an alarming rate. Recently, she voted to give tax breaks to companies that ship jobs overseas. I will not promote outsourcing of American jobs. I will always, and especially in an economic crisis, act in your interest—not my party's." Two paid ads on offshoring. To
- GOP: Bono. Nothing on trade.

California-47: Loretta Sanchez is incumbent.

- Democrat: Sanchez. Website says: "She has opposed trade deals because they did not include sufficient protections for workers." Criticized Vietnam trade. Attacked offshoring. 73
- GOP: Van Tran. Nothing on trade.

Colorado

Colorado-Senate: Michael Bennet is incumbent.

- Democrat: Bennet incumbent. Ran paid ad on offshoring, and campaign complained about unsafe toys and trade deficit with China.⁷⁴
- GOP: Ken Buck. Campaign website features an interview that states the following: "Ken then dove in to the issue that we've created policies that have driven jobs overseas and if we don't bring those jobs back and remain competitive, then we will continue to face this problem. He then added a comment that I think defines the core Ken Buck "the answer to me is not onetime government spending, as much as it is trying to figure out where, in my view this country's economy blossoms because of inexpensive energy, lower taxes and barriers to entry, than other countries." And he finished that we need to get back to that to continue to being a manufacturing country." Criticized Bennet's ties to multinational corporations linked with human rights abuses.

Colorado-3: John Salazar is incumbent.

- Democrat: Salazar. Nothing on trade, besides complaints about barriers to U.S. beef.⁷⁷
- GOP: Scott Tipton. Nothing on trade.

Colorado-4: Betsy Markey is incumbent.

- Democrat: Markey. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Cory Cardner. Website says: "Utilize trade agreements to jumpstart job creation." ⁷⁸

Colorado-7: Ed Perlmutter.

- Democrat: Perlmutter. Campaign website says: "Republican CD 7 candidate Ryan Frazier continues to talk in slick soundbites about wanting to create "Good American jobs", but what he doesn't tell you is his company, Takara Systems, with offices in Colorado and Africa, is in the business of helping companies outsource these "good American jobs" to foreign

- countries. Instead of working to help small businesses keep jobs in this country, he pledged to keep tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas." Paid ad on offshoring. 80
- GOP: Ryan Frazier. Says: "There is an age-old formula for prosperity: economic freedom, the rule of law, stable money, low taxes, free trade, and sensible regulations." Ran paid ad attacking stimulus vote as sending jobs to China. 82

Connecticut

Connecticut-Senate: Open seat vacated by Chris Dodd (D).

- Democrat: Richard Blumenthal. Campaign website says: "Big companies receive billions in tax breaks to send their factories and their jobs overseas, and big oil and gas companies reap billions in wasteful and unnecessary subsidies. It's time to end these sweetheart deals and to start standing up for Main Street and the people of Connecticut." Blumenthal's "Made in Connecticut" initiative promotes local industry and job creation. His plan includes: Ending the tax breaks that make it profitable for companies to ship jobs overseas; Promoting American-made products, including giving American firms a fair shot competing for government contracts; Ending China's currency manipulation that unfairly reduces the price of Chinese goods and puts U.S. companies at a disadvantage;..."83 Attacked opponent for offshoring production of WWE merchandise.
- GOP: Linda McMahon. Website says. "Resist protectionist policies that hamper global trade and investment. The President has said that increasing U.S. exports by just 1% would create over 250,000 jobs. And the International Trade Commission (ITC) estimates that implementation of the Colombia, Panama, and Korea Free Trade Agreements would increase U.S. exports by more than 1%. Despite this, Congress is failing to act. We should pass the pending trade agreements immediately and start creating jobs."

Connecticut-4: Jim Himes is incumbent.

- Democrat: Himes. Ran paid ad on offshoring.⁸⁶
- GOP: Dan Debicella. Nothing on trade.

Connecticut-5: Chris Murphy is incumbent.

- Democrat: Campaign website says: "Our country desperately needs to embrace trade agreements that ensure a level playing field for American workers. The "free trade" paradigm championed by the current administration has eroded our country's manufacturing base and caused irreparable damage to the American worker in recent decades. We need a new trade framework that forces our trade partners in the developing world to more rapidly increase their labor and environmental standards so as to move toward an even playing field with American companies." Ran seven paid ads on Buy America and offshoring.
- GOP: Sam Caliguri. Website says: "Murphy's claim that Sam supports sending jobs overseas is part of a national Democratic strategy to attack Republicans who have signed the Americans for Tax Reform pledge not to raise taxes. FactCheck.org has reviewed similar claims made by Democratic candidates in other races and reported that they are false." Ran paid ad on stimulus leakage. 90

Delaware

Delaware-Senate: Open seat vacated by Ted Kaufman (D).

- Democrat: Chris Coons. Campaign website says: "He will continue to strengthen America's economy through strategic long-term investments in infrastructure, training and workforce development. Chris will use his position in the Senate to fight for trade agreements that contain good labor and environmental standards that will help to create new American jobs, not ship them overseas." Two paid ads on offshoring.
- GOP: Christine O'Donnell. Criticized Coons for offshoring jobs. 93

Delaware-AL: Open seat vacated by Mike Castle (R).

- Democrat: John Carney. Told reporter that: "As a member of Congress, I will seek to establish tax and trade policies that will eliminate incentives and tax breaks for moving jobs overseas, and instead create incentives for businesses to build manufacturing facilities in the U.S. again," he said. "Just last week, there was an announcement by General Electric that they are moving several of their appliance manufacturing facilities back to the U.S. from Mexico and China. This is a good example that it can be done. We have a great opportunity with new energy technologies, like creating the supply chain for offshore wind development right here in Delaware." ⁹⁴
- GOP: Michelle Rollins. Nothing on trade.

Florida

Florida-Senate: Open seat vacated by George LeMieux (R).

- Democrat: Kendrick Meek. Despite angering constituents by withdrawing his name from the co-sponsorship rolls of the TRADE Act when he announced his Senate run, his campaign attacked offshoring.⁹⁵
- GOP: Marco Rubio. Website said: "We should adopt the free trade agreements that have already been negotiated with Colombia, Panama, South Korea and other nations around the world." 96
- Independent: Charlie Crist. Nothing on trade.

Florida-2: Allen Boyd is incumbent.

- Democrat: Boyd. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Steve Southerland. Website says: "ALLEN BOYD'S LIE: Steve supports sending American jobs overseas. THE TRUTH: The non-partisan fact-checking organization FactCheck.org has called Boyd's line of attack "false." Steve will fight to save existing North Florida jobs, and create new permanent jobs across the Second District. Allen Boyd, on the other hand, voted for \$2.3 billion in tax breaks for foreign companies to create jobs in China, South Korea and Spain not the United States. Allen Boyd's hypocrisy on shipping American job overseas is just one more reason why we need to send him home..." ⁹⁷

Florida-5: Open seat vacated by Ginny Brown-Waite (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Jim Piccilo. Website attacked offshoring. 98
- GOP: Richard Nugent. Nothing on trade.

Florida-8: Alan Grayson is incumbent.

- Democrat: Grayson. Nothing on trade.

- GOP: Daniel Webster. Nothing on trade.

Florida-12: Open seat vacated by Adam Putnam (R).

- Democrat: Lori Edwards. Says. "will support policies that assist unemployed workers with job training and education so that they can get back to work, and encourage existing businesses and new industries to create jobs in Central Florida, not overseas." ⁹⁹
- GOP: Dennis Ross. Denied support for offshoring. 100
- Tea Party: Randy Wilkinson. Some fair trade messages: "We must bring the jobs here, and stop sending them overseas away from the United States and Americans." ¹⁰¹

Florida-17: Open seat vacated by Kendrick Meek. Safe Democratic.

- Democrat: State Sen. Frederica Wilson. For expanded trade preferences for Haiti. 102
- GOP: None.

Florida-21: Open seat vacated by Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Raul Martinez. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart. Nothing on trade.

Florida-22: Ron Klein is incumbent.

- Democrat: Klein. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Allen West. Site says: "Cap and trade is nothing less than a *tax*," West said. ... The businesses that are forced to pony up this staggering sum will be left with three options: pass the cost on to consumers; move their operations overseas; or close their doors. 103

Florida-24: Suzanne Kosmas is incumbent.

- Democrat: Kosmas. Website said: "Tallahassee insider Sandy Adams and her supporters are pushing an agenda that encourages companies to ship jobs overseas..." Ran paid ads on offshoring.
- GOP: Sandy Adams. She said: "Suzanne claims that I want to send American jobs overseas. The truth is that she voted for a bill that sent \$2.3 billion to countries like China and South Korea to create "green energy" jobs." 106

Florida-25: Open seat vacated by Mario Diaz-Balart (R). Lean GOP.

- Democrat: Joe Garcia. Website says: "In Congress, I hope to work closely with President Santos as he continues the legacy of progress that Colombia has inherited from President Alvaro Uribe. Part of that progress includes ratification of the U.S.-Colombia Free Trade Agreement, which would provide South Florida with the economic growth it needs to put families back to work and will strengthen ties with our greatest ally in Latin America." 107
- GOP: David Rivera is the front runner. News reports indicate he was in favor of the Colombia FTA. ¹⁰⁸

Georgia

Georgia-2: Sanford Bishop is incumbent.

- Democrat: Bishop. Website says: "Congressman Sanford D. Bishop, Jr. (GA-2) announced his support today for a series of bills aimed at increasing American manufacturing and job

creation. The three bills introduced also will promote clean energy technology exports to create clean energy manufacturing jobs for Americans. The bills also establish a commission to study the U.S. trade deficit in an effort to decrease U.S. dependency on China." Paid ads on NAFTA.

- GOP: Mike Keown. Nothing on trade.

Georgia-7: Linder open seat. Safe GOP

- Democrat: Doug Heckman. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Rob Woodall. Says: "I will work to ensure that American products can compete on a level playing field with foreign competition and that the Federal government removes the destructive disincentives that encourage American jobs to relocate overseas." ¹¹¹

Georgia-8: Jim Marshall is incumbent.

- Democrat: Marshall. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Austin Scott is challenging Jim Marshall. Website criticized stimulus for going overseas and said: "I want to bring pride back to this country and bring jobs back to this country that moved overseas."¹¹² Ran two PAID ADS attacking stimulus vote as offshoring.¹¹³

Georgia-12: John Barrow is incumbent.

- Democrat: Barrow. Ran paid ads on offhshoring. 114
- GOP: Ray McKinney. Website says: "Halt federal regulations and taxes that encourage employers to export jobs overseas." Criticized NAFTA superhighway. 116

Hawaii

Hawaii-1: Charles Djou is incumbent.

- Democrat: Colleen Hanabusa. Website criticized offshoring. 117 DCCC ran paid ads on offshoring against Djou. 118
- GOP: Djou ran paid ads that said: "I support real Wall Street reform to protect tax payers and free trade with the Philippines and South Korea to grow our economy." But also criticized tax breaks for offshoring. 120

Idaho

Idaho-1: Walt Minnick is incumbent.

- Democrat: Minnick. Campaign website links to an article that says: "Minnick said the federal government could be doing a lot more for free trade. That issue has been pushed far behind other topics, he said. He has found that few are open to discussing revival of the Doha world trade talks. "Neither any Republicans or Democrats are putting free trade and negotiating better international agreements very high up on their lists as a way of getting the U.S. out of the worst recession since the '30s," he said. Minnick was recognized at the presentation for his support of free trade with a Spirit of Enterprise award from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, presented by Renee Sinclair with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce." 121
- GOP: Raul Labrador. Nothing on trade.

Illinois

Illinois-Senate: Open seat vacated by Roland Burris (D).

- Democrat: Alexi Giannoulias. Endorsed TRADE Act on campaign trail. ¹²² Campaign website says: "Alexi believes that any trade agreement must include stringent labor and environmental safeguards to ensure that all nations are competing on a level playing field. Americans will never be able to compete against foreign companies that pay workers a few dollars for a day's work and dump toxic waste into local rivers. Increased trade should promote best practices, not a race to the bottom. Congressman Kirk has said that he is an "ardent free trader" and has supported every free trade bill to come before the House. [CQ Weekly, 7/20/01] Kirk often seems more interested in protecting China than standing up for the working constituents he represents. He voted against legislation to crack down on China's unfair trade practices and currency manipulation, while voting to support the tax loopholes that reward American companies that create jobs overseas. And for the American workers who lose those jobs to China, Kirk has voted against retraining assistant to those who fall victim to outsourcing. [HR2871, Vote 120, 5/1/02; HR3529, Vote 509, 12/19/01; HR4931 Vote 247, 6/21/02; HR27, Vote 47, 3/2/05]" Three PAID ADS on offshoring.
- GOP: Rep. Mark Kirk. Campaign website says: "Giannoulias tells Chicago Tribune Editorial Board he does not favor reopening NAFTA: Campaign website says differently: In an interview with the Chicago Tribune Editorial Board yesterday, Alexi Giannoulias forgot that he supports renegotiating NAFTA, a move that would put thousands of Illinois jobs at risk. When asked directly by the Tribune Editorial Board whether he supported reopening NAFTA, Giannoulias answered: "No". Unfortunately, Giannoulias' website says that as a Senator, Giannoulias would "renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement." Campaign website says: "Congressman Kirk voted for the Jordan, Australia, Chile, Singapore, Bahrain, Morocco, Oman, Peru and DR-Central America Free Trade Agreements. The Congressman supports the Colombia, Korea and Panama Free Trade Agreements."

Illinois-8: Melissa Bean is incumbent.

- Democrat: Nothing on trade from 2010 race.
- GOP: Joe Walsh. Criticized cap and trade and policies that offshore jobs. 127

Illinois-10: Open seat abandoned by Mark Kirk.

- Democrat: Dan Seals. Third time running, was a Clinton trade official. No mention of any trade issue on his website, but Dold's website featured an article with Seals criticizing offshoring.¹²⁸
- GOP: Bob Dold. Website says: "Support Free Trade Agreements: I support passage of the pending Free Trade Agreements with South Korea, Panama and Colombia that have stalled in the Democratic-controlled Congress." 129

Illinois-11: Debbie Halvorson incumbent.

Democrat: Halvorson. Website criticized NAFTA. Said: "Congresswoman Debbie Halvorson has announced a program called "export goods, not jobs." She says, when you look back to two years ago this week, when the stock market lost nearly 20 percent of its value, lots of progress has been made since the presidential election of 2010. But still, right now, she sees a major battle ahead. And the key is...STOP UNFAIR TRADE AGREEMENTS. Halvorson

points to China's alleged artificial shrinkage of their currency as one major problem. Halvorson also says that although President Obama favors the proposed Korea Free Trade Agreement, she does not. Halvorson says stronger language favoring Illinois manufacturers and families would be needed, in order for the proposal to have her support." Paid ads against trade agreements. 131

- GOP: Adam Kinzinger. Paid ad on jobs lost to India and Indiana. 132

Illinois-14: Bill Foster is incumbent.

- Democrat: Foster. Website says: "Restoring balance to our economy by reversing the economic mismanagement of the last decade. This includes returning to fiscally responsible practices with government finances, reforming broken trade policies, improving the business climate, and reviving the health of U.S. manufacturing." Trade agreements should be renegotiated to emphasize U.S. manufacturing and agriculture and Chinese currency manipulation must stop." 134
- GOP: Randy Hultgren. Says: "To expand the markets available to our farmers and exporters, Congress and this Administration must also approve the numerous pending free-trade deals, including those with Colombia and South Korea." 135

Illinois-17: Phil Hare is incumbent.

- Democrat: Hare. Ran paid ads on trade agreements. Says: "We need to walk away from failed trade deals like NAFTA, oppose unfair trade deals like Korea, eliminate non-tariff barriers and ensure that our businesses have a fair shot in this global economy. I have no doubt that when the playing field is level, American companies and workers will be able to compete and most importantly, win." 137
- GOP: Bobby Schilling. Says: "we need to change our trade policies that are detrimental, including modernizing our export control laws, our restrictive business visa policies, and the growing tendency of our government agencies to procure goods and services from abroad." Criticized stimulus for leaking. Supported Korea FTA. 140

Indiana

Indiana-Senate: Open seat vacated by Evan Bayh (D).

- Democrat: Brad Ellsworth. Website criticizes the WTO¹⁴¹ and features workers displaced by NAFTA. Two paid ads on trade, including one critical of Coats' NAFTA vote. 143
- GOP: Former Rep. Dan Coats. Said "With trade deficits increasing, Dan Coats believes we
 must move on pending trade agreements and also ensure American companies have a level
 playing field in the global marketplace." 144

Indiana-2: Joe Donnelly is incumbent.

Democrat: Donnelly. Website said: "Our district has been especially hard-hit by failed government trade policies that send American jobs overseas to places like China and Mexico. I have fought back against these unfair trade deals that pit American workers against workers in countries with less stringent labor and environmental laws and whose governments undervalue their currency, putting our manufactures at an unfair disadvantage. That's why I oppose the North American Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Central American Free Trade

- Agreement (CAFTA), Peru Free Trade Agreement, and others that ship good-paying American jobs overseas."¹⁴⁵ PAID ADS on bad trade deals. ¹⁴⁶
- GOP: Jackie Walorski. Says: "It's time to stand up against what's going on in Washington, to stand up against the out-of-control spending, and to stand up against the heavy-handed policies that drive more of our jobs overseas." Ran paid ad on stimulus leakage. 148

Indiana-3: Open seat vacated by Mark Souder (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Tom Hayhurst. Website criticized offshoring and featured an article that said:
 "Hayhurst said he is not ready to give up on manufacturing as a source of good jobs for Hoosiers and all Americans. He said he supports fair trade and does not think U.S. trade negotiators in recent years have done enough to look out for the best interests of American workers." 149
- GOP: Marlin Stutzman. Says: "Couple that with hot-button issues like Cap and Trade, card-check, government-run healthcare, and poor energy policy and it creates a climate that drives Hoosier jobs over state lines or overseas." The New York Times reported that "In an interview, Marlin Stutzman, the Republican candidate in Indiana's Third District, said the economy, not foreign policy, had dominated the conversations he has had with voters during the campaign. To the extent he has thought about foreign policy, he said, it has largely been about trade. "We are looking out for American jobs first," he said. "We have to be creative in finding ways to make sure that American jobs are here."

Indiana-4: Open seat vacated by Steve Buyer (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: David Sanders. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Todd Rokita. Rokita says: "I would vote in favor of current free trade agreements pending in Congress, including those with Columbia, South Korea, and Panama." Defended offshoring. 153

Indiana-8: Open seat vacated by Brad Ellsworth (D).

- Democrat: Trent Van Haaften. Website criticized offshoring and said: "Trent will work to fix our broken trade deals with countries like China and Mexico. We need to stop shipping our good-paying manufacturing jobs to other countries and instead encourage job growth right here in Indiana the manufacturing heart of America. The promise of so-called free trade has only meant that our jobs are free for the taking by foreign countries. Trent believes it's time for *fair* trade." Ran paid ads on offshoring. 155
- GOP: Larry Buschon. Criticized stimulus leakage. 156

Indiana-9: Baron Hill is incumbent.

- Democrat: Hill. Criticized opponent's support for offshoring. ¹⁵⁷ Paid ad on offshoring. ¹⁵⁸
- GOP: Todd Young. A press report quotes Young as saying: "The only way to reduce carbon dioxide is to dramatically reduce the amount of domestic coal used to generate electricity, which could force the premature closure of coal-fired steam-generating plants, send jobs overseas and greatly increase Hoosiers' energy costs." Also ran a paid ad asking if Hill wanted to represent China.

Iowa

Iowa-1: Bruce Braley is incumbent.

- Democrat: Campaign website says: "We've already passed two bills to encourage companies to invest in America's manufacturing industry and close our trade deficit. And we've begun to close tax loopholes for companies that ship jobs overseas." Ran paid ad on offshoring.
- GOP: Ben Lange. Campaign website says: "I oppose cap-and-trade and any energy tax legislation that will force jobs oversees." 162

Iowa-2: Dave Loebsack is incumbent.

- Democrat: Campaign website says: "We must stop large corporations from moving Iowa jobs overseas, and we must stop those same corporations from using international tax loopholes to do just that."
- GOP: Marianette Miller-Meeks. Campaign website says: "Support tax incentives for businesses that create jobs here in the US, instead of jobs overseas in countries like China." Website and paid ad criticized cap and trade for sending jobs overseas.

Iowa-3: Leonard Boswell is incumbent.

- Democrat: Boswell. Website touts Buy America and paid ad attacks offshoring. 166
- GOP: Brad Zaun. Says: "We need government policies that open up the playing field, so Iowa farmers can better compete in the national and international markets. It is unrealistic that American farmers face high tariffs when exporting their products to foreign countries while those same countries can import their goods to the United States tariff-free." 167

Kansas

Kansas-Senate: Open seat vacated by Sam Brownback (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Lisa Johnston. An article reposted on the Moran website says: "She also is an advocate of fair trade policies, as opposed to free trade policies. "We need to make sure that domestic companies aren't put at a disadvantage," Johnston said." ¹⁶⁸
- GOP: Rep. Jerry Moran. Website says: "My legislation would enact the United States-Colombian Trade Promotion Agreement, and urge the Obama Administration to immediately send the Panama and Korea trade agreements to Congress." 169

Kansas-1: Open seat vacated by Jerry Moran (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Alan Jilka. Says: "Expanding our markets in Cuba, South America, South Korea and other countries will allow our farmers to do what they do best; feed the world." ¹⁷⁰
- GOP: Tim Huelskamp. Website said: "I will work diligently to ensure that the Kansans of tomorrow have the same opportunities to return to their communities that I did, that comprehensive legislation protects their interests without regulating them profitless, and that global markets are pursued to protect the value of their products." ¹⁷¹

Kansas-3: Open seat abandoned by Dennis Moore (D).

- Democratic: Stephene Moore. Website criticized offshoring. 172
- GOP: Kevin Yoder. Nothing on trade.

Kansas-4: Open seat vacated by Todd Tiahrt (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Raj Goyle. Website criticizes NAFTA and the WTO.¹⁷³ Ran three paid ads on offshoring.¹⁷⁴
- GOP: Mike Pompeo. Says: "Individual autonomy, protection of property rights, free trade among nations, limited government and broad political freedoms must be recognized by our Party as the most noble engines for prosperity that the world has ever seen." Said he supported NAFTA and GATT in a primary debate. 176

Kentucky

Kentucky-Senate: Open seat vacated by Jim Bunning (R).

- Democrat: Jack Conway. Says: "However, more needs to be done to ensure that economic recovery in the Commonwealth and the rest of the nation is sustainable and puts our working families back on stable footing. That means closing tax loopholes, shutting down offshore tax havens and eliminating special interest influence from the tax code. It means getting serious about reevaluating trade deals and our economic policy towards China to ensure that our businesses are playing on a level field." Also opposes offshoring. 178
- GOP: Rand Paul. Strong opponent of NAFTA/WTO on sovereignty grounds. 179

Kentucky-3: John Yarmuth is incumbent.

- Democrat: Yarmuth. Ran paid ad on offshoring. 180
- GOP: Todd Lally. Campaign website says: "He's the first to formally announce he's running against Democrat John Yarmuth, and he says he has lots of policy questions for the incumbent: "We're going to get into that open trade policy that hurts Kentucky, we're going to get into that healthcare thing, we're going to ask him why he voted certain ways on certain things. We're going to ask him why we still don't have a bridge in Jefferson County." Website said: "Penalize corporations that ship good paying American jobs overseas and provide incentives for them to bring both jobs and overseas earnings back to the U.S." Ran paid ad on offshoring.

Kentucky-6: Ben Chandler is incumbent.

- Democrat: Chandler. Website attacked offshoring and NAFTA and touted TRADE Act. 184
 DNC ran paid ad attacking offshoring. 185
- GOP: Andy Barr. Website says: "I will oppose tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas." Ran paid ad on cap and trade jobs offshoring. 187

Louisiana

Louisiana-Senate: David Vitter is incumbent.

- Democrat: Charlie Melancon, Campaign website says: "End Unfair Trade Deals that Have Shipped Louisiana Jobs Overseas. Misguided economic policies like NAFTA and CAFTA have shipped Louisiana jobs overseas. It's not fair trade when foreign countries aren't held to the same workplace safety, environmental, and wage laws as the U.S. I'll keep fighting for fair trade laws that put American workers on a level playing field with other countries—and keep jobs here in the United States." 188
- GOP: David Vitter. Nothing on trade.

Louisiana-2: Anh Cao is incumbent.

- Democrat: Cedric Richmond. Ran PAID ADS on trade deals.¹⁸⁹
- GOP: Cao. Website said: "But Cao said Vietnam's progress on the issue of human rights has actually declined since around the time of Vietnam's admission to the World Trade Organization in 2007. "Rather than building stronger ties," Cao said, "the Administration should be holding Hanoi's feet to the fire on its human rights record." 190

Louisiana-3: Open seat vacated by Charlie Melancon (D).

- Democrat: Ravi Sangisetty. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Jeff Landry. Nothing on trade.

Maine

Maine-1: Chellie Pingree is incumbent.

- Democrat: Pingree. Website criticized offshoring. Paid and said she took on China's unfair trade practices.
 Paid ad said she took on China's unfair trade practices.
- GOP: Dean Scontras. Paid ad promising to "not ship jobs overseas." ¹⁹⁴

Maine-2: Mike Michaud is incumbent.

- Democrat: Michaud. Campaign website site has many fair trade statements, including: "Mike organized and formalized the House Trade Working Group (HTWG), a bi-partisan group of Congress people with backing from a variety of groups, including small business, farmers, labor, and faith organizations. The HTWG has worked tirelessly to oppose the expansion of NAFTA-style trade agreements." Criticized Colombia FTA. Ran paid ad on fair trade deals. 196
- GOP: Jason Levesque. Ran against fair trade. 197

Maryland

Maryland-1: Frank Kratovil is incumbent.

- Democrat: Kratovil. Paid ad attacked offshoring.
- GOP: Andy Harris. Says: "In his latest ad, Kratovil cites Andy Harris's signing of the Americans for Tax Reform Pledge, saying Harris "supports tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas." Once again, the independent site, Factcheck.org calls this ad "false," saying the Pledge "says nothing about jobs at all." In reality, Frank Kratovil was the one who voted for the so-called Stimulus bill, sending \$2.3 billion of manufacturing tax credits overseas, allowing China and other countries to make green windmills and solar panels for American use. What the Stimulus failed to do was create jobs in the First District." ¹⁹⁹

Massachusetts

Massachusetts-4: Barney Frank is incumbent.

- Democrat: Frank. Campaign website says: "Congressman Barney Frank today joined a bipartisan group of House Members in objecting to the decision of the Obama administration to send \$147 million a year for the next several years to Brazilian cotton farmers, responding

- to a World Trade Organization finding that American cotton subsidies have an anti-competitive effect on the rest of the world." ²⁰⁰
- GOP: Sean Bielat. Nothing on trade.

Massachusetts-5: Niki Tsongas is incumbent.

- Democrat: Campaign website features article that says: "Tsongas said area colleges and universities, like UMass Lowell, are promoting work-force training to "prepare folks for the future, as low-paying jobs are not coming back." She said we're "moving into a different universe." She noted that solar-panel manufacturer Evergreen Solar at nearby Devens moved part of its operations to China "because the costs are so much lower there for them to manufacture their wafers." She added that a stronger review of trade policies is in order to stop the tech loss. Tsongas agreed, though, that the future lies in a "skilled work force, entrepreneurship and innovation." ²⁰¹
- GOP: Jon Golnik. Nothing on trade.

Massachusetts-6: John Tierney is incumbent.

- Democrat: Rep. Tierney's website says, "John also helped pass legislation providing for \$75 billion in tax cuts for small businesses that will reduce costs for U.S. business, increase the competitiveness of their products, and close tax loopholes that encourage American companies to ship jobs overseas." ²⁰²
- GOP: Bill Hudak's website says, "It is no wonder that our companies and jobs are moving overseas to India and China; it is much cheaper to operate there because our government's unfair burdens don't give our businesses a fighting chance." ²⁰³

Massachusetts-10: Open seat vacated by William Delahunt (D).

- Democrat: Bill Keating. Says: "We all have friends and neighbors out of work. And we're all sick of our jobs being sent overseas," Keating said.²⁰⁴
- GOP: Jeff Perry says: "Our nation finds itself at a crossroads during these difficult economic times, facing high unemployment rates, a record high national debt and a growing trade deficit with other countries. Many industries continue to outsource or shed American jobs."

Michigan

Michigan-1: Open seat vacated by Bart Stupak (D).

- Democrat: Gary McDowell. Says, "We need to take a step back from free trade deals and take a close look at how we can get American manufacturing going again." ²⁰⁶
- GOP: Dan Benishek. Nothing on trade.

Michigan-2: Open seat vacated by Pete Hoekstra (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Fred Johnson. "Immediately modify existing tax policies to eliminate the incentives that reward corporations for moving jobs overseas. The companies that should be rewarded are those that keep and create jobs in the United States of America." ²⁰⁷
- GOP: Rep. Bill Huizenga. Nothing on trade.

Michigan-3: Open seat vacated by Vernon Ehlers (R).

- Democrat: Patrick Miles. Says: "End tax breaks for big corporations when they ship American jobs overseas. Insist on fair and reciprocal trade agreements since West Michigan workers and products can compete with any in the world when there is a level playing field." Accused opponent's firm of offshoring jobs. 209 Ran paid ads on offshoring. 210
- GOP: Justin Amash. Defended against accusations that his firm offshored jobs.²¹¹ Ran paid ad on Miles' overseas investments.²¹²

Michigan-7: Mark Schauer is incumbent.

- Democrat: Schauer. Says: "Mark has supported legislation to fully repeal NAFTA which has hurt Michigan manufacturers and sent hundreds of thousands of jobs to Mexico. Additionally, after discovering that materials used to promote the 2010 Census were made in China earlier this year, Mark introduced a bill that would ban Chinese companies from bidding on contracts with the U.S. government, since China has blocked American companies from its own government contracts. Mark is committed to leveling the playing field for Michigan businesses and workers by fighting for fair trade policies that will help put people back to work." Ran paid ads attacking tax dollars spent on jobs in China. 214
- GOP: Former Rep. Tim Walberg. Nothing on trade.

Michigan-9: Gary Peters incumbent.

- Democrat: Peters. Says: "Fight for fair trade policies that level the playing field for our workers; Enforce trade agreements and crack down on Chinese currency manipulation." ²¹⁵
- GOP: Rocky Raczkowski. Nothing on trade.

Michigan-13: Open seat abandoned by Carolyn Kilpatrick (D). Safe Democratic.

- Democrat: Hansen Clarke. Says: "Predatory Trade Practices: Industrial Policy: Government procurement needs to be reformed so that we buy our goods and services from American businesses and not foreign suppliers."²¹⁶
- GOP: John Hauler. Website criticized offshoring and trade deals like NAFTA and WTO.²¹⁷

Minnesota

Minnesota-1: Tim Walz is incumbent.

- Democrat: Walz. Criticized offshoring and auto bailout for not requiring U.S. production. ²¹⁸ Paid ad on offshoring. ²¹⁹
- GOP: Randy Demmer. Website criticized cap and trade for offshoring jobs. ²²⁰

Minnesota-6: Michele Bachmann is incumbent.

- Democrat: Taryl Clark. Campaign website criticized offshoring and China trade. ²²¹ Paid ad on offshoring and unfair trade deals. ²²²
- GOP: Bachmann. Nothing on trade.

Minnesota-8: Jim Oberstar is incumbent.

- Democrat: Oberstar. Website touted his role in strengthening Buy America provisions of stimulus bill. ²²³ Ran paid ad on sweatshops and deforestation in Malaysia. ²²⁴
- GOP: Chip Cravaack. Says: "Democrats, by supporting the Cap and Trade Bill, demonstrate that they are willing to eliminate current jobs and send them overseas rather than support the

American worker... This bill will increase commodity prices across the board and send countless primary and ancillary jobs overseas to less restrictive economies. The United States Cap and Trade bill will be a boon for foreign developing countries. This includes China, that is eager to invite businesses and jobs leaving the U.S into their economy. This will prove economically devastating to Minnesota citizens and the U.S. economy. Jim Oberstar's vote for Cap and Trade is a shrine to his disregard for the people he ostensibly represents."²²⁵

Mississippi

Mississippi-1: Travis Childers is incumbent.

- Democrat: Childers. Ran paid ad on trade deals. ²²⁶ Website criticizes offshoring. ²²⁷
- GOP: Alan Nunnelee. Nothing on trade.

Mississippi-4: Gene Taylor is incumbent.

- Democrat: Campaign website says: "On March 4, 2010, I introduced legislation to repeal the NAFTA--the North American Free Trade Agreement. Back in 1993, I voted against NAFTA, because I knew that this trade agreement would lead to a decline in jobs and our industrial manufacturing base. Since its passage, NAFTA has cost the United States millions of manufacturing jobs and hurt national security by encouraging companies to move production to Mexico. In fact, the trade deficit with Mexico and Canada has quadrupled since NAFTA went into effect. At a time when 10 to 12 percent of the American people are unemployed, I think Congress has an obligation to put people back to work. The high unemployment rate makes it the "perfect" time to push for repeal even though past efforts have failed. Timing is everything in life, and it's the right time to pass this legislation. Proponents have had more than enough time to make this work. It didn't. I have voted against every free trade deal because every one of them has been a bad deal." Ran paid ads on trade, including one "Against NAFTA."
- GOP: Steven Palazzo. Attacked stimulus for leaking. Campaign website says: "On my way to the Capitol last Tuesday, I was happy to be invited to visit with and speak to the Lamar and Forrest County Republican Women at their luncheon at the Ryan's Steakhouse. Protecting American jobs came up and the subject quickly turned to China and our trade deficit, the loss of over 19,000 Mississippi jobs to China, Chinese interference in American diplomatic affairs, Chinese control over 1/10th of our debt, and the fact that we seem to be exporting jobs and importing drywall, catfish, and other products that are harming our families. To protect American jobs and to protect ourselves from harmful Chinese products, we need to buy American made products."

Missouri

Missouri-Senate: Open seat vacated by Kit Bond (R).

Democrat: Robin Carnahan. Campaign website says: "Robin believes it's time to stop the giveaways to big corporations that ship our jobs overseas and start creating jobs here at home. Robin will fight for strong incentives and protections for manufacturers and small businesses to spur job growth in Missouri and across America." Ran paid ads on offshoring, as did DSCC. 233 234

- GOP: Rep. Roy Blunt. Advocated pending trade deals, ²³⁵ but also attacked Carnahan's record as an Export-Import Bank official. ²³⁶

Missouri-3: Russ Carnahan is incumbent.

- Democrat: Campaign website says: "Russ Carnahan has repeatedly pushed to close tax loopholes that reward corporations that ship jobs overseas. Ed Martin, on the other hand, signed a pledge promising to protect big tax breaks for corporations that send American jobs overseas. And he celebrated this past Labor Day by cashing big campaign checks from Republican House Minority Leader John Boehner, who has repeatedly pushed to sign flawed agreements like the North American Free Trade Agreement, which was responsible for sending at least 18,000 Missouri jobs overseas."²³⁷
- GOP: Ed Martin. Attacked stimulus for leaking overseas on website. ²³⁸ Ran paid ad attacking auto companies for shipping jobs overseas after bailout. ²³⁹

Missouri-4: Ike Skelton is incumbent.

- Democrat: Skelton. Website says: "Skelton and Bipartisan group of lawmakers urge Obama to back Colombia free trade pact." 240
- GOP: Vicky Hartzler. Ran paid ad attacking cap and trade-related offshoring.²⁴¹

Missouri-7: Open seat vacated by Roy Blunt (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Scott Eckersley. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Billy Long. Says: "Billy supports free trade, which opens new markets for goods from southwest Missouri, drives the price of goods lower by creating competition, and creates new opportunities for economic growth. Free trade agreements are essential to keeping our nation competitive in the global economy, and Billy will fight to make sure that our government does not obstruct the free operation of the market." 242

Montana – NO COMPETITIVE RACES

Nebraska

Nebraska-2: Lee Terry is incumbent.

- Democrat: Tom White. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Terry. Nothing on trade.

Nevada

Nevada-Senate: Harry Reid is incumbent.

- Democrat: Harry Reid. Ran paid ads on offshoring.²⁴³
- GOP: Sharon Angle. Nothing on trade.

Nevada-3: Dina Titus is incumbent.

- Democrat: Titus. Website said: "That's why Dina Titus will continue to fight for the hardworking people of District Three and stand up to the corporate giants that give big bonuses to their CEOs and ship our jobs overseas." Two paid ads on offshoring, one in Spanish. 245
- GOP: Joe Heck. Criticized stimulus for leaking. ²⁴⁶

New Hampshire

New Hampshire-Senate: Open seat vacated by Judd Gregg (R).

- Democrat: Rep. Paul Hodes. Website and paid ads criticized offshoring. 247 248
- GOP: Kelly Ayotte. Criticized the stimulus bill for leaking overseas. ²⁴⁹

New Hampshire-1: Carol Shea-Porter is incumbent.

- Democrat: Shea-Porter. Website says: "As a member of the House Trade Working Group, I believe it is critical to spur job growth in the U.S., not in China and India." Ran paid ad on trade deals. 251
- GOP: Frank Guinta. Website said: "Shea-Porter has parroted a typical liberal talking point on the issue as part of her campaign, claiming she is against such tax cuts. Yet Shea-Porter voted to send more than two billion dollars to companies that send jobs to countries like China, South Korean and Spain." ²⁵²

New Hampshire-2: Open seat vacated by Paul Hodes (D).

- Democrat. Ann Kuster. Says: "Support and advance "fair" trade agreements between the United States and the rest of the world. The results of many free trade agreements over the last two decades have yielded mixed results at best with access to new markets and economic benefits all too often coming at the expense of U.S. jobs and essential labor and environmental protections. A recent study showed that New Hampshire has lost a higher percentage of jobs to China in the last decade than any other state particularly in the high-tech and paper industries job losses that have devastated the North Country. Ran paid ads on trade deals.²⁵³
- GOP: Charlie Bass. Defended against accusations of offshoring. ²⁵⁴

New Jersey

New Jersey-3: John Adler is incumbent.

- Democrat: Adler. Website criticized offshoring.²⁵⁵
- GOP: Jon Runyan. Nothing on trade.

New Jersey-6: Frank Pallone is incumbent.

- Democrat: Pallone. On his website, criticized tax loopholes that encourage offshoring and says that he has opposed "trade agreements that destroy jobs." ²⁵⁶
- GOP: Anna Little. Nothing on trade.

New Jersey-12: Rush Holt is incumbent.

- Democrat: Campaign website says: "The first thing that should be done is to "make jobs and make them here. If you want to create jobs, it's better to create them in the United States rather than overseas." One solution the 61-year-old Mr. Holt has proposed is closing taxbreak loopholes for companies that shift jobs overseas. "This law was created to prevent double taxation for companies paying taxes oversea and in the United States," he said. "Companies found it advantageous to ship jobs overseas and play the tax codes against each other." Ran paid ad on offshoring.

- GOP: Scott Siprelle. Defending offshoring, and role of offshoring companies in electoral process. ²⁵⁸

New Mexico

New Mexico-1: Martin Heinrich is incumbent.

- Democrat: Heinrich: "Let's be clear about what Republicans are suggesting we do. While most Americans are struggling to keep their jobs, Republicans want to give tax cuts to millionaires and billionaires. And Martin's opponent has pledged to protect special tax breaks for companies that ship our jobs overseas and is pushing the very same policies that created this economic mess that turned record surpluses into record deficits. We need Martin Heinrich to keep working for us and move central New Mexico forward."²⁵⁹ Campaign ran three paid ads on trade, attacking trade deals and Barela's role in lobbying for China's WTO accession.²⁶⁰
- GOP: Jon Barela. Attacked Heinrich's stimulus vote as sending jobs to China. The *New York Times* reported that Barela ran paid ads on trade.

New Mexico-2: Harry Teague is incumbent.

- Democrat: Teague. Website and paid ad attack offshoring. ²⁶²
- GOP: Former Rep. Steve Pearce. Criticized stimulus bill for leaking. GOP: The President mentioned several things in his State of the Union speech which I would be happy to work to pass... Free trade, with the caveat that our government enforce the agreements, so that fair trade occurs. GOP: The President mentioned several things in his State of the Union speech which I would be happy to work to pass... Free trade, with the caveat that our government enforce the agreements, so that fair trade occurs.

New Mexico-3: Ben Ray Luján is incumbent.

- Democrat: Lujan. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Tom Mullins. Campaign website says: "Environmental regulations must be balanced with realistic economic analysis to ensure that wealth creating business is not driven to China or other foreign lands." ²⁶⁵

New York

New York-1: Tim Bishop is incumbent.

- Democrat: Bishop. Ran paid ad on offshoring. ²⁶⁶
- GOP: Randy Altschuler. Nothing on trade.

New York-4: Carolyn McCarthy is incumbent.

- Democrat: Campaign website says: "The Education Jobs and Medicaid Assistance Act is not only completely paid for, it reduces the deficit by \$1.4 billion over 10 years—in part by closing a loophole that actually encourages corporations to ship American jobs overseas." 267
 Ran paid ads on offshoring. 268
- GOP: Fran Becker. Nothing on trade.

New York-13: Mike McMahon is incumbent.

- Democrat: McMahon. Nothing on trade.

- GOP: Michael Grimm. Website says: "Revisit our International Trade Agreements that have put our nation at a great disadvantage in competition with the likes of China and India. Instead of passing legislation that will hinder business and increase costs like the "Cap and Trade" bill and the Obama/Pelosi/Reid Healthcare Bill, we need to renegotiate our agreements and give our manufacturers a fighting chance to compete in a global market where other countries don't value employee rights or the precept of fair practices... Provide incentives for education in sectors that are currently lagging here in the U.S. such as engineering and science. It is simply unacceptable that major American corporations move overseas or outsource labor needs because they do not have enough qualified employees here at home. We must have a competitive educational system if we expect to compete with nations like India and South Korea who produce more engineers than we do." 269

New York-19: John Hall is incumbent.

- Democrat: Hall. Says: "In an interview after casting his vote, Rep. John Hall, D-Dover Plains, praised the bill for saving jobs, easing budget pressures and at the same time closing a tax loophole that he said has rewarded companies for sending jobs overseas... GOP challenger Nan Hayworth ... said she opposed closing the tax loophole for multinational corporations..."
- GOP: Nan Hayworth. Nothing on trade.

New York-20: Scott Murphy is incumbent.

- Democrat: Murphy's website says: "... Congressman Scott Murphy repeatedly challenged his opponent's position that closing tax loopholes for corporations who ship American jobs overseas is a "gimmick." Chris Gibson doubled down on his claim, again putting the interests of companies who are offshoring jobs over the interests of middle class families in Upstate New York. ... While Scott is committed to standing up for small businesses and middle class families here in Upstate New York, Chris Gibson prefers to protect tax loopholes for corporations who are shipping American jobs overseas," said Murphy spokesperson Josh Schwerin."²⁷¹ Ran two paid ads on offshoring.²⁷²
- GOP: Chris Gibson's website says: "Misrepresenting Gibson's position on Jobs: The commercial goes on to falsely claim that Gibson supports sending jobs overseas. "To imply that Chris Gibson, who grew up in a middle-class Kinderhook family and whose father was a union worker for Otis Elevator, is for shipping jobs to China is absurd and disingenuous. Chris Gibson is for strengthening American businesses to ensure they can create good paying jobs for American workers. It is Scott Murphy who has weakened American business and made it less competitive by voting for the government takeover of healthcare, cap and trade and card check," said campaign spokesman Daniel Odescalchi."

New York-22: Maurice Hinchey is incumbent.

- Democrat: Campaign website features an article saying: "The congressman says China is acting in an unfair maner by underpaying its workers and undervaluing its currency for an unfair advantage in the world marketplace. "All of this is being purposely done (by China) for their own objectives," Hinchey said. "It has to be competition that is honest, fair and open. "The most the president can do is to stop China from engaging in illicit operations to promote their own economy at the expense of ours," Hinchey said. "They've been doing it for years." Hinchey wants the president to take action, perhaps in the form of tariffs, through

the World Trade Organization, of which China and the United States both are members... In 2000, Hinchey opposed granting China "permanent normal trade relations" so that it could become a member of the World Trade Organization. Hinchey said he could foresee then what problems would arise. "I knew exactly what they were doing, exactly what the situation was," he said. "We need to deal with it because we need to do the right thing for the economy. We're doing it fairly. They are not."

- GOP: George Phillips. Nothing on trade.

New York-23: Bill Owens is incumbent.

- Democrat: Owens. Campaign website says: "We need to end the tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas while creating appropriate tax credits for those businesses that create new jobs here at home. In Congress I voted for H.R. 4213, the American Jobs, Closing Tax Loopholes, and Preventing Outsourcing Act, which would eliminate tax breaks for companies that outsource jobs..." Ran paid ads on offshoring.
- GOP: Matt Doheny. Defended himself against offshoring accusations. ²⁷⁸
- Conservative: Doug Hoffman. Nothing on trade.

New York-24: Mike Arcuri is incumbent.

- Democrat: Arcuri. Website says: "Mike is fighting for immediate action in response to China's manipulation of their currency and unfair trade practices which affects upstate New York manufacturers. Joining his colleagues in the House, Mike sent a letter in March to U.S. Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner and U.S. Commerce Secretary Gary Locke urging immediate action and he co-sponsored the Fair Trade Act to enforce it. In December he protested use of stimulus bill monies being used to buy Chinese made wind turbines for a Texas wind farm." Ran paid ads on trade, mentioning trade deals. 280
- GOP: Richard Hanna. Says: "Mike Arcuri said the stimulus would put American people to work, but 80 percent of the money for energy renewal is going to create jobs in China, India and other countries.²⁸¹

New York-25: Dan Maffei is incumbent.

- Democrat: Website criticized offshoring, and a newspaper article says: "He is sponsoring legislation to close corporate tax loopholes because, he says, it keeps companies from moving jobs overseas. "I think it would be a big boon, not just for upstate New York but for any industrial parts of the country because, it's not so much that it would create a huge incentive to make products here, but it would at least ... get rid of this huge incentive to make products other places." Ran two paid ads on offshoring. 283
- GOP: Ann Marie Buerkle. Nothing on trade.

New York-29: Open seat vacated by Eric Massa (D).

- Democrat: Matt Zeller. Says: "And our trade policies are still sending more jobs overseas. In Congress, I will fight to give our businesses and workers a fair chance to compete, both at home and abroad, by supporting fair trade policies and tax cuts to reduce the cost of doing business here in our area."²⁸⁴
- GOP: Tom Reed. Says: "Washington has given us record-level debt, which forces new taxes, creates anxiety and uncertainty about tax structure and trade policy, and discourages investment."

North Carolina

North Carolina-Senate: Richard Burr is incumbent.

- Democrat: Elaine Marshall. Campaign website: "For too long, we have rewarded companies that send jobs overseas. We need to close these tax loopholes and instead reward companies that create jobs here. The word "offshore company" should refer to rogue companies who are damaging the American economy. Stop Unfair Trade Agreements—We need to put an end to trade deals like NAFTA and CAFTA that destroy American jobs but reward shareholders. Trade deals need to take into consideration safety, workforce and environmental standards and trading partners that don't enforce such regulations should be penalized."²⁸⁶ Ran paid ads on offshoring.²⁸⁷
- GOP: Burr. Campaign website features an article that says: "Burr said he has supported trade policies that he felt were fair and opened new markets to U.S. goods."288

- North Carolina-2: Bob Etheridge is incumbent.
 Democrat: Website and paid ad on offshoring.²⁸⁹
- GOP: Renee Ellmers. Campaign website says: "Bob Etheridge says he is working to "promote an American Manufacturing Jobs agenda" to keep jobs from moving overseas, but he voted for permanent most favored nation trade status for China even though the trade deficit with China equals 2.4 million lost jobs (6200 in our district). He does not mention that the United States' forty percent corporate taxes are third highest in the world, while Communist China's is around twenty-five percent. Bob Etheridge has been part of the jobs killing Washington establishment that has chased business away with their tax policies and unfavorable trade deals."290

North Carolina-4: David Price is incumbent.

- Democrat: Price. Said on website that he voted "to end tax loopholes that encouraged corporations to ship jobs overseas.²⁹¹
- GOP: William Lawson. Criticized Price for voting for NAFTA and PNTR with China: "Congressman Price has voted to sacrifice our jobs and sovereignty with destructive trade agreements -- including with communist China -- while also voting to regulate local manufacturers out of the United States." Says that Cap-and-Trade pushes U.S. businesses offshore. 292

North Carolina-7: Mike McIntyre is incumbent.

- Democrat: McIntyre. Campaign website says: "Ilario Pantano supports reckless free-trade policies that have sent our jobs oversees. Mike McIntyre supports Make it in America laws to get our factories working again, and Mike has opposed every free trade deal because he wants to bring back our manufacturing base and create new American jobs."²⁹³ Ran paid ad on trade deals. 294
- GOP: Ilario Pantano. Says: "Globalization only works when the playing field is leveled. But when a player is stacking the deck and manipulating the cards, then one side is cheating their way to victory. In this case, I'm talking about the US and China and the undeclared trade war they have been waging on us for almost a decade. As if the predatory monetary and trade policies weren't enough, there are grave environmental costs for China's rise combined with

the tremendous bill our taxpayers carry in order to keep the international sea lanes open for Chinese trade. These are all topics on which I could delve in for days, and if you come by the office, I'll be glad to do it. But my bottom line is that all the talk about "job creation" must be rooted in some honest and ugly truth about where the jobs have gone (China, etc.) and why (taxes, trade policy, monetary policy, intellectual piracy and espionage). What we need to do to get them back: not be afraid to roll up our sleeves, step on some toes, and level the playing field." ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶

North Carolina-8: Larry Kissell is incumbent.

- Democrat: Kissell. Running on fair trade, ²⁹⁷ and withdrawal from NAFTA. ²⁹⁸ Ran paid ads on bad trade deals and Buy America. ²⁹⁹ The DCCC ran similar ads. ³⁰⁰
- GOP: Harold Johnson. Website and paid ads attack stimulus leakage.³⁰¹

North Carolina-11: Heath Shuler us incumbent.

- Democrat: Shuler. Ran on fair trade: "Speaking out strongly for the development of sustainable energy resources and against unfair trade agreements that send our jobs overseas, he was one of only two Democrats to defeat an incumbent in the South in 2006." Ran paid ads on opposing unfair trade deals. 303
- GOP: Jeff Miller said: "Fact Check: Lie: Jeff Miller is supported by Washington lobbyist and politicians who past trade deals that shipped our jobs to Mexico and China. Truth: Shuler welcomed the stimulus bill after voting no which gave \$2.3 billion in tax breaks to foreign companies creating jobs in China." 304

North Dakota

North Dakota-Senate: Open seat vacated by Byron Dorgan (D). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Tracy Potter. Questioned trade deficit. 305
- GOP: John Hoeven. Nothing on trade.

North Dakota-AL: Earl Pomerov is incumbent.

- Democrat: Pomeroy. Website said: "Earl is in a strong position to put North Dakota producers first when it comes to fighting for disaster relief, fair trade, and a strong safety net for agriculture producers... Earl is also a strong supporter of family ranchers and successfully fought for language in the Farm Bill to fully implement mandatory Country of Origin Labeling." 306
- GOP: Rick Berg. Nothing on trade.

Ohio

Ohio-Senate: Open seat vacated by George Voinovich (R).

- Democrat: Lee Fisher. Website attacked offshoring. Fisher said trade agreements and lax trade enforcement with Bush and Portman in charge caused serious economic problems... Four paid ads on offshoring and trade agreements. DSCC ran paid ads on trade.
- GOP: Rob Portman. Disguised anti-fair trade record. Detailed jobs plan: "In 2005, Rob left Congress when he was asked to serve as U.S. Trade Representative, the Cabinet-level official responsible for implementing and enforcing trade policy. In his one year in the job, Rob was

successful in reducing barriers to U.S. exports and increasing enforcement of trade laws to help level the playing field for American farmers, workers and service providers. Under his leadership, American exports increased and the U.S. brought its first successful legal case against China."³¹¹ Attacked Fisher in paid ads for jobs that left Ohio to other states.³¹²

Ohio-1: Steve Driehaus is incumbent.

- Democrat: Driehaus. Said: "helping to resolve a long-standing trade dispute between Chiquita and the European Union through our intervention with the U.S. Trade Representative..."³¹³
- GOP: Former Rep. Steve Chabot. Nothing on trade.

Ohio-4: Dennis Kucinich is incumbent.

- Democrat: Kucinich. In an interview posted on his website, Kucinich criticized NAFTA and offshoring.³¹⁴
- GOP: Peter Corrigan. Criticized offshoring on website, saying, "We need to be exporting products, not jobs." 315

Ohio-6: Charlie Wilson is incumbent.

- Democrat: Wilson. Ran paid ad on unfair trade deals like NAFTA, and preferences in government contracting for locally made products. ³¹⁶
- GOP: Bill Johnson. Ran paid ad on stimulus leakage. 317

Ohio-12: Patrick Tiberi is incumbent.

- Democrat: Paula Brooks. Campaign website says: "While Ohio has lost over 300,000 jobs to unfair trade including more than 5,000 jobs right here in the 12th Congressional District, Pat Tiberi has voted against closing tax loopholes for companies that ship jobs overseas"³¹⁸
- GOP: Tiberi. Defended offshoring on web. 319

Ohio-13: Betty Sutton is incumbent.

- Democrat: Sutton. Website said: "Betty is focused on creating good jobs here in Northeast Ohio and has always fought against policies that make it easier to send our jobs overseas. She is working to level the playing field for US manufacturers and small businesses that create jobs and treat their workers right, and their customers fairly." 320
- GOP: Tom Ganley. Says: "Our tax policies cannot continue to push jobs and wealth overseas and offshore as they currently do." The *New York Times* reported that he ran China ads.

Ohio-15: Mary Jo Kilroy is incumbent.

- Democrat: Kilroy. A week out, ran paid ad on bad trade deals and Buy America. 322 Complained about Stivers ad on stimulus leakage on web. 323
- GOP: Steve Stivers. Nothing on trade. Ran a paid ad on stimulus leakage. 324

Ohio-16: John Boccieri is incumbent.

- Democrat: Boccieri. Website says: "Instead of rubberstamping bad trade deals written by international corporate lobbyists, Congress must use that leverage to negotiate fair trade deals that benefit America's workforce." Criticizes NAFTA and CAFTA, attacks offshoring and touts TRADE Act cosponsorship. "That's why he is pushing President Obama to renegotiate

- NAFTA and other Free Trade Agreements with South Korea, Colombia and Panama..."³²⁵ Running paid ad on trade deals.
- GOP: Jim Renacci. Says: "For American companies and workers to succeed in a global economy, the federal government must allow American business to remain competitive. America has the second highest corporate tax rate in the world, and tax rate that repels new investment and job creation in the U.S., while pushing countless jobs and business overseas." A profile in the National Journal magazine had him saying he would consider voting for trade deals. 328

Ohio-18: Zack Space is incumbent.

- Democrat: Space. Says: "Ask any working Ohioan what NAFTA and CAFTA mean to them, and they'll tell you: These so-called "free trade agreements" mean lost jobs, outsourced industries, and more Ohioans struggling to put food on their tables. These disastrous trade "deals" have devastated Southeastern and East Central Ohio's manufacturing sectors, resulting in higher unemployment and the slow erosion of a once vibrant economic base. Like most Ohioans, Zack has seen the impact of these agreements and he understands them all too well. While traveling across all 16 counties in Ohio's 18th District, Zack has seen the hardships that Ohio families are facing, and he's committed himself time and again to making life better for residents here in Ohio. That's why Zack is currently cosponsoring legislation in Congress that would repeal NAFTA, putting an end to this agreement once and for all and helping to rebuild Ohio's industrial base. While politicians in Washington and Columbus work for freer trade agreements with countries like Mexico and China, Zack's working tirelessly to bring the good-paying manufacturing jobs back to Ohio. There's absolutely no reason why "Made in America" can't make a much-needed comeback, and Zack isn't going to stop until it does."329 Ran two PAID ADS on trade, attacking trade deals like NAFTA-like trade agreements. 330 Website criticized pending trade deals. 331
- GOP: Bob Gibbs. Says: "The Cap and Trade Bill will increase energy costs and send jobs overseas." Attacked stimulus leakage. The *New York Times* reported that Gibbs ran trade-related ads.

Oklahoma

Oklahoma-5: Open seat vacated by Mary Fallin (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Billy Coyle. Web says: "Billy's top priority is to bring job growth back to the private sector and keep American jobs from being shipped overseas." 334
- GOP: James Lankford. Nothing on trade.

Oregon

Oregon-1: David Wu is incumbent.

- Democrat: Wu. Criticized TPP and offshoring and touted TRADE Act. ³³⁵ Ran paid ads on offshoring. ³³⁶
- GOP: Rob Cornilles. An article posted on campaign website says: "The two also differ on trade. Cornilles says Wu opposes free trade. Rob Cornilles: "This is not only something I hear locally, but I hear it back in Washington, D.C., from the people who know best, who are in with him on committees and see his obstructionist view on trade. We must turn this around

if we are going to restore jobs and prosperity to Oregonians." Wu counters that Cornilles gets support from companies – like Nike– that benefit from imports and foreign labor. David Wu: "Since you've taken me to task so often for not being a good salesman to Asia, even though I'm the one trying to sell there, and you've been a proponent of companies that are bringing things into this country, I'm sort of wondering – what would you sell out first: our jobs? Or our values?" The two candidates agree on one thing: that jobs and economy will be the deciding issue in the race. And that's what they plan to focus on until November." 337

Oregon-4: Peter DeFazio is incumbent.

- Democrat: DeFazio. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Art Robinson. Says on website, "There is, however, a large difference between free trade and free trade agreements that contain all sorts of special interest provisions favoring those whose lobbyists and influence were most influential in writing the agreements. Such agreements work against prosperity and liberty." 338

Oregon-5: Kurt Schrader is incumbent.

- Democrat: Schrader. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Scott Bruun. Says: ""Here we sit on the Pacific Rim with great opportunities for agriculture and natural-resource industries," Bruun said. "Yet this Congress and this administration sit on their hands as far as trade agreements and everything else that could help." 339

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania-Senate: Open seat vacated by Arlen Specter (D).

- Democrat: Rep. Joe Sestak. Website criticized NAFTA. Ran paid ads on trade deals. PSCC ran paid ads on trade against Toomey.
- GOP: Former Rep. Pat Toomey. On defensive about record of supporting trade deals.³⁴³

Pennsylvania-3: Kathy Dahlkemper is incumbent.

- Democrat: Dahlkemper. Website touted her cosponsorship of TRADE Act.³⁴⁴ The DCCC and Dahlkemper ran paid ads against Mike Kelly on offshoring.³⁴⁵
- GOP: Mike Kelly. Website defended against accusations of offshoring. 346

Pennsylvania-4: Jason Altmire is incumbent.

Democrat: Campaign website says: "Jason is strongly opposed to any trade policy that ships western Pennsylvania jobs overseas. Jason recognizes that both NAFTA and CAFTA have cost our region thousands of jobs. Therefore, he pledged to vote against any trade policy that contains inadequate protections for American workers and fails to address workers' rights in all nations that are party to the agreement. Due to these concerns, Jason voted against the Peru Free Trade Agreement and vowed that he will not support the current version of the Colombia Free Trade Agreement should it be brought to a vote. Jason has also taken a strong stand against the illegal trade policies of competitors like China. While the U.S. has played by the rules of international trade agreements, our companies and workers are forced to compete against illegal Chinese dumping, government subsidies, and currency manipulation. Finally, Jason took a leading role in creating legislation that will significantly improve the

Trade Adjustment Assistance program which provides support and benefits to American workers who have lost their jobs due to failed trade policies." Both of his first two PAID ADS were on fair trade, including Buy America.

- GOP: Keith Rothfus. Nothing on trade.

Pennsylvania-6: Jim Gerlach is incumbent.

- Democrat: Manan Trivedi. Campaign website says: "If a company decides to ship jobs to a foreign country, the last thing we should do is reward them with tax breaks. I will fight to end the practice of giving tax incentives to businesses that give up on American workers." Two paid ads on offshoring. 350
- GOP: Gerlach. Campaign website says: "Jim is a leading advocate in Congress for protecting open space and preserving farmland, and has also fought for tax incentives to ensure businesses create jobs here in the U.S. instead of shipping them overseas."³⁵¹

Pennsylvania-7: Open seat abandoned by Joe Sestak (D).

- Democrat: Bryan Lentz. Website attacked offshoring. 352
- GOP: Patrick Meehan. Website touted his union endorsements and opposition to offshoring.³⁵³ Says: "In the past, the toughest competition for U.S. companies was from other similar companies located in other states or regions of the country. Today, that competition is with companies located overseas, in countries like India and China. Often, these overseas companies do not abide by the same type of environmental and labor protections that we have established here in the United States. That is not to say that we should erase these protections where they are prudent and responsible, but it underscores the need to be mindful of how every new legislative proposal coming out of Washington, DC can impact small business owners."³⁵⁴

Pennsylvania-8: Patrick Murphy is incumbent.

- Democrat: Murphy. Says: "Patrick Murphy thanked Citizens Trade Campaign for their endorsement and reaffirmed his commitment to protecting American jobs for American workers by fighting against job-killing trade deals. Murphy has broken with the Obama Administration in standing up against trade deals that would give American workers a raw deal, such as the Korea Free Trade Agreement that he felt put U.S. auto workers at a disadvantage. "Mike Fitzpatrick says he wants to take our country back back to the same failed Bush-Fitzpatrick policies that outsourced American jobs. Middle-class families can't afford another term under Congressman Fitzpatrick," said Patrick Murphy. Wrote an op-ed attacking Fitzpatrick's flip-flop on CAFTA. San paid ads on trade deals.
- GOP: Former Rep. Mike Fitzpatrick: "We must create an environment that allows American business to compete freely in the marketplace and we need to reverse the trend of outsourcing jobs to foreign countries." Ran paid ads on stimulus leakage. 359

Pennsylvania-10: Chris Carney is incumbent.

Democrat: Carney. Says: "Chris believes that small businesses offer the best opportunity for job growth and that we must put in place economic policies that spur innovation and job creation within those companies. He supports tax cuts for small businesses and working families. He introduced the Made in America Act to keep American companies their jobs and businesses in the America, instead of providing tax breaks to send them overseas. American

- companies and workers are the best in the world and Chris has no doubt that we are beginning to break through this recession."³⁶⁰ Ran paid ads on Made in America. ³⁶¹
- GOP: Tom Marino: "I am traveling throughout the district and listening to the concerns of people. One of the top issues that folks are worried about is jobs. I worked in a factory until I was 30 and personally understand the importance of good paying manufacturing jobs. The employers that I visited today are providing family sustaining jobs for people in this region. In order to create more jobs, they need a Congressman that will go to Washington and fight for less regulation, lower taxes, and fairer trade laws. As your next Congressman, I pledge to help the private sector create jobs, not stand in the way of economic development" said Marino. 362

Pennsylvania-11: Paul Kanjorski is incumbent.

- Democrat: Kanjorski. Website said: "Paul has been a champion for increasing the minimum wage and strengthening the ability of unions to fight for workers. He opposed unfair trade deals like NAFTA which disadvantaged American workers. He has worked to improve federal programs to retrain workers who have lost their jobs because of foreign competition." 363
- GOP: Lou Barletta. Nothing on trade.

Pennsylvania-12: Mark Critz is incumbent.

- Democrat: Critz. Says: "End tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas: In Congress, Mark will work to protect jobs in Western Pennsylvania by fighting to eliminate tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas. At a time when factories are laying off workers and, in some cases, closing down completely, Mark believes it is wrong to reward corporations for laying off Americans workers, while opening new plants in countries like China and Mexico. Fight for trade deals that protect American jobs and increase exports: Mark knows the American worker can compete with workers from any nation in the world if there is a level playing field. In Congress, Mark will put Western Pennsylvania's workers first by supporting trade deals that create new jobs and work to reform trade deals like NAFTA that send jobs overseas. Mark will oppose any trade deal that is unfair to the American worker and endangers jobs. He will insist that all trade deals include language for fair wage and environmental standards so American companies can compete and increase their exports." Two paid ads, including "ending unfair trade deals."
- GOP: Tim Burns. Says: "While Tim Burns is campaigning to stop the Obama/Biden plan to ship local energy jobs to China, Mark Critz is busy scheduling his next event to raise thousands of dollars for his campaign with Job Biden," said Burns Spokesman Kent Gates. "We already knew Mark Crtiz was a Washington insider who votes with Obama/Biden 94% of the time, but it is offensive that Critz's biggest supporters think we should pay to outsource our jobs overseas."

Pennsylvania-15: Charles Dent is incumbent.

Democrat: John Callahan. Campaign website emphasized fair trade. "While he's been in Congress Dent has: * Repeatedly voted for trade bills that send our jobs overseas ... Trade Bills That Send our Jobs Abroad: Dent has voted in favor of at least 5 trade agreements since coming to congress. Many of these, like CAFTA, and NAFTA before it, send our jobs to other countries." Paid ad highlights CAFTA vote. - GOP: Dent. Ran against fair trade: "Government should foster, not stifle, competitiveness in a global market. We should approve bilateral trade agreements with our allies Colombia, South Korea and Panama. This will boost exports and create American jobs." Criticized stimulus leakage. 371

Pennsylvania-17: Tim Holden is incumbent.

- Democrat: Campaign website says: "Tim is a strong opponent of trade deals that export American jobs, like NAFTA, Most Favored Nation Trade status for China, and the World Trade Organization. Bad trade deals have cost Pennsylvania over 142,000 jobs. Tim is a proponent of fair trade, not free trade." 372
- GOP: Dave Argall. Campaign website says: "We must build an environment that allows American business to compete freely, and stop outsourcing jobs overseas." 373

Rhode Island

Rhode Island-1: Open seat abandoned by Patrick Kennedy (D).

- Democrat: David Cicilline. Says: Manufacturing and Trade: "In Congress, I will work to create a "Made in America Block Grant" (MABG) that provides targeted allocations to retool existing small manufacturers and train employees.... Boost tax incentives for domestic production of industrial supplies and capital goods that U.S. manufacturers currently must import in order to make their final products; Protect the rights of U.S. manufacturers under existing trade agreements and safeguard Rhode Island jobs through trade pact reviews, improved oversight, and the creation of fair foreign trade standards; Enhance and protect manufacturing sectors that are especially important to Rhode Island, such as boat building, defense contracting, jewelry production, and paper and textile product manufacturing." Ran paid ad on Made in America.
- GOP: John Loughlin. Website said: "Stabilize the value of the U.S. dollar, thus stabilizing both the economy and the financial markets. Make free trade work for, rather than against, American workers." 376

South Carolina

South Carolina-1: Open seat vacated by Henry Brown (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Ben Frasier. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Tim Scott. Nothing on trade.

South Carolina-3: Open seat vacated by Gresham Barrett (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Jane Dyer. Says: "With the disappearance of textile jobs and the recession, South Carolina lost more than 90,000 jobs in just one year ... and more than 250,000 in the last four years. Many of those jobs won't be back no matter how quickly the economy recovers. We must look to new industries and technologies for the jobs of the future" 377
- GOP: Jeff Duncan. Nothing on trade.

South Carolina-4: Open seat vacated by Bob Inglis (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Paul Corden. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Trey Gowdy. "We believe in competitive fairness in trade." 378

South Carolina-5: John Spratt is incumbent.

- Democrat: Spratt. Web said: "He has been on the front-lines of the fight to protect American workers against cheap-wage imports. He voted against the treaty that ends quotas on textile imports, against most favored nation treatment of China and admission to the WTO, and against the Caribbean Basin Trade Agreement, the Andean Free Trade Agreement, the Africa Free Trade Agreement, and the Central American Free Trade Agreement. He has authored laws to curb illegal imports, open foreign markets, and make the Pentagon "Buy American." Criticized pending trade deals like Korea.
- GOP: Mick Mulvaney says: "Rules and Standards Do Not Equal Protectionism. I am a staunch supporter of free trade. However, I just as firmly believe that requiring food imports to be safe to eat, and toys free of lead paint, is not protectionism. Neither are environmental standards." Criticized cap and trade for offshoring impacts. 382

South Dakota

South Dakota-AL: Stephanie Herseth is incumbent.

- Democrat: Herseth. Website said: "In Congress, Stephanie continues to work to bring the solutions South Dakotans need during these tough economic times, advocating for policies that spur economic development. To support jobs right here in South Dakota, Stephanie voted to crack down on the off-shore tax havens of big corporations who ship jobs overseas and instead, give a payroll tax holiday to local businesses." 383
- GOP: Kristi Noem. Criticized stimulus leakage on website.³⁸⁴

Tennessee

Tennesse-3: Open seat vacated by Zack Wamp (R). Safe GOP.

- Democrat: John Wolfe. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Charles Fleischmann. Nothing on trade.

Tennessee-4: Lincoln Davis is incumbent.

- Democrat: Davis. Website says: "Lincoln has advocated revisiting our trade agreements. This includes GATT and the decision to bring China and India into the WTO—which handed American companies the opportunity to outsource jobs. Free trade agreements must be reciprocal." Ran paid ad on stopping bad trade deals.
- GOP: Scott DesJarlais. Website says: "He concluded, "This isn't something new for Mr. Davis, though. He has supported laws that force companies to ship jobs overseas and he has been a consistent supporter of increased spending. His lack of leadership costs us jobs and now it's robbing Americans." Ran paid ad on stimulus leakage. 388

Tennessee-4: Jim Cooper is incumbent.

- Democrat: Cooper. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: David Hall. Nothing on trade.

Tennessee-6: Open seat vacated by Bart Gordon (D).

- Democrat: Brett Carter. Nothing on trade.

- GOP: Diane Black. Nothing on trade.

Tennessee-8: Open seat vacated by John Tanner (D).

- Democrat: Roy Herron. "On his first day in Washington, Roy will file a bill to force the government to renegotiate NAFTA. This and other irresponsible trade agreements have sent more than a million American jobs overseas, hurting working families and devastating our communities." Ran paid ad committing to "oppose bailouts and bad trade deals like NAFTA." NAFTA.
- GOP: Stephen Fincher. Says: "Free and fair trade is essential to continued economic growth. When we buy goods from the rest of the world, they have money to buy our goods. Free trade creates jobs and lowers prices. Legitimate concerns exist about free trade being fair, but the rules governing trade with our global partners should protect American interests while expanding free trade." Ran paid ad attacking stimulus leakage. 392

Texas

Texas-17: Chet Edwards incumbent.

- Democrat: Edwards. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Bill Flores. Says: "Lessen the corporate tax rate in our country which is among the highest of all industrialized nations—these burdens drive millions of jobs and billions of dollars overseas... Focus spending on national security, economic growth, sound infrastructure, and trade." Ran paid ad on stimulus leakage. 394

Texas-23: Ciro Rodriguez is incumbent.

- Democrat: Rodriguez. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Ouico Canseco. Nothing on trade.

Texas-25: Lloyd Doggett is incumbent.

- Democrat: Doggett. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Donna Campbell. Nothing on trade.

Texas-27: Solomon Ortiz is incumbent.

- Democrat: Ortiz. Campaign website says: "The economy of the 27th District is dependent on the energy, fishing, agriculture and tourism industries. With two deep water ports, rail and international trade bridges trade is also important to the economy. Since the passage of the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the District has recruited many companies looking for a well qualified labor force and a good relationship with the maquiladora industry in Mexico."³⁹⁵
- GOP: Blake Farnenthold. Nothing on trade.

Utah

Utah-Senate: Open seat vacated by Robert Bennett. Safe GOP.

- Democrat: Sam Granato. Nothing on trade.
- GOP: Mike Lee. Ran paid ad on stimulus leakage. 396

Utah-2: Jim Matheson is incumbent.

- Democrat: Matheson. Web said: "Utahns are concerned about the safety of the products in our homes—particularly when it comes to lead in toys or dinnerware. Recalls of millions of toys because of dangers to kids from lead paint or tiny magnets that could be swallowed are disturbing. Many of these products—most notably toys are now made overseas and there are concerns that the Consumer Product Safety Commission is not doing enough to alert the public." Article on website says: "Matheson, who prefers to be called "independent," has refused to support a timeline for withdrawal from Iraq and has supported new free-trade agreements with countries such as Colombia, two recent examples of his centrist ways." 398
- GOP: Morgan Philpot. Ran against fair trade: "Ratify Free Trade Agreements. The United States has negotiated free trade agreements with Colombia, South Korea, and Panama that languish unratified. These agreements are with countries that already have access to our markets. The agreements would give our exporters access to theirs, with the resulting increase in domestic production that creates jobs."

Vermont – NO COMPETITIVE RACES

Virginia

Virginia-2: Glenn Nye is incumbent.

- Democrat: Nye. Says: "Glenn was then posted to the U.S. Embassy in Singapore, where he helped protect U.S. intellectual property rights during the negotiation of the U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement." The DCCC ran PAID ADS on fair trade attacking Rigell.
- GOP: Scott Rigell. Website says: "Renew our emphasis on American production and trade of goods, creating jobs, and reducing our trade deficit. We must strengthen American manufacturing and implement mutually beneficial free trade agreements."

Virginia-5: Tom Perriello is incumbent

- Democrat: Perriello. Touted opposition to president on Korea FTA. Said: "Southside Virginia has continued to suffer under NAFTA and the WTO: 5,900 5th district jobs lost to China between 2001 and 2008. We need better trade that benefits American workers, not deals that will send our jobs offshore. We must go after China aggressively for illegal dumping and for manipulating its currency. I have consistently stood up to both parties on this issue and affirm that we cannot have any new NAFTA-style agreements and must put American workers first again," said Rep. Perriello." PAID ADS on offshoring and unfair trade deals. 404
- GOP: Robert Hurt. A paid ad says: "Perriello says Robert wants to send jobs overseas. That's just false. But Perriello did vote to give tax breaks to foreign companies creating jobs in China." Said he would vote against Korea FTA.

Virginia-9: Rich Boucher is incumbent.

- Democrat: Boucher. Touted role in dumping investigation. 407
- GOP: Morgan Griffith. Says: "It's clearly deceitful for an ad to suggest that Congressman Rick Boucher opposed coal-killing Cap and Trade legislation, when he in fact voted for it," Griffith, of Salem, said in a news release. "Cap and Trade will destroy the coal industry, raise electric bills and send more American manufacturing jobs overseas to China." 408

Virginia-11: Gerry Connolly is incumbent.

- Democrat: Connolly. DCCC ran paid ad on offshoring.⁴⁰⁹
- GOP: Keith Fimian. Says: "Approve the free-trade agreements with Colombia, South Korea and Panama. Restrictive trade policies are job killers. Over 250,000 new jobs are created for every 1% increase in exports. Unions want to punish these countries and Connolly and his cronies are putting their Big Labor contributors over jobs for American workers." ⁴¹⁰

Washington

Washington-Senate: Patty Murray is incumbent.

- Democrat: Patty Murray. Website and paid ads attacked offshoring. Campaign website says: "One in three jobs in Washington state is dependent on international trade. Senator Murray works to open new markets to Washington's products, goods and services. Murray believes that trade is good for the economy as a whole, but she recognizes the costs as well. Senator Murray strongly supports programs to help workers and communities deal with the consequences of global competition." Ran six paid ads on offshoring.
- GOP: Dino Rossi. Criticized Murray for questioning NAFTA's provisions on cross-border trucking. 413

Washington-2: Rick Larsen is incumbent.

- Democrat: Larsen. Put out press releases on offshoring. 414
- GOP: John Koster. "We must stop handicapping American companies through one-sided international trade agreements that favor foreign companies." Denied support for offshoring, and pointed to stimulus leakage.

Washington-3: Open seat abandoned by Brian Baird (D).

- Democrat: Denny Heck. Running three paid ads on offshoring, which he also attacked on website. 417
- GOP: Jaime Herrera. Denied support for offshoring, and pointed to stimulus leakage. 418

Washington-8: Dave Reichert is incumbent.

- Democrat: Suzan DelBene. Supported exports and intellectual property protection on website. 419 PAID ADS on offshoring. 420
- GOP: Reichert. Nothing on trade.

Washington-9: Adam Smith is incumbent.

- Democrat: Website featured advocacy for TAA.⁴²¹
- GOP: Dick Muri. Nothing on trade.

West Virginia

West Virginia-Senate: Open seat vacated by Carte Goodwin.

- Democrat: Gov. Joe Manchin. DSCC ran paid ads on foreign trade deals on Manchin's behalf (see below). 422

GOP: John Raese. Campaign website featured an article that discussed DSCC ad: "Both party committees are now heavily involved in the race. The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee went up this week with a spot that hits Raese's record as a businessman. In the spot, an announcer says, "John Raese. He wants to eliminate the minimum wage. Failed to pay workers compensation for on the job injuries. But one thing John Raese does support? A pledge that protected tax breaks for corporations who ship our jobs overseas. It's true. Protecting tax breaks that reward corporations for sending our jobs overseas. West Virginia working families, we can do better. And we have to."

West Virginia-1: Open seat abandoned by Alan Mollohan (D).

- Democrat: Mike Oliverio. Says: "West Virginia has been the victim of cheap steel being dumped on this country from afar. Cheap because of unbelievably low labor costs, low safety standards and low environmental standards. We can no longer allow for that to happen to our workers. Many think the answer is in retraining our workforce. And although there is a place for that, it is significantly more important to actually MAKE STEEL IN THIS COUNTRY! Our national defense depends on it. Our manufacturing depends on it. And our very livelihood in many towns across northern West Virginia depends on it." He also said: "In the United States Congress, I will work to create fairer trade with China" Ran paid ad on Chinese subsidies.
- GOP: David McKinley. Nothing on trade.

West Virginia-3: Nick Rahall incumbent.

- Democrat: Rahall. Ran three paid ads on offshoring. 427
- GOP: Elliott "Spike" Maynard. Ran two paid ads attacking stimulus leakage. 428

Wisconsin

Wisconsin-Senate: Russ Feingold is incumbent.

- Democrat: Feingold. Website touts cosponsorship of TRADE Act, and said: "Russ voted against NAFTA, CAFTA, GATT, Fast Track, and Most Favored Nation status for China because he believed the unfair trade deals would cause Wisconsin to lose tens of thousands of manufacturing jobs and family farms. He will continue to fight against unfair trade deals that hurt Wisconsin businesses and cost us jobs." Ran four paid ads on trade deals.
- GOP: Ron Johnson. Attacked stimulus leakage in a paid ad. 431

Wisconsin-3: Ron Kind is incumbent.

- Democrat: Campaign website says: "I support tax breaks to encourage domestic manufacturing such as the 48c tax credit that seven Wisconsin manufactures have used to invest in clean technology. I'll also work to provide resources to help manufacturers find and develop new market opportunities so they can grow both here and abroad. In addition, I support closing tax loopholes that help companies that ship jobs overseas." Website also featured articles describing his support for WTO disciplines on agricultural subsidies. An paid ad on offshoring. As a paid ad on offshoring.
- GOP: Dan Kapanke. Nothing on trade.

Wisconsin-7: Open seat abandoned by David Obey (D).

- Democrat: Julie Lassa. Says: "Besides helping create new small businesses and existing businesses thrive, Julie believes in a jobs-first agenda which keeps American jobs in America. She would work to eliminate the tax loopholes that actually encourage companies to ship good American jobs overseas, and would make sure that bad trade deals like NAFTA and CAFTA that are sending our jobs abroad are reformed."⁴³⁵ The DCCC ran paid ads on offshoring against Sean Duffy. 436 Lassa ran paid ads on ending unfair trade deals. 437
- GOP: Sean Duffy. Website says: "The policies pursued by our current administrations in Washington and Madison will only drive up taxes, health care and energy costs and force Wisconsin jobs overseas."438

Wisconsin-8: Steve Kagen is incumbent.

- Democrat: Kagen. Said: "Business executives that place their profits over people, continue to ship our jobs overseas. I am working hard to negotiate balanced trade deals that ship our values overseas – not our jobs... I have also fought for balanced trade policy that looks out for American manufacturing and agriculture. If we can make it here in American, we should buy it here in America."⁴³⁹ Ran paid ads on unfair trade deals. ⁴⁴⁰ Website criticized TPP. ⁴⁴¹ GOP: Reid Ribble. Attacked the stimulus for leaking overseas.

Wyoming - NO COMPETITIVE RACES

ENDNOTES

¹ http://www2.timesdispatch.com/news/2010/oct/19/hurt19-ar-571597/

² http://palazzoforcongress.com/_blog/From_the_Blog/calendar/2010/4/

³ http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/10/21/tea-party-foreign-policy-a-bit-cloudy/

⁴ On Fox News on June 29, 2008, Rob Portman said: "WALLACE: Congressman Portman, let's pick up on trade. Senator McCain is for the NAFTA agreement. You were one of the big supporters of the NAFTA agreement. Isn't that going to be a tough sell to a lot of working-class voters in states like Pennsylvania and Ohio who may feel that NAFTA has cost them jobs? PORTMAN: Well, no, not when it's explained as to what NAFTA's done. ... I think when it's explained, when people understand that this has become sort of a convenient whipping boy for every other problem in America, and it's really not straight talk, and it's really not the kind of new politics that Senator Obama is talking about, I think people understand that we need to be able to be traders." See http://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2008/06/ed_rendell_rob_portman_bob_bar.html

⁵ "Stronger Enforcement of our Trade Laws. To ensure that Ohio farmers, workers and service providers have a level playing field in the global market, we must strengthen the enforcement of our trade laws to hold our trading partners accountable. During my one-year tenure as Trade Representative, I increased enforcement, including adding resources for enforcement and prosecuting the first successful case against China in the World Trade Court." Website: http://www.robportman.com/wp-

content/uploads/2010/07/Portman_Rob_Jobs_Booklet_Ver1REPRINT.pdf

⁶ As Robin Carnahan's big union bosses at AFSCME continue to air false attack ads against Roy Blunt, Carnahan is trying to hide the years she spent in Washington, D.C. as a banking executive at the federal government's Export-Import Bank where she played a role in exporting American jobs overseas. "Robin Carnahan exported American jobs for a living when she was a banking executive in Washington, D.C. for the federal government's Export-Import Bank," said Roy Blunt spokesperson Rich Chrismer. "Now she wants Missourians to send her back to Washington, D.C. to rubberstamp the liberal job-killing agenda of Nancy Pelosi, Harry Reid and Barack Obama." During Robin Carnahan's time as a banking executive at the government's Export-Import Bank, it made billions in taxpaversubsidized authorizations in the following markets that Carnahan's allies have decried as outsourcing havens: Mexico - \$5 billion, China - \$3.8 billion, Indonesia - \$2.9 billion and India - \$1.1 billion. Adding insult to Carnahan's injury is the fact that hundreds of millions in such authorizations were directed to benefit the manufacturing industries in the Chinese, Mexican and Indian markets. (Source: Export-Import Bank, Annual

Reports, 1993-1996) "The big labor unions who are falsely attacking Roy Blunt ought to examine Robin Carnahan's record of exporting American jobs overseas and the many taxpayer-funded pay raises she received to do it," said Chrismer. http://www.royblunt.com/press.php?id=173

⁷ See http://www.publicbroadcasting.net/kuar/.artsmain/article/1/1338/1717968/Columns/South-Asian.Americans.Discover.Political.Clout

⁸ Travis McArthur and Todd Tucker, "Lies, Damn Lies and Export Statistics," Public Citizen, September 2010. Available at: http://www.citizen.org/Page.aspx?pid=4398

⁹ For more details, see: http://www.citizen.org/Page.aspx?pid=4253

 10 http://www.facebook.com/notes/sarah-palin/stimulus-bill-anniversary-%20proves-not-so-stimulating/307630368434

11 http://www.citizen.org/Page.aspx?pid=778

¹² See: http/%20/www.citizen.org/documents/ObamaTradeCampaignStatementsFINAL.pdf

- According to a story in the *New York Times Magazine*, "Rouse and Messina see areas for possible bipartisan agreement, like reauthorizing the nation's education laws to include reform measures favored by centrists and conservatives, passing long-pending trade pacts and possibly even producing scaled-back energy legislation....

 Obama expressed optimism to me that he could make common cause with Republicans after the midterm elections." See Peter Baker, "The Education of a President," *New York Times Magazine*, Oct. 12, 2010. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/17/magazine/17obama-t.html?_r=4&ref=magazine&pagewanted=all
- ¹⁴ NBC News and Wall Street Journal, "Survey: Study #101061," Hart/McInturff, September 28, 2010, Available at: http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/WSJNBCPoll09282010.pdf

¹⁵ http://online.wsj.com/article/SB20001424052748703466104575529753735783116.html

- ¹⁶ Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research, "Democracy Corps: Frequency Questionnaire," October 6, 2010, Available at: http://www.democracycorps.com/wp-content/files/dcor100410fq10.pdf
- ¹⁷ Public Citizen, "Selected Campaign Statements By President Barack Obama on U.S. Trade and Globalization Policy," 2008, Available at: http://www.citizen.org/documents/ObamaTradeCampaignStatementsFINAL.pdf ¹⁸ "Letter to President Obama," July 22, 2010, Available at:

http://www.citizen.org/documents/KORUSLetterJuly2010.pdf

- ¹⁹ Richard Trumka, "Statement by AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka on the U.S.- South Korea Trade Agreement," Press Release, AFL-CIO, June 29, 2010, Available at: http://www.aflcio.org/mediacenter/prsptm/pr06292010.cfm
- ²⁰ Sierra Club, "Sierra Club Opposes the U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement," Green Trader: Sierra Club's Trade Campaign E-Newsletter, 2010, Available at:

http://action.sierraclub.org/site/MessageViewer?em_id=186683.0&dlv_id=160062

http://www.citizenstrade.org/pdf/Korea_Opposition_Final.pdf

- ²² Travis McArthur and Todd Tucker, "Lies, Damn Lies, and Export Statistics: How Corporate Lobbyists Distort Record of Flawed Trade Deals," Public Citizen, September 2010, Available at: http://www.citizen.org/documents/FTA%20Penalty%20Paper%20FINAL1.pdf
- ²³ Barack Obama, "Remarks by the President in State of the Union Address," January 27, 200, Available at: http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-state-union-address

²⁴ Frank Vargo, "Free trade pacts have been good for U.S.," The Hill, April 19, 2010.

- ²⁵ U.S. International Trade Commission. "U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement: Potential Economy-wide and Selected Sectoral Effects." USITC Publication 3949. September 2007, Corrected printing March 2010, at 2-14, Table 2.3, Available at: http://www.usitc.gov/publications/332/pub3949.pdf
- ²⁶ U.S. International Trade Commission. "U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement: Potential Economy-wide and Selected Sectoral Effects." USITC Publication 3949. September 2007, Corrected printing March 2010, at 2-14, Table 2.3.

 ²⁷ Robert F. Scott. "Trade Policy and Job Loss." Economic Policy Institute. We him Breen 1999. For 2010, at 2-14.

²⁷ Robert E. Scott, "Trade Policy and Job Loss," Economic Policy Institute, Working Paper #289, Feb. 25, 2010, Available at: http://www.epi.org/publications/entry/trade_policy_and_job_loss/

- ²⁸ Ron Kirk, "Remarks by Ambassador Ron Kirk on Enforcement at Allegheny Technologies," July 30, 2010, Available at: http://www.ustr.gov/about-us/press-office/speeches/transcripts/2010/july/remarks-ambassador-ron-kirk-enforcement-alleghn
- ²⁹ Remarks by Ambassador Karan Bhatia (Deputy U.S. Trade Representative) at Yonsei University, October 24, 2006, Available at:

http://ustraderep.gov/assets/Document_Library/Transcripts/2006/October/asset_upload_file496_9901.pdf

³⁰ See: http://www.cookpolitical.com/charts/house/competitive_2010-10-28_16-06-26.php and http://www.cookpolitical.com/charts/senate/raceratings_2010-10-21_13-23-26.php

http://www.sewellforcongress.com/campaign_news/press_releases?id=0001

http://www.kirkpatrickforarizona.com/press_release/kirkpatricks_congressional_campaign_bolstered_by_arizonas_law_enforce

- ³⁹ http://www.gosarforcongress.com/article/the-u-s--chamber-of-commerce-endorses-dr--paul-gosar
- 40 http://www.gosarforcongress.com/email/email.php?ID=138
- 41 http://www.hulburdforcongress.com/issues/2
- 42 http://www.quayleforcongress.com/issues-2/bens-blueprint/
- 43 http://www.grijalvaforcongress.com/?page_id=277
- 44 http://www.youtube.com/user/PeopleForGrijalva#p/u/10/mc6-afQDd-w
- 45 http://www.ruth4az.com/Issues/EconomyCanBeStrongAgain.html
- 46 http://www.giffordsforcongress.com/2010/10/07/kelly-sticks-to-joblessness-plan-and-continues-assault-on-middle-class/
- ⁴⁷ http://www.votejessekelly.com/issues
- 48 http://www.blancheforsenate.com/page?id=0013
- 49 http://www.blancheforsenate.com/news/releases?id=0087
- 50 http://www.blancheforsenate.com/issues?id=0001
- 51 http://nwahomepage.com/content/fulltext_news/?cid=151061
- ⁵² http://www.chadcauseyf<u>orcongress.com/issues</u>, July 21, 2010.
- http://www.elliottforcongress.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/10/Church-The-Tim-Griffin-Facts.pdf
- 54 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6L_1cK4Zmrs
- 55 http://www.timgriffinforcongress.com/issues.php#trade
- ⁵⁶ http://www.whitakerforcongress.com/issues/
- 57 http://74.54.136.149/~womackfo/?q=content/foreign-affairs
- ⁵⁸ http://74.54.136.149/~womackfo/?q=content/energy
- ⁵⁹ http://www.mikeross.com/issues?id=0012
- 60 http://www.barbaraboxer.com/issues?id=0016
- 61 http://www.barbaraboxer.com/video?id=50 and

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nymhWSerWXg&feature=player_embedded#!

62 Goes on to say: "The Korea-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, signed in June 2007, is the largest and most significant agreement signed outside North America – but it has yet to be ratified. South Korea is California's fifth-largest export market: in 2008. California exported over \$7.7 billion in goods to South Korea. The FTA with Colombia was signed in November 2006, yet Congress has failed to even take up the agreement. Since December 1991, most Colombian exporters have enjoyed duty-free access to markets in the United States; the Colombia FTA would give American exporters access to similar opportunities. In the more than three years since the FTA was signed, American companies have paid an estimated \$2.4 billion in tariffs on U.S. exports to Colombia. The Panama TPA is a critical element of the U.S. strategy to liberalize trade through multilateral, regional and bilateral initiatives. Bilateral and regional agreements complement the possible goal of creating a Free Trade Area of the Americas. The TPA will increase momentum toward lowering trade barriers and set a positive example for other small economies in the Western Hemisphere. Failure to approve these agreements puts the United States at a competitive disadvantage against the European Union and Canada as both are pushing hard to negotiate, approve and implement their FTAs with South Korea and Colombia in the coming year. Specifically, continued failure to ratify these agreement would lead to a decline of \$40.2 billion in U.S. exports; job losses could surpass 380,000. http://www.carlyforca.com/downloads/jobs-for-americans-plan.pdf

³¹ http://www.brightforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=28

³² http://mobrooksforcongress.com/n/?page_id=304

http://www.sewellforcongress.com/campaign_news/press_releases?id=0003. Also said: "My top priority in Congress will be economic development and creating jobs. Too many of us in West Alabama have been living in a bad economy for much longer than the rest of the country. In parts of this district we've been poor for so long that we've given up the hope of ever reaching the middle class. On my watch, I'll start to restore that hope because we can't afford to turn a blind eye to eroding jobs and industry anymore. That's why I support using Federal money to create jobs by investing in locally owned and run businesses. I'll push for more tax cuts and tax breaks that will allow our local businesses invest more of their profits, tax free, while going after the corporations that take our tax money for job creation then move our jobs overseas," said Sewell.

³⁴ http://donchamberlain.me/id7.html

³⁵ http://www.scottmcadams.org/issues/view_issues.php?id=13

³⁶ http://joemiller.us/compare/joe-vs-lisa-amnesty

³⁷ http://joemiller.us/press/miller-calls-on-alaskans-to-look-to-the-future

⁶³ http://www.jerrymcnerney.org/index.php/economy/

⁶⁴ http://www.harmerforcongress.com/uploads/Garamendi_Mailer_Mistake.pdf

⁶⁵ http://www.recordnet.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20101009/A_NEWS/10090328

⁶⁶ http://www.vidakforcongress.com/?pg=issues&spg=Agriculture

⁶⁷ http://www.andionforcongress.com/, accessed Oct. 5, 2010.

⁶⁸ http://www.electpougnet.com/?p=113

⁶⁹ "Yesterday, Congresswoman Bono Mack voted against a jobs bill that will save at least 16,500 teaching jobs and closes tax loopholes that encourage corporations to ship American jobs overseas; it also reduces the deficit by \$1.4 billion. The bill Bono Mack voted against was immediately signed into law by the President. In response, the campaign manager for Mayor Steve Pougnet, Jordan Marks issued the following statement: "This economic downturn has hurt all of us in Riverside County but Congresswoman Bono Mack made it clear again yesterday that while we struggle through difficult times, Bono Mack isn't working for us. On 9 different occasions Bono Mack raised her own pay, yet yesterday the Congresswoman voted to protect tax breaks for companies that ship American jobs overseas at the expense of protecting jobs for teachers, police officers and firefighters, After 12 years of Congresswoman Bono Mack's record of ineffectiveness, it is time for a Congressman who will fight for us every day." http://www.electpougnet.com/?p=705

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lh1wIjmEpwo

- 71 http://www.loretta.org/issues
- ⁷² http://www.loretta.org/issues
- 73 http://www.loretta.org/content/liberal-oc-%E2%80%93-%E2%80%9Csanchez-only-member-oc-congressional-delegation-support-jobs-bill%E2%80%9D
- ⁷⁴ http://www.denverpost.com/nationalpolitics/ci_16482632
- 75 http://buckforcolorado.com/ken-buck-interview
- ⁷⁶ http://buckforcolorado.com/bennet-makes-big-money-chinese-and-russian-human-rights-violators
- ⁷⁷ http://www.salazarforcongress.com/issues/working-for-agriculture
- ⁷⁸ http://www.corygardner.com/2010Jobs-Future
- ⁷⁹ http://www.perlmutterforcolorado.com/page/4
- 80 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Jfh1ZVSRU8
- 81 http://www.frazierforcolorado.com/?q=inthenews
- 82 http://www.youtube.com/user/FrazierForColorado#p/a/u/0/HDRIAuNhHNk
- 83 http://www.richardblumenthal.com/News/PressReleases/73
- http://www.richardblumenthal.com/blog/main/2010/10/07/richard-wins-first-debate-highlights-and-fact-checks;

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SsXM8KNDPMM&feature=player_embedded

- 85 http://www.linda2010.com/issues/economy/
- 86 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NgnzJls2BRw
- 87 http://www.chrismurphy.com/issues/economy
- 88 http://www.youtube.com/chrismurphyct#p/u/3/1BJtTeIDrek and

http://www.youtube.com/chrismurphyct#p/u/10/3RGL5AZJZ4A

- 89 http://samforcongress.com/news/murphy%E2%80%99s-attack-ad-desperate-attempt-at-diversion/42808/
- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q3MhQ43OzIc
- http://www.chriscoons.com/issues/economy/. Also says: "Chris Coons approaches military and foreign policy matters as a Truman Democrat. Our nation is best served by a robust, engaged foreign policy, based in diplomacy and strategic partnerships with other nations. We need a well-trained, sophisticated national security and intelligence capability, and policies and practices that recognize the link between our security and development, fair trade, and human rights." http://www.chriscoons.com/issues/nationalsecurity
- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SwmTYWQKQLw&feature=player_embedded http://www.youtube.com/user/chriscoonsdotcom#p/a/u/0/VZ3qz60FA-A
- 93 http://debate.christine2010.com/debate-fact-check-chris-coons-says-he-wants-to-stop-outsourcing-of-jobs/
- 94 http://www.delawareonline.com/article/20101010/OPINION07/10100315

http://www.delawareonline.com/article/20101022/NEWS02/10220354&theme=ELECTION2010

See also:

http://www.johncarneyforcongress.com/main.cfm?actionId=globalShowStaticContent&screenKey=cmpAccomplishments&type=2&s=carney

95 "Kendrick is the only candidate who supports closing unfair tax loopholes for companies that ship jobs overseas.

For too long, Washington has favored the needs of the Big Banks on Wall Street over the workers and small business owners on Main Street. America's workers are the best in the world and, as Florida's senator, Kendrick will invest in their future by supporting the President's plan to create millions of new jobs in green technologies, rebuild our crumbling infrastructure and increase funding for research and development. He understands that workers deserve decent pay, which is why he supports raising the minimum wage. Kendrick supports the right of workers to organize unions. He has been a consistent and longtime supporter of the Employee Free Choice Act, and championed worker-safety and protection legislation. He also supports fair trade agreements with labor and environmental standards that protect workers. In recognition of his longtime support of working Americans, Kendrick has been endorsed by numerous labor groups, including the AFL-CIO, AFSCME, SEIU, the Fraternal Order of Police, the International Association of Firefighters, the National Education Association and the Florida Education Association, the Building and Construction Trades, IUPAT, the National Association of Letter Carriers, and many more."

http://www.kendrickmeek.com/index.php/issues/economy_and_jobs/

- 96 http://www.marcorubio.com/rubio-announces-six-simple-ways-to-help-floridas-agriculture-community/
- 97 http://www.southerlandforcongress.com/Default.aspx?tabid=4129
- 98 http://www.jimpiccillo.com/page/candidates-reveal-ways-to-create-jobs

106 http://www.sandyadams.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=news.details&ArticleId=67

http://www.scottforga.com/index.php/2010/09/scott-surges-to-8-point-lead-in-new-poll

113 http://www.voutube.com/user/AustinScottCongress#p/u/0/0haMsuuSNFY and

http://www.youtube.com/user/AustinScottCongress#p/u/1/grXdSPf7A9M

http://www.youtube.com/user/teambarrowga12#p/a/u/1/Mvu_qPOwSfg

http://www.youtube.com/user/teambarrowga12#p/a/u/0/kuMkh2aBQTI

115 http://raymckinney.org/issues/create-jobs/

http://www.youtube.com/user/AlexiforIllinois#p/c/B9261E74D270414A/1/rCv1ee9TGj0

http://www.youtube.com/user/AlexiforIllinois#p/c/B9261E74D270414A/4/gF4n4MffGBM

⁹⁹ http://www.edwards2010.com/issues/economy

http://electdennisross.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/The-State-of-the-Race.pdf

http://www.peopleforrandy.com/randyissues.htm

http://www.fredericawilsonforcongress.com/post/news,press-release-senator-frederica-wilson-haiti-needs-our-attention-now:

[&]quot;Senator Wilson said: "With the selection of Bill Clinton, the issues facing Haiti will now get greater attention. Last year's natural disasters left Haiti's economy on the brink and its families struggling. We need to do more to help Haiti rebuild and that includes trade preferences for Haitian clothing exports. As Congresswoman, that's something I'd support. Haiti needs more than just aid, it needs opportunity and sustainable development."

103 http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:Ln813c3QqtUJ:allenwestforcongress.com/press-release/west-

http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:Ln813c3QqtUJ:allenwestforcongress.com/press-release/west-denounces-cap-and-trade-bill+overseas+site:allenwestforcongress.com/&cd=5&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us&client=firefox-a local http://kosmasforcongress.com/node/174

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oM5n3nO111U&feature=player_embedded#!. Page said: We just released a new television advertisement demonstrating the choice that Central Florida voters have in this election. While I'm fighting for jobs here in Central Florida, Sandy Adams has signed a pledge to protect tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas. Sandy Adams' strange ideas would hurt the hard-working people of Central Florida and don't represent our priorities. I am working towards real solutions for creating local jobs, including tax cuts for small businesses, and I voted to close a loophole that would encourage companies to ship jobs overseas. We need to be doing everything we can to create jobs here, at home, and I will continue fighting to grow our economy and ensure a brighter future for our communities. I hope that I can continue to count on your support as we approach election day. It is important that we are able to get this message out to as many people as possible."

http://joegarcia2010.com/media/releases/remarks_on_colombian_election/

¹⁰⁸ http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702303496104575560492597268992.html

http://www.sanfordbishop.com/node/475. Also said: "He also shared with the audience that he is working with colleagues to push the Administration to resolve issues that result in delays of agriculture exports. Congressman Bishop is co-sponsoring a bill supporting increased market access for exports of United States beef and beef-products to Japan. This week he wrote a letter to U.S. Trade Representative Ronald Kirk expressing his concern regarding the ban imposed on U.S. poultry exports to Russia, a situation that severely impacts Georgia's poultry industry." http://www.sanfordbishop.com/node/452

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MXP3CEd2dnw

http://robwoodall.com/index.php/issues/

http://www.scottforga.com/index.php/2010/06/austin-scott-opens-macon-based-headquarters/

¹¹⁶ http://raymckinney.org/issues/immigration

http://www.hanabusa2010.com/news/clip/hawaii_delegation_splits_over_small_business_credit_bill

http://www.youtube.com/user/DCCCLive#p/u/68/_bg9Vap7xQI

http://www.djou.com/profiles/blogs/djou-releases-tv-ad-hawaii

¹²⁰ http://www.djou.com/profiles/blogs/djou-statement-on-the-false

http://cdapress.com/news/local_news/article_c18b2bd0-4349-551c-b85c-f63681e8002e.html

http://chicagoist.com/2009/12/14/alexi_calls_for_fair_trade.php

http://www.alexiforillinois.com/issues/supporting-american-workers

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yagTl0hOdvc&feature=player_embedded and

http://www.kirkforsenate.com/?p=2843

¹²⁶ http://www.kirkforsenate.com/?p=181

¹²⁷ "Jobs aren't coming back to Illinois when we have Congressmen like Melissa Bean punishing small businesses to finance big government and voting for policies that outsource jobs overseas." http://walshforcongress.com/2010/04/13/jobless-recovery-only-if-melissa-bean-gets-her-way/

http://www.doldforcongress.com/pages/news___press_releases/190.php?aid=70

Oct. 3, 2010 - http://www.doldforcongress.com/pages/jobs_and_the_economy/221.php

¹³⁰ Said: "Putting Illinois jobs and working families first, Congresswoman Debbie Halvorson (IL-D) will vote on Tuesday to close tax loopholes that encourage big corporations to ship jobs overseas. Voters however deserve to know, would Adam Kinzinger vote to protect American jobs and working families by closing these harmful loopholes? "Illinois voters have asked Adam Kinzinger repeatedly if he would side with working families to end unfair trade policies and close tax loopholes that ship jobs overseas, or side with Washington insiders and big corporations who have killed thousands of jobs at home," said Travis Worl, Campaign Manager for Halvorson for Congress. "This Tuesday, when the House votes to finally close these loopholes,

Adam Kinzinger will have one more chance to answer that question and Illinois voters will be waiting." While Congresswoman Halvorson has stood with working families to protect Illinois jobs and bring new economic opportunities to our district, Adam Kinzinger has claimed that his "main goal" would be to advocate for new unfair trade agreements that give foreign companies and workers an advantage over Illinois working men and women. According to the Economic Policy Institute, unfair trade deals have cost Illinois alone over 260,000 jobs. "This Tuesday voters will see once more that Congresswoman Halvorson stands with working families when she votes on ending these loopholes once and for all," said Worl. "Unfortunately, their question still stands: would Adam Kinzinger vote to close loopholes that ship jobs overseas?"

http://www.debbiehalvorson.com/blog_details.asp?id=252&page=1

- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xpBHwZZYkqs&feature=player_embedded
- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bMoUEcnAH2o
- http://www.billfoster.com/issues/economy/
- 134 http://www.billfoster.com/issues/manufacturing/

Poorly conceived and badly executed trade agreements: In all trade negotiations, three things are on the table: Manufacturing, Agriculture, and Financial Services. Bill believes that for decades, the United States was ill-served by trade agreements influenced by special interests and their lobbyists who pushed forward the priorities of Wall Street at the expense of U.S. manufacturers, workers, and farmers. The most glaring example of this was allowing China to join the WTO without an agreement that China stop manipulating its currency. Currency manipulation artificially lowers the cost of imported goods made in China by 30-40%, undercutting U.S. businesses and costing our economy jobs. While currency manipulation and the large capital flows it generates produce huge profits for Wall Street, it has been a disaster for U.S. industry and agriculture. The dream among some of these special interests was that the U.S. should give up on manufacturing and become Bankers and Financial Services salesmen to the world has turned into a nightmare.

- 135 http://hultgrenforcongress.com/hultgren-participates-in-henry-county-farm-bureau-forum
- 136 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FqfYzMTi_kk&feature=player_embedded
- http://www.friendsofphilhare.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=282&Itemid=131

"For too long, U.S. trade policy has put American workers at a disadvantage. Residents of West Central Illinois know all too well what flawed trade policies can do to our local economies. In Galesburg, NAFTA drove 1,600 Maytag jobs to Reynosa, Mexico and these workers are not alone--just look at any corner of West Central Illinois and you can find similar stories. Sadly, these bad trade deals and failed tax policies have allowed corporations to find loopholes to export our jobs instead of promoting our exports overseas. This practice has to stop, which is why I have voted to repeal the tax loopholes that have led to the bleeding of American jobs to places like China. I will continue to fight every day to restore our manufacturing base and begin to again 'Make It In America.' I am a leading member of the House Trade Working Group which actively fights for fair trade policies that protect American jobs and industries, lifts people out of poverty, and preserves our natural resources. I will not vote for any trade agreement destined to ship more American jobs overseas and will continue to fight to overhaul the entire process so workers have a greater voice."

http://www.bobby2010.com/issues/. Schilling also put out a press release saying: "How can you lecture me on outsourcing when you vote for policies that directly cause it?" EAST MOLINE, IL.-Bobby Schilling, Republican candidate for Congress in the Illinois 17th District, challenged Rep. Hare to explain his voting record on outsourcing. Rep. Hare recently told the Quincy Herald-Whig, in regards to the US-Korea Free Trade Agreement, "I'm not going to vote for this agreement or any other one that costs even one America job. Enough is enough." In Rep. Hare's first television commercial, he asked viewers to vote for him, saying "If you're sick of Washington sending our jobs abroad and tired of China making things that should be built here in Illinois, then I'd appreciate your support." "Rep. Hare, how can you lecture me on outsourcing when you vote for policies that directly cause it?" Schilling said. "I think the voters are starting to realize that, when it comes to protecting jobs here in the United States, Rep. Hare is a fraud. He has supported bill after bill that sends jobs overseas. It's no wonder unemployment has doubled under his watch. I don't support sending a single job overseas, and with me, that's not just rhetoric, it's the truth." http://www.bobby2010.com/press-releases-archive/

- http://www.bobby2010.com/newsroom/press-releases/294-rep-hare-fluent-in-hypocrisy
- http://www.bobby2010.com/newsroom/press-releases/221-schilling-qrep-hare-continues-to-distract-public-from-issuesq http://www.ellsworthforindiana2010.com/economicrollout: "The World Trade Organization's "direct vs indirect" tax rules tilt the playing field, providing incentives for corporations to move jobs to other countries instead of keeping them here in the United States. Although an American company exporting an American-made product must pay the importing country's Value Added Tax (VAT), foreign exporters selling their products to American customers are exempt from their own VAT. In fact, WTO rules prevent the US from requiring a foreign-manufacturer to pay its corporate income tax on all imported goods, and prevent the US from exempting American corporate taxes on exports. This imbalance leads companies to move production to countries outside the US to make their products cheaper to foreign consumers. Brad will lead the effort to leverage America's power at the WTO to change these rules and end this perverse incentive to outsource American jobs
- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p6UQeXkFeL4&feature=player_embedded
- 143 http://www.youtube.com/user/Ellsworth4Indiana#p/a/u/0/Qx rXdzI4Qg and http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DchlgLOHhcU&feature=player_embedded

The campaign website also says: "This is an important issue in this campaign. In the Senate, Dan Coats was a vocal supporter of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which provided incentives for companies like Cerberus to move jobs out of America. But it's Coats direct work for Cerberus that is even more troubling. At the same time the company was firing

hundreds of hardworking Hoosiers, it was cutting Dan Coats a six-figure paycheck. We cannot keep sending people to Washington who are working to stack the deck against everyday Americans: loopholes that allow government contractors to ship jobs overseas, trade agreements that put American workers at a disadvantage, and economic policies that reward greed over a job well done. I have seen the strength and determination of Indiana workers, and with a level playing field, I know we can compete with anyone in the world. This election is a chance to turn things around. Together, we can make sure Washington works for everyday people again - creating good American jobs, protecting workers' pensions and retirement, and laying the foundation for Indiana's long-term economic strength and prosperity."

http://www.ellsworthforindiana2010.com/blog/post/moved_to_mexico_post/

144 http://www.coatsforindiana.com/2010/05/07/gop-nominee-coats-shifts-gears-in-u-s-senate-race-south-bend-tribune/

http://www.coatsforindiana.com/EconomicGrowth_JobCreation.pdf

- http://www.donnellyforuscongress.com/issues/economy/-opposing-trade-deals-that-fail-to-protect-american-workers
- 146 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JcWaj7COCWw
- 147 http://www.standwithjackie.com/media/pdf/Primary.pdf
- 148 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MQ2gqIs_CP4
- http://hayhurstforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=12; http://www.hayhurstforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=48
- http://gomarlin.com/issues/
- 151 http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/10/21/tea-party-foreign-policy-a-bit-cloudy/
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- 153 http://www.toddrokitaforcongress.com/rokitarecovery.html
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- http://www.hoosiersforhill.com/release_details.asp?id=38
- 158 http://www.youtube.com/user/HillBaron#p/u/1/_HVIEgei1FU
- http://madisoncourier.com/main.asp?SectionID=178&SubSectionID=287&ArticleID=59391
- http://www.brucebraley.com/release_details.asp?id=8. Also says:

http://www.brucebraley.com/release_details.asp?id=111: "During the post World War II manufacturing boom, our country succeeded because we were making our products in America and growing our food in America. We need to return to policies that encourage Americans to make it here and grow it here once again. But for too long, our government has given corporations greater incentives to send our jobs overseas, rather than giving them incentives to keep our jobs here, producing high quality, good paying jobs in our communities. For the past 33 years, the United States has had trade deficits totaling \$6.7 trillion. Deficits like this result in millions of lost jobs and give countries like China the opportunity to unfairly manipulate their currency, putting American workers at a significant disadvantage. I've been working hard to fix that. Earlier this year, the Populist Caucus released the American Jobs First Platform, which is a four-piece platform geared to promote legislation that will create good-paying jobs in the United States. Since then, we've also put forward the Make it in America plan, an initiative similar to the American Jobs First Platform, to pass bills that increase American manufacturing and create new American jobs. It is an effort that builds upon the work that we in the House have already done to create jobs and lay the foundation for a strong economy. The National Manufacturing Strategy Act was originally included in the American Jobs First Platform and later added to the Make it in America plan. This bill requires the same of the federal government as would be required for the growth of any small business: a plan. It requires the U.S. government to produce a comprehensive national manufacturing strategy, bringing together public and private leaders to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the manufacturing sector covering everything from trade issues to financing to the defense industrial base. Based on this analysis, the President's Board would then develop a National Manufacturing Strategy that includes short- and long-term goals for the manufacturing industry and specific recommendations on how to achieve those goals. Another bill we've been able to pass is The End the Trade Deficit Act, which would establish a commission to develop a coherent trade strategy to achieve balanced trade. We know that American workers are the best in the world and that when we make products here in America, they're high quality goods that we can be proud of. We've started to close the tax loopholes for companies that ship jobs overseas and as we continue to move our economy more, we need to ensure we're doing everything we can to encourage job creation here in America."

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http://www.youtube.com/user/RajTV2010#p/a/u/1/lvRp_xawv2o

http://www.pompeoforcongress.com/issues/?subsec=0&id=55

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- http://iackconway.org/index.php?/press-releases-on-the-issues/conway-calls-for-congressional-action-to-create-jobs.html The tax code has a loophole that lets companies deduct their foreign interest and income from their U.S. taxes. This provision essentially encourages companies to invest in foreign companies and ship jobs overseas. Experts estimate shutting this loophole would save \$100 billion over ten years. And it would be more effective if combined with an effort to shut down offshore tax shelters, which the Congressional Budget Office estimates could save an additional \$30 billion. Jack would close the corporate tax loopholes and shut down offshore tax shelters to so that big corporations pay their fair share and create jobs in Kentucky, not the Cayman Islands." http://www.jackconway.org/on-the-issues/cutting-the-deficit/
- http://www.randpaul2010.com/issues/q-z/sovereignty/
- http://www.voutube.com/watch?v=H5mOnmeTZOk&feature=player_embedded
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- http://lallyforcongress.com/2010/09/todd-lally-releases-jobs-plan-for-louisville
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http://www.benchandlerforcongress.com/node/59

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- http://www.chelliepingree.com/journal/entry/its-happened
- 192 http://chelliepingree.com/pages/issues
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- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F6ft_syO5YE
- 195 http://www.michaudforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=12: "Mike Michaud has become a national leader on the issue of trade. His unique background as a millworker has given him standing to advocate on behalf of workers across the country whose livelihoods have been jeopardized by short-sighted trade policies. Mike knows that American trade policy needs to change. He has seen the devastating effects first hand...Mike organized and formalized the House Trade Working Group (HTWG), a bipartisan group of Congress people with backing from a variety of groups, including small business, farmers, labor, and faith organizations. The HTWG has worked tirelessly to oppose the expansion of NAFTA-style trade agreements. He led the charge to stop the Colombia Free Trade Agreement which would have further jeopardized American jobs. Mike helped repeal the Bush Administration's "Fast Track" trade authority, which ensures Congress has proper oversight over future trade agreements. Mike authored legislation to ban the sale of products made in sweatshop factories. Mike supported and helped pass the Trade Adjustment Assistance and Globalization Act which extends and improves help for workers who lose jobs to foreign competition. Mike introduced the landmark TRADE Act, a forward thinking trade model for our manufacturers and businesses. Mike is fighting to reduce the American trade deficit with China and to ensure Chinese currency is not undervalued on the world market. 196 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xk8TphNPeJY
- "We cannot be a protectionist society this is a changing world, we live in a modern global economy, where communications, travel and goods are, quite frankly, regardless of border," says Jason Levesque, Michaud's Republican challenger in this year's election and a big supporter of free trade. The challenges faced by Maine's paper industry, Levesque says, are more a result of the state's non-business-friendly climate than foreign competition. "I'd argue that they need to look at the paper industry domestically and realize that there are paper machines and paper plants that are starting up in other parts of the United States, namely Virginia. So we're not necessarily losing jobs to foreign entities, we're losing jobs to other states because we are not a business-friendly district any more." http://levesqueforcongress.com/771

http://kratovil.com/p/salsa/web/press_release/public/?press_release_KEY=40

Andy Harris Would Outsource Jobs, Aug 12, 2010, Andy Harris Would Protect Companies That Outsource Jobs Rather Than Reduce the Deficit & Save Jobs at Home, Harris Opposed Legislation to End Tax Loopholes for Corporate Outsourcers... Stevensville, MD – Andy Harris this week sent a clear message to Maryland voters that if elected, he would represent the interests of companies who ship jobs overseas rather than fight to save jobs here in the First District.

Harris stated in a press release this week that he strongly opposed legislation passed by the House that will help state and local governments avoid massive, job-killing education cuts, while closing tax loopholes that reward multinational corporations for shipping jobs overseas. The measure is expected to save or create 319,000 jobs including 161,000 teachers' jobs and the jobs of police officers and firefighters. In Maryland, the bill will fund an estimated 2,500 teachers' jobs.

Harris is out of step even with leaders of his own party, after 17 Republican governors joined Democratic colleagues in sending a bipartisan letter to Congress stressing the urgent need for the passage of the Medicaid relief funding included in the bill. Furthermore, by closing the tax loopholes and trimming spending from other federal programs, the total package will actually reduce the federal deficit by \$1.4 billion. "Maryland families simply cannot afford Andy Harris and his support for corporate outsourcing," said Jessica Klonsky, Campaign Manager for Kratovil for Congress. "With many Marylanders still struggling to find work, Andy Harris would choose to protect big corporations that send American jobs overseas and vote against creating or saving 319,000 jobs. That just doesn't make sense."

The Facts: Harris Said He Would Vote Against Measure to Save Teachers, Police Officers and Firefighters' Jobs. Harris issued a press release on August 10, 2010 stating that he "can't imagine how a single member of Congress would vote for" the Education Jobs and Medicaid Assistance Act. [Harris Release, 8/10/10]

Law Cracks Down on Corporate Outsourcing of U.S. Jobs. The measure is paid for mostly by closing a tax loophole used by multinational corporations and by reducing food stamp benefits for the poor. [Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, 8/11/10]...

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- ²⁰⁰ http://barneyfrank.net/content/frank-attacks-wasteful-spending-brazilian-agribusiness
- http://nikitsongas.com/niki-news/tsongas-to-merchants-in-ayer-support-each-other#
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- ²⁰⁴ http://www.billkeating2010.com/node/1024. Oct. 5, 2010.
- http://www.jeffperryforcongress.com/posts/an-energy-agenda-for-american-prosperity, Oct. 5, 2010.
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- http://amashforcongress.com/news/employees-growing-west-michigan-business-invite-miles-explain-attacks
- 212 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tB7l4-BRreo
- 213 http://www.markschauer.com/about/issues
- 214 http://www.youtube.com/user/SchauerforCongress#p/u/9/aIwLhkzI7D8
- ²¹⁵ Said: "The outsourcing of American jobs to China, Mexico and other nations has had a devastating impact on Michigan. We need a plan that fights back. Gary Peters supports closing tax loopholes that reward corporations that ship jobs overseas while sticking U.S. taxpayers with the bill. Scare taxpayer resources should not encourage the exportation of our jobs. Instead, the U.S. should reward companies that hire American workers and invest in new equipment here at home. Under Peters plan, companies that add workers to pay roll or invest in new facilities in America would see an immediate tax reduction paid for by the elimination of tax breaks for outsourcing. When GM and Chrysler were threatened with bankruptcy, Peters stood up to those in Washington who would have simply let the American Auto industry collapse and slip into history. He was a national leader in standing up to the big banks who were trying to profit by forcing Chrysler into liquidation. When GM announced they were shutting down the Lake Orion plant, Gary Peters launched the Make it in Michigan campaign and 30,000 people joined the fight. The effort was so successful that instead of closing the plant, it helped convince GM to become the first automaker to build a subcompact car here in America. His leadership helped save thousands of jobs in Oakland County by protecting two General Motors plants from permanent shutdown and saving Chrysler from liquidation. Now American auto companies have started to bounce back and have begun to create jobs again in our community. Peters was also a leader in the effort to boost the economy through the Cash for Clunkers program, which provided consumers a rebate for trading in older, low mileage vehicles in order to purchase new fuel efficient models. The program spurred the sale of 700,000 new cars and increased overall GDP, giving our industry and economy a badly needed boost. Peters fought for a Clunkers program in which only North American built cars could participate, but some said that would violate international trade rules. Of course, Japan later announced that its Cash for Clunkers program would effectively bar American vehicles. This is exactly the sort of outrageously unfair trade policy that has cost Michigan so many jobs. Peters has assembled a coalition of other Members of Congress to stand up to Japan and force them to play by the rules and allow American cars to compete with theirs on a level playing field. Peters' Plan to Fight Outsourcing and Support Michigan's Auto Industry will: Eliminate tax breaks that encourage companies to ship jobs overseas; Provide immediate tax credits for employers that hire unemployed workers; Provide tax incentives for companies that expand or build new facilities in Michigan and across the country; Fight for fair trade policies that level the playing field for our workers; Enforce trade agreements and crack down on Chinese currency manipulation." http://www.petersforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=74 http://hansenclarkeforcongress.com/hansen-platform
- http://haulerforcongress.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=47&Itemid=58. Key Points:
- * Our government has surrendered our national sovereignty and failed the American worker through bad trade policy.
- * Without a manufacturing base our country will continue to crumble a recovery starts with adopting fair trade, not free trade.
- * If the U.S. is to make trade agreements, we must do so from a position of strength, not agree to lopsided trade policies that benefit other countries' workers at the expense of Michigan's workforce... NAFTA and the WTO: While the concept of free trade would ideally mean lower priced goods for American consumers, the reality is our membership in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have largely been exercises in futility. NAFTA and the WTO represent the abandonment of American sovereignty to international bureaucrats who "manage" our trade by demanding

alterations to laws created by the Congress. For example, WTO bureaucrats forced the Congress to reverse the Continued Dumping and Subsidy Offset Act of 2000, which had authorized payments to American companies that had filed complaints against illegal product dumping by foreign companies. But let's be clear, it is not just international trade bureaucrats who are killing American jobs, even our own Federal government refuses to take the lead on trade issues. In February 2009, President Obama gave up on his campaign promise to renegotiate the terms of NAFTA." Accessed Oct. 5, 2010.

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- http://www.youtube.com/dscclive#p/f/12/jvcuv_r6A44
- http://www.royblunt.com/jobsplan
- ²³⁶ As Robin Carnahan's big union bosses at AFSCME continue to air false attack ads against Roy Blunt, Carnahan is trying to hide the years she spent in Washington, D.C. as a banking executive at the federal government's Export-Import Bank where she played a role in exporting American jobs overseas. "Robin Carnahan exported American jobs for a living when she was a banking executive in Washington, D.C. for the federal government's Export-Import Bank," said Roy Blunt spokesperson Rich Chrismer, "Now she wants Missourians to send her back to Washington, D.C. to rubberstamp the liberal job-killing agenda of Nancy Pelosi, Harry Reid and Barack Obama." During Robin Carnahan's time as a banking executive at the government's Export-Import Bank, it made billions in taxpayer-subsidized authorizations in the following markets that Carnahan's allies have decried as outsourcing havens: Mexico - \$5 billion, China - \$3.8 billion, Indonesia - \$2.9 billion and India - \$1.1 billion. Adding insult to Carnahan's injury is the fact that hundreds of millions in such authorizations were directed to benefit the manufacturing industries in the Chinese, Mexican and Indian markets. (Source: Export-Import Bank, Annual Reports, 1993-1996) "The big labor unions who are falsely attacking Roy Blunt ought to examine Robin Carnahan's record of exporting American jobs overseas and the many taxpayer-funded pay raises she received to do it," said Chrismer.
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- http://edmartinforcongress.com/2003/obama-lost-on-main-street/
- 239 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W4ofjlaQQ3o
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- http://www.dinatitus.com/press-releases/118-latest-ad-senator-heck-less-jobs-more-debt-not-on-our-side (Opponent supports corporate tax loopholes); http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mruMsgWGEto (Spanish language: Opponent sent jobs overseas)

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- 253 http://www.kusterforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=14. Oct. 3, 2010;

http://www.kusterforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=49. Also says: "Prevent Outsourcing: If we're going to get serious about creating jobs, we need to get serious about combating outsourcing. We can start fighting back by closing tax loopholes that encourage U.S. companies to ship their jobs overseas, creating meaningful incentives for businesses to keep jobs here, only supporting fair trade agreements that enable economic opportunity for all and push China to stop manipulating its currency. Here are my priorities to prevent outsourcing: Keeping Jobs Here in the U.S. A new study this spring confirmed that "New Hampshire has lost a higher percentage of jobs to China in the last decade than any other state in the country – especially in the high-tech industry." That cannot continue. We must end tax breaks for companies that move jobs overseas and instead provide tax credits for companies to create jobs right here in New Hampshire. Close tax loopholes that encourage U.S. corporations to send good U.S. manufacturing and service jobs overseas. Current tax law allows corporations to "defer" (sometimes indefinitely) payment of taxes owed to the American people on overseas profits and take deductions on the expenses associated with shipping American jobs abroad. We need to reform the tax code to ensure that U.S. companies are pulling their weight, paying their taxes on profits the year they are made and aren't receiving perverse, job-killing tax deductions for expenses related to shipping jobs overseas. Create meaningful incentives to encourage U.S. business to keep and create jobs in New Hampshire. Responsible business owners want to create and keep jobs in the communities in which they live and work and we can do more to help them do even more. In particular, I would extend, strengthen and target the HIRE Act, which President Obama signed into law this year, to specifically combat outsourcing and provide one-time tax incentives to companies that bring previously outsourced jobs back to the U.S. and keep them here for at least five years.... Push the Chinese to properly value their currency against the U.S. dollar. China's unfair manipulation of its currency violates key trade agreements with the United States, makes it more profitable for U.S. companies to outsource manufacturing jobs to China and limits our ability to create and sell goods to Chinese consumers. I support legislation, such as the Currency Reform Fair Trade Act, that would allow the U.S. Commerce Department to respond to foreign currency manipulation with countervailing and anti-dumping duties."

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http://www.harryforcongress.com/news/view/2010-09-new-tv-ad-pearces-record-on-shipping-jobs-overseas:

TV AD: Pearce's Record on Shipping Jobs Overseas: Hobbs, NM - Today, the Harry Teague for Congress Campaign launched a new television ad titled "Protect" highlighting Congressman Steve Pearce's record of shipping jobs overseas instead of working to keep them right here at home. Click here to learn more about Congressman Pearce's outsourcing record. "The people of southern New Mexico deserve better than a representative who uses mudslinging and bold face lies in attack ads to cover up his record on the issue people care the most about - the economy," Teague Campaign Manager, Dominic Gabello said. "Why would Congressman Pearce care more about creating jobs in India than he does in the U.S.? Southern New Mexicans can't afford Congressman Pearce and his record of shipping jobs overseas again." Transcript: HARRY: I'm Harry Teague and I approve this message. NARRATOR: Why is Congressman running misleading personal attack ads against Harry Teague? Because it was Pearce who gave corporations \$42 billion in tax breaks, to ship your jobs overseas. During a trip to India, Pearce even claimed that "every time a U.S. job goes to India, new jobs are created in America." Congressman Pearce, stop worrying about jobs in India. Start telling the truth here. And stop your personal attacks against Harry Teague."

http://www.peopleforpearce.com/content/steve-pearce-why-you-should-vote-me

http://www.peopleforpearce.com/content/things-sotu-i-would-gladly-help-president-pass

http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:vcoZEd6G9XEJ:www.mullinsforcongress.com/issues-

domestic.html+china+site:www.mullinsforcongress.com&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us&client=firefox-a

²⁶⁶ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=46t7G-Yw5SU

http://www.votemccarthy.com/release_details.asp?id=78

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_JkLlE0yDgA

http://grimmforcongress.com/issues/economy

http://www.johnhallforcongress.com/main.cfm?actionId=globalShowStaticContent&screenKey=cmpNews&htmlID=17401&s=h

all
http://www.scottmurphyforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=162&page=1

http://www.youtube.com/user/ScottMurphy2010#p/a/u/1/ksModv_geJg and

http://www.youtube.com/user/ScottMurphy2010#p/a/u/0/EBsbTnxV4N4

http://www.chrisgibsonforcongress.com/files/pr_gibson_sept_25.pdf

http://www.hincheyforcongress.org/content/hinchey-obama-punish-china-over-trade-practices

http://billowensforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=15

- http://billowensforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=66: Says: "Both of my opponents take a different approach that doesn't serve as a plan to move our communities forward. They both support tax breaks for companies that outsource American jobs overseas, support privatizing Social Security which will put the benefits guaranteed to our seniors at risk, and want a return to the failed economic policies of the past that got us into this mess in the first place. This is a change working families can't afford."
- afford..." $^{277} \ http://www.youtube.com/user/OwensforCongress\#p/u/1/g3o3RCl_wHo$
- http://www.dohenyforcongress.com/edit-news-articles/1-latest-news/294-ncumbent-owens-attack-ad-proves-just-one-thing-hes-wont-protect-taxpayers
- http://www.arcuriforcongress.com/issues_details.asp?id=1
- http://www.youtube.com/user/arcuriforcongress#p/a/u/2/a-DJoiYy2_M
- ²⁸¹ "Currently, there is a deal to build a \$1.5 billion wind farm in Texas using turbines manufactured in China. Those involved in the deal plan to use \$450 million in stimulus funding for clean-energy development. Hanna pointed out that project organizers have estimated that more than 2,000 manufacturing jobs would be created in China, while merely 300 would be created in Texas. "Our money, our tax dollars paid for a stimulus bill to create jobs American jobs," Hanna said. "There is no reason why we should be borrowing from our children to create jobs overseas when clearly the stimulus package was intended to create jobs at home." http://www.richardhannaforcongress.com/stimulus-money-flows-to-communities%E2%80%A6-overseas/
- 282 http://rocnow.com/article/local-news/201010100342
- ²⁸³ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NockPC4US90
- ²⁸⁴ http://www.zellerforcongress.com/ShowPage.asp?Page=SolutionsJobs
- http://www.tomreedforcongress.com/blog/sep-17-2010/we-have-learn-live-within-our-means
- http://www.elainemarshall.com/page/economic-recovery
- http://www.youtube.com/user/marshallforsenate#p/u/0/vNE9ANS_hMY
- http://www.burrforsenate.com/newsroom/wral-burr-fires-back-democrats
- 289 http://www.youtube.com/user/bobetheridge4cong#p/u/1/ohU2w6DrmEU

http://www.etheridgeforcongress.org/issues.cfm

- ²⁹⁰ http://www.reneeforcongress.com/blog/how-etheridges-washington-letter-compares-to-real-world-facts
- http://www.priceforcongress.com/content/where-david-stands
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- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d224oe76jBI&feature=player_embedded
- http://www.pantanoforcongress.com/posts/100-days-of-work-day-12
- ²⁹⁶ http://www.pantanoforcongress.com/posts/eagle-forum-s-north-carolina-chapter-endorses-ilario-pantano-for-congress:
- "Campaign website says: "Ilario Pantano is exactly what we need in Congress, representing the citizens of North Carolina," said Eagle Forum State President, Andrew Dunn. "The time is now for a new breed of conservative leadership who will say no to President Obama's unpopular agenda as well as the business-as-usual establishment in Washington." Irresponsible free-trade agreements with the likes of Communist China have done nothing for North Carolina except destroy jobs, erode our middle-class and compromise our national security. Ilario Pantano understands the dangers we're facing in today's global economy. Unlike our president and the Washington establishment, he has the common sense to realize we must protect our citizens against predatory market practices and espionage," Dunn said."
- ²⁹⁷ http://www.larrykissell.com/Manufacturing-equals-jobs
- http://www.larrykissell.com/Some-Congressmen-want-out-of-NAFTA
- ²⁹⁹ http://www.youtube.com/user/Kissell4Congress#p/u/6/KryUFVZ5LuA

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7kul6ZdOzPM

- http://www.youtube.com/user/DCCCLive#p/u/47/ox141skWg4E
- http://voteharoldjohnson.com/news-and-events

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9TdgEg5zj6c

- http://www.heathshuler.com/free_details.asp?id=9
- 303 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fXoThMoIhfA
- http://www.politico.com/blogs/glennthrush/0209/Shuler_Now_I_support_stimulus.html... Lie: He voted against run away government spending and opposed every trade deal that would ship any American job overseas. Truth: Unemployment was at 4.7% in 2007 when Heath Shuler entered office. Now, four years later, the unemployment rate is averaging at 10% under Congressman Shuler's watch. http://www.bls.gov/lau/lastrk07.htm http://www.bls.gov/lau/."
- http://tracvpotterforsenate.com/media-center/news?start=6
- http://www.pomeroyforcongress.com/index.asp?Type=B_BASIC&SEC={771B32A0-E755-4149-AB80-8C2321C12448}
- 307 http://www.fisherforohio.com/jobs
- http://www.fisherforohio.com/news/latest?id=0087
- 309 http://www.youtube.com/user/FisherForOhio#p/u/2/drRK7JO9mIU and

http://www.youtube.com/user/FisherForOhio#p/u/6/5VUf0kB6Ct0 and

http://www.youtube.com/user/FisherForOhio#p/u/10/t27UjQF0oos

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- http://www.youtube.com/user/robportman#p/u/14/_7tBwKmTGlo
- 313 http://www.driehausforohio.com/About.html
- http://kucinich.us/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2791&Itemid=76
- http://corriganforcongress.com/content/kucinichs-next-bid-president
- 316 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xnwIdyIzfdE
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- http://paulabrooks.com/news/story?id=288
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- http://www.bettysuttonforcongress.com/index.asp?Type=B_BASIC&SEC={7B4FF5BC-F1CD-4EA2-953C-
- 67E866D3C429}&DE={FCE6B496-3A7F-42F4-A3E7-3D3EEEADF40B}
- 321 http://www.tomganley.com/issues.html
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- Peter Cohn, "Still Strong on Trade," *National Journal*, Oct. 9, 2010.
- http://www.zackspace.org/release_details.asp?id=51
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- http://www.wuforcongress.com/in-the-news/congressman-wu-a-strong-sustained-voice-for-human-rights
- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UMneXZbRoC4&feature=player_embedded
- 337 http://www.cornillesforcongress.com/newsDetail.php?OPB-News-Wu-Faces-Strong-GOP-Challenger-In-Race-For-Congress-
- 338 http://www.artrobinsonforcongress.com/ArtRobinsonOnTheIssuesDetails.html
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- 341 http://www.youtube.com/user/Sestak2010#p/u/10/OCtDW12e5oA
- http://www.youtube.com/dscclive#p/f/7/ kaiiJuz8a0 and

http://www.youtube.com/dscclive#p/f/17/fVZcwJuiHpg

- 343 http://www.toomeyforsenate.com/node/3115: "The DSSC uses a liberal hack group to support its lie that Pat sent 2.4 million jobs to China, but numerous legitimate reports, President Clinton, and President Obama's own administration have said just the opposite. Pat's support for trade has allowed Pennsylvania's economy to grow and helped the thousands of Pennsylvania businesses and farms that depend on exporting their goods and services around the world. President Bill Clinton signed the agreement to bring China into the WTO on October 10, 2000, and said: "If you believe in a future of greater prosperity for the American people, you certainly should be for this agreement" (DLC)."
- http://kathydahlkemperforcongress.com/press/trade-coalition-endorses-congresswoman-dahlkemper
- 345 http://www.youtube.com/user/DCCCLive#p/u/27/o2qSFi4_vN0
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- 347 http://www.jasonaltmire.com/release_details.asp?id=36
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http://www.voutube.com/user/TrivediforCongress#p/a/u/0/6QPcr4rqNDM

http://www.jimgerlachforcongress.com/missioncontrol/userfiles/media/08242009142643 JimGerlachBio2009.pdf. Also says: http://www.jimgerlachforcongress.com/jobs "Jim is the sponsor of two other bills, the proposed "Made in America Act" and the "Eagle Employers Act" which provide US-headquartered businesses, particularly manufacturers, with tax incentives for companies who grow jobs here in the US instead of shipping them overseas to countries like China. In addition, employers must invest in their employees' health care and retirement. The bill offers incentives to those employers who employ National Guard or Reservists called to active duty. Jim also is a co-sponsor of bi-partisan legislation to hold the Chinese government accountable to its unfair manipulation of its currency, which subsidizes Chinese exports and undercuts American goods resulting in plant

closings and job losses. The bill would level the playing field, protect American manufacturers from this unfair trade practice and allow the US government to enact tariffs to protect American workers and business." See http://votelentz.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=359:press-release-lentz-to-hold-town-hall-

forum-on-jobs-in-crum-lynne-tomorrow-invites-pat-meehan-to-attend&catid=5:news&Itemid=8 http://www.meehanforcongress.com/news/pat-meehan-gets-aerospace-workers-endorsement;

http://www.meehanforcongress.com/news/uaw-local-1069-endorses-pat-meehan-for-congress

http://www.meehanforcongress.com/touring-the-capp-usa-plant-in-clifton-heights.

http://www.patrickmurphyforcongress.com/release_details.asp?id=110 and many others:

http://www.patrickmurphyforcongress.com/release.asp?id=1

http://www.phillyburbs.com/opinions/courier times opinion/guest opinions/courier times guest opinion details/article/360/20 10/october/03/dont-go-back-to-failed-policies-that-got-us-into-this-mess.html

- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9lxsLrjFkd8&feature=player_embedded
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- http://www.critzforcongress.com/page/creating-jobs
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http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GzChmnpENZQ&feature=related

- http://www.timburnsforcongress.com/html/press_releases.php
- 368 http://www.callahanforcongress.com/ShowPage.asp?ContentID=352. [7. Footnote reads: "H.R. 3045, Vote #443, 7/28/2005, H.R.4340, Vote #616, 12/7/2005, H.R. 3045, Vote #443, 7/28/2005, H.R. 3688, Vote #1060, 11/8/2007, H.R. 1830, Vote #583,

- 6/27/2007, H.R. 1092, Vote #181, 4/10/2008]

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- http://www.dentforcongress.com/press.shtml
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- http://www.argallforcongress.com/on-the-issues.php
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http://www.youtube.com/user/pattymurrayforsenate#p/u/12/OOHdN8sdnwc

- 413 http://www.dinorossi.com/rossi-washington-farmers-still-waiting-for-%E2%80%98secret-plan%E2%80%99-to-end-tariffs/ 414 "Koster Signed Pledge; Protects Tax Breaks for Companies That Send Jobs Offshore, Stands by Pledge Even with Understanding of Harm to Northwest Washington Workers, Everett, WA - Earlier this year, John Koster signed a Federal Taxpayer Pledge that commits him to supporting tax breaks for corporations that continue to send jobs overseas. "John Koster may choose to parse the language of the commitments he makes," said Brooke Davis, Larsen's Campaign Manager, "but it's clear that he signed a pledge committing his support to tax breaks for corporations that send American jobs overseas for the sake of a small increase to their bottom line." Americans for Tax Reform (ATR) clearly state that they view the elimination of tax breaks for corporations sending jobs overseas as a tax increase and a violation of the Taxpayer Pledge. ATR released a Tax Pledge Alert stating "The tax increases in question are all tax hikes on U.S. employers doing business overseas. By raising these taxes, it will be more likely that jobs and entire companies will be shipped overseas. The U.S. has the highest corporate income tax rate in the developed world, and double-taxes international income on top of this. ... Removing the tax relief and raising taxes will only serve to push jobs and businesses out of the country. The proper way to handle these tax provisions is in the context of international tax reform which is - at worst - tax revenue-neutral and involves a lower corporate tax rate." http://www.atr.org/taxpledge-alert-atr-keyvote-againstbr-a5298 "In contrast, Rick Larsen believes the elimination of those tax breaks is good for American business and American workers," Davis continued. "It's still early, but this issue crystallizes the choice voters have in this election." The non-partisan Citizens for Tax Justice wrote that the tax loopholes for corporations that John Koster supported when he signed the pledge "can result in U.S. corporations enjoying a negative effective tax rate on their offshore investment income. This creates a strong incentive for U.S. corporations to shift profits offshore, either through accounting gimmicks or by moving actual operations and jobs offshore...." ttp://ctj.org/taxjusticedigest/archive/2010/08/house_minority_leader_says_tha.php "John Koster signed the pledge, the group that wrote the pledge says it means exactly what we say it does, and that's as far as it goes," Davis concluded." http://www.ricklarsen.org/2010/09/09/koster-signed-pledge-protects-tax-breaks-companies/ http://www.kosterforcongress.com/issues.html
- http://www.kosterforcongress.com/news/press-releases/364-larsen-attacks-koster-to-hide-his-own-record-of-shipping-jobs-
- overseas.html 417 $\underline{\text{http://www.youtube.com/user/dennyheck2010\#p/u/1/U4cD0rlEfVA}}$ and http://www.youtube.com/user/dennyheck2010#p/u/3/-z-BnuVWsUY and
- http://www.youtube.com/user/dennyheck2010#p/u/4/JS7iGh02oMs
 http://www.jaimeherrera.com/the-news/press-releases/153-if-at-first-you-dont-succeed-try-your-ad-again.html
- She also said: "Exports are an indispensible source of jobs, and international trade has long been an important foundation for the economic success of the region. Strengthening our manufacturing sector and expanding exports are essential to building a strong economy and creating high-wage jobs for our citizens. I'm a strong supporter of the Obama Administration's National Export Initiative, a plan to double U.S. exports by 2015 through stronger government advocacy for the interests of small- and medium-sized American companies and improved access to credit, combined with rigorous enforcement of international trade laws to remove barriers to fair access for U.S. exports. We must also do more to level the playing field for American companies through strong international standards for labor practices, the environment, and human rights."
- 420 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=De-wpeg6MjQ
- http://www.electadamsmith.com/issues-economy-jobs/
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