TRADE POLICY ANALYSIS TRADE POLICY ANALYSIS TRADE POLICY ANALYSIS

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# *Free Trade, Free Markets*

## *Rating the 106th Congress*

**by Daniel T. Griswold**


## Executive Summary

Despite the advances of globalization, governments around the world continue to intervene in the flow of goods, services, people, and capital across international borders. This widespread intervention takes two basic forms: regulatory barriers aimed at discouraging certain types of commerce, and government subsidies aimed at encouraging others.

As a consequence, well-worn labels such as "internationalist" and "isolationist" do not fully capture the policy choices lawmakers face when deciding international commercial policy. The choice is not between engagement and isolation but between the free market and all forms of government intervention, including barriers, subsidies, and bailouts.

On the basis of their voting records in the 106th Congress, legislators can be classified into four categories: free traders, who oppose both trade barriers and subsidies; internationalists, who oppose barriers and support subsidies; isolationists, who support barriers and oppose subsidies; and interventionists, who support both barriers and subsidies.

An analysis of voting on 29 key votes in the 106th Congress confirms that the House leaned toward internationalism, opposing trade barriers on 63 percent of all votes cast and opposing subsidies on 22 percent of votes. Only 26 House members opposed barriers and subsidies on more than two-thirds of the votes they cast.

A near majority of House members, 212, voted as internationalists, 24 voted as isolationists, and 43 voted as interventionists. House Republicans were only marginally more inclined to vote against trade barriers than Democrats, but they were three times more likely to vote against trade subsidies.

In the Senate, a majority of 60 voted at least two-thirds of the time against trade barriers. (No votes were recorded on subsidies.) The typical Republican senator voted against barriers 71 percent of the time and the typical Democrat 61 percent.

When weighing policy toward the international economy, members of Congress should support a coherent program to liberalize trade and eliminate subsidies.


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## Introduction

One of the most important, contentious, and politically confusing issues on the agenda of the 107th Congress will be international economic policy. The issue will be important because of the expanding role of international trade and investment in the U.S. economy. It will be contentious because, like technology, trade and investment liberalization can bring economic dislocation to certain sectors of the domestic economy along with more widely spread gains. And it will be confusing because well-worn labels such as "internationalist" and "isolationist" do not fully capture the policy choices lawmakers face when deciding international commercial policy.

Support for American involvement in the global economy does not break down along obvious party or ideological lines. While Republicans are generally more inclined to support trade initiatives, a sizable minority of the GOP caucus is not. And while Democrats have been less inclined than Republicans to vote for trade-opening measures in recent years, a smaller but still significant minority of congressional Democrats vote consistently in favor of more trade. On investment and export subsidies, the roles are reversed, with Democrats more likely to support "internationalist" programs and Republicans more skeptical.

A principled alternative exists to the false choice between engagement (subsidies and all) in the global economy and rejection of it. The alternative choice is not between engagement and isolation but between the free market and government intervention: Should U.S. policy favor a free international market by advancing free trade and rejecting government intervention such as IMF funding and export and investment subsidies, or should it favor intervention by curbing trade and supporting subsidies?

The real policy choices before Congress are not the two basic paths of engagement or isolation, but four paths. Members can

- oppose both trade barriers and trade subsidies,
- oppose barriers and favor subsidies,
- favor barriers and oppose subsidies, or
- favor both barriers and subsidies.

By considering those four policy alternatives, this study offers a more accurate and useful way of measuring how Congress and its individual members vote on issues affecting American involvement in the global economy. It analyzes 29 major votes in the House and in the Senate affecting both trade barriers and trade subsidies. It then classifies members of Congress according to their degree of support for an international market free from protection and subsidies.

## How Government Distorts International Trade and Investment

Despite the advances of globalization, governments around the world continue to intervene in the flow of goods, services, people, and capital across international borders. This widespread intervention takes two basic forms: regulatory barriers aimed at discouraging certain types of commerce, and government subsidies aimed at encouraging others.

Global tariff and nontariff barriers remain stubbornly high against free trade in agricultural products, textiles and clothing, and many basic services such as insurance and air travel. A comprehensive study by the government of Australia concluded that global barriers to agricultural trade alone are reducing global economic welfare by $150 billion a year. Eliminating barriers entirely, in agriculture, manufacturing goods, and services, would boost global welfare by a staggering $750 billion.[1]

Closer to home, trade barriers continue to impose real costs on the U.S. economy despite postwar progress toward liberalization. The U.S. government maintains high, anti-consumer barriers to trade against imports of textiles and clothing, sugar, peanuts, footwear, dairy products, frozen fruit and fruit juices, and costume jewelry. Other import barriers, such as those against shipbuilding, steel, softwood lumber, ball and roller bearings, pressed and blown glass, and coastal maritime shipping (through the Jones Act), impose higher costs on U.S. producers, jeopardizing jobs and production in import-using industries. The U.S. International Trade Commission estimates conservatively that these barriers impose an annual collective drag on the U.S. economy of more than $12.4 billion.[2] Meanwhile, discriminatory antidumping laws "protect" consumers and import-using industries from the benefits of lower prices.

Global commerce is further distorted by widespread use of subsidies aimed at promoting certain kinds of trade and investment. Those subsidies encourage the export of selected farm goods or investment in less-developed countries. Indeed, many supporters of lower trade barriers look kindly upon those subsidies because they seem to promote economic activity at home and "engagement" in the global economy. But both kinds of intervention—barriers and subsidies—reduce our national welfare and curb the freedom of Americans to spend and invest their resources as they see fit.

Subsidies reduce national welfare by directing resources to less-efficient uses, substituting the judgment of government officials for that of private actors in the marketplace. Export subsidies such as those extended by the U.S. Export-Import Bank can raise demand for exports produced by the small number of U.S. multinational companies that benefit from its loans. But the increased production spurred by the extra exports raises costs for other, less-favored export industries competing for the same labor, capital, and intermediate inputs. Export subsidies also impose a higher burden on taxpayers. Like protectionism, export subsidies favor the few at the expense of the many, make our economy less efficient, and reduce total national welfare. Output is focused not where returns are highest but where political clout is greatest.[3]

On a more global scale, subsidies aimed at shielding investors and policymakers from their own mistakes can cause even greater damage by encouraging economically unwise behavior. Government-to-government bailouts through the IMF or the Exchange Stabilization Fund are the most visible and damaging form of international economic subsidy. They ultimately subsidize the activities of a select group of international investors and creditors facing losses because of economic instability abroad. These subsidies and bailouts create "moral hazard," inviting investors to engage in excessive risk taking, secure in the knowledge that government-sponsored lenders such as the IMF will cushion their fall should the investments turn sour.[4]

Finally, subsidies undermine an efficient and open global economy by tainting the cause of liberalized trade. Advocates of subsidies imply that American companies can compete in an open global economy only if the playing field is "leveled" by aggressive export promotion programs aimed at huge multinational corporations—as if free trade were inherently unfair unless offset by selective subsidies. Support for subsidies reinforces mistrust of the free market, reducing rather than encouraging support for free trade. International economic subsidies feed suspicions on both the left and the right that free trade is just another form of corporate welfare.

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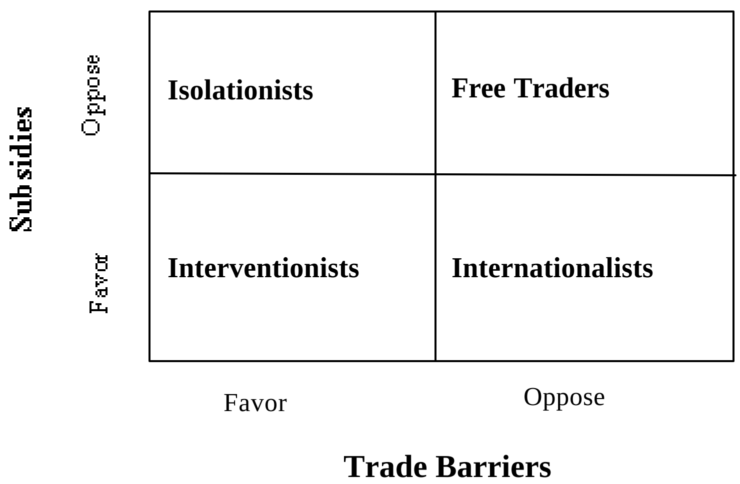
Trade restrictions and subsidies are prompted by the same basic misconception: that Americans acting freely in the global marketplace cannot be fully trusted to spend their money in ways most beneficial to our national interest. That misconception leads to the policy error that government must therefore intervene, through either subsidies or restrictions, to produce an outcome different from what the market would create if left alone.

## A Better Way to Free Trade

True supporters of free trade oppose not only protection but also market-distorting subsidies. That means the choice for policymakers is not merely between engagement in the global economy, subsidies and all, and isolation from it. The real choice is among four broad approaches to international economic policy: lower trade barriers, with subsidies or without, and higher trade barriers, with subsidies or without.

Combining trade barriers and trade subsi-

**Figure 1**
**Who Supports Free Trade?**




dies as measures of free trade creates a two-dimensional scale for evaluating public policy toward the free market and the international economy. Building such a matrix allows a member's voting record to be classified in one of four broad categories rather than on the simplistic one-dimensional scale with free trade at one pole and protectionism at the other (see Figure 1).

According to the matrix, members of Congress can be classified into four categories.

**Free Traders**

The first group includes members who tend to vote against both trade barriers and international economic subsidies. The end result of their votes is to enhance the free market and the ability of Americans to decide for themselves how to spend their money in the global marketplace. This group supports legislation promoting a wider choice of goods and services Americans may buy voluntarily—whether steel from Russia, toys from China, or a beach vacation in Cuba—and the forced expatriation of tax dollars through export subsidies, overseas investment guarantees, and government-to-government bailouts. This group can lay rightful claim to the title of free traders because they support trade that is free of all types of government intervention, whether in the form of barriers or of subsidies.

**Internationalists**

Members of this group generally vote for trade liberalization but also support subsidies that they believe promote the same end. Their touchstone is not economic freedom but U.S. participation in the global economy through both expanded trade and direct government participation in the form of export subsidies and government-to-government loans. Internationalists are pro-trade, favoring the reduction of import barriers as generally good for the economy and even world peace, but they also believe the global economic system cannot work in America's interest without U.S. taxpayer subsidies.

**Isolationists**

This category includes members of Congress who tend to vote against reducing trade barriers and also oppose international economic subsidies. They can reasonably be called isolationists because they tend to oppose any expanded American involvement in the global economy, whether through voluntary transactions or through taxpayer subsidies.

**Interventionists**

Members of this group consistently support government intervention at the expense of the free market—favoring both subsidies and trade barriers. They tend to oppose bills and amendments that would lower trade barriers, as well as those that would cut or eliminate trade and investment subsidies. Interventionists challenge the judgment of Americans twice over, first by denying them full liberty to spend their private dollars beyond our borders and then by seeking to divert public tax dollars for export promotion and government-to-government bailout packages.

By surveying the major trade and subsidy votes in the 106th Congress, we can classify congressional policy and voting records according to the four categories above.

## How the 106th Congress Voted on Trade

The 106th Congress offered numerous opportunities for members to vote to reduce trade barriers and subsidies. In the House, members voted on nine major bills and amendments with a direct impact on the freedom of Americans to trade with people in the rest of the world. Another five measures voted on in the House directly affected the level of subsidies doled out by the federal government to promote exports and underwrite international investment. In the Senate, this study identified 15 representative votes on bills and amendments that directly affected barriers to international commerce. Unfortunately, no votes were offered in the Senate to cut obvious subsidies to international trade and investment.

Few of these votes offer a pure test of support for free trade. By its nature, the legislative process produces compromise, resulting in legislation that can be aimed primarily at reducing barriers and subsidies to trade but can also contain provisions that would have an ambiguous or negative impact on free trade. Each of the bills and amendments described below represents a reasonably clear attempt to either expand or restrict the freedom to trade without the distortion of barriers or subsidies. To further illustrate congressional attitudes toward trade barriers and subsidies, some of the descriptions include comments made by members during floor debate.

**Votes on Trade Barriers**

*Steel Quotas.* After intense lobbying by the domestic steel industry and its unions, the House voted on March 17, 1999, for a bill that would enact sweeping quotas against imported steel. H.R. 975 would have directed the president, within 60 days of enactment, to curb the monthly volume of steel imports into the United States to a level not to exceed the average of monthly import volumes during the three years preceding July 1997. Under the legislation, imports would be cut by imposing a combination of quotas, tariff surcharges, and negotiated export restraints. The bill would have required the secretary of commerce to establish a program within 30 days that would require any person importing steel products to obtain an import notification certification before bringing any steel products into the United States. Steel quotas would have drastically cut the availability of foreign-made steel in the U.S. market, driving up prices, raising costs for consumers, and harming millions of workers in industries that use steel as a component of production.[5]

On March 17, 1999, the House voted 289-141 (House Roll Call 56) in favor of the steel bill. Three months later, on June 22, 1999, the bill died in the Senate, 42-57 (Senate Roll Call 178), falling 18 votes short of the 60 needed to end debate and force a final vote on passage.

Bill Archer (R-Tex.), then-chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and a consistent internationalist, told his colleagues on the floor of the House: "As usual, there is more to the story. There is a matter of steel users and manufacturers, both large and small. American workers in these steel-using industries, transportation equipment, industrial machinery, metal products, and construction, outnumber employment in steel producer companies by 40 to 1. In fact, I am deeply concerned, and I do not say this lightly, that this bill might threaten national security, because quotas will reduce steel products needed for military supply."[6]

*Cuba: Trade and Travel.* The United States has maintained a comprehensive economic embargo against Cuba for four decades in an unsuccessful effort to oust the communist government of Fidel Castro. The 106th Congress considered legislation to loosen the embargo by granting Americans greater freedom to trade with and travel to Cuba. The almost total embargo has failed to achieve its policy objective of overthrowing the Cuban government or of even modifying its oppressive rule. American citizens have paid the price of that failure in lost economic freedom to trade, invest, and travel. For Cuban citizens, the embargo has deprived them of economic opportunity while giving the Cuban government a handy excuse for the failures of its socialist economic system.[7]

On June 30, 1999, the Senate voted 55-43 (Senate Roll Call 189) to table, or kill, an amendment by Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) that would have repealed the ban against travel by Americans to Cuba. An amendment by Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.)

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to the Treasury and Government Operations Appropriations Act of 2001 would have prohibited spending any funds to enforce the embargo against Cuba. The House rejected the Rangel amendment on July 20, 2000, by a vote of 174-241 (House Roll Call 424). That same day, the House approved an amendment, 232-186 (House Roll Call 425), by Rep. Mark Sanford (R-S.C.) to block funding to enforce the travel ban.

Defending his amendment, Rep. Rangel asked why many of his colleagues were willing to vote for expanding trade with China and Vietnam but not with Cuba. "And so it just seems to me that we should not have a double standard. And no one is trying to help President Castro. From what I see, it does not appear to me that he is in need of food or medicine. But what we are saying is that the Cuban people should not suffer while we have seen that this man, Castro, has outlived nine or 10 United States presidents while we have been looking for change. And we should not use the denial of food and medicine and the denial of the rights of Americans to go where they want to go when they want to go just because we are concerned, and rightly so, about the conduct of this man in Cuba."[8]

*China: Annual NTR Renewal.* Under the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the Trade Act of 1974, the People's Republic of China must receive an annual waiver from the U.S. president for its goods to enter the United States under the normal tariff schedule. Without the waiver, Americans would face drastically higher tariffs on most imports from China, raising the cost of living for millions of American families that benefit from the more than $80 billion worth of goods imported annually from China. Those higher trade barriers would also invite retaliation against American goods sold in China and would set back efforts to raise the living standards and enhance the autonomy and human rights of Chinese citizens.[9] Congress can override the presidential waiver and deny China normal trade relations (NTR) with a two-thirds vote in both chambers. Every year, the administration routinely renews China's NTR status, followed by a futile effort in Congress to overturn the waiver.

On July 20, 1999, the Senate rejected S.J. Res. 27, a motion to disapprove the presidential waiver of NTR with China, by a vote of 12-87 (Senate Roll Call 213). The House voted twice in the 106th Congress on resolutions that would have revoked NTR with China: On July 27, 1999, the House rejected H.J.R. 57 by a vote of 170-260 (House Roll Call 338). On July 18, 2000, the House rejected an identical resolution, H.J.R. 103, by a vote of 147-281 (House Roll Call 405).

*Food and Medicine Sanctions.* For decades, the U.S. government has used economic sanctions as a tool of foreign policy, including sanctions against the sale of food and medicine to targeted countries. Sanctions rarely achieve their stated purpose of changing the nature or behavior of foreign governments. Instead, sanctions inflict economic damage on U.S. exporters and investors, by cutting them off from foreign markets and branding them as unreliable suppliers in the international marketplace. Sanctions also hurt the very people they are supposed to help, by depriving citizens of the targeted country the benefits of access to imports and investment from the United States.

On August 3, 1999, the Senate voted 28-70 (Senate Roll Call 251) to reject a motion to table (kill) an amendment by Sen. John Ashcroft (R-Mo.) that would require congressional approval before the president could impose any unilateral agricultural or medical sanctions on any country. (A vote against the motion to table was in effect a vote in favor of limiting the president's ability to impose food and medicine sanctions.)

*Sugar Protection.* The federal sugar program benefits domestic producers through a system of subsidized price support loans and quota barriers against imported sugar. The program forces American consumers to pay prices above those in world markets for sugar and sugar-containing products. According to the U.S. International Trade Commission, repeal of the sugar program would add nearly $1 billion to national welfare and cut domestic sugar prices by 8.6 percent.[10] The program is a classic example of protectionism, benefiting a small group of producers at the expense of the nation's consumers and overall economic well-being.

The Senate considered two amendments in the 106th Congress that would have shut down the sugar program: On August 4, 1999, the Senate voted 66-33 (Senate Roll Call 254) to table (kill) an amendment by Sen. John McCain that would have removed all funds for administering the program from the Agricultural, Rural Development, and Related Agencies appropriations bill for FY 2000. On July 20, 2000, the Senate voted 65-32 (Senate Roll Call 219) to table a similar amendment to the Agriculture appropriations bill for FY 2001.

During debate of the McCain amendment in 1999, Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) reminded her colleagues that the sugar program acts as a hidden tax on consumers: "Although the sugar program is considered a no-net-cost program because the government does not make payments directly to producers, it places the cost of the price supports on sweetener users—consumers and manufacturers of sweetener-containing products—who pay higher sugar and sweetener prices. What this means is that, unlike traditional subsidy programs, the funds don't come directly from the Treasury. Instead, the sugar program places the cost on consumers by restricting the supply of available sugar, which causes higher domestic market prices. This is our government program; it makes no sense."[11]

*Labor, Environment, and Human Rights.* One of the major debates in trade policy today is whether to precondition access to the U.S. market on whether a foreign nation meets labor, environmental, and human rights standards as determined by the United States or international organizations. Advocates argue that such linkage is necessary to promote U.S. values abroad and to protect the rights of workers around the world. But officials from less-developed countries are rightly suspicious that those standards could be easily abused to impose trade barriers against the very goods their countries are most competitive at producing. Free trade is not in fundamental conflict with human rights and higher labor and environmental standards. In reality, by promoting economic development and a freer flow of ideas and people, sustained trade liberalization is typically associated with democratization and higher labor and environmental standards. To oppose linkage is not to put trade above other important value but to recognize that economic freedom complements both material development and a broad range of civil and political freedoms.

During its debate of the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, the Senate considered several amendments that would have preconditioned greater access to the U.S. market on whether sub-Saharan African nations met certain labor and environment standards. On November 2, 1999, the Senate voted 57-40 (Senate Roll Call 347) to table an amendment by Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.) that would have required the negotiation of environmental side agreements with African nations before extending the act's trade benefits. On November 3, the Senate voted 66-29 (Senate Roll Call 352) to table an amendment by Sen. Russ Feingold (D-Wis.) that would have required that African nations conform to a number of labor-standard requirements before receiving greater access to the U.S. market. On September 12, 2000, the Senate rejected by a vote of 32-63 (Senate Roll Call 239) an amendment by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) that would have denied permanent normal trade relations (PNTR) status to China until the president certifies that its government has ended systematic violations of human rights.

Former Sen. William Roth Jr. (R-Del.), speaking against the Helms amendment, explained why trade expansion and human rights are not in conflict: "I am as concerned about China's repression of its citizens as anyone in this Chamber. But I believe that in passing PNTR, Congress will actually take its most important step by far in fostering democracy and improving human rights in China. That's because by enacting H.R. 4444, we will permit Americans to fully participate in China's economic development, thereby opening China to freer flows of goods, services, and information. Ultimately, that opening will change China's economy from one based on central planning to one based on free markets and capitalism. Moreover, H.R. 4444 will create a special

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human rights commission that will expose, and suggest remedies for, China's abusive human rights practices. The forces unleashed by American and other foreign participation in China's market opening will help sow the seeds of democracy and human rights."[12]

*"Fair Trade."* Efforts to reduce trade barriers have also been complicated by demands that trade be "fair." Fair trade can mean that imports from a particular country to the United States should face the same level of trade barriers as U.S. exporters face in that country. The flaw in the "reciprocity" argument is that it views lower trade barriers strictly as a benefit to the exporting country, when in fact the chief beneficiary is the country that liberalizes. We should not deny ourselves the benefits of lower trade barriers to our own market just because other countries have chosen to deny themselves the benefits of lower barriers to their markets.[13] Fair trade can also mean erecting barriers against "dumped" imports—those sold in the U.S. market at below the average cost of production or below the average selling price in the home market. Again, such demands for fair trade ignore the economic benefits to the importing country of lower prices and increased competition. U.S. antidumping law forbids foreign producers from engaging in certain normal commercial practices that, when engaged in by domestic producers in the domestic economy, are legal, routine, and obviously beneficial to the overall economy. [14]

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On November 2, 1999, the Senate voted 70-27 (Senate Roll Call 348) to table an amendment by Sen. Hollings that would deny lower trade barriers to any African country that did not reduce its own import tariffs to rates identical to those applied by the United States to imports from that country. On November 3, 1999, the Senate voted 54-42 (Senate Roll Call 350) to table an amendment by Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) that would have allowed U.S. producers to bring private suits against foreign producers selling goods in the U.S. market at allegedly dumped prices.

*Africa and Caribbean Basin Trade Liberalization.* H.R. 434, The African Growth and Opportunity Act, lowers U.S. tariff and non-tariff barriers to clothing and textile imports from sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean. Those unilateral trade liberalization provisions benefit U.S. consumers with lower prices and provide larger export earnings for some of the world's poorest countries. The bill was not, however, a pure vote on lower trade barriers. It directs the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and the U.S. Export-Import Bank to increase their activity in Africa. The "carousel" provision of the law directs the U.S. Trade Representative to periodically rotate the list of imported goods the United States has targeted in retaliation for failure of other WTO members to comply with dispute settlement rulings. Nonetheless, the bill contained significant net trade liberalization and was debated largely on its impact on trade barriers.[15]

The House approved the conference report on May 4, 2000, by a vote of 309-110 (House Roll Call 145). A week later, on May 11, 2000, the Senate concurred by a vote of 77-19 (Senate Roll Call 98).

Speaking in favor of the final bill in the House, free trader Rep. Ed Royce (R-Calif.) told his colleagues:, "This conference report is a clear and important step in the right direction toward greater trade between the United States and Africa, and it moves us away from the odd policy of giving aid to Africa with one hand and shutting out what it manages to produce with the other. Let us move Africa away from aid to economic self-sufficiency. That is the spirit of this bill."[16]

*Computer Export Controls.* Export controls damage American producers by denying them the ability to sell products profitably in foreign markets. Export controls on high-technology goods such as high-performance computers are especially damaging because American high-technology products are so competitive in global markets. Controls have been justified in the past on national security grounds, but most U.S. high-tech exports can be effectively substituted for by foreign-supplied products of similar standards. Compounding the problem is that federal standards are routinely out of date and have been rendered irrelevant by technological advances.[17]

On May 18, 2000, the House voted 415-8 (House Roll Call 195) in favor of an amendment by Rep. David Dreier to shorten the waiting period for Congress to approve adjustments in the performance level that defines high-speed computers subject to export controls. On July 12, 2000, a companion amendment was approved by the Senate, 86-11 (Senate Roll Call 174).

*China Permanent NTR*. Arguably the most significant trade votes of the 106th Congress, or any other recent Congress, were those in the House and Senate to establish permanent normal trade relations with the People's Republic of China. Approving PNTR was a necessary step before the United States could enjoy the full benefits of China's entry into the World Trade Organization. Upon entry, expected sometime in 2001, the Chinese government has committed itself to dramatically lowering barriers against a wide swath of imports, including automobiles, insurance, financial services, and agricultural goods. China's entry into the WTO will benefit U.S. exporters, Chinese consumers, and the cause of domestic economic reform. It will also encourage progress on human rights by promoting the economic independence of the Chinese people and encouraging the rule of law within China.[18]

The House voted 237-197 (House Roll Call 228) on May 24, 2000, to approve H.R. 4444, the bill establishing permanent NTR with the People's Republic of China. The Senate approved identical legislation by a vote of 83-15 (Senate Roll Call 251) on September 19, 2000.

Sen. Sam Brownback (R-Kan.) argued that PNTR will be good for Americans exporters, but its most profound impact will be on China itself: "Granting Permanent Normal Trade Relations status to China will increase our exports to the world's most populous country. But, more importantly, bringing China into the WTO will put the PRC on a collision course with economic and political liberalization. Mr. President, China has been ruled by the Communist Party with an iron grip for more than 50 years. But WTO accession comes with a price. WTO accession will usher the forces of globalization into China in a very permanent way. Globalization will be good for China's economy because it will integrate China's economy into the world's economy. Globalization will also force the systemic reform of China's inefficient state-owned enterprises and banking system. But globalization will also have a much more profound effect on China. Globalization will force upon China the infrastructure necessary for greater political liberalization. Globalization will require China to have a stronger adherence to the rule of law and property rights. Globalization will create a stronger middle class in China that will demand greater freedom with which to enjoy their new position. Globalization will bring the Internet into tens of millions of Chinese homes, exposing the Chinese people to Western standards of political and religious freedom, and human rights."[19]

*Withdrawal from WTO.* The World Trade Organization and its predecessor, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, have promoted global trade liberalization through successive rounds of multilateral trade negotiations. The WTO provides an institutional framework that discourages governments from backsliding on their commitments to liberalization and encourages the rule of law through impartial dispute settlement. The GATT and the WTO have facilitated a dramatic fall in global trade barriers against manufactured goods, stimulating an equally dramatic increase in global trade volumes. Increased trade has helped to raise living standards in the United States and other nations that have opened themselves to the international economy.[20] Some opponents of the WTO, while supporting free trade in general, believe the WTO is a threat to U.S. sovereignty, but the WTO possesses no authority of its own to compel its members to conform to its rulings.[21]

On June 21, 2000, the House rejected H.J. Res. 90, a measure that would have withdrawn the United States from the WTO, by a vote of 56-363 (House Roll Call 310). In support of the WTO, internationalist Rep. Douglas Bereuter (R-Neb.) told his colleagues: "The United States gains nothing from withdrawal from the WTO. We would, however, be at the mercy of other countries' desires to erect highly discriminatory and prohibitive tariffs and nontariff barriers against U.S. exports. The U.S.

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would not have access to the WTO dispute settlement mechanism to challenge these new barriers, but instead, we would only have limited and ineffective bilateral defenses. The U.S. would have no leverage at all in setting agendas for future trade and investment agreements, having unilaterally surrendered our seat at the table through withdrawal from the WTO."[22]

In response, isolationist Rep. Peter DeFazio (D-Ore.) said: "We are running a huge and growing trade deficit because American workers cannot and should not be competing with bonded child labor, with people who work in unsafe conditions, with people who work in factories where they dump the toxic waste out the back door. No, that is not what the U.S. represents, that is not what we want to drive the rest of the world to, and it is not what we should be driving our nation to."[23]

*Foreign-Born Workers*. Just as the free movement of goods, services, and capital across international borders raises overall productivity, so to does the free movement of people. No sector of the U.S. economy has benefited more from an inflow of foreign-born workers than high-technology industries, especially the computer industry. Explosive high-tech growth has fueled a demand for highly skilled workers that has outstripped the supply of qualified workers in the United States. Without the ability to hire foreign-born workers, U.S. industry would be forced to curb production, export opportunities abroad would be lost, and potential new products and innovations would go undeveloped. Concerns that foreign-born workers depress wages and take jobs from "native" Americans in high-tech industries are contradicted by rising wage levels and historically low unemployment rates.[24]

On October 3, 2000, the Senate voted 96-1 (Senate Roll Call 262) to approve the American Competitiveness Act, a bill that raises the annual cap on H-1B visas for highly skilled foreign-born workers to 195,000 through FY 2003.

### Votes on Trade Subsidies

The 106th Congress offered several opportunities in the House for members to vote to cut subsidies for trade and foreign investment. The bills and amendments determined funding for the Export-Import Bank, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Emergency Stabilization Fund, and the Market Access Program.

*Market Access Program Limits*. Market Access Program funds are distributed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture to promote the sale abroad of goods containing U.S. agricultural products. Like other export subsidies, the MAP program does not promote trade in general but favors some exporters—in this case those using U.S. farm produce in their final products—over others.

On June 8, 1999, the House voted 72-355 (House Roll Call 174) to reject an amendment by Rep. Steve Chabot (R-Ohio) to eliminate the Market Access Program.

In support of his amendment, Rep. Chabot told his colleagues: "The rationale behind this amendment is simple. Hard-working taxpayers should not have to subsidize the advertising costs of America's private corporations, yet this is exactly what the Market Access Program does. Since 1986, the Federal Government has extracted well over $1 billion from the pockets of American taxpayers and handed it to multimillion-dollar corporations to subsidize their marketing programs in foreign countries. In other words, the U.S. taxpayer is helping successful private companies and trade associations advertise their wares in foreign countries."[25]

*Exchange Stabilization Fund Limits*. The Exchange Stabilization Fund was established in the 1930s to be used by the Treasury Department to intervene to stabilize the U.S. dollar against foreign currencies. In 1995 the Clinton administration used $20 billion from the fund to cobble together—without the need of congressional approval—an international bailout package for Mexico in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of the peso in December 1994. A strong argument can be made that the Mexican bailout set the stage for the far more serious financial meltdown in East Asia two years later by signaling to investors and policymakers alike that another bailout would be forthcoming if their investments proved unwise. This "moral hazard" encouraged excessive risk taking, setting the stage for other, even more expensive bailouts in East Asia through the International Monetary Fund.[26]

On July 15, 1999, the House rejected by a vote of 192-228 (House Roll Call 304) an amendment by Rep. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) to the Fiscal 2000 Treasury-Postal appropriations bill that would have prohibited any loan or credit from the fund to foreign countries in excess of $1 billion, unless Congress specifically approves the action by statute.

In defense of the ESF, Rep. David Obey (D-Wis.) told his colleagues: "I am very much an economic populist, but I am also a committed internationalist. . . . The use of the [Exchange] Stabilization Fund is not foreign aid. When the Exchange Stabilization Fund is used, it is used to try to stabilize the world economy, not to help another country but to defend our own country, to defend our own prosperity, to defend our own jobs."[27]

*OPIC and Ex-Im Bank Funding.* The Overseas Private Investment Corporation charges private companies a fee to insure their investments abroad, often in places where the risk of failure is relatively high. The agency returns a nominal profit to the U.S. Treasury each year but still requires an annual appropriation of $32 million for administrative costs. The agency currently backs about $20 billion in projects overseas, exposing U.S. taxpayers to huge payments should those investments go bad. OPIC distorts the international flow of capital by steering investment dollars to projects and countries that a truly free, private capital market would deem too risky. It also discourages reform in less-developed countries by shielding policymakers from the full effects of their uneconomic policies.[28] The Export-Import Bank provides subsidized incentives for U.S. exporters to sell in markets where the risk of nonpayment would otherwise be too high. Export subsidies do not significantly expand total U.S. exports but instead shift exports toward the small percentage of U.S. companies that qualify for the subsidies. OPIC and the Ex-Im Bank distort rather than promote trade and investment.

On August 2, 1999, the House voted 103-315 (House Roll Call 359) to reject an amendment by Rep. Robert Andrews (R-N.J.) to the FY 2000 Foreign Operations appropriations bill that would have prohibited the use of any funds in the bill for new projects by OPIC. On August 3, 1999, the House voted 58-360 (House Roll Call 361) to reject an amendment to the same bill by Rep. Ron Paul (R-Tex.) that would have prohibited new obligations or commitments by the Export-Import Bank, OPIC, and the Trade and Development Agency. On October 13, 1999, the House approved by a vote of 357-71 (House Roll Call 499) the reauthorization of OPIC through fiscal 2003.

Arguing against limits on OPIC, Rep. Bereuter told his colleagues: "With respect to the Andrews-Sanders-Sanford amendment, I would have to say that it hurts American competitiveness and benefits our foreign competitors. Most of our developing nations, like France, Germany and Japan, offer a comprehensive array of export and overseas investment support. They clearly understand the importance of such programs in supporting jobs and economic growth at home. The U.S. spends less per capita, as a percentage of GDP, and in dollar terms on supporting private sector investment in developing countries than any other major competitor country."[29]

In response, Rep. Paul challenged the internationalist members of the House who support OPIC and the Ex-Im Bank to reconsider whether subsidies actually promote free trade: "So I urge support for the amendment because, if we are serious about free trade, just please do not call it free trade anymore. Call it managed trade. Call it subsidized trade. Call it special interest trade. But please do not call it free trade anymore, because it is not free trade."[30]

**Export subsidies do not significantly expand total U.S. exports but instead shift exports toward the small percentage of U.S. companies that qualify for the subsidies.**

## Who Supports Free International Markets?

Those major votes on trade barriers and trade subsidies can be used to determine the level of support in Congress for a policy of true free trade. Members who voted two-thirds of the time or more against both trade barriers and

**The typical House member in the 106th Congress voted against trade barriers on 63 percent of votes surveyed and against trade subsidies on 22 percent of votes, characterizing the House as mildly internationalist.**

trade subsidies can be classified as free traders. Those who voted two-thirds of the time or more against trade barriers and in favor of trade subsidies can be classified as internationalists. Those who voted two-thirds of the time or more in favor of trade barriers and against trade subsidies can be classified as isolationists. And those who voted two-thirds of the time or more in favor of both trade barriers and trade subsidies can be classified as interventionists.[31]

### House Tilted toward Internationalism

The typical House member in the 106th Congress voted against trade barriers on 63 percent of votes surveyed and against trade subsidies on 22 percent of votes, characterizing the House as mildly internationalist. House Republicans were only marginally more inclined to vote against trade barriers than Democrats, 65 percent compared to 62 percent, but they were three times more likely to vote against trade subsidies, 35 percent compared to 11 percent.

Although the two parties were close in overall votes cast against trade barriers, party support swung widely from issue to issue. Republicans were far more likely than Democrats to vote against barriers on the issues of steel quotas and permanent normal trade relations with China, while Democrats were far more likely to oppose barriers to trade with Cuba. On trade subsides, Republicans were far more likely than Democrats to vote against them on all five of the votes tabulated. (See Table 1.)

Of the 433 House members whose voting records were analyzed, 26 fit the definition of a free trader. Another 212, or almost half the chamber's membership, voted as internationalists, 24 voted as isolationists, and 43 voted as interventionists. The remaining 128 members fell outside classification because their voting records showed no clear pattern of support for or opposition to trade barriers and subsidies. (See Appendix A for a list of members in each of the four categories.)

All 26 free traders in the House during the 106th Congress were Republicans. The most consistent supporter of free trade was Tom Campbell (R-Calif.), who voted against trade barriers and trade subsidies on every vote he cast. Close behind were John Linder (R-Ga.) and Matt Salmon (R-Ariz.), who each voted against barriers and subsidies on every vote cast but one. Voting for free trade on all but two votes cast were Richard K. Armey (R-Tex.), Steve Chabot (R-Ohio), Jim DeMint (R-S.C.), Peter Hoekstra (R-Mich.), John Shadegg (R-Ariz.), John Sununu (R-N.H.), Susan Myrick (R-N.C.), Scott McInnis (R-Colo.), and David McIntosh (R-Ind.).[32]

Republicans also dominated among the isolationists. Of the 24 members of the House who voted most often in favor of trade barriers and against subsidies, 19 were Republicans, 3 Democrats, and 2 Independents. The most consistent isolationists were Bob Barr (R-Ga.), John J. Duncan Jr. (R-Tenn.), John N. Hostettler (R-Ind.), and Tom Coburn (R-Okla.), who each voted against trade subsidies at every opportunity and in favor of trade barriers at every opportunity but one. The next most consistent isolationists were Helen Chenoweth-Hage (R-Idaho), Howard Coble (R-N.C.), Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.), and Zach Wamp (R-Tenn.). The three Democrats who voted as isolationists were Mike McIntyre (N.C.), Peter A. DeFazio (Ore.), and Cynthia McKinney (Ga.). Also voting as isolationists were both Independents in the House, socialist Bernard Sanders (Vt.) and conservative Virgil H. Goode Jr. (Va.).

The two parties were more evenly represented among the near majority classified as internationalists. Of the 212 members who voted most often against trade barriers and for trade subsidies, 113 were Republicans and 99 Democrats. Of those, 14 voted against barriers and for subsidies at every opportunity. Those members with pure internationalist voting records were Judy Biggert (R-Ill.), Larry Combest (R-Tex.), John C. Cooksey (R-La.), Norman D. Dicks (D-Wash.), Calvin Dooley (D-Calif.), Anna Eshoo (D-Calif.), Chris John (D-La.), Nancy L. Johnson (R-Conn.), Ray LaHood (R-Ill.), Tom Latham (R-Iowa), Jim Leach (R-Iowa), Zoe Lofgren (D-Calif.), Jim McDermott (D-Wash.), and Adam Smith (D-Wash.).

The two parties were also more evenly represented among interventionists. Of the 43

**Table 1**
**Major House Votes on Trade Barriers and Subsidies, 106th Congress**

| Short Description | Date | Roll Call No. | Free Trade Position | Final Vote | % Voting Free Trade GOP | % Voting Free Trade Dem. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Trade barrier votes | | | | | | |
| Steel quotas | 3/17/99 | 56 | No | 289-141 | 58 | 6 |
| Disapprove China NTR | 7/27/99 | 338 | No | 170-260 | 68 | 53 |
| Africa/CBI trade bill, final | 5/4/00 | 145 | Yes | 309-110 | 86 | 62 |
| Relax computer export controls | 5/18/00 | 195 | Yes | 415-8 | 98 | 99 |
| Approve China PNTR | 5/24/00 | 228 | Yes | 237-197 | 74 | 35 |
| WTO withdrawal | 6/21/00 | 310 | No | 56-363 | 85 | 90 |
| Disapprove China NTR | 7/18/00 | 405 | No | 147-281 | 75 | 56 |
| End Cuban embargo | 7/20/00 | 424 | Yes | 174-241 | 11 | 74 |
| End travel ban to Cuba | 7/20/00 | 425 | Yes | 232-186 | 28 | 84 |
| Trade subsidy votes | | | | | | |
| End Market Access Program | 6/8/99 | 174 | Yes | 72-355 | 25 | 8 |
| Limit Exchange Stabilization Fund | 7/15/99 | 304 | Yes | 192-228 | 68 | 22 |
| Prohibit new OPIC projects | 8/2/99 | 359 | Yes | 103-315 | 32 | 17 |
| Limit OPIC, Ex–Im Bank & TDA | 8/3/99 | 361 | Yes | 58-360 | 23 | 3 |
| OPIC reauthorization | 10/13/99 | 499 | No | 357-71 | 24 | 8 |

Source: *Congressional Quarterly,* various issues.

members who voted most often for both trade barriers and trade subsidies, 24 were Democrats and 19 Republicans. Don Young (R-Alaska) was the only member who voted the interventionist line on every rated vote he cast in the 106th Congress, voting in favor of trade barriers on seven of seven votes and in favor of trade subsidies on three of three votes. The only member to vote as an interventionist on all but one vote was Patrick Kennedy (D-R.I.). Those voting as interventionists on all but two votes were Michael P. Forbes (D-N.Y.), House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.), Frank Pallone Jr. (D-N.J.), Alan B. Mollohan (D-W.Va.), William Delahunt (D-Mass.), and Christopher H. Smith (R-N.J.). (See Appendix B for a complete list of House members and their votes.)

### Senate Leans against Barriers to Trade

The U.S. Senate tended to vote against barriers to international commerce during the 106th Congress. On the 15 votes surveyed for this study, the typical senator voted against barriers 67 percent of the time. The partisan split was sharper than in the House, with the typical Republican senator voting against barriers 71 percent of the time and the typical Democrat 61 percent. The deepest divisions were over steel quotas, where Republicans opposed barriers by a margin of 72 percent compared to 40 percent for Democrats; enforcing environmental standards through trade agreements, where Republicans opposed barriers by a margin of 92 percent compared to 20 percent for Democrats; and travel to Cuba, where Democrats opposed barriers by a margin of 73 percent compared to 19 percent for Republicans. (See Table 2.)

Sixty members of the Senate in the 106th Congress voted two-thirds of the time or more against trade barriers, earning the characterization of either free traders or internationalists. Only nine members of the Senate voted against trade barriers one-third of the time or less when given the opportunity, earning the characterization of either isolationists or interventionists. (See Appendix C for a list of sena-

**Table 2**
**Major Senate Votes on Trade Barriers, 106th Congress**

| Short Description | Date | Roll Call No. | Free Trade Position | Final Vote | % Voting Free Trade GOP | Dem. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Steel import quotas | 6/22/99 | 178 | No | 42-57 | 72 | 40 |
| End travel ban to Cuba (vote to table) | 6/30/99 | 189 | No | 55-43 | 19 | 73 |
| Disapprove China NTR | 7/20/99 | 213 | No | 12-87 | 87 | 91 |
| End food/medicine sanctions (table) | 8/3/99 | 251 | No | 28-70 | 68 | 77 |
| Repeal sugar import quotas (table) | 8/4/99 | 254 | No | 66-33 | 36 | 29 |
| Environmental side agreements (table) | 11/2/99 | 347 | Yes | 57-40 | 92 | 20 |
| Require reciprocal tariff rates (table) | 11/2/99 | 348 | Yes | 70-27 | 87 | 56 |
| Allow private dumping suits (table) | 11/3/99 | 350 | Yes | 54-42 | 64 | 47 |
| Labor standard preconditions (table) | 11/3/99 | 352 | Yes | 66-29 | 91 | 43 |
| Africa/CBI trade bill, final | 5/11/00 | 98 | Yes | 77-19 | 89 | 70 |
| Relax computer export controls | 7/12/00 | 174 | Yes | 86-11 | 81 | 98 |
| Repeal sugar import quotas (table) | 7/20/00 | 219 | No | 65-32 | 40 | 25 |
| Human rights preconditions | 9/12/00 | 239 | No | 32-63 | 63 | 70 |
| Approve China PNTR | 9/19/00 | 251 | Yes | 83-15 | 85 | 84 |
| H-1B high-tech worker visas | 10/3/00 | 262 | Yes | 96-1 | 100 | 98 |

Source: *Congressional Quarterly*, various issues.

Note: A vote to table is a vote to kill the amendment on the floor. Thus a vote in favor of tabling an amendment is, in effect, a vote against the amendment.

tors in each of the two categories.) Unfortunately for the purposes of this study, no votes were cast in the Senate during the 106th Congress that would allow a differentiation based on opposition to trade subsidies.

Of the 60 senators who most consistently voted against trade barriers, 42 were Republicans and 18 were Democrats. The most consistent opponents of trade barriers were John Chafee (R-R.I.), his son and successor Lincoln Chafee (R-R.I.), Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), and George Voinovich (R-Ohio), each of whom voted against trade barriers on every surveyed vote they cast. Opposing trade barriers on every vote but one were Sam Brownback (R-Kan.), Peter G. Fitzgerald (R-Ill.), Bill Frist (R-Tenn.), Slade Gorton (R-Wash.), Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), Don Nickles (R-Okla.), Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.), and William V. Roth Jr. (R-Del.).

Of the nine senators who voted most consistently in favor of barriers to trade, five were Republicans and four Democrats. The two top supporters of trade barriers in the Senate in the 106th Congress were Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.), who voted in favor of trade barriers on 13 of 15 votes cast, and Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), who voted in favor of barriers on 12 of 14 votes cast. The next most consistent supporters of trade barriers were Olympia Snowe (R-Me.), Jim Bunning (R-Ky.), Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.), Robert G. Torricelli (D-N.J.), Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), Robert C. Smith (R-N.H.), and Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.). (See Appendix D for a complete list of senators and their votes.)

**Veteran Members Less Supportive of Free Trade**

Support for free trade appears to cool the longer a member serves in the House. In the 106th Congress, House members elected since 1987 voted against trade barriers 64 percent of the time compared to 60 percent for those elected before 1987. Members elected since 1987 voted against trade subsidies 26 percent of the time compared to 17 percent for members elected before then. The same story was true among members elected since 1993, with newer members voting against barriers 66 percent of the time compared to 61 percent for more veteran members, and against subsidies 26 percent of the time compared to 21 percent for more veteran members. Whether the dividing line is 6 years in office or 12, the longer House members serve, the more inclined they are to support government intervention in trade.

In the Senate, the class divisions were less distinct. Senators elected since 1987 and those elected before then were equally likely to oppose trade barriers, voting against them 67 percent of the time. Senators elected since 1993 were slightly more inclined to oppose trade barriers (69 percent versus 65 percent) than were those elected before then.

**Clues to the 107th Congress**

Results of the 2000 congressional elections do not point to any sharp break from the previous Congress in voting on trade barriers and subsidies. The high reelection rate in the House means that more than 90 percent of its membership will be unchanged from the previous Congress. The 42 members of the 106th Congress who did not return to the 107th Congress voted against trade barriers with exactly the same frequency, 63 percent, as those members who did return. The departing members were slightly more inclined to vote against trade subsidies in the last Congress than were the returning members, 31 percent versus 23 percent. While both departing and returning members leaned toward an internationalist approach, the departing members were somewhat closer to (though still far short of) the free-trade ideal of consistently opposing barriers and subsidies.

In the Senate, the story is less encouraging for free trade. The 13 senators who did not return to the 107th Congress were significantly more inclined to oppose trade barriers than were the senators who did return. As a group, the departed senators voted against trade barriers 78 percent of the time in the previous Congress, compared to 65 percent for the returning senators. Among the group of departed senators were two of chamber's most influential advocates for trade liberalization, Sens. Roth and Moynihan, who were chairman and ranking minority member, respectively, of the Senate Finance Committee.

Only 1 of the 13 departed senators has been replaced by a House member from the 106th Congress. Spencer Abraham (R-Mich.), who voted against trade barriers 80 percent of the time, has been replaced by Debbie Stabenow (D-Mich.), who voted against trade barriers 56 percent of the time during her last term in the House. Retiring Sen. Richard Bryan (D-Nev.), who voted against trade barriers 57 percent of the time in the 106th Congress, has been replaced by Republican John Ensign. Ensign last served in the House in the 105th Congress, when he compiled a perfect isolationist voting record, voting for trade barriers and against trade subsidies at every opportunity.

Leaders of the two parties in the House remain deeply divided on trade. The top Republican leaders are either free traders or internationalists. House Majority Leader Richard Armey (R-Tex.) compiled a solid free-trade voting record, while Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-Tex.) voted as an internationalist, opposing trade barriers on 75 percent of tabulated votes and opposing subsidies on 20 percent.[33] In contrast, the top two Democrats in the House, Minority Leader Richard Gephardt and Minority Whip David Bonior, both compiled solid interventionist voting records, favoring trade barriers and trade subsidies on two-thirds or more of their votes.

New chairmen have been installed in the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees, the two panels that oversee trade legislation, but neither change signals a major departure from previous trade policy. The new Ways and Means chairman, Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.), voted solidly internationalist. The retired chairman he replaces, Rep. Bill Archer (R-Tex.), voted just as frequently as Thomas against trade barriers but also opposed trade subsidies 40 percent of the time compared to none of the time for Thomas. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), the ranking minority member of the committee, also compiled a solid internationalist voting record in the past Congress. In the Senate, Charles Grassley (R-Iowa) replaces

**Whether the dividing line is 6 years in office or 12, the longer House members serve, the more inclined they are to support government intervention in trade.**

Too few members of Congress apply a consistent philosophy of freedom and limited government when casting votes affecting how Americans participate in the global economy

Roth as finance chairman. Like Roth, Grassley voted more than 80 percent of the time against trade barriers, parting with his predecessor only in his support of protection for domestic sugar producers. On the Democratic side, Max Baucus (D-Mont.) replaces Moynihan, parting with the retired senator only in his support for private antidumping suits.

On the basis of previous voting records, it seems unlikely the 107th Congress will veer dramatically from the previous Congress in its approach to international economic policy. Returning members in the House are just as likely to support trade liberalization as departing members. The Senate lost several prominent champions of open trade, but the returning senators as a group were inclined to support reduced trade barriers.

## Conclusion

Debate over America's engagement in the global economy has been oversimplified into a battle between isolationists and internationalists, whereas the ultimate struggle is between those who support a truly free market and those who favor various forms of government intervention in the international marketplace.

Measured on this free-market scale, the 106th Congress was a mixed success. Several important bills to reduce trade barriers passed into law, and other bills and amendments that would have raised barriers ultimately failed. But Congress continues to consistently favor subsidies to trade and investment through such vehicles as OPIC, the Market Access Program, and the Export-Import Bank. Too few members of Congress apply a consistent philosophy of freedom and limited government when casting votes affecting how Americans participate in the global economy. In the House, a mere 6 percent of members could be counted on in the 106th Congress to say no to trade barriers and subsidies on at least two of three votes cast.

Members of Congress who want to advance the cause of limited government, economic liberty, and national prosperity should favor a consistent agenda of eliminating barriers to trade and trade-related subsidies. Protectionism and subsidies both undermine the workings of the free market, substituting the judgment of politicians for that of millions of informed citizens cooperating together in the marketplace for mutual advantage.

When weighing policy toward the international economy, members of Congress do not need to choose between anti-trade, anti-subsidy isolationism and pro-trade, pro-subsidy internationalism. They can choose to vote for a coherent program to liberalize trade and eliminate subsidies—in sum, to let Americans enjoy the freedom and prosperity of a seamless free market undistorted by government intervention.

# Appendix A: House Members by Category

| | Party | State | Trade | Subsidies | | Party | State | Trade | Subsidies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Free Traders* | | | | | | | | | |
| Campbell, Tom | R | CA | 100% | 100% | McInnis, Scott | R | CO | 86% | 80% |
| Linder, John | R | GA | 100% | 80% | McIntosh, David | R | IN | 80% | 80% |
| Salmon, Matt | R | AZ | 100% | 80% | Crane, Philip M. | R | IL | 78% | 80% |
| Armey, Richard K. | R | TX | 78% | 100% | Miller, Dan | R | FL | 78% | 80% |
| Chabot, Steve | R | OH | 78% | 100% | Ryun, Jim R. | R | KS | 78% | 80% |
| DeMint, Jim | R | SC | 78% | 100% | Smith, Nick | R | MI | 78% | 80% |
| Hoekstra, Peter | R | MI | 78% | 100% | Toomey, Pat | R | PA | 78% | 80% |
| Shadegg, John | R | AZ | 78% | 100% | Bilbray, Brian | R | CA | 89% | 67% |
| Myrick, Sue | R | NC | 75% | 100% | Bachus, Spencer | R | AL | 67% | 80% |
| Sununu, John E. | R | NH | 89% | 80% | Istook, Ernest, Jr. | R | OK | 67% | 80% |
| Paul, Ron E. | R | TX | 67% | 100% | Pease, Edward A. | R | IN | 67% | 80% |
| Rogan, James E. | R | CA | 67% | 100% | Petri, Thomas E. | R | WI | 67% | 80% |
| Royce, Edward | R | CA | 67% | 100% | Pryce, Deborah | R | OH | 78% | 67% |
| *Internationalists* | | | | | | | | | |
| Biggert, Judy | R | IL | 100% | 0% | Tauzin, W.J. "Billy" | R | LA | 78% | 0% |
| Combest, Larry | R | TX | 100% | 0% | Thomas, William M. | R | CA | 78% | 0% |
| Cooksey, John C. | R | LA | 100% | 0% | Watkins, Wes W. | R | OK | 78% | 0% |
| Dicks, Norman D. | D | WA | 100% | 0% | Waxman, Henry A. | D | CA | 78% | 0% |
| Dooley, Calvin | D | CA | 100% | 0% | Wilson, Heather A. | R | NM | 78% | 0% |
| Eshoo, Anna | D | CA | 100% | 0% | Carson, Julia M. | D | IN | 75% | 0% |
| John, Chris | D | LA | 100% | 0% | Kuykendall, Steven T. | R | CA | 75% | 0% |
| Johnson, Nancy L. | R | CT | 100% | 0% | Peterson, John E. | R | PA | 75% | 0% |
| LaHood, Ray | R | IL | 100% | 0% | Bliley, Thomas J., Jr. | R | VA | 89% | 20% |
| Latham, Tom | R | IA | 100% | 0% | Doggett, Lloyd | D | TX | 89% | 20% |
| Leach, Jim | R | IA | 100% | 0% | Ehlers, Vernon | R | MI | 89% | 20% |
| Lofgren, Zoe | D | CA | 100% | 0% | English, Philip S. | R | PA | 89% | 20% |
| McDermott, Jim | D | WA | 100% | 0% | Meehan, Marty | D | MA | 89% | 20% |
| Smith, Adam | D | WA | 100% | 0% | Moran, Jerry | R | KS | 89% | 20% |
| Allen, Thomas H. | D | ME | 89% | 0% | Morella, Connie A. | R | MD | 89% | 20% |
| Baird, Brian | D | WA | 89% | 0% | Radanovich, George P. | R | CA | 89% | 20% |
| Barrett, Bill | R | NE | 89% | 0% | Ryan, Paul D. | R | WI | 89% | 20% |
| Becerra, Xavier | D | CA | 89% | 0% | Shimkus, John M. | R | IL | 89% | 20% |
| Bereuter, Doug | R | NE | 89% | 0% | Simpson, Mike | R | ID | 89% | 20% |
| Berry, Marion | D | AR | 89% | 0% | Turner, Jim | D | TX | 89% | 20% |
| Blumenauer, Earl | D | OR | 89% | 0% | Weiner, Anthony D. | D | NY | 89% | 20% |
| Boehlert, Sherwood L. | R | NY | 89% | 0% | Rangel, Charles B. | D | NY | 88% | 20% |
| Capps, Lois | D | CA | 89% | 0% | Ackerman, Gary L. | D | NY | 67% | 0% |
| Castle, Michael | R | DE | 89% | 0% | Ballenger, Cass | R | NC | 67% | 0% |
| Cramer, Robert, Jr. | D | AL | 89% | 0% | Boucher, Rick | D | VA | 67% | 0% |
| DeGette, Diana L. | D | CO | 89% | 0% | Callahan, Sonny | R | AL | 67% | 0% |
| Dixon, Julian C. | D | CA | 89% | 0% | Cardin, Benjamin L. | D | MD | 67% | 0% |
| Edwards, Chet | D | TX | 89% | 0% | Chambliss, Saxby | R | GA | 67% | 0% |
| Ford, Harold E., Jr. | D | TN | 89% | 0% | Etheridge, Bob | D | NC | 67% | 0% |

*continued*

| | Party | State | Trade | Subsidies | | Party | State | Trade | Subsidies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gonzalez, Charles A. | D | TX | 89% | 0% | Filner, Bob | D | CA | 67% | 0% |
| Hill, Baron | D | IN | 89% | 0% | Frost, Martin | D | TX | 67% | 0% |
| Hinojosa, Ruben E. | D | TX | 89% | 0% | Gallegly, Elton | R | CA | 67% | 0% |
| Hooley, Darlene | D | OR | 89% | 0% | Gekas, George W. | R | PA | 67% | 0% |
| Inslee, Jay | D | WA | 89% | 0% | Gordon, Bart | D | TN | 67% | 0% |
| Jackson-Lee, Sheila | D | TX | 89% | 0% | Hansen, James V. | R | UT | 67% | 0% |
| Johnson, Eddie B. | D | TX | 89% | 0% | McGovern, James P. | D | MA | 67% | 0% |
| LaFalce, John J. | D | NY | 89% | 0% | Moakley, Joe | D | MA | 67% | 0% |
| Levin, Sander M. | D | MI | 89% | 0% | Ortiz, Solomon P. | D | TX | 67% | 0% |
| Lowey, Nita M. | D | NY | 89% | 0% | Reyes, Silvestre | D | TX | 67% | 0% |
| Matsui, Robert T. | D | CA | 89% | 0% | Rush, Bobby | D | IL | 67% | 0% |
| Minge, David | D | MN | 89% | 0% | Scott, Bobby | D | VA | 67% | 0% |
| Moore, Dennis | D | KS | 89% | 0% | Skelton, Ike | D | MO | 67% | 0% |
| Nussle, Jim | R | IA | 89% | 0% | Towns, Edolphus | D | NY | 67% | 0% |
| Oxley, Michael G. | R | OH | 89% | 0% | Walsh, James T. | R | NY | 67% | 0% |
| Pickett, Owen B. | D | VA | 89% | 0% | Young, C.W. "Bill" | R | FL | 67% | 0% |
| Pomeroy, Earl | D | ND | 89% | 0% | Weller, Jerry | R | IL | 86% | 20% |
| Porter, John Edward | R | IL | 89% | 0% | Serrano, Jose | D | NY | 88% | 25% |
| Price, David E. | D | NC | 89% | 0% | Baker, Richard H. | R | LA | 78% | 20% |
| Sandlin, Max A. | D | TX | 89% | 0% | Bateman, Herbert H. | R | VA | 78% | 20% |
| Sawyer, Thomas C. | D | OH | 89% | 0% | Blunt, Roy | R | MO | 78% | 20% |
| Snyder, Vic | D | AR | 89% | 0% | Bonilla, Henry | R | TX | 78% | 20% |
| Stenholm, Charles W. | D | TX | 89% | 0% | Camp, Dave | R | MI | 78% | 20% |
| Tanner, John S. | D | TN | 89% | 0% | Canady, Charles T. | R | FL | 78% | 20% |
| Tauscher, Ellen O. | D | CA | 89% | 0% | Cunningham, Randy | R | CA | 78% | 20% |
| Thompson, Mike | D | CA | 89% | 0% | Farr, Sam | D | CA | 78% | 20% |
| Thurman, Karen | D | FL | 89% | 0% | Foley, Mark | R | FL | 78% | 20% |
| Boswell, Leonard L. | D | IA | 88% | 0% | Frelinghuysen, Rodney | R | NJ | 78% | 20% |
| Jefferson, William J. | D | LA | 88% | 0% | Granger, Kay | R | TX | 78% | 20% |
| Berman, Howard L. | D | CA | 86% | 0% | Greenwood, Jim | R | PA | 78% | 20% |
| Roemer, Tim J. | D | IN | 86% | 0% | Hall, Ralph M. | D | TX | 78% | 20% |
| Herger, Wally | R | CA | 100% | 20% | Hastings, Doc | R | WA | 78% | 20% |
| Kind, Ron J. | D | WI | 100% | 20% | Hill, Rick A. | R | MT | 78% | 20% |
| Moran, James P. | D | VA | 100% | 20% | Hulshof, Kenny C. | R | MO | 78% | 20% |
| Shays, Christopher | R | CT | 100% | 20% | Hutchinson, Asa | R | AR | 78% | 20% |
| Upton, Fred | R | MI | 100% | 20% | Johnson, Sam | R | TX | 78% | 20% |
| Bentsen, Ken | D | TX | 78% | 0% | McKeon, Howard | R | CA | 78% | 20% |
| Bishop, Sanford, Jr. | D | GA | 78% | 0% | Packard, Ron | R | CA | 78% | 20% |
| Boehner, John A. | R | OH | 78% | 0% | Portman, Rob J. | R | OH | 78% | 20% |
| Boyd, F. Allen, Jr. | D | FL | 78% | 0% | Reynolds, Thomas | R | NY | 78% | 20% |
| Brady, Kevin P. | R | TX | 78% | 0% | Stump, Bob | R | AZ | 78% | 20% |
| Calvert, Ken | R | CA | 78% | 0% | Talent, James | R | MO | 78% | 20% |
| Clayton, Eva M. | D | NC | 78% | 0% | Thornberry, William | R | TX | 78% | 20% |
| Clement, Bob | D | TN | 78% | 0% | Tiahrt, Todd | R | KS | 78% | 20% |
| Davis, Jim | D | FL | 78% | 0% | Walden, Greg | R | OR | 78% | 20% |
| Davis, Thomas M., | R | VA | 78% | 0% | Whitfield, Edward | R | KY | 78% | 20% |
| Dreier, David | R | CA | 78% | 0% | Wicker, Roger | R | MS | 78% | 20% |
| Dunn, Jennifer | R | WA | 78% | 0% | DeLay, Tom | R | TX | 75% | 20% |

| | Party | State | Trade | Subsidies | | Party | State | Trade | Subsidies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ewing, Thomas | R | IL | 78% | 0% | Gutknecht, Gil | R | MN | 75% | 20% |
| Fattah, Chaka | D | PA | 78% | 0% | Lucas, Frank D. | R | OK | 75% | 20% |
| Gilchrest, Wayne | R | MD | 78% | 0% | Pitts, Joseph R. | R | PA | 75% | 20% |
| Goss, Porter J. | R | FL | 78% | 0% | Slaughter, Louise M. | D | NY | 75% | 20% |
| Hoeffel, Joseph M. | D | PA | 78% | 0% | Vitter, David | R | LA | 75% | 20% |
| Houghton, Amo, Jr. | R | NY | 78% | 0% | Pickering, Charles, Jr. | R | MS | 78% | 25% |
| Isakson, Johnny | R | GA | 78% | 0% | Sherwood, Don | R | PA | 78% | 25% |
| Knollenberg, Joseph | R | MI | 78% | 0% | McCollum, Bill | R | FL | 75% | 25% |
| Kolbe, Jim | R | AZ | 78% | 0% | Bryant, Ed | R | TN | 67% | 20% |
| Lampson, Nicholas V. | D | TX | 78% | 0% | Cubin, Barbara | R | WY | 67% | 20% |
| Larson, John B. | D | CT | 78% | 0% | Emerson, Jo Ann H. | R | MO | 67% | 20% |
| LaTourette, Steve C. | R | OH | 78% | 0% | Fowler, Tillie | R | FL | 67% | 20% |
| Lewis, Jerry | R | CA | 78% | 0% | Ganske, Greg | R | IA | 67% | 20% |
| Maloney, Carolyn | D | NY | 78% | 0% | Gillmor, Paul E. | R | OH | 67% | 20% |
| McCarthy, Carolyn | D | NY | 78% | 0% | Green, Mark | R | WI | 67% | 20% |
| McCarthy, Karen | D | MO | 78% | 0% | Holt, Rush | D | NJ | 67% | 20% |
| McCrery, Jim | R | LA | 78% | 0% | Hyde, Henry J. | R | IL | 67% | 20% |
| McNulty, Michael R. | D | NY | 78% | 0% | Kanjorski, Paul E. | D | PA | 67% | 20% |
| Meeks, Gregory W. | D | NY | 78% | 0% | Kelly, Sue W. | R | NY | 67% | 20% |
| Millender-McDonald, J. | D | CA | 78% | 0% | Kleczka, Jerry | D | WI | 67% | 20% |
| Miller, Gary G. | R | CA | 78% | 0% | Lazio, Rick | R | NY | 67% | 20% |
| Napolitano, Grace F. | D | CA | 78% | 0% | Lewis, Ron | R | KY | 67% | 20% |
| Neal, Richard E. | D | MA | 78% | 0% | Lucas, Ken R. | D | KY | 67% | 20% |
| Nethercutt, George, Jr. | R | WA | 78% | 0% | Regula, Ralph | R | OH | 67% | 20% |
| Northup, Anne M. | R | KY | 78% | 0% | Roukema, Marge | R | NJ | 67% | 20% |
| Ose, Doug | R | CA | 78% | 0% | Shows, Ronnie | D | MS | 67% | 20% |
| Pastor, Ed | D | AZ | 78% | 0% | Skeen, Joe | R | NM | 67% | 20% |
| Rodriguez, Ciro D. | D | TX | 78% | 0% | Smith, Lamar S. | R | TX | 67% | 20% |
| Shaw, E. Clay, Jr. | R | FL | 78% | 0% | Weldon, Curt | R | PA | 67% | 20% |

*Isolationists*

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Barr, Bob | R | GA | 11% | 100% | McIntyre, Mike | D | NC | 22% | 80% |
| Duncan, John J., Jr. | R | TN | 11% | 100% | Pombo, Richard | R | CA | 22% | 80% |
| Hostettler, John N. | R | IN | 11% | 100% | Collins, Michael | R | GA | 33% | 80% |
| Coburn, Tom | R | OK | 13% | 100% | DeFazio, Peter A. | D | OR | 33% | 80% |
| Chenoweth-Hage, Helen | R | ID | 22% | 100% | Hefley, Joel | R | CO | 33% | 80% |
| Coble, Howard | R | NC | 22% | 100% | Hilleary, Van | R | TN | 33% | 80% |
| Rohrabacher, Dana | R | CA | 22% | 100% | Kingston, Jack | R | GA | 33% | 80% |
| Wamp, Zach | R | TN | 22% | 100% | McKinney, Cynthia | D | GA | 33% | 80% |
| Bartlett, Roscoe | R | MD | 11% | 80% | Sanders, Bernard | I | VT | 33% | 80% |
| Goode, Virgil H., Jr. | I | VA | 11% | 80% | Sensenbrenner, F., Jr. | R | WI | 33% | 80% |
| Jones, Walter, Jr. | R | NC | 11% | 80% | Tancredo, Thomas G. | R | CO | 33% | 80% |
| LoBiondo, Frank A. | R | NJ | 22% | 80% | Burton, Dan | R | IN | 29% | 75% |

*Interventionists*

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Young, Don | R | AK | 0% | 0% | Goodling, William F. | R | PA | 22% | 20% |
| Kennedy, Patrick J. | D | RI | 11% | 0% | Rahall, Nick J., II | D | WV | 22% | 20% |
| Forbes, Michael P. | D | NY | 22% | 0% | Rogers, Harold | R | KY | 22% | 20% |

*continued*

| | Party | State | Trade | Subsidies | | Party | State | Trade | Subsidies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gephardt, Richard A. | D | MO | 22% | 0% | Rothman, Steven R. | D | NJ | 22% | 20% |
| Pallone, Frank, Jr. | D | NJ | 22% | 0% | Taylor, Charles H. | R | NC | 22% | 20% |
| Mollohan, Alan B. | D | WV | 25% | 0% | Taylor, Gene | D | MS | 22% | 20% |
| Delahunt, William | D | MA | 29% | 0% | Gutierrez, Luis | D | IL | 25% | 20% |
| Smith, Christopher H. | R | NJ | 11% | 20% | Ney, Bob | R | OH | 22% | 25% |
| Bonior, David E. | D | MI | 33% | 0% | Aderholt, Robert B. | R | AL | 33% | 20% |
| Brady, Robert A. | D | PA | 33% | 0% | Barcia, James | D | MI | 33% | 20% |
| Engel, Eliot | D | NY | 33% | 0% | Bilirakis, Michael | R | FL | 33% | 20% |
| Gilman, Benjamin A. | R | NY | 33% | 0% | Diaz-Balart, Lincoln | R | FL | 33% | 20% |
| Kildee, Dale E. | D | MI | 33% | 0% | Horn, Steve | R | CA | 33% | 20% |
| King, Peter | R | NY | 33% | 0% | Jackson, Jesse, Jr. | D | IL | 33% | 20% |
| Mascara, Frank R. | D | PA | 33% | 0% | Mink, Patsy T. | D | HI | 33% | 20% |
| Menendez, Robert | D | NJ | 33% | 0% | Riley, Bob | R | AL | 33% | 20% |
| Spratt, John M., Jr. | D | SC | 33% | 0% | Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana | R | FL | 33% | 20% |
| Vento, Bruce F. | D | MN | 33% | 0% | Weldon, David | R | FL | 33% | 20% |
| Wexler, Robert I. | D | FL | 33% | 0% | Abercrombie, Neil | D | HI | 33% | 25% |
| Cook, Merrill | R | UT | 14% | 20% | Baldwin, Tammy | D | WI | 33% | 25% |
| Deal, Nathan | R | GA | 22% | 20% | Burr, Richard M. | R | NC | 33% | 25% |
| Gibbons, James A. | R | NV | 22% | 20% | | | | | |

# Appendix B: Individual House Voting Records

| | Party | State | First Elected | Trade Votes | Subsidy Votes | Steel Quotas | China NTR | Africa/CBI Final | Computer Exports | China PNTR | WTO Withdrawal | China NTR | End Cuban Embargo | Travel to Cuba | MAP Cuts | ESF Restrictions | OPIC Cutoff | Limit Ex-IM, OPIC | Reauthorize OPIC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roll Call Number | | | | | | 56 | 338 | 145 | 195 | 228 | 310 | 405 | 424 | 425 | 174 | 304 | 359 | 361 | 499 |
| Year of vote | | | | | | 1999 | 1999 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 |
| "Free Trade" position | | | | | | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N |
| Abercrombie, Neil | D | HI | 1990 | 33% | 25% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | | - | - |
| Ackerman, Gary L. | D | NY | 1983 | 67% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Aderholt, Robert B. | R | AL | 1996 | 33% | 20% | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Allen, Thomas H. | D | ME | 1996 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Andrews, Robert E. | D | NJ | 1990 | 44% | 60% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + |
| Archer, Bill | R | TX | 1970 | 78% | 40% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | - |
| Armey, Richard K. | R | TX | 1984 | 78% | 100% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| Bachus, Spencer | R | AL | 1992 | 67% | 80% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | + |
| Baird, Brian | D | WA | 1998 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Baker, Richard H. | R | LA | 1986 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Baldacci, John E. | D | ME | 1994 | 56% | 0% | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Baldwin, Tammy | D | WI | 1998 | 33% | 25% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | | + | - | - |
| Ballenger, Cass | R | NC | 1986 | 67% | 0% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Barcia, James | D | MI | 1992 | 33% | 20% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - |
| Barr, Bob | R | GA | 1994 | 11% | 100% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| Barrett, Bill | R | NE | 1990 | 89% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Barrett, Thomas | D | WI | 1992 | 67% | 60% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + |
| Bartlett, Roscoe | R | MD | 1992 | 11% | 80% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| Barton, Joe | R | TX | 1984 | 50% | 0% | + | - | + | | - | + | - | | | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bass, Charles | R | NH | 1994 | 89% | 60% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| Bateman, Herbert H. | R | VA | 1982 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Becerra, Xavier | D | CA | 1992 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bentsen, Ken | D | TX | 1994 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bereuter, Doug | R | NE | 1978 | 89% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Berkley, Shelley | D | NV | 1998 | 56% | 40% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | - |
| Berman, Howard L. | D | CA | 1982 | 86% | 0% | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | | | - | - | - | - | - |
| Berry, Marion | D | AR | 1996 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Biggert, Judy | R | IL | 1998 | 100% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bilbray, Brian | R | CA | 1994 | 89% | 67% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | | | - |

*continued*

| | Party | State | First Elected | Trade Votes | Subsidy Votes | Steel Quotas | China NTR | Africa/CBI Final | Computer Exports | China PNTR | WTO Withdrawal | China NTR | End Cuban Embargo | Travel to Cuba | MAP Cuts | ESF Restrictions | OPIC Cutoff | Limit Ex-IM, OPIC | Reauthorize OPIC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roll Call Number | | | | | | 56 | 338 | 145 | 195 | 228 | 310 | 405 | 424 | 425 | 174 | 304 | 359 | 361 | 499 |
| Year of vote | | | | | | 1999 | 1999 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 |
| "Free Trade" position | | | | | | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N |
| Bilirakis, Michael | R | FL | 1982 | 33% | 20% | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Bishop, Sanford, Jr. | D | GA | 1992 | 78% | 0% | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Blagojevich, Rod R. | D | IL | 1996 | 56% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bliley, Thomas J., Jr. | R | VA | 1980 | 89% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Blumenauer, Earl | D | OR | 1996 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Blunt, Roy | R | MO | 1996 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Boehlert, Sherwood L. | R | NY | 1982 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Boehner, John A. | R | OH | 1990 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bonilla, Henry | R | TX | 1992 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Bonior, David E. | D | MI | 1976 | 33% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bono, Mary | R | CA | 1994 | 89% | 40% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - |
| Borski, Robert A. | D | PA | 1982 | 44% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Boswell, Leonard L. | D | IA | 1996 | 88% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Boucher, Rick | D | VA | 1982 | 67% | 0% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Boyd, F. Allen, Jr. | D | FL | 1996 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Brady, Kevin P. | R | TX | 1996 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Brady, Robert A. | D | PA | 1998 | 33% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Brown, Corrine | D | FL | 1992 | 50% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Brown, Sherrod | D | OH | 1992 | 33% | 50% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | |
| Bryant, Ed | R | TN | 1994 | 67% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Burr, Richard M. | R | NC | 1982 | 33% | 25% | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | |
| Burton, Dan | R | IN | 1982 | 29% | 75% | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | | | - | | + | + | + |
| Buyer, Steve | R | IN | 1992 | 44% | 50% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | | + | - | - | + |
| Callahan, Sonny | R | AL | 1984 | 67% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Calvert, Ken | R | CA | 1992 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Camp, Dave | R | MI | 1990 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Campbell, Tom | R | CA | 1995 | 100% | 100% | + | + | + | | + | | | | | + | + | + | + | + |
| Canady, Charles T. | R | FL | 1992 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Cannon, Christopher | R | UT | 1996 | 75% | 60% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | | - | - | + | + | + | - |
| Capps, Lois | D | CA | 1996 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Capuano, Michael | D | MA | 1998 | 44% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cardin, Benjamin L. | D | MD | 1986 | 67% | 0% | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Carson, Julia M. | D | IN | 1996 | 75% | 0% | - | - | + | + | + | | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Castle, Michael | R | DE | 1992 | 89% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Chabot, Steve | R | OH | 1994 | 78% | 100% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| Chambliss, Saxby | R | GA | 1994 | 67% | 0% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Chenoweth-Hage, H. | R | ID | 1994 | 22% | 100% | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | | | + | + | + |
| Clay, William "Bill" | D | MO | 1968 | 43% | 20% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | | | - | + | - | - | - |
| Clayton, Eva M. | D | NC | 1992 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Clement, Bob | D | TN | 1988 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Clyburn, James | D | SC | 1992 | 56% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Coble, Howard | R | NC | 1984 | 22% | 100% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | | + | + | + |
| Coburn, Tom | R | OK | 1994 | 13% | 100% | - | - | | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| Collins, Michael | R | GA | 1992 | 33% | 80% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - |
| Combest, Larry | R | TX | 1984 | 100% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Condit, Gary | D | CA | 1989 | 44% | 80% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + |
| Conyers, John, Jr. | D | MI | 1964 | 56% | 60% | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | + |
| Cook, Merrill | R | UT | 1996 | 14% | 20% | - | - | | + | - | | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Cooksey, John C. | R | LA | 1996 | 100% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | - | | | - | - |
| Costello, Jerry F. | D | IL | 1988 | 44% | 20% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Cox, Christopher | R | CA | 1988 | 56% | 100% | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| Coyne, William J. | D | PA | 1980 | 44% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cramer, Robert E., Jr. | D | AL | 1990 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Crane, Philip M. | R | IL | 1969 | 78% | 80% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | + |
| Crowley, Joseph | D | NY | 1998 | 44% | 0% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cubin, Barbara | R | WY | 1994 | 67% | 20% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Cummings, Elijah | D | MD | 1996 | 56% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cunningham, Randy | R | CA | 1990 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Danner, Pat | D | MO | 1992 | 56% | 20% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Davis, Danny K. | D | IL | 1996 | 56% | 20% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Davis, Jim | D | FL | 1996 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Davis, Thomas M., | R | VA | 1994 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Deal, Nathan | R | GA | 1992 | 22% | 20% | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| DeFazio, Peter A. | D | OR | 1986 | 33% | 80% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + |
| DeGette, Diana L. | D | CO | 1996 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Delahunt, William | D | MA | 1996 | 29% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | | | - | - | - | - | - |
| DeLauro, Rosa | D | CT | 1990 | 44% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| DeLay, Tom | R | TX | 1984 | 75% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| DeMint, Jim | R | SC | 1998 | 78% | 100% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| Deutsch, Peter | D | FL | 1992 | 56% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Diaz-Balart, Lincoln | R | FL | 1992 | 33% | 20% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Dickey, Jay | R | AR | 1992 | 56% | 20% | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - |
| Dicks, Norman D. | D | WA | 1976 | 100% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Dingell, John D. | D | MI | 1955 | 44% | 0% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Dixon, Julian C. | D | CA | 1978 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Doggett, Lloyd | D | TX | 1994 | 89% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |

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| | Party | State | First Elected | Trade Votes | Subsidy Votes | Steel Quotas | China NTR | Africa/CBI Final | Computer Exports | China PNTR | WTO Withdrawal | China NTR | End Cuban Embargo | Travel to Cuba | MAP Cuts | ESF Restrictions | OPIC Cutoff | Limit Ex-IM, OPIC | Reauthorize OPIC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roll Call Number | | | | | | 56 | 338 | 145 | 195 | 228 | 310 | 405 | 424 | 425 | 174 | 304 | 359 | 361 | 499 |
| Year of vote | | | | | | 1999 | 1999 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 |
| "Free Trade" position | | | | | | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N |
| Dooley, Calvin | D | CA | 1990 | 100% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Doolittle, John | R | CA | 1990 | 56% | 80% | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| Doyle, Mike | D | PA | 1994 | 44% | 20% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| Dreier, David | R | CA | 1980 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Duncan, John J., Jr. | R | TN | 1988 | 11% | 100% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| Dunn, Jennifer | R | WA | 1992 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Edwards, Chet | D | TX | 1990 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Ehlers, Vernon | R | MI | 1993 | 89% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| Ehrlich, Robert, Jr. | R | MD | 1994 | 44% | 80% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | + |
| Emerson, Jo Ann H. | R | MO | 1996 | 67% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Engel, Eliot | D | NY | 1988 | 33% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| English, Philip S. | R | PA | 1994 | 89% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Eshoo, Anna | D | CA | 1992 | 100% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Etheridge, Bob | D | NC | 1996 | 67% | 0% | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Evans, Lane | D | IL | 1982 | 44% | 40% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - |
| Everett, Terry | R | AL | 1992 | 38% | 20% | - | - | | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Ewing, Thomas | R | IL | 1991 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Farr, Sam | D | CA | 1993 | 78% | 20% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | - |
| Fattah, Chaka | D | PA | 1994 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Filner, Bob | D | CA | 1992 | 67% | 0% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Fletcher, Ernest Lee | R | KY | 1998 | 67% | 40% | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - |
| Foley, Mark | R | FL | 1994 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Forbes, Michael P. | D | NY | 1994 | 22% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Ford, Harold E., Jr. | D | TN | 1996 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | - | - | - | - |
| Fossella, Vito | R | NY | 1997 | 78% | 40% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - |
| Fowler, Tillie | R | FL | 1992 | 67% | 20% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Frank, Barney | D | MA | 1980 | 44% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | | | - |
| Franks, Bob | R | NJ | 1992 | 63% | 40% | - | + | | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - |
| Frelinghuysen, Rodney | R | NJ | 1994 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| Frost, Martin | D | TX | 1978 | 67% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | | - | - | - |
| Gallegly, Elton | R | CA | 1986 | 67% | 0% | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Ganske, Greg | R | IA | 1994 | 67% | 20% | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gejdenson, Sam | D | CT | 1980 | 56% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Gekas, George W. | R | PA | 1982 | 67% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Gephardt, Richard A. | D | MO | 1976 | 22% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| Gibbons, James A. | R | NV | 1996 | 22% | 20% | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Gilchrest, Wayne | R | MD | 1990 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | | - | - | - |
| Gillmor, Paul E. | R | OH | 1988 | 67% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Gilman, Benjamin A. | R | NY | 1972 | 33% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Gonzalez, Charles A. | D | TX | 1998 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Goode, Virgil H., Jr. | I | VA | 1996 | 11% | 80% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| Goodlatte, Bob | R | VA | 1992 | 78% | 40% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - |
| Goodling, William F. | R | PA | 1974 | 22% | 20% | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Gordon, Bart | D | TN | 1984 | 67% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Goss, Porter J. | R | FL | 1988 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Graham, Lindsey | R | SC | 1994 | 33% | 60% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - |
| Granger, Kay | R | TX | 1996 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Green, Gene | D | TX | 1992 | 44% | 0% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Green, Mark | R | WI | 1998 | 67% | 20% | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Greenwood, Jim | R | PA | 1992 | 78% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Gutierrez, Luis | D | IL | 1992 | 25% | 20% | - | - | | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Gutknecht, Gil | R | MN | 1994 | 75% | 20% | - | + | | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Hall, Ralph M. | D | TX | 1980 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Hall, Tony P. | D | OH | 1978 | 56% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hansen, James V. | R | UT | 1980 | 67% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hastings, Alcee | D | FL | 1992 | 50% | 0% | - | - | | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hastings, Doc | R | WA | 1994 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Hayes, Robin | R | NC | 1998 | 22% | 60% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + |
| Hayworth, J.D. | R | AZ | 1994 | 43% | 100% | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | | | + | + | + | + | + |
| Hefley, Joel | R | CO | 1986 | 33% | 80% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| Herger, Wally | R | CA | 1986 | 100% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | - |
| Hill, Baron | D | IN | 1998 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hill, Rick A. | R | MT | 1996 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Hilleary, Van | R | TN | 1994 | 33% | 80% | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | + |
| Hilliard, Earl | D | AL | 1992 | 56% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hinchey, Maurice | D | NY | 1992 | 63% | 25% | - | - | + | + | - | | + | + | + | - | - | + | | - |
| Hinojosa, Ruben E. | D | TX | 1996 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hobson, David | R | OH | 1990 | 56% | 20% | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - |
| Hoeffel, Joseph M. | D | PA | 1998 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hoekstra, Peter | R | MI | 1992 | 78% | 100% | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Holden, Tim | D | PA | 1992 | 56% | 40% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - |
| Holt, Rush | D | NJ | 1998 | 67% | 20% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| Hooley, Darlene | D | OR | 1996 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Horn, Steve | R | CA | 1992 | 33% | 20% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| Hostettler, John N. | R | IN | 1994 | 11% | 100% | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Houghton, Amo, Jr. | R | NY | 1986 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

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| | Party | State | First Elected | Trade Votes | Subsidy Votes | Steel Quotas | China NTR | Africa/CBI Final | Computer Exports | China PNTR | WTO Withdrawal | China NTR | End Cuban Embargo | Travel to Cuba | MAP Cuts | ESF Restrictions | OPIC Cutoff | Limit Ex-IM, OPIC | Reauthorize OPIC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roll Call Number | | | | | | 56 | 338 | 145 | 195 | 228 | 310 | 405 | 424 | 425 | 174 | 304 | 359 | 361 | 499 |
| Year of vote | | | | | | 1999 | 1999 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 |
| "Free Trade" position | | | | | | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N |
| Hoyer, Steny H. | D | MD | 1981 | 63% | 0% | - | - | + | | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hulshof, Kenny C. | R | MO | 1996 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Hunter, Duncan | R | CA | 1980 | 0% | 60% | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - |
| Hutchinson, Asa | R | AR | 1996 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Hyde, Henry J. | R | IL | 1974 | 67% | 20% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Inslee, Jay | D | WA | 1998 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Isakson, Johnny | R | GA | 1998 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Istook, Ernest, Jr. | R | OK | 1992 | 67% | 80% | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | - | + | + |
| Jackson-Lee, Sheila | D | TX | 1994 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Jackson, Jesse, Jr. | D | IL | 1995 | 33% | 20% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| Jefferson, William J. | D | LA | 1990 | 88% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | |
| John, Chris | D | LA | 1996 | 100% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Johnson, Eddie | D | TX | 1992 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Johnson, Nancy L. | R | CT | 1982 | 100% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | | - |
| Johnson, Sam | R | TX | 1991 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Jones, Stephanie | D | OH | 1998 | 56% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Jones, Walter, Jr. | R | NC | 1994 | 11% | 80% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| Kanjorski, Paul E. | D | PA | 1984 | 67% | 20% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | - |
| Kaptur, Marcy | D | OH | 1982 | 13% | 60% | - | - | - | | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | + |
| Kasich, John R. | R | OH | 1982 | 56% | 80% | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| Kelly, Sue W. | R | NY | 1994 | 67% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| Kennedy, Patrick J. | D | RI | 1994 | 11% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Kildee, Dale E. | D | MI | 1976 | 33% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Kilpatrick, Carolyn C. | D | MI | 1996 | 56% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Kind, Ron J. | D | WI | 1996 | 100% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| King, Peter | R | NY | 1992 | 33% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Kingston, Jack | R | GA | 1992 | 33% | 80% | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| Kleczka, Jerry | D | WI | 1984 | 67% | 20% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| Klink, Ron | D | PA | 1992 | 44% | 25% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | | - |
| Knollenberg, Joseph | R | MI | 1992 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Kolbe, Jim | R | AZ | 1984 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Kucinich, Dennis J. | D | OH | 1996 | 33% | 60% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kuykendall, Steven T. | R | CA | 1998 | 75% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Jenkins, William L. | R | TN | 1996 | 56% | 20% | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| LaFalce, John J. | D | NY | 1974 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| LaHood, Ray | R | IL | 1994 | 100% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Lampson, Nicholas V. | D | TX | 1996 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Lantos, Tom | D | CA | 1980 | 44% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | | | - |
| Largent, Steve | R | OK | 1994 | 89% | 60% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| Larson, John B. | D | CT | 1998 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Latham, Tom | R | IA | 1994 | 100% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | | - | - | - |
| LaTourette, Steve C. | R | OH | 1994 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Lazio, Rick | R | NY | 1992 | 67% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| Leach, Jim | R | IA | 1976 | 100% | 0% | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Lee, Barbara | D | CA | 1998 | 44% | 20% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Levin, Sander M. | D | MI | 1982 | 89% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Lewis, Jerry | R | CA | 1978 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Lewis, John | D | GA | 1986 | 56% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Lewis, Ron | R | KY | 1994 | 67% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Linder, John | R | GA | 1992 | 100% | 80% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| Lipinski, William O. | D | IL | 1982 | 11% | 60% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + |
| LoBiondo, Frank A. | R | NJ | 1994 | 22% | 80% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | + |
| Lofgren, Zoe | D | CA | 1994 | 100% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Lowey, Nita M. | D | NY | 1988 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Lucas, Frank D. | R | OK | 1994 | 75% | 20% | + | + | | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Lucas, Ken R. | D | KY | 1998 | 67% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Luther, Bill | D | MN | 1994 | 78% | 50% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | | + | - | - |
| Maloney, Carolyn | D | NY | 1992 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Maloney, James H. | D | CT | 1996 | 56% | 20% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| Manzullo, Donald | R | IL | 1992 | 89% | 40% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - |
| Markey, Edward J. | D | MA | 1976 | 56% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Martinez, Matthew G. | D | CA | 1982 | 56% | 0% | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mascara, Frank R. | D | PA | 1994 | 33% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Matsui, Robert T. | D | CA | 1978 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| McCarthy, Carolyn | D | NY | 1996 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| McCarthy, Karen | D | MO | 1994 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| McCollum, Bill | R | FL | 1980 | 75% | 25% | + | + | + | + | + | + | | - | - | | + | - | - | - |
| McCrery, Jim | R | LA | 1988 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| McDermott, Jim | D | WA | 1988 | 100% | 0% | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | | | | - |
| McGovern, James P. | D | MA | 1996 | 67% | 0% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| McHugh, John | R | NY | 1992 | 63% | 20% | - | + | | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| McInnis, Scott | R | CO | 1992 | 86% | 80% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | - | + | + | + | + |
| McIntosh, David | R | IN | 1994 | 80% | 80% | - | + | + | + | + | | | | | - | + | + | + | + |
| McIntyre, Mike | D | NC | 1996 | 22% | 80% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| McKeon, Howard | R | CA | 1992 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| McKinney, Cynthia | D | GA | 1992 | 33% | 80% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + |

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| | Party | State | First Elected | Trade Votes | Subsidy Votes | Steel Quotas | China NTR | Africa/CBI Final | Computer Exports | China PNTR | WTO Withdrawal | China NTR | End Cuban Embargo | Travel to Cuba | MAP Cuts | ESF Restrictions | OPIC Cutoff | Limit Ex-IM, OPIC | Reauthorize OPIC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roll Call Number | | | | | | 56 | 338 | 145 | 195 | 228 | 310 | 405 | 424 | 425 | 174 | 304 | 359 | 361 | 499 |
| Year of vote | | | | | | 1999 | 1999 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 |
| "Free Trade" position | | | | | | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N |
| McNulty, Michael R. | D | NY | 1988 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | | - | - | - |
| Meehan, Marty | D | MA | 1992 | 89% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| Meek, Carrie | D | FL | 1992 | 50% | 0% | - | - | + | | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Meeks, Gregory W. | D | NY | 1998 | 78% | 0% | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Menendez, Robert | D | NJ | 1992 | 33% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Metcalf, Jack | R | WA | 1994 | 22% | 40% | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - |
| Mica, John | R | FL | 1992 | 56% | 40% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - |
| Millender-McDonald, J. | D | CA | 1996 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Miller, Dan | R | FL | 1992 | 78% | 80% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | + | + | + |
| Miller, Gary G. | R | CA | 1998 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Miller, George | D | CA | 1974 | 44% | 40% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - |
| Minge, David | D | MN | 1992 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mink, Patsy T. | D | HI | 1990 | 33% | 20% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Moakley, Joe | D | MA | 1972 | 67% | 0% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mollohan, Alan B. | D | WV | 1982 | 25% | 0% | - | - | - | | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | | - |
| Moore, Dennis | D | KS | 1998 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Moran, James P. | D | VA | 1990 | 100% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| Moran, Jerry | R | KS | 1996 | 89% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Morella, Connie A. | R | MD | 1986 | 89% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| Murtha, John P. | D | PA | 1974 | 44% | 0% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Myrick, Sue | R | NC | 1994 | 75% | 100% | | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| Nadler, Jerrold | D | NY | 1992 | 44% | 20% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | - |
| Napolitano, Grace F. | D | CA | 1998 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Neal, Richard E. | D | MA | 1988 | 78% | 0% | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Nethercutt, George, Jr. | R | WA | 1994 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Ney, Bob | R | OH | 1994 | 22% | 25% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | | + | - | - | - |
| Northup, Anne M. | R | KY | 1996 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Norwood, Charles | R | GA | 1994 | 11% | 40% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - |
| Nussle, Jim | R | IA | 1990 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Oberstar, James L. | D | MN | 1974 | 50% | 0% | - | | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Obey, David R. | D | WI | 1969 | 38% | 20% | - | - | | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | - |
| Olver, John W. | D | MA | 1991 | 56% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ortiz, Solomon P. | D | TX | 1982 | 67% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Ose, Doug | R | CA | 1998 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Owens, Major R. | D | NY | 1982 | 56% | 25% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | | - |
| Oxley, Michael G. | R | OH | 1981 | 89% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Packard, Ron | R | CA | 1982 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Pallone, Frank, Jr. | D | NJ | 1988 | 22% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Pascrell, William J. | D | NJ | 1996 | 22% | 60% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + |
| Pastor, Ed | D | AZ | 1991 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Paul, Ron E. | R | TX | 1996 | 67% | 100% | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Payne, Donald M. | D | NJ | 1988 | 44% | 0% | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Pease, Edward A. | R | IN | 1996 | 67% | 80% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| Pelosi, Nancy | D | CA | 1987 | 56% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Peterson, Collin | D | MN | 1990 | 56% | 60% | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + |
| Peterson, John E. | R | PA | 1996 | 75% | 0% | - | | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | | | | - |
| Petri, Thomas E. | R | WI | 1979 | 67% | 80% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | + |
| Phelps, David | D | IL | 1998 | 56% | 20% | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Pickering, Charles, Jr. | R | MS | 1996 | 78% | 25% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | |
| Pickett, Owen B. | D | VA | 1986 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Pitts, Joseph R. | R | PA | 1996 | 75% | 20% | | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Pombo, Richard | R | CA | 1992 | 22% | 80% | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| Pomeroy, Earl | D | ND | 1992 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Porter, John Edward | R | IL | 1980 | 89% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Portman, Rob J. | R | OH | 1993 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| Price, David E. | D | NC | 1996 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Pryce, Deborah | R | OH | 1992 | 78% | 67% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | | | - |
| Quinn, Jack | R | NY | 1992 | 44% | 20% | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Radanovich, George P. | R | CA | 1994 | 89% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | - |
| Rahall, Nick J., II | D | WV | 1976 | 22% | 20% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Ramstad, Jim | R | MN | 1990 | 100% | 60% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| Rangel, Charles B. | D | NY | 1970 | 88% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | - |
| Regula, Ralph | R | OH | 1972 | 67% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Reyes, Silvestre | D | TX | 1996 | 67% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| Reynolds, Thomas | R | NY | 1998 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Riley, Bob | R | AL | 1996 | 33% | 20% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Rivers, Lynn | D | MI | 1994 | 50% | 60% | - | - | + | + | - | | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| Rodriguez, Ciro D. | D | TX | 1997 | 78% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Roemer, Tim J. | D | IN | 1990 | 86% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | - | - | - | - | - |
| Rogan, James E. | R | CA | 1996 | 67% | 100% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| Rogers, Harold | R | KY | 1980 | 22% | 20% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Rohrabacher, Dana | R | CA | 1988 | 22% | 100% | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana | R | FL | 1989 | 33% | 20% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Rothman, Steven R. | D | NJ | 1996 | 22% | 20% | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| Roukema, Marge | R | NJ | 1980 | 67% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| Roybal-Allard, Lucille | D | CA | 1992 | 63% | 0% | - | + | - | + | - | | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Royce, Edward | R | CA | 1992 | 67% | 100% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |

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| | Party | State | First Elected | Trade Votes | Subsidy Votes | Steel Quotas | China NTR | Africa/CBI Final | Computer Exports | China PNTR | WTO Withdrawal | China NTR | End Cuban Embargo | Travel to Cuba | MAP Cuts | ESF Restrictions | OPIC Cutoff | Limit Ex-IM, OPIC | Reauthorize OPIC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roll Call Number | | | | | | 56 | 338 | 145 | 195 | 228 | 310 | 405 | 424 | 425 | 174 | 304 | 359 | 361 | 499 |
| Year of vote | | | | | | 1999 | 1999 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 |
| "Free Trade" position | | | | | | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N |
| Rush, Bobby | D | IL | 1992 | 67% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Ryan, Paul D. | R | WI | 1998 | 89% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Ryun, Jim R. | R | KS | 1996 | 78% | 80% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| Sabo, Martin Olav | D | MN | 1978 | 56% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Salmon, Matt | R | AZ | 1994 | 100% | 80% | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + |
| Sanchez, Loretta L. | D | CA | 1996 | 43% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | | | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sanders, Bernard | I | VT | 1990 | 33% | 80% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + |
| Sandlin, Max A. | D | TX | 1996 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sanford, Mark, Jr. | R | SC | 1994 | 44% | 100% | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Sawyer, Thomas C. | D | OH | 1986 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Saxton, Jim | R | NJ | 1984 | 56% | 20% | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Scarborough, Joe | R | FL | 1994 | 38% | 100% | + | - | + | + | | - | - | - | - | + | + | | + | |
| Schaffer, Bob | R | CO | 1996 | 44% | 80% | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| Schakowsky, Janice D. | D | IL | 1998 | 44% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Scott, Bobby | D | VA | 1992 | 67% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sensenbrenner, F., Jr. | R | WI | 1978 | 33% | 80% | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | + |
| Serrano, Jose | D | NY | 1990 | 88% | 25% | - | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | - | + | - | | - |
| Sessions, Pete | R | TX | 1996 | 89% | 60% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | - |
| Shadegg, John | R | AZ | 1994 | 78% | 100% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| Shaw, E. Clay, Jr. | R | FL | 1980 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Shays, Christopher | R | CT | 1987 | 100% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| Sherman, Brad | D | CA | 1996 | 56% | 0% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sherwood, Don | R | PA | 1998 | 78% | 25% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | | - | - |
| Shimkus, John M. | R | IL | 1996 | 89% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Shows, Ronnie | D | MS | 1998 | 67% | 20% | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Shuster, Bud | R | PA | 1972 | 63% | 25% | - | + | + | + | + | | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Simpson, Mike | R | ID | 1998 | 89% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Sisisky, Norman | D | VA | 1982 | 44% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Skeen, Joe | R | NM | 1980 | 67% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Skelton, Ike | D | MO | 1976 | 67% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Slaughter, Louise | D | NY | 1986 | 75% | 20% | - | | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Smith, Adam | D | WA | 1996 | 100% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | - | - | - | - | - |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Smith, Christopher H. | R | NJ | 1980 | 11% | 20% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Smith, Lamar S. | R | TX | 1986 | 67% | 20% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Smith, Nick | R | MI | 1992 | 78% | 80% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| Snyder, Vic | D | AR | 1996 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Souder, Mark | R | IN | 1994 | 22% | 40% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - |
| Spence, Floyd | R | SC | 1970 | 43% | 20% | + | - | | + | - | + | - | - | | - | + | - | - | - |
| Spratt, John M., Jr. | D | SC | 1982 | 33% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Stabenow, Debbie | D | MI | 1996 | 56% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Stark, Fortney "Pete" | D | CA | 1972 | 44% | 60% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + |
| Stearns, Cliff | R | FL | 1988 | 33% | 60% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + |
| Stenholm, Charles W. | D | TX | 1978 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Strickland, Ted | D | OH | 1996 | 33% | 60% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + |
| Stump, Bob | R | AZ | 1976 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Stupak, Bart | D | MI | 1992 | 25% | 60% | - | - | - | | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | - |
| Sununu, John E. | R | NH | 1996 | 89% | 80% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | + |
| Sweeney, John E. | R | NY | 1998 | 56% | 20% | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Talent, James | R | MO | 1992 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Tancredo, Thomas G. | R | CO | 1998 | 33% | 80% | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| Tanner, John S. | D | TN | 1988 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Tauscher, Ellen O. | D | CA | 1996 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Tauzin, W.J. "Billy" | R | LA | 1980 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Taylor, Charles H. | R | NC | 1990 | 22% | 20% | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| Taylor, Gene | D | MS | 1989 | 22% | 20% | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Terry, Lee | R | NE | 1998 | 89% | 60% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | - |
| Thomas, William M. | R | CA | 1978 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Thompson, Bennie G. | D | MS | 1993 | 50% | 0% | - | - | | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | | - |
| Thompson, Mike | D | CA | 1998 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Thornberry, William | R | TX | 1994 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Thune, John R. | R | SD | 1996 | 100% | 40% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | - |
| Thurman, Karen | D | FL | 1992 | 89% | 0% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | | - | - | - |
| Tiahrt, Todd | R | KS | 1994 | 78% | 20% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Tierney, John F. | D | MA | 1996 | 44% | 60% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | + |
| Toomey, Pat | R | PA | 1998 | 78% | 80% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | + |
| Towns, Edolphus | D | NY | 1982 | 67% | 0% | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Traficant, James A., Jr. | D | OH | 1984 | 11% | 40% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - |
| Turner, Jim | D | TX | 1996 | 89% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Udall, Mark | D | CO | 1998 | 44% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Udall, Tom | D | NM | 1998 | 38% | 0% | - | - | - | | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Upton, Fred | R | MI | 1986 | 100% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Velazquez, Nydia | D | NY | 1992 | 50% | 20% | - | - | | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Vento, Bruce F. | D | MN | 1976 | 33% | 0% | | - | | + | - | | | | | - | - | - | - | - |
| Visclosky, Peter J. | D | IN | 1984 | 44% | 60% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | - |
| Vitter, David | R | LA | 1998 | 75% | 20% | | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Walden, Greg | R | OR | 1998 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Walsh, James T. | R | NY | 1988 | 67% | 0% | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |

*continued*

| | Party | State | First Elected | Trade Votes | Subsidy Votes | Steel Quotas | China NTR | Africa/CBI Final | Computer Exports | China PNTR | WTO Withdrawal | China NTR | End Cuban Embargo | Travel to Cuba | MAP Cuts | ESF Restrictions | OPIC Cutoff | Limit Ex-IM, OPIC | Reauthorize OPIC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roll Call Number | | | | | | 56 | 338 | 145 | 195 | 228 | 310 | 405 | 424 | 425 | 174 | 304 | 359 | 361 | 499 |
| Year of vote | | | | | | 1999 | 1999 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 |
| "Free Trade" position | | | | | | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N |
| Wamp, Zach | R | TN | 1994 | 22% | 100% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Waters, Maxine | D | CA | 1990 | 44% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | | - | - | - | - |
| Watkins, Wes W. | R | OK | 1996 | 78% | 0% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Watt, Mel | D | NC | 1992 | 56% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Watts, J.C., Jr. [?] | R | OK | 1994 | 78% | 40% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | + |
| Waxman, Henry A. | D | CA | 1974 | 78% | 0% | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | | - | - |
| Weiner, Anthony D. | D | NY | 1998 | 89% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| Weldon, Curt | R | PA | 1986 | 67% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Weldon, David | R | FL | 1994 | 33% | 20% | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| Weller, Jerry | R | IL | 1994 | 86% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | - | + | - | - | - |
| Wexler, Robert I. | D | FL | 1996 | 33% | 0% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Weygand, Robert A. | D | RI | 1996 | 44% | 0% | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Whitfield, Edward | R | KY | 1994 | 78% | 20% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Wicker, Roger | R | MS | 1994 | 78% | 20% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | | | | | | |

Note: A + indicates a vote for the free-trade position, a - indicates a vote against the free-trade position. A blank space indicates that the member did not vote.

# Appendix C: Senate Members by Category

| | Party | State | Trade Votes | | Party | State | Trade Votes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Free Traders/Internationalists* | | | | | | | |
| Chafee, John H. | R | RI | 100% | Smith, Gordon | R | OR | 80% |
| Chafee, Lincoln | R | RI | 100% | Thomas, Craig | R | WY | 80% |
| Lugar, Richard G. | R | IN | 100% | Breaux, John B. | D | LA | 80% |
| Voinovich, George V. | R | OH | 100% | Lincoln, Blanche L. | D | AR | 80% |
| Brownback, Sam | R | KS | 93% | Schumer, Charles E. | D | NY | 80% |
| Fitzgerald, Peter G. | R | IL | 93% | Wyden, Ron | D | OR | 80% |
| Frist, Bill | R | TN | 93% | Bingaman, Jeff | D | NM | 79% |
| Gorton, Slade | R | WA | 93% | Domenici, Pete V. | R | NM | 77% |
| Nickles, Don | R | OK | 93% | Gregg, Judd | R | NH | 75% |
| Moynihan, Daniel P. | D | NY | 93% | Ashcroft, John | R | MO | 73% |
| Roth, William V., Jr. | R | DE | 93% | Bennett, Robert | R | UT | 73% |
| Feinstein, Dianne | D | CA | 93% | Crapo, Michael D. | R | ID | 73% |
| Bond, Christopher S. | R | MO | 87% | Hutchinson, Tim | R | AR | 73% |
| Enzi, Michael B. | R | WY | 87% | Hutchison, Kay Bailey | R | TX | 73% |
| Hagel, Chuck | R | NE | 87% | Kyl, Jon L. | R | AZ | 73% |
| Roberts, Pat | R | KS | 87% | McConnell, Mitch | R | KY | 73% |
| Warner, John W. | R | VA | 87% | Murkowski, Frank H. | R | AK | 73% |
| Kerrey, J. Robert | D | NE | 87% | Santorum, Rick | R | PA | 73% |
| Kerry, John F. | D | MA | 87% | Thompson, Fred | R | TN | 73% |
| Landrieu, Mary | D | LA | 87% | Biden, Joseph R., Jr. | D | DE | 73% |
| Grams, Rod | R | MN | 86% | Daschle, Thomas A. | D | SD | 73% |
| Mack, Connie | R | FL | 85% | Graham, Bob | D | FL | 73% |
| Baucus, Max | D | MT | 80% | Murray, Patty | D | WA | 73% |
| Grassley, Charles E. | R | IA | 80% | Coverdell, Paul D. | R | GA | 73% |
| Abraham, Spencer | R | MI | 80% | Dodd, Christopher J. | D | CT | 71% |
| Allard, Wayne | R | CO | 80% | Inouye, Daniel K. | D | HI | 69% |
| Cochran, Thad | R | MS | 80% | Craig, Larry E. | R | ID | 67% |
| Gramm, Phil | R | TX | 80% | Hatch, Orrin G. | R | UT | 67% |
| McCain, John | R | AZ | 80% | Lott, Trent | R | MS | 67% |
| *Interventionists/Isolationists* | | | | | | | |
| Byrd, Robert C. | D | WV | 33% | Bunning, Jim | R | KY | 29% |
| Smith, Robert C. | R | NH | 33% | Snowe, Olympia J. | R | ME | 27% |
| Thurmond, Strom | R | SC | 33% | Helms, Jesse | R | NC | 14% |
| Torricelli, Robert G. | D | NJ | 33% | Hollings, Ernest F. | D | SC | 13% |
| Wellstone, Paul D. | D | MN | 33% | | | | |

# Appendix D: Individual Senate Voting Records

| | Party | State | First Elected | Trade Votes | Steel Quotas | Travel to Cuba | China NTR 1999 | Food/Medicine Sanctions | Sugar Quotas | Environmental Standards | Reciprocity | Private Dumping Suits | Labor Standards | Africa/CBI Final | Computer Exports | Sugar Quotas | China/Human Rights | China PNTR | H-1B Visas |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roll Call Number | | | | | 178 | 189 | 213 | 251 | 254 | 347 | 348 | 350 | 352 | 98 | 174 | 219 | 239 | 251 | 262 |
| Year of Vote | | | | | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 |
| "Free Trade" Position | | | | | N | N | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | Y |
| Abraham, Spencer | R | MI | 1994 | 80% | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Akaka, Daniel K. | D | HI | 1990 | 54% | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | | |
| Allard, Wayne | R | CO | 1996 | 80% | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | | |
| Ashcroft, John | R | MO | 1994 | 73% | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | | |
| Baucus, Max | D | MT | 1978 | 80% | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | | |
| Bayh, Evan | D | IN | 1998 | 60% | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | | |
| Bennett, Robert | R | UT | 1992 | 73% | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | | |
| Biden, Joseph R., Jr. | D | DE | 1972 | 73% | - | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | | | |
| Bingaman, Jeff | D | NM | 1982 | 79% | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | + | | | |
| Bond, Christopher S. | R | MO | 1986 | 87% | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| Boxer, Barbara | D | CA | 1992 | 47% | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | + | | |
| Breaux, John B. | D | LA | 1986 | 80% | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | | |
| Brownback, Sam | R | KS | 1996 | 93% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| Bryan, Richard H. | D | NV | 1988 | 57% | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | | | | |
| Bunning, Jim | R | KY | 1998 | 29% | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | + | | | |
| Burns, Conrad | R | MT | 1988 | 60% | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | | |
| Byrd, Robert C. | D | WV | 1958 | 33% | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | | |
| Campbell, Ben N. | R | CO | 1992 | 40% | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | | | |
| Chafee, John H. | R | RI | 1976 | 100% | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chafee, Lincoln | R | RI | 1999 | 100% | + | + | + | + | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cleland, Max | D | GA | 1996 | 53% | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | | |
| Cochran, Thad | R | MS | 1978 | 80% | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | | |
| Collins, Susan M. | R | ME | 1996 | 40% | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | | | |
| Conrad, Kent | D | ND | 1986 | 60% | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | | |
| Coverdell, Paul D. | R | GA | 1992 | 73% | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Craig, Larry E. | R | ID | 1990 | 67% | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| Crapo, Michael D. | R | ID | 1998 | 73% | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Daschle, Thomas A. | D | SD | 1986 | 73% | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| DeWine, Mike | R | OH | 1994 | 60% | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + |
| Dodd, Christopher J. | D | CT | 1980 | 71% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | | - | - | + | + |
| Domenici, Pete V. | R | NM | 1972 | 77% | + | - | + | | - | + | + | + | + | | + | - | + | + | + |
| Dorgan, Byron L. | D | ND | 1992 | 47% | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + |
| Durbin, Richard J. | D | IL | 1996 | 53% | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Edwards, John R. | D | NC | 1998 | 40% | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + |
| Enzi, Michael B. | R | WY | 1996 | 87% | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Feingold, Russ | D | WI | 1992 | 40% | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + |
| Feinstein, Dianne | D | CA | 1992 | 93% | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| Fitzgerald, Peter G. | R | IL | 1998 | 93% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Frist, Bill | R | TN | 1994 | 93% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Gorton, Slade | R | WA | 1988 | 93% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Graham, Bob | D | FL | 1986 | 73% | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Gramm, Phil | R | TX | 1984 | 80% | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Grams, Rod | R | MN | 1994 | 86% | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | | + | + |
| Grassley, Charles E. | R | IA | 1980 | 80% | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Gregg, Judd | R | NH | 1992 | 75% | + | - | + | - | + | | | + | + | + | | + | - | + | + |
| Hagel, Chuck | R | NE | 1996 | 87% | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Harkin, Tom | D | IA | 1984 | 60% | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| Hatch, Orrin G. | R | UT | 1976 | 67% | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Helms, Jesse | R | NC | 1972 | 14% | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | | - | - | - | + |
| Hollings, Ernest F. | D | SC | 1966 | 13% | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| Hutchinson, Tim | R | AR | 1996 | 73% | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + |
| Hutchison, Kay Bailey | R | TX | 1993 | 73% | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Inhofe, James M. | R | OK | 1994 | 47% | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | + |
| Inouye, Daniel K. | D | HI | 1962 | 69% | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | | | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Jeffords, Jim M. | R | VT | 1988 | 64% | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | | - | + |
| Johnson, Tim | D | SD | 1996 | 53% | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Kennedy, Edward M. | D | MA | 1962 | 60% | + | + | | | + | - | - | | | - | + | + | - | + | |
| Kerrey, J. Robert | D | NE | 1988 | 87% | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Kerry, John F. | D | MA | 1984 | 87% | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Kohl, Herbert H. | D | WI | 1988 | 64% | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Kyl, Jon L. | R | AZ | 1994 | 73% | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | + |
| Landrieu, Mary | D | LA | 1996 | 87% | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Lautenberg, Frank R. | D | NJ | 1982 | 64% | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | | + | + |
| Leahy, Patrick J. | D | VT | 1974 | 40% | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | + |
| Levin, Carl | D | MI | 1978 | 53% | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Lieberman, Joseph I. | D | CT | 1988 | 67% | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | | | |
| Lincoln, Blanche L. | D | AR | 1998 | 80% | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Lott, Trent | R | MS | 1988 | 67% | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| Lugar, Richard G. | R | IN | 1976 | 100% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Mack, Connie | R | FL | 1988 | 85% | + | | + | - | | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |

*continued*

| | Party | State | First Elected | Trade Votes | Steel Quotas | Travel to Cuba | China NTR 1999 | Food/Medicine Sanctions | Sugar Quotas | Environmental Standards | Reciprocity | Private Dumping Suits | Labor Standards | Africa/CBI Final | Computer Exports | Sugar Quotas | China/Human Rights | China PNTR | H-1B Visas |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roll Call Number | | | | | 178 | 189 | 213 | 251 | 254 | 347 | 348 | 350 | 352 | 98 | 174 | 219 | 239 | 251 | 262 |
| Year of Vote | | | | | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 |
| "Free Trade" Position | | | | | N | N | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | Y |
| McCain, John | R | AZ | 1986 | 80% | | - | + | - | + | | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| McConnell, Mitch | R | KY | 1984 | 73% | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Mikulski, Barbara A. | D | MD | 1986 | 53% | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | + |
| Moynihan, Daniel P. | D | NY | 1976 | 93% | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Murkowski, Frank H. | R | AK | 1980 | 73% | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Murray, Patty | D | WA | 1992 | 73% | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Nickles, Don | R | OK | 1980 | 93% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Reed, Jack | D | RI | 1996 | 53% | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + |
| Reid, Harry | D | NV | 1986 | 40% | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | + |
| Robb, Charles S. | D | VA | 1988 | 47% | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Roberts, Pat | R | KS | 1996 | 87% | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Rockefeller, John D., IV | D | WV | 1984 | 64% | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | | + | + | + |
| Roth, William V., Jr. | R | DE | 1970 | 93% | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + |
| Santorum, Rick | R | PA | 1994 | 73% | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Sarbanes, Paul S. | D | MD | 1976 | 47% | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | + |
| Schumer, Charles E. | D | NY | 1998 | 80% | - | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Sessions, Jeff | R | AL | 1996 | 47% | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | + |
| Shelby, Richard C. | R | AL | 1986 | 60% | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | + | + |
| Smith, Gordon | R | OR | 1996 | 80% | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Smith, Robert C. | R | NH | 1990 | 33% | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | + |
| Snowe, Olympia J. | R | ME | 1994 | 27% | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + |
| Specter, Arlen | R | PA | 1980 | 60% | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | + |
| Stevens, Ted | R | AK | 1968 | 67% | - | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Thomas, Craig | R | WY | 1994 | 80% | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Thompson, Fred | R | TN | 1994 | 73% | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | + |
| Thurmond, Strom | R | SC | 1956 | 33% | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | + |
| Torricelli, Robert G. | D | NJ | 1996 | 33% | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| Voinovich, George V. | R | OH | 1998 | 100% | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Warner, John W. | R | VA | 1978 | 87% | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Wellstone, Paul David | D | MN | 1990 | 33% | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + |
| Wyden, Ron | D | OR | 1996 | 80% | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + |

# Notes

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1. Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Global Trade Reform: Maintaining Momentum," 1999, p. 10, http://www.dfat.gov.au.

2. U.S. International Trade Commission, *The Economic Effects of Significant U.S. Import Restraints: Second Update 1999*, USITC Investigation no. 332-325, Publication 3201, May 1999, p. xv.

3. For a more detailed criticism of export subsidies, see Ian Vásquez, Cato Institute, Testimony before the Subcommittee on International Finance of the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee, *Hearings on the Reauthorization of the Export-Import Bank of the United States*, 105th Cong., 1st sess., July 17, 1997, pp. 95–99; and William H. Lash III, "Who Needs an Ex-Im Bank?" Competitive Enterprise Institute, Washington, June 1995.

4. Anna J. Schwartz, "Time to Terminate the ESF and IMF," Cato Institute Foreign Policy Briefing no. 48, August 26, 1998; and W. Lee Hoskins and James W. Coons, "Mexico: Policy Failure, Moral Hazard, and Market Solutions," Cato Institute Policy Analysis no. 243, October 10, 1995.

5. Brink Lindsey, Daniel T. Griswold, and Aaron Lukas, "The Steel 'Crisis' and the Costs of Protectionism," Cato Institute Trade Briefing Paper no. 4, April 16, 1999.

6. *Congressional Record*, March 17, 1999, p. H1350.

7. For a comprehensive analysis of U.S. economic policy toward Cuba, see Philip Peters, "A Policy toward Cuba That Serves U.S. Interests," Cato Institute Policy Analysis no. 384, November 2, 2000. See also "The Cuban Economic Embargo: Time for a New Approach?" Transcript of Cato Institute Policy Forum, February 15, 2000, http://www.freetrade.org/pubs/speeches/cf-021500.html.

8. *Congressional Record*, July 20, 2000, p. H6685.

9. Mark A. Groombridge, "China's Long March to a Market Economy: The Case for Permanent Normal Trade Relations with the People's Republic of China," Cato Institute Trade Policy Analysis no. 10, April 24, 2000; and Daniel T. Griswold et al., "Trade and the Transformation of China: The Case for Normal Trade Relations" Cato Institute Trade Briefing Paper no. 5, July 19, 1999.

10. See U.S. International Trade Commission, p. 65.

11. *Congressional Record*, August 4, 1999, p. 10158.

12. *Congressional Record*, September 12, 2000, p. S8380.

13. For a critique of reciprocal trade policy, see Brink Lindsey, "A New Track for U.S. Trade Policy," Cato Institute Trade Policy Analysis no. 4, September 11, 1998, pp. 1–7; and Brink Lindsey et al., "Seattle and Beyond: A WTO Agenda for the New Millennium," Cato Institute Trade Policy Analysis no. 8, November 4, 1999, pp. 4–9.

14. For an analysis of U.S. antidumping law, see Brink Lindsey, "The U.S. Antidumping Law: Rhetoric versus Reality," Cato Institute Trade Policy Analysis no. 7, August 16, 1999.

15. A similar bill, H.R. 1432, was voted on in the 105th Congress. That bill was excluded from the survey of votes because its subsidy component was large in relation to the modest trade liberalization it contained. The trade liberalization contained in the 2000 African Growth and Opportunity Act was significantly bolstered by adding unilateral liberalization for imports from Caribbean countries. While still a mixture of lower barriers and higher subsidies, the 2000 version was weighted decisively in the direction of lower barriers, making it an acceptable test vote.

16. *Congressional Record*, May 4, 2000, p. H2579.

17. For a discussion of the economic cost of export controls, see James B. Burnham, "Export Controls: A National Emergency?" in *Economic Casualties: How U.S. Foreign Policy Undermines Trade, Growth, and Liberty*, ed. Solveig Singleton and Daniel T. Griswold (Washington: Cato Institute, March 1999): 31–37.

18. See Groombridge.

19. *Congressional Record*, September 19, 2000, p. S8618.

20. Daniel T. Griswold, "WTO Report Card: America's Stake in Open Trade," Cato Institute Trade Briefing Paper no. 8, April 3, 2000; and Aaron Lukas, "WTO Report Card III: Globalization and Developing Countries," Cato Institute Trade Briefing Paper no. 10, June 20, 2000.

21. For an analysis of the effect of the WTO on

national sovereignty, see William H. Lash II and Daniel T. Griswold, “WTO Report Card II: An Exercise or Surrender of Sovereignty?” Cato Institute Trade Briefing Paper no. 9, May 4, 2000.

22. *Congressional Record*, June 21, 2000, p. H4800.

23. Ibid., p. H4812.

24. For a comprehensive discussion of the importance of highly skilled foreign-born workers to the U.S. economy, see Suzette Brooks Masters and Ted Ruthizer, “The H-1B Straitjacket: Why Congress Should Repeal the Cap on Foreign-Born Highly Skilled Workers,” Cato Institute Trade Briefing Paper no. 7, March 3, 2000.

25. *Congressional Record*, June 8, 1999, p. H3812.

26. See Schwartz.

27. *Congressional Record*, July 15, 1999, p. H5665.

28. For a more detailed critique of OPIC, see Doug Bandow, “Uncle Sam as Investment Banker: The Failure of Washington’s Overseas Enterprise Funds,” Cato Institute Policy Analysis no. 260, September 19, 1996; and John Tottie, “The Case against OPIC,” Capitol Comment no. 157, Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation, Washington, May 16, 1997.

29. *Congressional Record,* August 2, 1999, p. H6811.

30. *Congressional Record*, August 3, 1999, p. H6838.

31. The methodology of this study differs slightly from that of its predecessor, Daniel T. Griswold, “Free Trade, Free Markets: Rating the 105th Congress,” Cato Institute Trade Policy Analysis no. 6, February 3, 1999. First, the previous study classified members on the basis of a 50 percent threshold. For example, voting against barriers and subsidies on more than half the votes surveyed was sufficient to be classified as a free trader. This study sets the threshold at two-thirds, requiring a stronger pattern of voting to classify members according to one of the four categories. Second, the previous study calculated the percentage of a member’s votes on the basis of the total number of votes included in the survey, not on the number of votes that particular member cast. This study calculates the percentage on the basis of votes the member actually cast. Thus, a member’s classification is not affected by missing a vote.

32. Five Democrats did vote half the time or more against both trade barriers and subsidies, making them the most free-trade-leaning members of their party during the 106th Congress. They were Bill Luther (Minn.), Thomas Barrett (Wis.), John Conyers (Mich.), Collin Peterson (Minn.), and Lynn Rivers (Mich.).

33. By tradition, House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.) seldom voted in the 106th Congress.

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