

# HILLARY CLINTON: PUSHING FOR JOB-KILLING, HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSING FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS

In 2008, then-candidate Obama castigated his primary opponent, Senator Clinton for supporting the North American Free Trade Agreement, the massive trade deal signed into law by her husband Senator Clinton responded angrily to Obama campaign mass mailers with a picture of a shuttered factory, with a sign that read “closed”, intended to link her to the [as of 2014] 1 million US jobs lost to NAFTA. Senator Clinton claimed at the time that Senator Obama's attacks were unfair and that she was, in fact, a strong critic of NAFTA. In reality, Hilary Clinton has been a strong supporter of free trade agreements that benefit corporations like Wal-mart – on whose board of directors she sat while NAFTA was being negotiated – both before the attack mailer and subsequently as secretary of state.

## Hillary & Peru FTA – Complicity in Human Rights Atrocities, Cocaine Trade Expansion, and Pollution

In 2007, when the Democratic primary field was still a crowded one, Senator Clinton and Senator Obama were the only two candidates to support the Bush administration's controversial US-Peru Free Trade Agreement. Candidates Biden, Kucinich, Edwards, and Dodd all expressed strong opposition and the majority of House Democrats voted against the agreement when it was finally voted on – with good reason! Human rights groups predicted that the Peru FTA would result in “violence and instability in the region”, recognizing a government with a history of supporting extractive industries against its own indigenous peoples, serious labor rights violations, and a growing cocaine trade in Peru that would be expanded by predicted loss of opportunities for Peruvian farmers under the trade agreement. In 2007, representatives of TradeJustice New York Metro – including Peruvian community members, human rights and environmental organizations and labor unions from Senator Clinton's state – met with her staff in the Capitol Hill office to explain these dire predictions. Senator Clinton was apparently unmoved, and continued to support the free trade agreement.



*Victims of the Bagua Massacre – Peruvian Indigenous people were murdered by police at the behest of Hillary Clinton's State Department's call for the use of force against protesters against the US-Peru Free Trade Agreement, which she supported as a Senator despite opposition by a majority of Democratic members of Congress and Presidential Candidates.*

By 2008, the advocates were tragically proven right when Peruvian President Garcia declared martial law when farmers protested the trade agreement, resulting in the killing of 4 farmers. Five years ago this week, on June 9<sup>th</sup>, 2009, President Garcia issued a series of legislative decrees intended to implement the trade agreement, including one that would in effect facilitate land grabbing of indigenous community lands by extractive industries and commercial agriculture interests. Indigenous communities rose up and President Garcia again declared martial law, resulting in the infamous Bagua Massacre, known as “the Amazon's Tiananmen Square.” The massacre claimed at least 32 lives.

Documents released by Wikileaks reveal stunning complicity in the massacre by the State Department under Hillary Clinton. In a series of cables by the State Department to the Peruvian government four days before the killings, Secretary Clinton's Department argued that, “Should Congress and [Peruvian] President Garcia give in to the pressure, there would be implications for the recently implemented Peru-US Free Trade Agreement” and that “The government's reluctance to use force to clear roads and blockades is contributing to the impression that the communities have broader support than they actually do.”

The cocaine predictions proved correct as well. By 2011, a UN report revealed that Peru was on a trajectory to surpass Colombia as the world's leading cocaine producer and a second UN report in 2013, revealed that it had done so. Between 2007 and 2013, 90 Peruvian soldiers and police officers were killed in the nation's cocaine producing region.

Despite promises that the Peru FTA would include strong environmental safeguards, the agreement included an investor rights chapter that gave US investors the right to sue the Peruvian government in international tribunals for enforcing its environmental laws. In these tribunals, investors are able to demand monetary compensation for the full amount they guess they MIGHT have earned in profit if they were not prevented from engaging in environmentally destructive practices by Peruvian law. Renco Group, a US corporation owned by billionaire Ira Rennert, is using these Peru FTA investor rights provisions to sue the Peruvian government for demanding that a metal smelter site classified as one of the world's ten most toxic sites be cleaned up.

## Colombia, Panama, and South Korea – Hillary Clinton Serves Bush's Rotten Leftovers

Upon leaving office President Bush left three free trade agreements negotiated but unfortified by Congress, trade agreements with Panama, Colombia, and South Korea. Candidate Obama expressed strong opposition to the Bush trade deals, but changed his tune once elected President. Far from holding President Obama to his campaign promises, Hillary Clinton ecclesiastically backed Obama's effort to complete Bush's unfinished business. Championing these trade deals everywhere from the Organization of American States meeting to the pages of Foreign Policy Magazine, despite fervent opposition by a broad spectrum of public interests groups opposed these trade agreements for a variety of reasons – constituents who supported President Obama based on his promises of reform.

**Panama FTA** – Like Peru, Panama has a history of violent displacement of indigenous communities at the behest of extractive industries and agriculture interests, particularly cattle barons. Panama also has serious labor rights concerns, including the killing of union organizers. The Panama FTA was expected to only exacerbate these problems by bringing increased foreign investment and development to the Central American nation. Additionally, Panama is an internationally recognized tax haven where corporations and the super rich to hide billions in offshore bank accounts. Corporations can easily establish residency in Panama and then hide vast sums thanks to Panama's banking secrecy laws, shifting the burden for the US tax base off of corporations and the rich and onto the working class.

**Korea-US FTA** –According to the US International Trade Commission (ITC), the Korea-US FTA put 147, 435 New York jobs at risk. But instead of standing up for her former constituents, Hillary sold out New Yorkers and enthusiastically backed this rotten deal. The vast majority of labor unions opposed the Korea FTA, but Hillary ignored their concerns and argued that the Korea FTA would create prosperity for the US. As the unions predicted, the Korea FTA has been an unmitigated disaster for working people. According to Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch, "In 21 out of 22 months since the Korea FTA took effect, U.S. goods exports to Korea have fallen below the average monthly level in the year before the deal, as indicated in the graph on the next page. Under the FTA, the United States has lost an average of \$385 million each month in exports to Korea, given an 11 percent decline in the average monthly export level in comparison to the year before the deal. That amounts to an estimated, cumulative loss of more than \$9.2 billion in U.S. exports to Korea under the FTA's first two years." We were promised a trade agreement that would fuel exports and in the process create jobs. The Korea FTA has done just the opposite. The Korea FTA also includes a 35% rule of origin – meaning that to enjoy benefits under the FTA – only 35% of a product's components actually needed to be fabricated in the US or Korea to be exported to the other country tariff-free. This allows Korean companies to outsource production to low wage sweatshops in China, Vietnam, and on the North Korean border, resulting in cheaply produced goods that they could export to the US at prices lower than US made goods. This puts pressure on companies producing in the US companies to keep wages down or offshore production to remain competitive. And since the FTA only requires 35% of goods to be produced in the US to be considered to enter the Korean market tariff-free, US companies have a new incentive to offshore components production out of the US to low-wage sweatshops.

But it would be wrong to say no one benefited in the US from the Korea FTA – Wall Street won big. Ratified at the height of the Occupy Wall Street movement, Clinton and Obama thumbed their noses at the largest progressive mass movement in recent history, with a Korea FTA that locked in rules that made it illegal to regulate the financial services industry, prohibiting capital controls and undermining regulations against toxic derivatives and "too big to fail – the very problems that caused the financial collapse. The same massive banks that taxpayers spent billions bailing out lobbied the Obama administration to include these rules in the Korea FTA, confident that they could count on their lackeys in Congress and the White House to bail them out the next time they tanked the economy. For her efforts on their behalf, the financial industry ensured that Hillary was richly compensated. Clinton was paid \$400,000 by financial industry titan and bailout beneficiary Goldman Sachs for two speeches in one week after leaving the State Department.

**Colombia FTA** – Colombia has the worst human rights record in the Western hemisphere, with mass internal displacement of indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities by narcoterrorist paramilitary groups, serious labor rights violations, widespread assassinations of community leaders, judges, labor organizers, children, and activists by death squad with links to the highest levels of government, and military killings of civilians. Human rights groups universally condemned the Colombia FTA as a blank check for the South American nation to allow these atrocities to continue and would in fact embolden violent actors to ramp up abuses while incentivizing further labor abuses, displacement, loss of livelihood for family farmers, and destruction of critical biodiversity zones like the Amazon Rainforest and El Choco with the promise of tariff-free imports and new investment and NAFTA-style investor rights provisions as a tool to attack environmental laws. Instead of heeding these warnings, the Obama administration negotiated a "Labor Action Plan" with Colombian President Santos that was widely viewed as window dressing on labor issues and did nothing to address the many other egregious human rights and environmental problems in Colombia that the FTA threatened to exacerbate. According to the AFL-CIO's Richard Trumka, "In the three years since the Labor Action Plan was signed, 73 more trade unionists were murdered in Colombia. That alone is reason enough to say the Labor Action Plan has failed."

**TPP: Secret Assault on Democracy** As Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton played a key role in advocating and implement a US-Asia Pacific Pivot – a massive shift in military and economic focus to the Asia-Pacific region. At the heart of the Pivot is the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a 12 nation trade agreement described by public interest groups as "NAFTA on Steroids." While over 600 "trade advisers" mostly representatives of corporations and industry groups looking to advance their parochial interests – often at the expense of the public interest – have access to TPP negotiating texts while members of Congress have highly restricted access and the media and the public are locked out completely. However public interests groups have been able to glean much of the substance from TPP from sources including texts released by Wikileaks, revealing an agreement that will raised prices on lifesaving medications – a death sentence for poor people in developing countries; undermine food safety by restricting bans on genetically modified foods, forcing countries to accept meat from animals fed dangerous growth drugs, and produce a flood of unsafe food including pesticide laden Vietnamese farmed shrimp; empower corporations to attack environmental laws in international tribunals while failing to include even the minimal environmental safeguards built into the Bush-negotiated free trade agreements; prohibit responsible financial regulations like capital controls that prevent disastrous capital flight and promote economic stability; prohibition of government procurement rules that require governments to buy US-made, environmentally friendly, or locally produced goods; outsource jobs to countries like Vietnam and Malaysia with horrific labor rights standards and even forced labor.

## WHAT YOU CAN DO

- Learn more about Hillary Clinton's support for disastrous trade deal and complicity in the Bagua Massacre at [/tradejustice.net/hillary](http://tradejustice.net/hillary).
- Call on Hillary Clinton to publicly apologize for her role in the Bagua Massacre, the Bush free trade agreements, and to announce that she no longer supports TPP and its sister agreement, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, a trade agreement with the European Union. You can send her at message at <http://hillaryclintonoffice.com/#contact-form>
- Contact your US Representative and Senators and request that they oppose any legislation – whether called "Fast Track", "Smart Track" or anything else that would restrict their power to amend the TPP and TTIP texts, limit floor debate, and/or require a deadline for a vote on these agreements. Also ask them to demand that the TPP and TTIP negotiating texts be released to the public. Let them know that you will consider where they stand on this issue in the 2014 primary and general election. You can find their names and contact info at <http://tradejustice.net/leg>.

Local Contact