

Tabled Labels:

**Consumers Eat Blind While Congress Feasts on
Campaign Cash**



**Critical Mass Energy and Environment Program
Congress Watch
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Acknowledgments

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary	1
Timeline Showing How Industry Operatives Have Derailed COOL	2
How Agribusiness Influence-Peddling Has Derailed COOL	8
<i>Figure 1: Lobbying Expenditures by Organizations that Opposed COOL, 2000-2005.....</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Figure 2: Bush Rangers & Pioneers from Organizations that Oppose COOL.....</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Figure 3: Campaign Contributions to Congress and National Political Parties by COOL Opponents, Election Cycles 2000-2004</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>Figure 4: Campaign Contributions by COOL Opponents to Sponsors of Voluntary COOL Legislation, Election Cycles 2000-2004.....</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>Figure 5: Campaign Contributions Received by Sponsors of Voluntary COOL Legislation from COOL Opponents, Election Cycles 2000-2004.....</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>Figure 6: Contributions from COOL Opponents to Members of The Arkansas Congressional Delegation, Election Cycles 2000-2004</i>	<i>23</i>
Appendices.....	24
<i>Appendix A: Individuals Who Lobbied on COOL, 2000-2005.....</i>	<i>24</i>
<i>Appendix B: COOL Lobbyists Who Have Held Federal Jobs.....</i>	<i>29</i>
Endnotes.....	33

Executive Summary

When shopping for food, the most basic ingredient a consumer needs to help choose between products is a label. So why isn't there a label noting the country of origin for meat – just as you can learn whether your shirt was made in China?

Consumers want mandatory country-of-origin labeling for food products, commonly known as COOL. A recent public opinion poll of 1,000 people shows that an overwhelming majority of consumers – 85 percent – favor labeling that will tell them where their food is raised or produced.¹ Additionally, 74 percent support the idea of Congress making such labeling mandatory, and 55 percent have “little or not much trust” in the meat, seafood, produce and grocery industries to voluntarily provide country-of-origin information. These findings are similar to a 2002 survey published in *The Packer*, a trade journal.²

If Congress were listening to the public, the COOL program would have been in place a year ago – on Sept. 30, 2004. That is the date the 2002 Farm Bill mandated the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) to require industry to begin mandatory country-of-origin labeling for beef, lamb, pork, fish, fresh and frozen fruits and vegetables, and peanuts. The label would be found on foods sold in grocery stores and would state the food's country of origin. (For meat, the animal would have to be born, raised and slaughtered in the United States to get the “Product of U.S.” seal.)

Mandatory COOL was one of the most significant wins for family farmers and consumers in the controversial 2002 Farm Bill. But Big Agribusiness, especially the meat and grocery industries, doesn't want consumers to know where their food comes from, and it worked to kill COOL before it ever got started. First, agribusiness interests tried to use the regulatory process at the USDA and the White House to undermine support for the measure, including by mislabeling COOL as having few benefits but costing billions of dollars. Next, it got Congress through the more secretive appropriations process to delay implementation of the law by two years – to Sept. 30, 2006 – for everything covered by the law except fish (COOL for seafood went into effect in April 2005). And the House agriculture appropriations bill for fiscal year 2006, which will soon be negotiated with the Senate, would delay for an additional year a mandatory COOL program for meat.

Meanwhile, key lawmakers are trying to change COOL into a voluntary program, legislation that 65 members of the House and Senate are sponsoring. Voluntary labeling has been an option for two years, yet few food processors and meatpackers have been willing to participate.

As corporate consolidation of agriculture continues to drive family farmers out of business in record numbers, more of our food supply is controlled by a small group of companies. These companies don't want to give ranchers and farmers a desperately needed way to identify their crops and livestock as products of the United States. They seem to be nervous – and rightfully so – that consumers won't agree with their vision of shifting food production to the developing world, where labor and land are cheap, and environmental, worker safety and pesticide rules are more lenient.

This Public Citizen investigation illustrates how Big Agribusiness used millions of dollars in lobbying expenditures and campaign contributions, and a network of Washington insiders with close connections to the Bush administration and Congress, to undercut country-of-origin labeling in the regulatory process, get lawmakers to significantly delay implementation of the requirement and come perilously close to effectively killing it by turning the program into a voluntary one for industry.

Major findings of this report include:

- Twenty-one companies and trade organizations that are avowed foes of the mandatory COOL law, and have registered to lobby against it, have spent a total of \$29.2 million to lobby Congress and the executive branch on COOL and other issues from 2000 to 2004. These groups are some of the biggest names in agribusiness and include the National Cattlemen's Beef Association (NCBA), Wal-Mart Stores, Cargill, Tyson Foods, American Meat Institute and the Grocery Manufacturers of America.
- These 21 companies have marshaled an army of at least 160 lobbyists to oppose COOL. Among these lobbyists, at least 45 – or 28 percent – previously held positions in the federal government, including at least 10 who worked for the Agriculture Department, in agriculture-related positions on House or Senate committees, or both. Three are former members of Congress who have lobbied on COOL. Others, such as former Republican National Committee Chairman Ed Gillespie, have used their golden political Rolodexes to further their clients' wishes.
- Key lobbyists from the meat industry who fought COOL before it became law were directly hired to fill strategic positions at the USDA, which was charged with crafting the regulations to implement COOL, including conducting a cost-benefit analysis that could make or break support for the rule. They are:
 - Dale Moore, Chief of Staff to both Agriculture Secretary Ann Veneman and Secretary Mike Johanns. Moore is the former executive director of the NCBA, and a former legislative director of the House Agriculture Committee.
 - Charles Lambert, Deputy Under Secretary for USDA's Marketing and Regulatory Programs, and the former chief economist of and a lobbyist for the NCBA. Lambert's position at USDA put him in charge of supervising the Agricultural Marketing Service, which was responsible for writing the rules for a mandatory COOL program. By estimating an initial one-year implementation cost of up to \$3.9 billion, with few benefits, the rules served to bolster critic's views that COOL would be too expensive to warrant implementing.
 - Mary Waters, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations. Before accepting her position at USDA, Waters worked as a lobbyist for ConAgra, where lobbying against COOL was among her responsibilities. Waters, whose USDA job was to lobby Congress, presumably assisted in successfully convincing lawmakers to postpone implementation of

COOL for two years and more recently to consider passing legislation to make it a voluntary program.

- COOL opponents had to pay the piper if they expected Congress to reverse its mandate of 2002 to require country-of-origin labeling. Nineteen of the 21 groups pumped \$12.6 million into the coffers of congressional candidates and into the treasuries of the national parties in the 2000, 2002 and 2004 election cycles. The biggest givers were Wal-Mart Stores, the Food Marketing Institute and the National Cattlemen's Beef Association, which anteed up more than a million dollars each.
- At least five of the anti-COOL organizations included in this study (Cargill, Food Marketing Institute, Sam Kane Beef Processors, Safeway and Wal-Mart Stores), furnished Bush's 2000 or 2004 campaign with "Rangers" (individuals who collected at least \$200,000 for his campaign) or "Pioneers" (individuals who collected at least \$100,000 for his campaign). They raised at least \$100,000 during the 2000 campaign and \$600,000 for Bush's re-election.
- These companies and trade associations have steered their campaign contributions disproportionately to the 50 representatives and 14 senators who are supporting legislation that would make COOL a voluntary program. While COOL sponsors account for only about one-in-ten members of Congress (12 percent), they have received more than one-fourth of the contributions (28.2 percent) from the COOL opponents.
- COOL opponents have placed most of their bets on Republicans. Across all of Congress, the groups have sent 78.2 percent of their contributions to the GOP. But when restricted just to co-sponsors of the voluntary COOL legislation, Republicans received 82.8 percent compared to the Democrats' 17.2 percent. The contrast is even starker if one excludes the COOL foes' contributions to five Arkansas Democrats who have been courted aggressively by Arkansas-based Wal-Mart and Tyson Foods. Then, the COOL foes' contributions to Republican sponsors have outpaced those to Democratic sponsors 92 percent to 8 percent.³
- Well-placed Reps. Henry Bonilla (R-Texas) and Bob Goodlatte (R-Va.) have been the two House ringleaders in the effort to delay, and ultimately derail, COOL. And they have been copiously supported by agribusiness interests.
 - Bonilla collected more than \$167,000 from the COOL opponents during the 2000, 2002 and 2004 election cycles, ranking him No. 1 among the 65 sponsors of the voluntary COOL legislation. It's no wonder. As the chairman of the agriculture appropriations subcommittee, Bonilla secured a delay in the COOL program start date by two years, until 2006. Also, he got the House to delay implementation of COOL for meat products to 2007 – a matter that as of mid-September 2005 had not yet been finalized with the Senate.
 - Bonilla's delaying tactics have enabled Goodlatte, Chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, to build support for his legislation that would end the mandatory labeling program and make it voluntary – at least for meat products – effectively killing it. Goodlatte's actions have greatly pleased industry, which has given him more than

\$103,000 in the last three election cycles. This ranks him No. 3 in the amount of contributions COOL opponents have given to sponsors of the voluntary COOL legislation.

- Sen. John Cornyn (R-Texas) is the lead sponsor of the Senate version of the voluntary COOL bill. He has received \$38,250 from the COOL opponents, all of which was contributed during his inaugural 2002 Senate race. COOL foes may have relied on a special connection to lasso their man. Among the lobbyists employed by the NCBA to work on the COOL issue in the second half of 2004 was Colin Woodall. Until April of that year, Woodall worked for Cornyn on agriculture appropriations issues. The voluntary COOL bill Cornyn introduced in June 2005 appears to match the NCBA's demands to a T.

It is easy to understand how money works against consumers' interests in politics by examining the schizophrenic behavior of the Arkansas congressional delegation. Lawmakers there were among the friendliest to the proposition of country-of-origin labels on food so long as they applied to the state's catfish industry, which has suffered in recent years by an influx of a catfish-like species from Vietnam. But once the delegation got its way on mandatory fish labels, which took effect in April 2005, it lost its stomach for the broader COOL legislation. All six members of the Arkansas delegation are co-sponsoring legislation that would end the requirement for COOL labels on meat. These members received \$338,500 in contributions from the COOL foes in the last three election cycles. Of this, \$240,250 came from Arkansas-based Wal-Mart and Tyson Foods, which helps explain their No. 1 and No. 6 ranks, respectively, among the COOL foes in overall contributions to sponsors of voluntary COOL legislation. Also, among sponsors of the voluntary COOL legislation, the Arkansas delegation accounted for the only three Democrats to rank among the top 30 recipients of contributions from COOL opponents: Sen. Blanche Lincoln, Rep. Marion Berry, and Rep. Mike Ross.

Timeline Showing How Industry Operatives Have Derailed COOL

Phase I: Consumers Win and Industry Loses in Congress

February 7, 2001: Sen. Tim Johnson (D-S.D.) introduces the Consumer Right to Know Act of 2001 (S. 280) to require retailers of beef, lamb, pork, and “perishable agricultural commodities” (fresh and frozen fruits and vegetables) to inform consumers, at the final point of sale to consumers, of the country-of-origin of the commodities.

March 20, 2001: Rep. Earl Pomeroy (D-N.D.) introduces the Country of Origin Meat Labeling Act of 2001 (H.R. 1121) to require retailers of beef, lamb, and pork to inform consumers, at the final point of sale to consumers, of the country-of-origin of the commodities.

April 26, 2001: Rep. Mary Bono (R-Calif.) introduces the Produce Consumers’ Right to Know Act (H.R. 1605) to require that perishable agricultural commodities be labeled or marked as to their country-of-origin and to establish penalties for violations of such labeling requirements.

October 4, 2001: The House of Representatives votes 296-121 to accept an amendment (H. Amdt. 351) to the Farm Bill authored by Rep. Mary Bono (R-Calif.) to require country-of-origin labeling on perishable agricultural commodities.⁴ The fruit and vegetable industry association does not oppose the measure. Their opposition would come later in the process, after USDA’s estimate of the cost of implementing the measure.⁵

October 5, 2001: The House of Representatives votes 291-120 to pass the Farm Security Act of 2001, the Farm Bill (H.R. 2646). The bill includes a provision requiring country-of-origin labeling for perishable agricultural commodities.⁶

November 15, 2001: The Senate Agriculture committee includes country-of-origin labeling in the Farm Bill. The original language establishing COOL for produce and meat was part of a package on competition issues, and was defeated 12-9 when two Democrats (Sens. Blanche Lincoln and Zell Miller) joined with Republicans to defeat the amendment. Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.) re-introduced COOL as a separate amendment, which passed along party lines 11-10.⁷

February 13, 2002: The Senate votes 58 – 40 to pass the Agriculture, Conservation and Rural Enhancement Act of 2001, also known as the Farm Bill (H.R. 2646 as amended). The bill includes a provision requiring country-of-origin labeling for beef, pork, lamb, perishable agricultural commodities, and peanuts.⁸

April 24, 2002: Rep. Darlene Hooley (D-Ore.) introduces a motion to instruct House members of the Farm Bill conference committee to agree to the Senate-passed version of COOL. The conference committee was reconciling both bodies’ versions of the Farm Bill, which had different COOL provisions. The House version applied to fruits and vegetables, whereas the Senate version also covered meat, peanuts and fish. The House accepted Hooley’s motion

without objection.⁹ During the conference, the Senate conferees, led by Senate Majority Leader Daschle, make the inclusion of the Senate version of COOL non-negotiable.

May 13, 2002: President Bush signs into law the 2002 Farm Bill.¹⁰ One of its many initiatives requires country-of-origin labeling for beef, lamb, pork, fish, perishable agricultural commodities (fresh and frozen fruits and vegetables) and peanuts. The law specifies that USDA was to first design a voluntary labeling program, to be followed by a mandatory program that would go into effect on September 30, 2004. The label would be found on foods sold in grocery stores and would state the food's country-of-origin. (For meat, the animal would have to be born, raised and slaughtered in the United States to get the "Product of U.S." seal.)

Phase II: Industry Mobilizes the Bush Administration to Neutralize the Rule

After industry failed to kill COOL in the Farm Bill, it tried to block it or weaken its effect through the regulatory process, which is controlled by the Bush administration through the USDA and the Office of Management and Budget.

May 23, 2002: Less than two weeks after COOL became law, Ann Veneman, Bush's Secretary of Agriculture, told reporters in a conference call that COOL "was something the administration did not support." She also said: "It's going to be hard to administer [since] it's going to be hard to identify a beef product that has been born and raised in the United States." [It's] going to [be] a very considered process."¹¹

Veneman may have been assisted in preparing her remarks by her chief of staff, Dale Moore. Moore had recently left employment as executive director for legislative affairs at the National Cattlemen's Beef Association (NCBA), a trade association that opposed mandatory COOL.

May 30, 2002: Veneman backtracks, saying it's necessary to set the record straight on erroneous and misleading reports regarding some of her comments on country-of-origin labeling. "Let there be no doubt that USDA intends to implement the country-of-origin measure as directed by the Congress in the new farm bill," she said. "We do not support, we have not recommended, nor do we have any intention of proposing a North American label as some have suggested." Veneman continued, "While the Administration did express concerns about the potential costs and implementation difficulties of country-of-origin labeling, nonetheless, the provision was included in the final farm bill and it is now USDA's job to administer the law."¹²

October 11, 2002: USDA publishes "Guidelines for Interim Voluntary Country of Origin Labeling" spelling out how firms could participate in the labeling program.¹³

November 21, 2002: USDA publishes "Notice of Request for Emergency Approval for New Information Collection." Required as part of the federal rulemaking process, the request for information solicited comments in response to USDA calculations of the costs for implementing the voluntary COOL program. The agency estimated those costs to be \$1.97 billion in the first year.¹⁴ This bombshell fueled industry's efforts to kill the program before it even got launched.

December 2, 2002: Chuck Lambert joins USDA as Deputy Under Secretary for Marketing and Regulatory Programs, a position that includes oversight of USDA's Agricultural Marketing Service, the division responsible for implementing COOL. Lambert spent more than 15 years in various positions at the National Cattlemen's Beef Association, including as chief economist.¹⁵ During his time at NCBA, he also was a registered lobbyist on the COOL issue.¹⁶

January 30, 2003: Revealing the key positions anti-COOL forces have been placed in at USDA, Veneman pauses during a speech to the National Cattlemen's Beef Association to note that:

"I would be remiss if I didn't recognize Alisa Harrison, one of the quite a few that we've been taking away from the cattle organization, but Alisa Harrison is our press secretary. We have so appreciated the leadership of Dale Moore, who worked with the cattlemen for so long, who's my Chief of Staff, and we recently hired Chuck Lambert also at USDA. So thank you, cattlemen, and I keep telling Chandler, that please don't be mad at me, but you really have good talent. So you ought to be proud of them, and we're sure proud of them."¹⁷

April – June, 2003: USDA sponsors 12 "listening sessions" on COOL around the United States.¹⁸

May, 2003: The International Agricultural Trade and Policy Center at the University of Florida releases a scathing critique of USDA's cost and benefit estimates. It concluded:

- The first year cost of voluntary COOL was from \$69.9 million to \$193.4 million – 90 to 95 percent lower than the agency's \$2 billion estimate. USDA overestimated the number of hours necessary to establish a recordkeeping system, overestimated the cost of the number of entities that would need to establish recordkeeping systems by 30 to 76 percent, and overestimated the hourly wage paid for recordkeeping by 50 to 90 percent.
- That the benefits of COOL, while challenging to quantify, do exist. The authors used previous research on consumers' "willingness to pay" for beef identified as a product of the United States to calculate a benefit to consumers for labeling for beef. Assuming that consumers were willing to pay 10.5 percent more for U.S. beef, the Florida researchers concluded that country-of-origin labeling for beef would result in a \$3.5 billion benefit to consumers.¹⁹

Phase III: Industry Wins with Its Friends in Congress

Unable to stop the mandatory COOL regulation because the law required that it be issued by Sept. 30, 2004, industry turned to its closest friends in Congress. The companies first succeeded in getting a two-year delay in the issuance of a final rule. The industry is also trying to kill the program altogether by making it voluntary, rather than mandatory.

June 17, 2003: The House Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee marks up the FY 2004 appropriations bill (H.R. 2673), and the subcommittee chairman, Rep. Henry Bonilla (R-Texas), includes a one-year delay for implementation of COOL for meat.

July 14, 2003: The House votes 208-193 to reject an amendment offered by Rep. Dennis Rehberg (R-Mont.) and Rep. Darlene Hooley (D-Ore.) to restore funding to implement COOL by the original 2004 deadline.²⁰

August 5, 2003: The Government Accountability Office (GAO) releases a report (citing the University of Florida study) criticizing USDA's cost estimate for the first year of a voluntary COOL program. It concluded that the agency used assumptions "that are questionable and not well supported" to generate the \$2 billion figure. The GAO found that USDA used arbitrary assumptions for the number of producers covered by the rule, relied on no existing studies for the number of hours required to establish and maintain recordkeeping systems, and exceeded the estimates used in other programs to calculate the salary of those doing the recordkeeping – for some sectors using an hourly rate that was double the average cited by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.²¹

October 17, 2003: Six meat companies and trade associations (National Cattlemen's Beef Association, American Meat Institute, National Pork Producers Council, Cargill Incorporated, Tyson Foods, and the National Oilseed Processors Association) opposed to mandatory COOL meet with ten officials from the White House, the Office of Management and Budget, USDA and the U.S. trade representative. Presumably they plot strategy to derail the forthcoming regulation to implement the program.²²

October 20, 2003: Four food processing companies and trade associations (Grocery Manufacturers of America, American Frozen Food Institute, ConAgra Foods, and Altria/Kraft Foods) opposed to mandatory COOL meet with seven officials from the Office of Management and Budget and USDA about the forthcoming regulation.²³

October 27, 2003: The Office of Management and Budget sends a letter to USDA, stating that "we remain very concerned that this [COOL] program will impose enormous costs on consumers that are substantially in excess of any benefits." After citing USDA's bloated cost estimates, the letter goes on to note that mandatory COOL "is one of the most burdensome rules to be reviewed by this Administration." What is even more notable is that the letter essentially invites lawmakers to reverse its position in favor of COOL: "[W]e would appreciate Departmental views on whether the Administration should seek legislative relief to mitigate these impacts."²⁴

October 30, 2003: USDA provides a boost to the anti-COOL forces by releasing the "Proposed Rule for Mandatory Country of Origin Labeling," which estimated that the first-year cost of a proposed mandatory rule ranged from \$582 million to \$3.9 billion. It also stated that economic benefits of the rule were "likely to be negligible."²⁵ As evidence for this statement, the agency offered the unsupportable hypothesis that because few food processors or retailers had participated in the voluntary labeling program, this served as an expression of consumers' lack of preference for domestic products.

November 6, 2003: The Senate votes 58-36 to express “the sense of the Senate” in support of implementing COOL by the original 2004 deadline. The sense of the Senate motion was introduced by Sen. Daschle.²⁶

November 7, 2003: After USDA publishes the proposed COOL rule, a handful of farming and consumer groups (including National Farmers Union, Public Citizen, and R-CALF USA) that support mandatory COOL, get a pro-forma meeting with two officials from the Office of Management and Budget. John Graham, the Administration’s point person on regulations, rushed through the meeting and even power napped, according to a meeting attendee.²⁷

December 8, 2003: The House votes 242-176 to accept the conference report on the FY 2004 Agriculture appropriations bill, which includes a two-year delay for implementation of COOL for all covered commodities except seafood.²⁸ This effort is led by Rep. Bonilla, who will have received more than \$167,000 from COOL opponents during the 2000, 2002 and 2004 election cycles, making him their top beneficiary.²⁹

January 22, 2004: The Senate, now controlled by Republicans, passes an omnibus appropriations bill that prohibits USDA from spending funds to implement mandatory COOL for two years – until 2006 – with the exception of fish and shellfish.³⁰ Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska), chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, successfully preserves the original 2004 deadline for COOL for fish.³¹

January 23, 2004: President Bush signs the measure into law, which delays the implementation of mandatory COOL for all covered commodities except wild and farm-raised fish and shellfish until September 30, 2006.³²

June 15, 2004: Rep. Bob Goodlatte (R-Va.), chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, introduces the Food Promotion Act (H.R. 4576), which would change COOL to a voluntary program. Goodlatte received more than \$103,000 in political contributions from the organizations opposing COOL from 2000 through 2004, the third most of all members of Congress.³³ Industry got its money’s worth. Goodlatte saw to it that the bill was approved by his House Agriculture Committee on July 22, 2004.

September 30, 2004: The USDA publishes an Interim Final Rule for Mandatory Country of Origin Labeling for fish and shellfish. The agency announced that the final rule would be in abeyance for six months, in order to allow the industry to clear inventory already in the system that did not comply with the rule and to give adequate time for firms to get into compliance with the rule.³⁴

April 4, 2005: Mandatory labeling of fish and shellfish for country-of-origin and method of production (farm-raised vs. wild caught), as originally required by the Farm Bill, becomes effective.³⁵

May 4, 2005: Goodlatte introduces the Meat Promotion Act (H.R. 2068), which would change COOL for meat to a voluntary program. The bill has 49 cosponsors and is referred to Goodlatte’s House Agriculture Committee.

June 8, 2005: Thanks to Bonilla's handiwork, the House passes the Agriculture Appropriations bill, which includes a provision prohibiting USDA from spending funds to implement mandatory COOL for meat, effectively delaying the regulation until September 2007.³⁶

June 23, 2005: Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.) introduces the Food Promotion Act of 2005 (S. 1300), which would change COOL for meat, fish, peanuts and perishable agricultural commodities (fruits and vegetables) into a voluntary program. The bill has four cosponsors. Santorum has received \$49,000 in campaign contributions from the groups opposing COOL in the 2000 through 2004 election cycles.³⁷

June 29, 2005: Sen. John Cornyn (R-Texas) introduces the Meat Promotion Act of 2005 (S. 1333), which would change COOL for meat to a voluntary program. The bill has 14 cosponsors. Cornyn has received \$38,250 in campaign contributions from the groups opposing COOL in the 2000 through 2004 election cycles.³⁸ Moreover, among the lobbyists employed by the NCBA to work on the COOL issue in the second half of 2004 was Colin Woodall, who until April of that year worked for Cornyn on agriculture appropriations issues.³⁹ The voluntary COOL bill Cornyn introduced in June 2005 appears to match the NCBA's demands to a T.

September, 2005: The Senate will vote on the FY 2006 Agriculture Appropriations bill, which does not include any further delay of COOL implementation (unlike the House bill.) Therefore the issue of COOL funding will have to be worked out in conference committee. Additionally, there is potential for either of the voluntary COOL bills (S. 1333 for meat or S. 1300 for all foods) to be attached to the appropriations bill as an amendment.

How Agribusiness Influence-Peddling Has Derailed COOL

For years, the titans of agribusiness have been determined to ensure that the day never comes when consumers can learn as much about where their food is grown as they can about where their T-shirts are sewn. To accomplish this, an alliance of food processors, meat packers and retailers/marketers has formed a lobbying juggernaut aimed at obstructing, and ultimately derailing, the law requiring country-of-origin labels on food.

Meat packers – especially the beef industry – complain that COOL will impose undue record-keeping costs and that it is unworkable because some animals cross international borders during their lives.⁴⁰ Consumers allege that the industry’s true fear is that labels will expose its practices of selling cheap imported meat under the USDA seal and of mixing ground beef from multiple countries into single products.

The National Cattlemen’s Beef Association “speaks for corporate meat packers and big importers, that is why the NCBA opposes country-of origin labeling for meat,” Karen Englehart, a Bison, S.D. rancher, told Public Citizen. “The big meat packers and the big food retailers do not want country-of-origin-labeling because they can import low quality meat and intermingle it with high quality American meat then sell it under the USDA inspection label, effectively duping the consumer into thinking they are purchasing an American product.”⁴¹

The meat packers have sent an array of trade associations and companies into battle. On the association side are the American Meat Institute (which represents companies that process 70 percent of U.S. meat and poultry⁴²), the National Cattlemen’s Beef Association (which sides with its packer members over its ranchers) and the National Pork Producers Council.⁴³

Beef packer companies furnishing lobbying muscle to the COOL fight include Tyson Foods, Cargill, Swift and ConAgra.⁴⁴ These companies, along with National Beef Packing Co., control 83.5 percent of the market.⁴⁵ Pork companies contributing lobbyists include Smithfield Foods Inc., as well as packers Tyson and Swift.

Food processors, represented by the National Food Processors Association and the American Frozen Food Institute, object to the extra labeling requirements the law would require.

Retailers and marketers grouse about the cost of posting signs in their stores and say the measure is unfair because they could face fines if their suppliers furnish them with bad information. Their lobbying effort has been spearheaded by the Grocery Manufacturers of America with assists from the National Grocers Association and the Food Marketing Institute. Wal-Mart Stores Inc., which boasts \$66.5 billion in annual grocery sales, and Safeway (\$29.6 billion) have added extra influence-peddling heft.⁴⁶

Lobbyists Make Their Mark on a Law Requiring Country-of-Origin Labels

Twenty-one companies and trade organizations that are avowed foes of the mandatory COOL law have spent a total of \$29.2 million to deploy at least 160 lobbyists to influence Congress and the executive branch since 2000. [See Figure 1 for breakdown of expenditures, Appendix A for list of lobbyists]

Among these lobbyists, at least 45, or 28 percent, previously held positions in the federal government, including at least 10 with backgrounds of working for the Agriculture Department, in agriculture-related positions on House or Senate committees, or both. Three are former members of Congress. Others, such as former Republican National Committee Chairman Ed Gillespie, boast golden political Rolodexes. [See Appendix B]

Figure 1: Lobbying Expenditures by Organizations that Opposed COOL, 2000-2004

Client Name	Lobbying Expenditures*
American Farm Bureau Federation	\$11,840,000
Grocery Manufacturers of America	\$4,720,000
Cargill Inc.	\$2,941,043
Wal-Mart Stores Inc.	\$2,760,000
National Food Processors Association	\$2,236,945
National Cattlemen's Beef Association	\$1,199,292
National Pork Producers Council	\$680,000
Food Marketing Institute	\$520,000
Tyson Foods Inc.	\$500,000
National Fisheries Institute	\$270,000
National Grocers Association	\$230,000
American Meat Institute	\$200,000
ConAgra Foods Inc.	\$200,000
Swift & Company	\$200,000
American Frozen Food Institute	\$180,000
Smithfield Foods Inc.	\$120,000
United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association	\$100,000
Meat Promotion Coalition	\$80,000
National Meat Association	\$80,000
Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc.	\$80,000
Safeway Inc.	\$60,000
Total	\$29,197,280

Source: Public Citizen analysis of lobbying disclosure forms filed with the Secretary of the Senate.

* Lobbying disclosure records do not include breakdowns of groups' expenditures on individual issues, such as COOL. Expenditures listed in this figure are limited to semi-annual periods in which the organizations reported lobbying on COOL. Listings include only 2000-2004 data, except for two organizations for which first-half 2005 figures are available, the Meat Promotion Coalition, which didn't exist before 2005, and the National Food Processors Association.

Prominent firms in the fight to stop COOL have included:

- **Lesher and Russell:** Both William Lesher and Randall Russell held heavyweight jobs at the Agriculture Department before going into influence peddling in the mid-1980s, Lesher as assistant secretary for economics and Russell as chief of staff to USDA Secretary John Block. *The Hill* newspaper, which covers Capitol Hill, ranked Lesher and Russell as Washington's top agriculture lobbying firm in 2004.⁴⁷ Lesher and Russell jumped to the front of the lobbying fight against COOL in April 2005 when it was hired to do the bidding of the newly formed Meat Promotion Coalition (a group of organizations favoring a voluntary COOL measure that would replace mandatory labeling).⁴⁸ In early May 2005, about a month after the Meat Promotion Coalition was announced, Rep. Bob Goodlatte (R-Va.), chairman of the Agriculture Committee, introduced a bill that would repeal mandatory country-of-origin labels for meat. The bill, which would fulfill the Meat Promotion Coalition's wishes, was conveniently titled the "Meat Promotion Act."
- **Olsson, Frank and Weeda:** Dubbed a "true agriculture lobby boutique" by the lobbying trade publication *Influence*, Olsson, Frank and Weeda, have lobbied to stop COOL on behalf of the National Meat Association.⁴⁹ Among Olsson's lobbyists are:
 - John Bode who served as USDA's Assistant Secretary for Food and Consumer Services in the late 1980s.⁵⁰
 - Stephen Lacey, a former staffer at the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee.⁵¹
 - Marshall Matz, former special counsel for the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee.⁵²

Lobbyists with strategic political ties include:

- **Ed Gillespie, Quinn Gillespie and Associates:** Gillespie and eight of his firm's colleagues have pushed the anti-COOL message on behalf of Tyson Foods. In the firm's lobbying disclosure filings, Gillespie is listed among Quinn Gillespie lobbyists who lobbied on "country of origin labeling" and "farm issues" at the executive office of the president / U.S. trade representative, in addition to the House and Senate.⁵³

Gillespie's influence peddling career has been interspersed with strategic political stints for some of Washington's most prominent Republicans.

- He served as chairman of the Republican National Committee from 2003-2004, overseeing the RNC's work on President Bush's re-election campaign.
- He served as a strategist for the Senate campaign of Elizabeth Dole (R-N.C.) in 2002.
- He served as a strategist for Bush's 2000 presidential campaign, managed the program for the 2000 Republican national convention and served as a spokesman in the Florida recount following the 2000 election.

- He served as a top aide to former House Majority Leader Dick Armey (R-Texas), during which time he was a primary drafter of the Contract with America, the set of campaign promises that the Republicans made in 1994 that helped propel them to take control of the House for the first time in 40 years.⁵⁴
- **Rebecca Anderson, Williams and Jenson:** Anderson lobbies against COOL on behalf of Smithfield Foods. In her most recent lobbying disclosure filing, she lists the White House as a target of her COOL lobbying.⁵⁵ It's not surprising that Anderson might have received a warm welcome in the West Wing. She was a volunteer on Bush's 2000 campaign, who subsequently served on both the Commerce Department Transition Advisory Committee and the White House Legislative Affairs transition team. She previously worked in the Office of Legislative Affairs for President George H.W. Bush, as a staff assistant in the Senate Liaison Office for President Reagan and in the Office of Public Liaison at the Energy Department. She also previously served as assistant director in the office of the co-chairman of the Republican National Committee.⁵⁶
- **Colin Woodall, National Cattlemen's Beef Association:** In April 2004, Woodall left the office of Sen. John Cornyn (R-Texas), where he worked on agriculture issues, to become a lobbyist for the NCBA. He lobbied on COOL in the second half of 2004, the first period in which he was listed as an NCBA lobbyist. In June 2005, Woodall's former boss Cornyn introduced the Senate's version of the Meat Promotion Act, which calls for the voluntary COOL labeling guidelines demanded by the NCBA.⁵⁷

Former Members of Congress involved in the COOL debate are:

- **Rep. Tom Loeffler (R-Texas), 1979-1986:** Loeffler has lobbied on COOL on behalf of Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc. His stature among Republicans was bolstered by his role serving as a super-fundraiser for President Bush's 2000 and 2004 presidential campaigns. By soliciting contributions from others, referred to as "bundling," Loeffler raised at least \$100,000 in 2000 (earning him "Pioneer" status in the Bush lexicon) and at least \$200,000 in 2004 (earning him "Ranger" status.)⁵⁸
- **Rep. Calvin Dooley (D-Calif.), 1991-2004:** Dooley became head of the National Food Processors Association (NFPA) upon leaving Congress last year.⁵⁹ He is prohibited from making direct lobbying contacts with the House or Senate during his first year out of Congress. However, he is free to supervise lobbyists, assist in strategy development and participate in other aspects of the organization's lobbying activities. Most trade associations are largely, if not primarily, lobbying operations. Thus, it is likely that Dooley is in the middle of the NFPA's lobbying campaign against COOL.
- **Rep. Martin A. Russo (D-Ill.), 1975-2002:** Russo has lobbied on behalf of Swift & Company.

High Officials from USDA and OMB in the Lobbyists' Camp

Lobbyists opposing COOL could expect warm welcomes when they knocked on the door at the USDA for the simple reason that several high officials at the department previously worked for COOL opponents and had even lobbied against COOL.

The ties between COOL opponents and the USDA several have been particularly tight in the case of the National Cattlemen's Beef Association. In fact, Secretary Ann Veneman paused during an address to the group in January 2003 to make note of the mass migration from the NCBA to the USDA.

"I would be remiss if I didn't recognize Alisa Harrison, one of the quite a few that we've been taking away from the cattle organization, but Alisa Harrison is our press secretary. We have so appreciated the leadership of Dale Moore, who worked with the cattlemen for so long, who's my chief of staff, and we recently hired Chuck Lambert also at USDA. So thank you, cattlemen, and I keep telling [then-NCBA Vice President for Government Affairs] Chandler [Keys], that please don't be mad at me, but you really have good talent. So you ought to be proud of them, and we're sure proud of them."⁶⁰

At least three former COOL lobbyists took positions in the government that were strategically placed to further the NCBA's aims.

- **Dale Moore, Chief of Staff to both Secretary Ann Veneman and Secretary Mike Johanns, 2001-present:** The former executive director of the NCBA and a former legislative director of the House Agriculture Committee, Moore lobbied on COOL for NCBA before going to work at the Agriculture Department.⁶¹ As the gatekeeper for both secretaries, Moore has been in a strategic position to influence the department's policy, and there is every reason to think he may have in the case of the department's views on COOL.

On May 22, 2003, less than 10 days after the Farm Bill was signed into law, Veneman said she disliked the COOL provision. In a conference call with reporters, she complained about the difficulty of administering the program and said she would aim to interpret the law such that the labels would merely indicate "North America" as the "country of origin," rather than Mexico, the United States or Canada.⁶² A week later, Veneman reversed course on the department's official position: "We do not support, we have not recommended, nor do we have any intention of proposing a North American label as some have suggested."⁶³ Moore has kept a hand in formulating COOL policy. On July 7, 2004, he attended a meeting on COOL at the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the White House's rulemaking agency, which has to sign off on USDA's plans for implementing COOL.⁶⁴

- **Charles Lambert, Deputy Under Secretary for USDA's Marketing and Regulatory Programs, 2002-present:** In September 2002, while the chief economist of the National Cattlemen's Beef Association, Lambert expressed his doubts about COOL: "Some livestock are born and spend part of their lives in one country, but then may be fed or

processed in another country. How will they be labeled? ... The COOL issue is more complex for livestock and meat products than it is for fruits and vegetables, because of international mobility of livestock and meat products.”⁶⁵

Just a few months after making that statement, Lambert was appointed by Veneman to the senior political position.⁶⁶ This left him in charge of supervising the Agricultural Marketing Service, which was responsible for writing the rules for a mandatory COOL program.

- **Mary Waters, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, 2001-2005:** Before accepting her position at USDA in 2001, Waters worked as a lobbyist for ConAgra, where lobbying against COOL was among her responsibilities. Her role at USDA in pushing for repeal of the COOL law is not known. However, her title coupled with the administration’s position on COOL suggests she would have been in the middle of it. Both Secretary Veneman and OMB made their opposition to COOL abundantly clear. Waters, whose USDA job was to lobby Congress, likely assisted in successfully convincing lawmakers to postpone implementation of COOL for two years and, more recently, to consider passing legislation that would make it a voluntary program. She left the USDA in August 2005.
- **John Graham, Administrator, OIRA, Office of Management and Budget:** The USDA published proposed COOL rules on Oct. 30, 2003. Those rules have become central to the debate over COOL. By estimating a first-year implementation cost of up to \$3.9 billion, the rules served to bolster critics view that COOL would be too expensive to warrant implementing. The release of the rules prompted the National Cattlemen’s Beef Association, the National Pork Producers Council, the American Meat Institute and the Food Marketing Institute to call for repeal. Three of the groups called press conferences. National Pork Producers Council President Jon Casper used the release of the rules as a launching point to lobby Congress “to turn this into a workable, voluntary program.”⁶⁷

Meanwhile, COOL proponents, including Sen. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa), accused the department of relying on disingenuous industry data to produce estimates that were intentionally inflated to undercut support for the program.

“The Department of Agriculture is moving forward, but they still aren’t indicating much willingness to make country of origin labeling happen,” Grassley said. “The department shows lower cost estimates than had been originally published. I believe the cost is still over-inflated due to USDA’s reliance on self serving industry-information.”⁶⁸

The White House used the Agriculture Department findings to, effectively, call for repeal of COOL. “USDA concluded that the proposed rule would impose substantial costs ranging from \$500 million to \$4 billion in the first year,” John Graham, administrator of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs (OIRA), wrote on Oct. 27, 2003, to William T. Hawks, under secretary for marketing and regulatory programs at the Agriculture Department. “These figures indicate that this is one of the most burdensome rules to be reviewed by this Administration.”⁶⁹

Graham continued: “In light of the adverse effects of this rulemaking, we would appreciate Departmental views on whether the Administration should seek legislative relief to mitigate these impacts.”

Graham’s appetite for the law, and its accompanying rules, may have been soured by the fact that he had been on a steady diet of meetings with the law’s most ardent foes.

- On Oct. 17, 2003, he met with lobbyists from the American Meat Institute (two), Cargill, the National Oilseed Producers Association, Tyson Foods, the National Cattlemen’s Beef Association, the National Pork Producers Council and Leshner & Russell (the firm that would subsequently spearhead the coalition of groups aiming for COOL’s repeal.)⁷⁰
- On Oct. 20, 2003, he met with lobbyists from Altria/Kraft Foods, ConAgra foods, the American Frozen Food Institute, and the Grocery Manufacturers of America. Each of these groups opposed COOL.⁷¹
- On Nov. 7, 2003, a week after the proposed rule was released and 10 days after Graham offered the White House’s resources to help repeal COOL, Graham met for the first time with consumer and farming groups that supported the law. According to an attendee, Graham took a nap during the meeting.⁷²

Bush’s Rangers and Pioneers from Agribusiness

The COOL opponents might have found the doors at the White House and USDA so accessible in part because the group was prolific in producing big fundraisers for President Bush.

At least five of the anti-COOL organizations included in this study furnished Bush’s 2000 or 2004 campaign with “Rangers” (individuals who collected at least \$200,000 for his campaign) or “Pioneers” (individuals who collected at least \$100,000 for his campaign). They raised at least \$100,000 during the first campaign and \$600,000 for Bush’s re-election. [Figure 2]

Figure 2: Bush Rangers & Pioneers from Organizations that Oppose COOL

Employer	Name	Title	State	2000 Pioneer Status	2004 Status
Cargill Inc.	Warren R. Staley	CEO	Minn.	Not listed	Ranger
Food Marketing Institute	Tim Hammonds	CEO & President	D.C.	Pioneer	Not listed
Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc.	Jerry Kane	CEO	Texas	Not listed	Pioneer
Safeway Inc.	Steven A. Burd	President, Chair & CEO	Calif.	Not listed	Ranger
Wal-Mart Stores	Jay Allen	Sr. VP	Ariz.	Not listed	Pioneer

Source: Public Citizen's Web site, www.WhiteHouseForSale.org

Campaign Finance Contributions: The Lobbyist's Cost of Admission

No matter how successful the agribusiness industry has been in fielding lobbyists or how successful it has been in placing its partisans in positions of power at the USDA, the COOL foes have to pay the piper if they expect Congress to reverse its mandate of 2002 to require country-of-origin labeling.

Nineteen of the 21 groups that have led the opposition to COOL pumped \$12.6 million into the coffers of congressional candidates and into the treasuries of the national parties in the 2000, 2002 and 2004 election cycles, the periods in which the measure has been debated. Ten of COOL's most ardent foes have contributed more than a half million dollars each. [Figure 3]

The biggest givers were Wal-Mart Stores, the Food Marketing Institute and the National Cattlemen's Beef Association, which anteed up more than a million dollars each.

These companies and trade associations have steered their congressional contributions disproportionately to the 64 members (50 representatives and 14 senators) who are supporting legislation that would make COOL a voluntary program. While COOL sponsors account for only about one-in-ten members of Congress (12 percent), they have received more than one-fourth of the contributions (28.2 percent) from the COOL opponents. [Figure 4]

They have placed most of their bets on Republicans, whom they are counting on to get COOL repealed. Across all of Congress, the groups have sent 78.2 percent of their contributions to the GOP.

When restricted just to co-sponsors of the voluntary COOL legislation introduced by Rep. Goodlatte (H.R. 2068) and Sen. Cornyn (S. 1333), Republicans received 82.8 percent

compared to the Democrats' 17.2 percent. The contrast is even starker if one excludes the COOL foes' contributions to five Arkansas Democrats who have been courted aggressively by Arkansas-based Wal-Mart and Tyson Foods. Here, the COOL foes' contributions to Republican sponsors have outpaced those to Democratic sponsors 92 percent to 8 percent.⁷³

The picture is more dramatic still when one considers the sum of soft money contributions (unlimited donations to political parties that were outlawed after the 2002 election cycle). The COOL foes soft money contributions to Republicans outpaced their giving to Democrats 98.6 percent to 1.4 percent.

Figure 3: Campaign Contributions to Congress and National Political Parties by COOL Opponents, Election Cycles 2000-2004

	Grand Total	Total Hard \$	Repub. Hard \$	Dem. Hard \$	Total Soft \$	Repub. Soft \$	Dem. Soft \$
Wal-Mart Stores Inc.	\$3,459,824	\$3,084,102	\$2,388,722	\$690,880	\$375,722	\$375,722	\$0
Food Marketing Institute	\$1,571,252	\$970,353	\$833,608	\$136,745	\$600,899	\$600,899	\$0
National Cattlemen's Beef Association	\$1,144,505	\$1,130,161	\$951,068	\$179,093	\$14,344	\$9,000	\$5,344
ConAgra Foods Inc.	\$847,765	\$646,215	\$507,663	\$138,552	\$201,550	\$201,550	\$0
Smithfield Foods Inc.	\$836,050	\$186,050	\$162,250	\$23,800	\$650,000	\$650,000	\$0
Grocery Manufacturers of America	\$771,025	\$247,200	\$210,700	\$36,500	\$523,825	\$508,825	\$15,000
Safeway Inc.	\$757,054	\$351,027	\$238,300	\$112,727	\$406,027	\$406,027	\$0
American Meat Institute	\$636,177	\$480,617	\$397,117	\$83,500	\$155,560	\$155,560	\$0
Tyson Foods Inc.	\$632,857	\$404,163	\$227,817	\$176,346	\$228,694	\$205,000	\$23,694
Cargill Inc.	\$568,319	\$567,719	\$438,178	\$129,541	\$600	\$600	\$0
National Food Processors Association	\$471,836	\$156,550	\$132,800	\$23,750	\$315,286	\$315,286	\$0
National Pork Producers Council	\$300,421	\$300,421	\$181,772	\$118,649	--	--	--
American Frozen Food Institute	\$150,393	\$87,321	\$74,821	\$12,500	\$63,072	\$63,072	\$0
National Fisheries Institute	\$142,500	\$137,500	\$113,000	\$24,500	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$0
United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association	\$88,646	\$88,646	\$46,000	\$42,646	--	--	--
National Meat Association	\$81,500	\$81,500	\$63,250	\$18,250	--	--	--
American Farm Bureau	\$77,840	\$59,840	\$54,340	\$5,500	\$18,000	\$13,000	\$5,000
National Grocers Association	\$32,575	\$12,075	\$11,325	\$750	\$20,500	\$20,500	\$0
Swift & Company	\$11,250	\$11,250	\$9,750	\$1,500	--	--	--
Total	\$12,581,789	\$9,002,710	\$7,042,481	\$1,955,729	\$3,579,079	\$3,530,041	\$49,038

Source: Public Citizen analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics. Totals include contributions from political action committees and individual members or employees of each organization for the 2000, 2002, and 2004 election cycles.

Figure 4: Campaign Contributions by COOL Opponents to Sponsors of Voluntary COOL Legislation, Election Cycles 2000-2004

	Total	Contributions to Republicans	Contributions to Democrats
Wal-Mart Stores Inc.	\$737,693	\$565,028	\$172,665
National Cattlemen's Beef Association	\$332,437	\$296,937	\$35,500
Food Marketing Institute	\$255,721	\$231,221	\$24,500
Cargill Inc.	\$232,253	\$210,003	\$22,250
ConAgra Foods Inc.	\$194,800	\$163,800	\$31,000
Tyson Foods Inc.	\$173,663	\$87,167	\$86,496
American Meat Institute	\$169,585	\$154,585	\$15,000
National Pork Producers Council	\$104,109	\$82,109	\$22,000
Grocery Manufacturers of America	\$74,700	\$67,700	\$7,000
National Food Processors Association	\$64,800	\$62,300	\$2,500
Safeway Inc.	\$58,500	\$53,500	\$5,000
Smithfield Foods Inc.	\$49,500	\$41,500	\$8,000
National Meat Association	\$32,000	\$29,500	\$2,500
American Frozen Food Institute	\$21,143	\$20,393	\$750
American Farm Bureau	\$10,500	\$10,000	\$500
National Fisheries Institute	\$10,000	\$9,000	\$1,000
United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$0
National Grocers Association	\$2,925	\$2,925	\$0
Swift & Company	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$0
Total	\$2,535,329	\$2,098,668	\$436,661

Source: Public Citizen analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics. Totals include contributions from political action committees and individual members or employees of each organization for the 2000, 2002, and 2004 election cycles.

Reps. Bonilla and Goodlatte: The COOL Assassins

Well-placed Reps. Henry Bonilla (R-Texas) and Bob Goodlatte (R-Va.) have been the two ringleaders in industry's effort to delay, and ultimately derail, COOL.

Bonilla collected more than \$167,000 from the COOL opponents during the 2000, 2002 and 2004 election cycles, ranking him No. 1 among the 65 co-sponsors of the voluntary COOL legislation. [Figure 5]

It's no wonder. As the chairman of the Agriculture Appropriations subcommittee, Bonilla has had almost unchecked power to delay the start date for the COOL program – and he hasn't disappointed his contributors. Bonilla slipped a line into the 2004 agriculture appropriations bill that would have prohibited the USDA from spending funds to implement mandatory COOL for meat and meat products for an additional year beyond the law's Sept. 30, 2004 deadline.⁷⁴ Bonilla's proposed delay was eventually extended to two years – until 2006 – during conference committee negotiations with the Senate, and was expanded to include all commodities except seafood.

Then, during the mark-up of the 2006 agriculture appropriations bill in May of this year, Bonilla said he was authoring a provision to delay the implementation of COOL for meat until 2007 so he could give the industry more time to make the program voluntary.⁷⁵ That same month, Bonilla received an award from the American Meat Institute, which represents companies that process 70 percent of U.S. meat and poultry, for serving as one of the industry's "strongest and most effective congressional allies" and for using "his seat on the Appropriations Committee to thwart burdensome federal regulations that would adversely effect the business community and the nation's economy."⁷⁶ As of mid-September 2005, the Senate had not yet voted on its version of the legislation.

Bonilla's role of obstructionist-in-chief for the COOL law, has bought time for Agriculture Committee Chairman Goodlatte to serve as COOL's executioner. Because Goodlatte's committee wrote the 2002 Farm Bill, COOL's fate rests largely in his hands.

Goodlatte has responded by serving as the lead House sponsor of a voluntary COOL bill (H.R. 2068), which would let companies decide whether to label their products, thereby sending the labeling requirement to the graveyard. The chairman has been treated handsomely. He has received more than \$103,000 in the last three election cycles from COOL opponents, ranking him the third highest recipient among co-sponsors of voluntary COOL legislation.

Sen. Cornyn: The Senate Accomplice

Sen. John Cornyn (R-Texas) is the lead sponsor of the Senate version of the voluntary COOL bill. Cornyn has received \$38,250 from COOL foes, all during his inaugural 2002 Senate race.

COOL opponents may have relied on a special connection to lasso their man. Among the lobbyists employed by the National Cattlemen's Beef Association to work on the COOL issue in

the second half of 2004 was Colin Woodall. Until April of that year, Woodall happened to work on agriculture appropriations for Cornyn.⁷⁷ The voluntary COOL bill Cornyn introduced in June 2005 appears to match the NCBA's demands to a T.

Figure 5: Campaign Contributions Received by Sponsors of Voluntary COOL Legislation from COOL Opponents, Election Cycles 2000-2004

Recipient	Committee	Total	PAC	Individual
Rep. Henry Bonilla (R-Texas)	HAAS, Chairman	\$167,486	\$165,736	\$1,750
Rep. Mark Kennedy (R-Minn.)		\$109,033	\$97,633	\$11,400
Rep. Bob Goodlatte (R-Va.)	HAC, Chairman	\$103,415	\$98,512	\$4,903
Sen. Norm Coleman (R-Minn.)	SAC	\$95,915	\$75,465	\$20,450
Rep. Robin Hayes (R-N.C.)	HAC	\$93,750	\$93,250	\$500
Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.)		\$92,732	\$89,732	\$3,000
Rep. Tom Latham (R-Iowa)	HAAS	\$89,000	\$88,250	\$750
Sen. Blanche Lincoln (D-Ark.)	SAC	\$87,700	\$59,000	\$28,700
Rep. John Boozman (R-Ark.)		\$84,250	\$57,000	\$27,250
Rep. Jack Kingston (R-Ga.)	HAAS	\$78,415	\$77,665	\$750
Rep. Marion Berry (D-Ark.)	HAAS	\$73,000	\$68,000	\$5,000
Sen. Wayne Allard (R-Colo.)	SAC	\$71,249	\$61,499	\$9,750
Rep. Sam Graves (R-Mo.)	HAC	\$64,527	\$64,527	\$0
Sen. Christopher S. 'Kit' Bond (R-Mo.)	SAAS	\$60,000	\$58,500	\$1,500
Sen. Pat Roberts (R-Kan.)	SAC	\$59,750	\$56,750	\$3,000
Sen. James M. Talent (R-Mo.)	SAC	\$58,871	\$55,000	\$3,871
Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio)	HAC	\$57,175	\$56,675	\$500
Rep. John Kline (R-Minn.)		\$52,107	\$46,607	\$5,500
Rep. Jo Ann Emerson (R-Mo.)	HAAS	\$51,000	\$50,000	\$1,000
Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.)	SAC	\$49,000	\$49,000	\$0
Rep. Mike Ross (D-Ark.)		\$48,950	\$39,950	\$9,000
Rep. Pete Sessions (R-Texas)		\$47,715	\$44,659	\$3,056
Rep. Gil Gutknecht (R-Minn.)	HAC	\$47,500	\$45,500	\$2,000
Sen. Mel Martinez (R-Fla.)		\$44,750	\$41,000	\$3,750
Sen. Sam Brownback (R-Kan.)	SAAS	\$40,000	\$39,000	\$1,000
Sen. John Cornyn (R-Texas)		\$38,250	\$30,000	\$8,250
Rep. John M. Shimkus (R-Ill.)		\$36,702	\$34,452	\$2,250
Sen. Johnny Isakson (R-Ga.)		\$34,300	\$33,500	\$800
Rep. Eric Cantor (R-Va.)		\$33,761	\$33,761	\$0
Rep. Bob Beauprez (R-Colo.)		\$31,321	\$28,266	\$3,055
Rep. Chet Edwards (D-Texas)		\$30,215	\$21,000	\$9,215
Rep. John Tanner (D-Tenn.)		\$30,000	\$30,000	\$0

Recipient	Committee	Total	PAC	Individual
Rep. William J. Jefferson (D-La.)		\$29,500	\$28,500	\$1,000
Rep. Randy Neugebauer (R-Texas)	HAC	\$27,524	\$24,469	\$3,055
Rep. Mike McIntyre (D-N.C.)	HAC	\$26,500	\$26,500	\$0
Rep. Chris Chocola (R-Ind.)		\$26,250	\$25,500	\$750
Rep. Vic Snyder (D-Ark.)		\$26,000	\$19,000	\$7,000
Rep. Jerry Weller (R-Ill.)		\$25,700	\$25,700	\$0
Rep. Mac Thornberry (R-Texas)		\$23,652	\$23,652	\$0
Rep. Mike Pence (R-Ind.)	HAC	\$20,866	\$20,866	\$0
Rep. Michael G. Oxley (R-Ohio)		\$20,800	\$20,800	\$0
Rep. Don Manzullo (R-Ill.)		\$20,650	\$19,650	\$1,000
Sen. Lamar Alexander (R-Tenn.)		\$20,000	\$17,000	\$3,000
Sen. Mark Pryor (D-Ark.)		\$18,600	\$9,000	\$9,600
Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas)		\$18,140	\$14,890	\$3,250
Rep. Bob Etheridge (D-N.C.)	HAC	\$18,000	\$18,000	\$0
Rep. Bennie G. Thompson (D-Miss.)		\$17,696	\$17,696	\$0
Rep. Michael R. Turner (R-Ohio)		\$15,750	\$15,750	\$0
Rep. Fred Upton (R-Mich.)		\$15,500	\$15,500	\$0
Rep. Rick Boucher (D-Va.)		\$15,500	\$15,500	\$0
Rep. Deborah Pryce (R-Ohio)		\$15,000	\$15,000	\$0
Rep. John T. Doolittle (R-Calif.)	HAAS	\$13,750	\$13,750	\$0
Rep. Charles W. Boustany Jr. (R-La.)	HAC	\$13,612	\$7,500	\$6,112
Rep. David Scott (D-Ga.)	HAC	\$11,000	\$11,000	\$0
Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah)		\$8,000	\$8,000	\$0
Rep. Mark E. Souder (R-Ind.)		\$5,000	\$5,000	\$0
Rep. Virginia Foxx (R-N.C.)	HAC	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$0
Rep. Lynn A. Westmoreland (R-Ga.)		\$3,000	\$3,000	\$0
Rep. Solomon P. Ortiz (D-Texas)		\$3,000	\$3,000	\$0
Rep. Kenny Ewell Marchant (R-Texas)		\$3,000	\$3,000	\$0
Rep. Michael McCaul (R-Texas)		\$2,000	\$2,000	\$0
Rep. Mike Conaway (R-Texas)	HAC	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$0
Rep. Patrick McHenry (R-N.C.)		\$1,500	\$1,500	\$0
Rep. G. K. Butterfield (D-N.C.)	HAC	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$0
Total		\$2,535,329	\$2,328,612	\$206,717

Source: Public Citizen analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics. Totals include contributions from political action committees and individual members or employees of each organization for the 2000, 2002, and 2004 election cycles.

HAC: House Agriculture Committee

HAAS: House Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee

SAC: Senate Agriculture Committee

SAAS: Senate Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee

Arkansas: Where the Taste for COOL Has Been Sweet and Sour

In some ways, the Arkansas congressional delegation was among the friendliest to the proposition of country-of-origin labels on food. The state's catfish industry has suffered in recent years by an influx of a catfish-like species from Vietnam, and the state's catfish farming community has pressured lawmakers to mandate labels that would distinguish friend from faux.

But once it got its way on fish labels, in April 2005, the delegation lost its stomach for carrying out the broader COOL legislation. All six members of the Arkansas delegation have co-sponsored legislation that would end the requirement for country-of-origin labels on meat.

The about-face was most transparent in the behavior of Rep. Mike Ross (D-Ark.), who introduced a bill in July 2001 (H.R. 2439) that would "require retailers of farm-raised fish to inform consumers, at the final point of sale to consumers, of the country-of-origin of the commodities." The bill had 18 co-sponsors, but it was not initially approved by the House Agriculture Committee. Ross's motivation: Farm-raised catfish are a major agricultural product in Arkansas that are threatened by imports from Vietnam and other Asian countries.⁷⁸

Ross has subsequently signed on as a co-sponsor of H.R. 2068, Goodlatte's bill that would repeal COOL's meat labeling requirement, as have Reps. Boozman, Berry and Snyder. Sens. Lincoln and Pryor are co-sponsoring Cornyn's companion legislation.

One needs only to look at the influx of campaign contributions the Arkansas members have received from Arkansas-based Wal-Mart and Tyson Foods to understand how they see can beauty in labels one day, and beast the next.

- Arkansas' six members of Congress received \$338,500 in contributions from the COOL foes in the 2000, 2002 and 2004 election cycles. Of this, \$240,250 came from just two companies, Wal-Mart and Tyson Foods. Tyson's efforts to corral them were reflected in the fact that all six members of the Arkansas delegation ranked among the top seven recipients of donations from Tyson among the 65 co-sponsors of voluntary COOL legislation. [Figure 6] Among sponsors of the voluntary COOL legislation, the Arkansas delegation accounted for the only three Democrats to rank among the top 30 recipients of contributions from COOL foes: Sen. Blanche Lincoln, Rep. Marion Berry, and Rep. Mike Ross.
- Wal-Mart and Tyson Foods rank No. 1 and No. 6, respectively, among the COOL foes in overall contributions to sponsors of voluntary COOL legislation. (Figure 4).

**Figure 6: Contributions from COOL Opponents to Members of
The Arkansas Congressional Delegation,
Election Cycles 2000-2004**

Candidate	Amount Received From COOL Opponents	Amount Received from Wal-Mart	Amount Received from Tyson Foods
Sen. Blanche Lincoln (D)	\$87,700	\$28,200	\$19,750
Sen. Mark Pryor (D)	\$18,600	\$2,000	\$14,600
Rep. Marion Berry (D)	\$73,000	\$25,000	\$14,000
Rep. John Boozman (R)	\$84,250	\$57,750	\$15,000
Rep. Mike Ross (D)	\$48,950	\$20,000	\$18,450
Rep. Vic Snyder (D)	\$26,000	\$17,500	\$8,000
Total	\$338,500	\$150,450	\$89,800

Source: Public Citizen analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics. Totals include contributions from political action committees and individual members or employees of each organization for the 2000, 2002, and 2004 election cycles.

Appendices

Appendix A: Individuals Who Lobbied on COOL, 2000-2005

Lobbyist	Client Name	Registrant
Audrey Adamson	National Pork Producers Council	National Pork Producers Council
Caroline Anderson	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Rebecca Anderson	Smithfield Foods Inc.	Williams & Jensen
Bruce Andrews	Tyson Foods Inc.	Quinn Gillespie & Associates
Rhonda Applebaum	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Elizabeth H. Avery	ConAgra Foods Inc.	ConAgra Foods Inc.
Brent A. Baglien	ConAgra Foods Inc.	ConAgra Foods Inc.
Jeff Barach	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Dane Bernard	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
John Bode	National Meat Association	Olsson, Frank & Weeda
Derry Boughner	Cargill Inc.	Cargill Inc.
Laura Bourne	Food Marketing Institute	Food Marketing Institute
Francis Boyd	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc.	Meyers & Associates
J. Patrick Boyle	American Meat Institute	American Meat Institute
Faith Burns	National Cattlemen's Beef Association	National Cattlemen's Beef Association
Christin Bradshaw	American Frozen Food Institute	American Frozen Food Institute
Michael Brown	American Meat Institute	American Meat Institute
Cameron Bruett	ConAgra Foods Inc.	ConAgra Foods Inc.
Raymond Calamaro	Grocery Manufacturers of America	Hogan & Hartson
William B. Canfield	Smithfield Foods Inc.	Williams & Jensen
Tim Cansler	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
A. Bradford Card	National Food Processors Association	Dutko Group
Bertram W. Carp	Smithfield Foods Inc.	Williams & Jensen
Kara Cody	National Meat Association	Olsson, Frank & Weeda
Dan Cohen	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc.	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey
Kate Coler	Food Marketing Institute	Food Marketing Institute
Len Condon	American Meat Institute	American Meat Institute
Jeff Connaughton	Tyson Foods Inc.	Quinn Gillespie & Associates
Diane Cullo	United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association	United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association
Anne Curry	Food Marketing Institute	Food Marketing Institute
Carl S. DeMatteo	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau

Lobbyist	Client Name	Registrant
Donna Jo Dennison	United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association	United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association
	Swift & Company	Cassidy & Associates
Bryan Dierlam	National Cattlemen's Beef Association	National Cattlemen's Beef Association
J. Jon Doggett	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Jamie Dolynchuk	Cargill Inc.	Cargill Inc.
Robert (Bob) Earl	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Bradley Eckart	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Sherry Edwards	American Meat Institute	American Meat Institute
Bryan Edwardson	Cargill Inc.	Cargill Inc.
Audrae Erickson	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Christy Carson Evans	Swift & Company	Cassidy & Associates
Dagmar Farr	Food Marketing Institute	Food Marketing Institute
Elizabeth Fay	Cargill Inc.	Cargill Inc.
Kirk Ferrell	National Pork Producers Council	National Pork Producers Council
M. Troy Flanagan	ConAgra Foods Inc.	ConAgra Foods Inc.
Sarah Fogarty	Grocery Manufacturers of America	Grocery Manufacturers of America
Brian Folkerts	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Mark Franz	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc.	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey
Michael Frazier	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc.	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey
Robert Garfield	American Frozen Food Institute	American Frozen Food Institute
Chris Garza	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Ron Gaskill	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Patricia Geets	National Fisheries Institute	National Fisheries Institute
Mike Gill	American Frozen Food Institute	American Frozen Food Institute
Ed Gillespie	Tyson Foods Inc.	Quinn Gillespie & Associates
Nick Giordano	National Pork Producers Council	National Pork Producers Council
George Green	Food Marketing Institute	Food Marketing Institute
Susan Grymes	National Meat Association	Olsson, Frank & Weeda
Robert Guenther	United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association	United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association
Michael Hacker	Tyson Foods Inc.	Quinn Gillespie & Associates
Tim Hammonds	Food Marketing Institute	Food Marketing Institute
Karen Harned	National Meat Association	Olsson, Frank & Weeda
W. Brendan Harrington	Cargill Inc.	Cargill Inc.
J. Steven Hart	Smithfield Foods Inc.	Williams & Jensen
Gregg Hartley	Swift & Company	Cassidy & Associates
Jennifer Hatcher	Food Marketing Institute	Food Marketing Institute

Lobbyist	Client Name	Registrant
Brett Helmov	National Food Processors Association	Dutko Group
Louis Hengen	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Craig Henry	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Regina Hildwine	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Angela Marshall Hofmann	Wal-Mart Stores Inc.	Wal-Mart Stores Inc.
Jennifer Holdgreve	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Lloyd Hontz	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
J. David Hoppe	Tyson Foods Inc.	Quinn Gillespie & Associates
Mike Hussey	Tyson Foods Inc.	Quinn Gillespie & Associates
Scott Hynes	Tyson Foods Inc.	Quinn Gillespie & Associates
Juan Carlos Iturregui	Tyson Foods Inc.	Quinn Gillespie & Associates
Alex Jackson	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Harriet James Melvin	Tyson Foods	Quinn Gillespie & Associates
Rick Jarman	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Alice Johnson	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Kelly Johnston	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
W. James Jonas III	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc.	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey
John Keeling	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
John Kelly	Food Marketing Institute	Food Marketing Institute
Chandler Keys	National Cattlemen's Beef Association	National Cattlemen's Beef Association
Karil Kochenderfer	Grocery Manufacturers of America	Grocery Manufacturers of America
Rick Krause	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Gerald R. Kunde	Grocery Manufacturers of America	Grocery Manufacturers of America
Gary Jay Kushner	American Frozen Food Institute	Hogan & Hartson
	Grocery Manufacturers of America	Hogan & Hartson
Stephen Lacey	National Meat Association	Olsson, Frank & Weeda
Charles Lambert	National Cattlemen's Beef Association	National Cattlemen's Beef Association
Dina Land	American Frozen Food Institute	American Frozen Food Institute
Justin LeBlanc	National Fisheries Institute	National Fisheries Institute
Patrick Lehman	Grocery Manufacturers of America	Grocery Manufacturers of America
Sherri Lehman	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association

Lobbyist	Client Name	Registrant
William G. Leshner	Safeway Inc.	Leshner & Russell Inc.
	Meat Promotion Coalition	Leshner & Russell Inc.
Normand Lezy	Wal-Mart Stores Inc.	Wal-Mart Stores Inc.
Sara Lilygren	Tyson Foods Inc.	Tyson Foods Inc.
	American Meat Institute	American Meat Institute
Bryan Little	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Tom Loeffler	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc.	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey
Jose Martinez	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc.	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey
Mark A. Maslyn	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Michael Mason	National Grocers Association	National Grocers Association
Mia T. Masten	Grocery Manufacturers of America	Grocery Manufacturers of America
Allen Matthys	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Marshall Matz	National Meat Association	Olsson, Frank & Weeda
Peri Mears	National Meat Association	Olsson, Frank & Weeda
Larry Meyers	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc.	Meyers & Associates
Joe Miller	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
C. Manly Molpus	Grocery Manufacturers of America	Grocery Manufacturers of America
Dale Moore	National Cattlemen's Beef Association	National Cattlemen's Beef Association
John Motley III	Food Marketing Institute	Food Marketing Institute
Michael Mullins	Cargill Inc.	Cargill Inc.
Christine Nelson	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Richard W. Newpher	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Eric Nicoll	Food Marketing Institute	Food Marketing Institute
Philip C. Olsson	National Meat Association	Olsson, Frank & Weeda
Don Parrish	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Daniel Pearson	Cargill Inc.	Cargill Inc.
Kristin Pearson	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Jon Plebani	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc.	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey
Bonnie E. Raquet	Cargill Inc.	Cargill Inc.
Tyson Redpath	Meat Promotion Coalition	Leshner & Russell Inc.
	National Meat Association	Olsson, Frank & Weeda
Scott Riehl	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Peggy Rochette	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Rob Rosado	American Meat Institute	American Meat Institute
Randall M. Russell	Safeway Inc.	Leshner & Russell Inc.
	Meat Promotion Coalition	Leshner & Russell Inc.
Martin A. Russo	Swift & Company	Cassidy & Associates

Lobbyist	Client Name	Registrant
David Salmonsens	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Leslie Sarasin	American Frozen Food Institute	American Frozen Food Institute
Diane Schumacher	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Jenny Scott	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Adam Sharp	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Thomas Hunt Shipman	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Anita Simani-Ragan	United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association	United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association
Laurie Smalling	Wal-Mart Stores Inc.	Wal-Mart Stores Inc.
Tamara Somerville	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Mary C. Sophos	Grocery Manufacturers of America	Grocery Manufacturers of America
David Stafford	Grocery Manufacturers of America	Grocery Manufacturers of America
Susan Stout	Grocery Manufacturers of America	Grocery Manufacturers of America
Mari Stull	Grocery Manufacturers of America	Grocery Manufacturers of America
David Sullivan	National Grocers Association	National Grocers Association
Mary Kay Thatcher	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Sarah Thorn	Grocery Manufacturers of America	Grocery Manufacturers of America
Linda Thrasher	Cargill Inc.	Cargill Inc.
Merry M. Tobin	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Michelle Trowbridge	American Frozen Food Institute	American Frozen Food Institute
Jay Truitt	National Cattlemen's Beef Association	National Cattlemen's Beef Association
Mary Kirtley Waters	Conagra	Conagra
Rosemarie Watkins	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Thomas Wenning	National Grocers Association	National Grocers Association
Mason Wiggins	National Food Processors Association	National Food Processors Association
Erik Winborn	Wal-Mart Stores Inc.	Wal-Mart Stores Inc.
Elizabeth Wise-Vaughan	Food Marketing Institute	Food Marketing Institute
Patricia Wolff	American Farm Bureau	American Farm Bureau
Colin Woodall	National Cattlemen's Beef Association	National Cattlemen's Beef Association
Nancy Yanish	Food Marketing Institute	Food Marketing Institute
Van Yeutter	Cargill Inc.	Cargill Inc.
Thomas Zaucha	National Grocers Association	National Grocers Association

Appendix B: COOL Lobbyists Who Have Held Federal Jobs

Name	COOL Lobbying Client (Employer)	Revolving Door Connection (Federal Employer, Title, Last year confirmed in position, if available.)
Rebecca Anderson	Smithfield Foods Inc. (Williams & Jensen)	- White House Office of Legislative Affairs, Administrative Assistant, 1992. - Bush-Cheney Transition Team, Legislative Affairs Office Transition Team, 2001. - Department of Energy, Office of Public Liaison.
Bruce Andrews	Tyson Foods Inc. (Quinn Gillespie & Associates)	- Rep. Tim Holden (D-Pa.), Legislative Director, 2002. - Rep. Gus Yatron (D-Penn.), Legislative Assistant. - Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), Staff Assistant.
Brent A. Baglien	ConAgra Foods Inc. (ConAgra Foods Inc.)	Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee.
John Bode	National Meat Association (Olsson, Frank & Weeda)	Department of Agriculture, Assistant Secretary for Food and Consumer Services, 1989.
Raymond Calamaro	Grocery Manufacturers of America (Hogan & Hartson)	- Clinton-Gore Transition Team, Staff, 1993. - Carter-Mondale Transition Team, Staff, 1977. - Department of Justice, Assistant Attorney General for Legislative Affairs.
William B. Canfield	Smithfield Foods Inc. (Williams & Jensen)	- Senate Select Committee on Ethics, Counsel. - Senate Republican Conference, General Counsel and Staff Director. - Senate Rules Committee, Chief Republican Counsel.
A. Bradford Card	National Food Processors Association (Dutko Group)	- White House Office of National Drug Control Policy, Staff. - Rep. John Sweeney (R-N.Y.), Chief of Staff.
Bertram W. Carp	Smithfield Foods Inc. (Williams & Jensen)	- Sen. Walter Mondale (D-Minn.), Legislative Counsel. - White House Domestic Council, Deputy Domestic Policy Adviser.
Dan Cohen	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc. (Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey)	Rep. Joseph McDade (R-Pa.), Senior Staffer.
Kate Coler	Food Marketing Institute (Food Marketing Institute)	- Department of Agriculture, Deputy Under Secretary for Food, Nutrition and Consumer Services, 2005. - Rep. Tom Latham (R-Iowa), Legislative Director. - Rep. Tom Ewing (R-Ill.), Legislative Assistant.
Jeff Connaughton	Tyson Foods Inc. (Williams & Jensen)	- White House, Special Assistant to the White House Counsel, 1995. - Sen. Joseph Biden (D-Del.), Staff, 1991.
Donna Jo Dennison	Swift & Company (Cassidy & Associates)	- Sen. Mary Landrieu (D-La.), Legislative Aide, 1999. - Sen. J. Bennett Johnston (D-La.), Senior Legislative Aide, 1995.

Name	COOL Lobbying Client (Employer)	Revolving Door Connection (Federal Employer, Title, Last year confirmed in position, if available.)
J. Jon Doggett	American Farm Bureau (American Farm Bureau)	Rep. Ronald Marlenee (R-Mont.), Staffer.
Calvin Dooley* **	National Food Processors Association (National Food Processors Association)	U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Rep. (D-Calif.), 1991-2004.
Christy Carson Evans	Swift & Company (Cassidy & Associates)	- House Republican Conference, Policy and Planning Coordinator, 1998. - Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio), Special Assistant and Staff Director. - Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), Strategy Whip Assistant; Legislative Assistant. - Department of Commerce, Staff Assistant to the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Congressional and Legislative Affairs (Reagan Administration).
Mark Franz	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc. (Loeffler Group)	- Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas), Chief of Staff. - Rep. Sam Johnson (R-Texas), Chief of Staff.
Michael Frazier	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc. (Loeffler Group)	Department of Transportation, Assistant Secretary of Transportation for Governmental Affairs.
Mike Gill	American Frozen Food Institute (American Frozen Food Institute)	- Sen. John C. Danforth, Aide. - Rep. Paul Gillmor (R-Ohio), Aide. - Rep. James Greenwood (R-Pa.), Aide.
Ed Gillespie	Tyson Foods Inc. (Quinn Gillespie & Associates)	Rep. Dick Armey (R-Texas), Senior Aide, 1994.
Nick Giordano	National Pork Producers Council (National Pork Producers Council)	- Senate Finance Committee, Chief Minority Tax Counsel, 1999. - Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.), Legislative Director and Tax Counsel, 1995.
Susan Grymes	National Meat Association (Olsson, Frank & Weeda)	House Energy and Commerce Committee, Staff.
Michael Hacker	Tyson Foods Inc. (Quinn Gillespie & Associates)	- Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.), Director of Communications, 2003. - Rep. David Bonior (D-Mich.), Special Assistant.
Karen Harned	National Meat Association (National Meat Association)	Rep. Don Nickles (R-Okla.), Assistant Press Secretary.
W. Brendan Harrington	Cargill Inc. (Cargill Inc.)	- Rep. Cecil Heftel (D-Hawaii), Legislative Adviser. - Rep. Charles Vanik (D-Ohio), Legislative Adviser.
J. Steven Hart	Smithfield Foods Inc. (Williams & Jensen)	- Department of Justice, Special Assistant, Assistant Attorney General for Legal Policy, 1982. - Department of Labor, Staff. - White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB), Assistant to the Chair, President's Task Force on ERISA Reorganization.
Gregg Hartley	Swift & Company (Cassidy & Associates)	Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.), Chief of Staff, 2003.

Name	COOL Lobbying Client (Employer)	Revolving Door Connection (Federal Employer, Title, Last year confirmed in position, if available.)
Angela Marshall Hofmann	Wal-Mart Stores Inc. (Wal-Mart Stores Inc.)	Trade Counsel for Majority Senate Finance Committee.
J. David Hoppe	Tyson Foods Inc. (Quinn Gillespie & Associates)	- Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.), Chief of Staff, 2002. - House Republican Whip, Staff Director, 1984. - House Republican Research Committee, Staff Director, 1980. - House Republican Study Committee, Staff Directors, 1976. - Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), Chief of Staff.
Mike Hussey	Tyson Foods Inc. (Quinn Gillespie & Associates)	Sen. John Durkin (D-N.H.), Legislative Assistant, 1980.
Scott Hynes	Tyson Foods Inc. (Quinn Gillespie & Associates)	- Office of the Vice President, Aide (Clinton administration). - White House, Assistant to the Chief of Staff (Clinton administration).
Stephen Lacey	National Meat Association (Olsson, Frank & Weeda)	Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee, Staff.
William Leshner	Safeway Inc. (Leshner & Russell Inc.) Meat Promotion Coalition (Leshner & Russell Inc.)	- Department of Agriculture, Assistant Secretary for Economics, 1985. - Senate Agriculture Committee, Chief Economist. - Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), Legislative Assistant.
Tom Loeffler*	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc. (Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey / The Loeffler Group)	- Assistant to the President for Central American Legislative Affairs, 1987. - U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Rep. (R-Texas), 1979-1986. - White House Office of Legislative Affairs, Special Assistant for Legislative Affairs - House, 1977.
Harriet James Melvin	Tyson Foods Inc. (Quinn Gillespie & Associates)	Rep. Charles Hatcher (D-Ga.), Legislative Assistant.
Jose Martinez	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc. (Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey)	White House, Associate Director of Presidential Personnel for National Security and International Affairs.
Marshall Matz	National Meat Association (Olsson, Frank & Weeda)	- Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee, Special Counsel, 1980. - Senate Select Committee on Nutrition 1977.

Name	COOL Lobbying Client (Employer)	Revolving Door Connection (Federal Employer, Title, Last year confirmed in position, if available.)
Dale Moore	National Cattlemen's Beef Association (National Cattlemen's Beef Association)	- Department of Agriculture, Chief of Staff to Secretaries Ann Veneman and Mike Johanns, 2001-2005. - House Agriculture Committee, Legislative Director, 1996. - House Agriculture Committee, Republican Legislative Coordinator, 1994. - House Agriculture Committee's Subcommittee on Department Operations, Research, and Foreign Agriculture, Minority Counsel, 1993. - Rep. Pat Roberts (R-Kan.), Agriculture Legislative Assistant, 1991.
Jon Plebani	Sam Kane Beef Processors Inc. (Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey)	- White House, Deputy Special Adviser to the President on Haiti. - Rep. William Gray III (D-Pa.), Chief of Staff.
Randall M. Russell	Safeway Inc. (Leshner & Russell Inc.) Meat Promotion Coalition (Leshner & Russell Inc.)	- Department of Agriculture, Chief of Staff to USDA Secretary John Block, 1986. - Sen. Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.), Aide.
Martin A. Russo*	Swift & Company (Cassidy & Associates)	U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Rep. (D-Ill.), 1975-1992.
Thomas Hunt Shipman	National Food Processors Association (National Food Processors Association)	- Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee, 2004. - Department of Agriculture, Undersecretary of Agriculture for Farm and Foreign Agriculture Services, 2002. - Senate Appropriations Committee.
Tamara Somerville	National Food Processors Association (National Food Processors Association)	Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), Chief of Staff.
Mary Kirtley Waters	ConAgra Foods Inc. (ConAgra Foods Inc.)	- Department of Agriculture, Assistant Secretary, 2005. - Rep. Larry J. Hopkins (R-Ky.), 1986. - House Republican Research Committee, Director of the Agricultural Task Force, 1982.
Mason Wiggins	National Food Processors Association (National Food Processors Association)	Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), Legislative Assistant, 2003.
Colin Woodall	National Cattlemen's Beef Association (National Cattlemen's Beef Association)	Sen. John Cornyn, staffer specializing in agriculture, interior, water and energy appropriations.

* Former member of Congress.

** In contrast to all other revolving doors in this table, Dooley does not appear as a registered lobbyist in the Senate's lobbying disclosure system. He is listed here because he is the president and CEO of a trade association that lobbies on COOL. While he is precluded from making direct lobbying contacts with former colleagues for one year, he is permitted to supervise lobbying efforts.

Endnotes

¹ The poll, which was conducted June 9-12 by Lake Snell Perry Mermin & Associates for Public Citizen, surveyed 1,004 adults living in private households in the continental United States. To view a press release on the results go to: <http://www.citizen.org/pressroom/release.cfm?ID=1970>.

² “Fresh Trends 2002,” *The Packer*, available at:

http://www.nfu.org/documents/legislative/cool/fresh_trends_survey_2002.pdf. *The Packer* newspaper is a profile of the fresh produce consumer and is the only comprehensive consumer study in the industry. The survey covers attitudes and perceptions toward fresh produce and asks consumers about their

produce consumption habits. The Fresh Trends 2002 survey indicates 86 percent of consumer respondents favor country of origin labeling. The National Farmers Union also commissioned a poll in 2004 that had another 80-plus result for consumer support. It is available at: http://nfu.org/documents/legislative/cool/2004/cool_poll_jan2004.pdf

³ Public Citizen analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics. Totals include contributions from political action committees and individual members or employees of each organization for the 2000, 2002, and 2004 election cycles.

⁴ H. Amendment 351 to H.R. 2646, Oct. 4, 2001, <http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2001/roll370.xml>

⁵ Stephen Clapp, “Major Produce Trade Associations Come Out Against COOL,” *Food Chemical News*, November 17, 2003.

⁶ Roll Call, H.R. 2646, Oct. 5, 2001, <http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2001/roll371.xml>

⁷ Larry Waterfield, “Country-of-Origin Labeling Survives Committee Vote” *The Packer*, November 16, 2001,

<http://www.agobservatory.org/headlines.cfm?RefID=28279>

⁸ Roll Call, S. 1731, February 13, 2002,

http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=107&session=2&vote=00030

⁹ Transcript: “Motion to Instruct Conferees on H.R. 2646, Farm Security Act of 2001,” <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/R?r107:FLD001:H51538>

¹⁰ Public Law 107-171, Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002, <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d107:HR02646:@@X>

¹¹ Jerry Hagstrom, “Veneman Not Happy About Country of Origin Labeling,” *Congress Daily*, May 23, 2002.

¹² Julianne Johnston, “Veneman Sets the Record Straight on Country of Origin Labeling,” *AgWeb*, May 30, 2002.

¹³ <http://www.ams.usda.gov/cool/ls0213.pdf>

¹⁴ <http://www.ams.usda.gov/cool/ls0216.pdf>

¹⁵ USDA Biographies, available at:

www.usda.gov/wps/portal/!ut/p/ s.7 0 A/7 0 1OB/cmd/ad/ar/sa.retrievecontent/c/6 2 1UH/ce/7 2 5JM/p/5 2 4TQ/d/0/ th/J 2 9D/ s.7 0 A/7 0 1OB?PC 7 2 5JM contentid=biros_lambert.xml#7 2 5JM

¹⁶ Public Citizen analysis of lobbying disclosure forms filed with the Secretary of the Senate.

¹⁷ Transcript: “Secretary of Agriculture Ann M. Veneman’s Remarks to the National Cattlemen’s Beef Association, Gaylord Opryland Hotel, Nashville, Tennessee – January 30, 2003”

http://www.usda.gov/wps/portal/!ut/p/ s.7 0 A/7 0 1OB/cmd/ad/ar/sa.retrievecontent/c/6 2 1UH/ce/7 2 5JM/p/5 2 4TQ/d/5/ th/J 2 9D/ s.7 0 A/7 0 1OB?PC 7 2 5JM contentid=2003%2F01%2F0033.html&PC 7 2 5JM navtype=RT&PC 7 2 5JM parentnav=TRANSCRIPTS_SPEECHES&PC 7 2 5JM navid=NEWS_RELEASE#7 2 5JM

¹⁸ USDA Press Release (AMS Release No. 065-03) “USDA Announces Details of Informational Sessions on Country of Origin Labeling: <http://www.ams.usda.gov/news/065-03.htm>

¹⁹ J. VanSickle, R. McEowen, C.R. Taylor, N. Harl and J. Connor, “Country of Origin Labeling: A Legal and Economic Analysis,” PBTC 03-5, International Agricultural Trade and Policy Center, Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences, University of Florida, May 20, 2003; http://www.r-calfusa.com/COOL/PBTC_03-5.pdf

²⁰ <http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2003/roll354.xml>

²¹ Government Accountability Office, “Country-of-origin Labeling: Opportunities for USDA and Industry to Implement Challenging Aspects of the New Law,” GAO-03-780, August 2003,

<http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d03780.pdf>

²² Office of Management and Budget, “Meeting Record Regarding: Country of Origin Labeling,” Oct. 17, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/oira/0581/meetings/265.html>

²³ Office of Management and Budget, “Meeting Record Regarding: Country of Origin Labeling,” Oct. 20, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/oira/0581/meetings/266.html>

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- 24 “Letter to William T. Hawks, Under Secretary for Marketing and Regulatory Programs from John D. Graham, Administrator, Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs,” Oct. 27, 2003, http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/infoereg/ltr_to_william_hawks_on_cool.pdf
- 25 <http://www.ams.usda.gov/cool/ls0304.pdf>
- 26 <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d108:SP2078>
- 27 Meeting report from Patty Lovera, Associate Director, Public Citizen’s Critical Mass Energy and Environment Program, Sept. 9, 2005.
- 28 Roll Call, H.R. 2673, December 8, 2003, <http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2003/roll676.xml>
- 29 Public Citizen analysis of data from the Center for Responsive Politics received in August 2005.
- 30 http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=108&session=2&vote=00003#top
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