03/31/2022 第七週 線上教室

本屆國會(117th Congress 2021-2023) 參議院兩黨黨團各占50席(民主黨黨團包括兩席獨立派)，此種依賴副總統加一票的邊緣多數在小布希總統2000年就職時也曾出現過。不同的是，2000年6月Vermont參議員James M. Jeffords退出共和黨，並參加民主黨團運作，使共和黨失去50+1(副總統錢尼在表決同數時可投一票)的多數黨控制權。而目前參議院民主黨雖掌握50席(48席加上獨立派參議員Sanders、King兩席)，但West Virginia 溫和派(Moderate)參議員Joe Manchin與Arizona參議員Kyrsten Sinema經常與參議院民主黨黨團自由派(Liberal)的主流不同調(自由派是意識形態上的左派，溫和派則是中間派，共和黨則是右派的保守派Conservative)，導致重大的表決無法獲得50票贊成(副總統便可在此時投一票使案通過)，Manchin與Sinema便成為拜登總統重要立法能否通過的關鍵，今天播放相關的新聞片，對兩位參議員的情形有若干報導，也可以此或兩位參議員個人或其中一人作為報告題材。

以下是兩位參議員。



Sen. Kyrsten Sinema (D-Arizona) Sen. Joe Manchin (D- West Virginia)

接下來先回到我們的教材，參議院的議程編定。

參議院僅有兩類日程：議案日程(Calendar of Business)、行政日程(Executive Calendar)，議案日程是指所有議員各種提案均統括於此，行政日程是指行政部門(總統)咨文送來的提名案與條約案。

參議員因其無發言時間限制的特性，所以沒有全院委員會的機制 ~因為無此必要。

講義p.229最後一段談到參議院中各種議案到達參院院會的方式有兩種途徑：一致同意(by unanimous consent)，或者經由動議(by motion)。實際上真正主要的方式就是一致同意，所以每天參議院開會之初，多數黨領袖會提出今日預定的議程安排，主席詢問「有無反對」，無人反對即為一致同意，如有人反對，此人即可開始發言杯葛，如多數黨執意要進行此項議程，必須提出「進行考慮」某某案的動議(motion to proceed to consideration)，而此項程序性動議可以討論，所以意味著將遭遇反對者冗長發言的抵制，終止抵制的方法是針對「進行考慮動議」提出停止討論動議(Cloture motion)，但多數黨若無法獲得60票超級多數支持，根本無法通過停止討論動議，那麼實質問題能否「進行考慮」根本無法表決。實質問題既然無法「進行考慮」，那也就無從進入院會中處理。

原本所有須參院通過之案(包括法案、各種決議案、提名案等等)均可透過討論階段的冗長發言進行杯葛，終止討論的方法須通過停止討論動議，依22號規則 (Rule 22)所有實質問題與程序性動議均需3/5參議員贊成才可通過，100人的3/5即60人，所以60 票的門檻也就稱為超級多數(Super Majority)。

但2013年11月民主黨多數主導下，以程序操作將總統各項提名案中除最高法院(大法官、院長)提名案以外，所有其他提名案停止討論動議通過的門檻，自規則明訂的3/5參議員(60票贊成)，變更為表決過半數(51票贊成 ~如100人均投票時)，2017年4月共和黨多數主導下，又把最高法院大法官提名案停止討論動議通過的門檻，同樣降至表決過半數(51票贊成)，因此，現在參議員冗長發言杯葛的對象，已經排除提名案在外。

基於相同的原因，現在參議員扣案的對象也已排除提名案。因為要求扣案的力量源於該參議員後續可能會進行冗長發言杯葛(如果多數黨領袖不同意扣案時)。

所謂「扣案(hold)」是指參議員私下告知其黨領袖反對某案排入院會，掌握參議院院會議程編定權者為多數黨領袖，多數黨領袖若拒絕此種扣案的要求，仍將某案排入院會時，自然招致該參議員以冗長發言的特權杯葛。

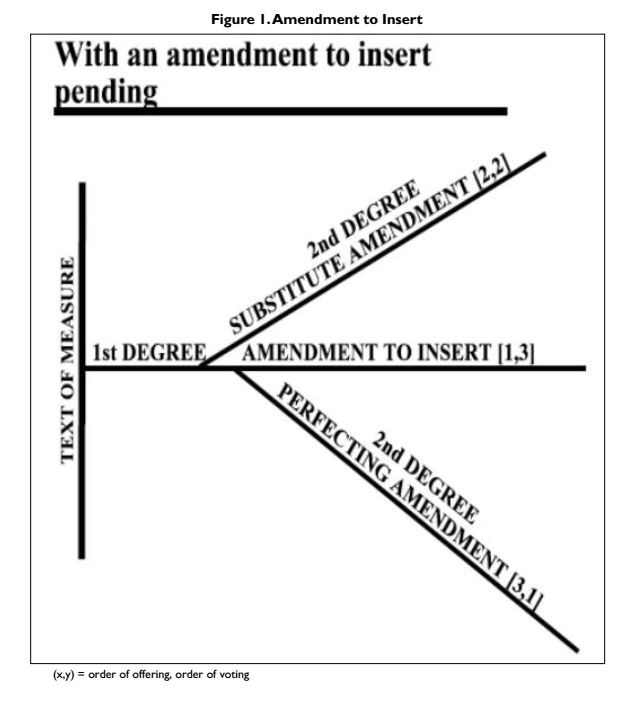
所謂「無關修正案(Nongermane Amendment)」是指任何不相干的其他法案均可以在院會中以附加修正案的方式，對院會在場審議中的待決議案提出。此項程序係因參議院規則對一般性議案並無修正案必須與原案「相關」的限制，參議員遂可利用此項特權將各種議題提至院會討論，無關修正案最後表決時雖不會通過，但此種方式一如冗長發言，至少有效拖延原先議案的審議速度與方向。

講義p.231倒數第二段談到無關修正案的實例：議員可將某一農業法案(已付委至農業委員會，但石沉大海委員會沒有後續處理)當作議場中正在討論的醫療法案的院會附加修正案提出，此即為無關修正案。此種修正案表決雖不會通過，但卻可造成多數黨立法進程的干擾，所以多數黨領袖並不願意面對無關修正案。

為了避免參議員任意運用提修正案的特權干擾多數黨的立法目標，多數黨領袖常以填滿修正案樹形圖amendment tree的方式阻擋。講義p.223末段有提及此。

所謂樹形圖是指參議院規則許可的修正案範圍，以下把CRS報告有關樹形圖的資料張貼 (CRS 7-5700 The Amending Process in the Senate)

簡單的說，修正案有兩級，對原案的修正為一級修正，對修正案的修正為二級修正，參議院規則雖仍有若干瑣碎劃分，但可以提出的修正案有等級上的限制，多數黨領袖常在其議案提出後，隨即自行提出後續的幾個修正案，藉此把修正案樹形圖填滿，使其他人無法提出修正案，當然，某級修正案表決後，可以再提出另一同級修正案，但多數黨領袖常用此種方法有效防堵少數黨運用修正案拖延議事過程。



參議院院會議程編定與各項程序的決定多訴諸非正式的一致同意協定(unanimous consent agreement )，此項程序必須全體一致同意，如有一人反對便無法通過。多數黨領袖將各種程序安排提請參議院院會一致同意時，如遭人反對，便須正式提出程序性的「進行考慮動議(motion to proceed to consider)」，但此項程序性動議本身可以討論，亦即可以進行冗長發言抵制，多數黨領袖若無60票支持，根本無法對此項程序動議停止討論，亦即根本無法將「進行考慮動議」交付表決。

基於參議院保障少數杯葛權的特性，多數黨領袖是否能掌握60票超級多數，便成為議事運作中最根本的問題。當多數黨的立法政策缺少60票支持時，只能與少數黨協商，尋求彼此都能接受的法案修正，否則只能任憑少數黨杯葛到底而無可奈何。當然這是就一般立法而言，預算相關的立法，所謂預算「劃一法案(reconciliation bill)」，有法定的討論時間限制，停止討論動議僅需過半數通過，劃一法案以後會專門介紹。

協商委員會與法案最後內容兩院一致

法案經參眾兩院以完全相同的內容通過後才可送請總統簽署，因此兩院在各自通過某項法案後，必須調整內容使其一致。此項調整方式可直接在院會中表決通過同意對方通過的版本，或者組成協商委員會(conference committee)進行協商，然後再將協商完成的版本各自提請院會同意。

協商委員會通常由參眾兩院原先提出審查報告的主審委員會主席及少數黨高階委員組成，但組成比例上兩院多數黨必定在本院協商委員名單中佔多數，因此協商的決定仍繫於兩院多數黨的意志。兩院多數如分別為不同政黨控制時，爭議性議案的協商實為政黨協商，協商失敗或協商報告不能獲得兩院院會通過時，立法無法完成，便須另以調整後彼此都能接受的內容重新提案，以新案再送院會通過。

由於協商報告必須經兩院院會通過，參議院院會的少數杯葛機制同樣適用於協商報告的審議，爭議性議案參議院多數黨如未能掌握60票超級多數，有時須放棄協商委員會途徑，直接尋求立法與行政雙方兩黨最高階層協商，依據高層峰會所獲共識再送回兩院院會完成立法程序。2009年參議院民主黨掌握了60票超級多數，順利通過平價醫療法(ObamaCare)，但2010年1月19日麻州參議員補選民主黨敗選，喪失了超級多數，所以後來的兩院版本整合，只好放棄正常的協商委員會途徑，改以預算劃一程序完成整合。相關問題下週繼續介紹。最後提醒大家及早準備報告。

以下是今天播放的影片及字幕檔，對於了解目前民主黨國會與拜登總統施政的困難點(兩位溫和派參議員)及背後的種種因素會有幫助，其中所涉及的問題如有興趣，可以作為報告提題材。

7a Biden hits road to make case for policy plan 02:03 2021/10/15

7b Manchin has a message for Sanders: Don't blame me 03:03 2021/10/18

7c CNN asks West Virginia residents about climate change. See their responses

04:09 2021/10/19

7d Biden reveals Sinema's demands on taxes 01:41 2021/10/21

7e Five of Sinema's advisers criticize lawmaker as they resign 03:20 2021/10/21

7f Avlon: What does Sen. Sinema want other than attention? 03:58 2021/10/22

7g Sinema's constituents react to her actions on Capitol Hill 03:28 2021/09/30

7a Biden hits road to make case for policy plan 02:03 2021/10/15

CNN's Kaitlan Collins looks at the Democrat infighting that is holding up President Biden's Build Back Better plan.

cms3-CNN-democrats-struggle-collins-tsr-vpx-primary-134358-485961-1920x1080\_8000k.mp4

KAITLAN COLLINS, CNN CHIEF WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT:

COLLINS (voice over): President Biden making the case for his sprawling domestic policy agenda on the road.  
  
JOE BIDEN, U.S. PRESIDENT: We cannot be competitive in the 21st century in this global economy if we fail to invest. That's why I proposed two critical pieces of legislation being debated in Washington right now.  
  
COLLINS: But it may be in Washington where he needs the most support.  
  
[18:20:02]  
  
BIDEN: Too many folks in Washington still don't realize it isn't enough just to invest in our physical infrastructure. We also have to invest in our people.  
  
COLLINS: Biden is at the center of a standoff and his own party over the size and scope of his education, climate, and tax plan.  
  
BIDEN: To be honest with you, we're probably not going to get $3.5 trillion this year. We're going to get something less than that.  
  
COLLINS: But two key moderate holdouts, Senator Manchin of West Virginia and Senator Sinema of Arizona, have yet to even endorse a lower budget around $2 trillion.  
  
JEN PSAKI, WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY: It's not going to be everything that Joe Biden wants. It's not going to be everything Joe Manchin wants or Kyrsten Sinema.  
COLLINS: Sources say Senator Sinema is reluctant to endorsed any final deal on the social safety net plan until there's been a vote on the infrastructure bill first, which progressive Democrat have said it's a nonstarter.  
  
PSAKI: Ultimately, we can't do this forever. We're not doing this forever, time is running short here. We've got to come to a time where we figure out what's the best version, we can enough votes for.  
  
COLLINS: As the clock takes down to an end of the month deadline set by Democratic leaders to pass both bills. Democrats in Virginia are growing more frustrated by the day, calling on the House to pass the infrastructure bill ahead of the state's critical governor's race.  
  
SEN. TIM KAINE (D-VA): I hope the house will get that to President Biden's desk ASAP. It would really help here. But I also urge my Senate Democratic colleagues no need to play coy anymore on the reconciliation bill. We have to get that done too.  
  
COLLINS: President Biden noting today that the Virginia governor's race is seen as a potential bellwether for the 2022 midterms. BIDEN: Sometimes it's been right, sometimes it's been wrong. I think Terry is going to win. If he doesn't win, I don't know how much you read into that.  
  
(END VIDEOTAPE)

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/sitroom/date/2021-10-15/segment/01>

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7b Manchin has a message for Sanders: Don't blame me 03:03 2021/10/18

With the Democratic party's agenda at risk of collapsing if an agreement is not reached soon, moderate Sen. Joe Manchin and self-described democratic socialist Sen. Bernie Sanders are escalating their feud over party priorities. CNN's Manu Raju reports.

cms3-CNN-joe-manchin-bernie-sanders-feud-raju-pkg-lead-vpx-primary-134862-488419-1920x1080\_8000k.mp4

MANU RAJU, CNN CHIEF CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): With their party's agenda at risk of collapsing, Senator Joe Manchin has a message for Bernie Sanders. Don't blame him. (On camera): He says he's holding -- you're holding up the Biden agenda.  
SEN. JOE MANCHIN (D-WV): No, no. There's 52 senators who don't agree. Okay? And there's two that want to work something out if possible in a most rational, reasonable way. That's all.  
  
RAJU (voice-over): Sanders, a self-proclaimed Democratic socialist from Vermont, pushing one of the most ambitious proposals in U.S. history. A reduction in greenhouse gases by 50 percent. Tuition-free community college. Paid family and medical leave. And expansion of Medicare which he considers a red line. And all to the tune of $3.5 trillion.  
  
But Manchin, who hails from West Virginia, a state Donald Trump won by nearly 40 points last year opposes many of those ideas and wants to keep the price tag at $1.5 trillion. Manchin in particular has angered Sanders for saying this.  
  
[17:15:00]  
  
MANCHIN: I don't believe that we should turn our society into an entitlement society. I think we should still be a compassionate rewarding society.  
  
SEN. BERNIE SANDERS (I-VT): Does Senator Manchin not believe that our children and grandchildren are entitled to live in a country and a world that is healthy and habitable?  
  
RAJU (voice-over): On a call with Democrats earlier this month, sources told CNN that President Biden quipped that putting Manchin and Sanders in the same room could lead to "homicide."  
  
And last week, the feud taking a new turn when Sanders singled out both Manchin and Arizona Senator Kyrsten Sinema in a West Virginia newspaper writing that, "The political problem we face is that in a 50-50 Senate we need every Democratic senator to vote yes. We now have only 48. Two Democratic senators remain in opposition, including Senator Joe Manchin."  
  
Firing back, Manchin said he will not vote for a reckless expansion of government programs. No op-ed from a self-declared independent socialist is going to change that.  
  
MANCHIN: I would like to view it as (inaudible) stage. I don't have problems with any of that, you know, at all but he thinks he knows or anyone thinks they know West Virginia and what we've done and we'll continue to do for this country. That's all. I want to make sure they respect (ph) (inaudible).  
  
RAJU (voice-over): Across the airwaves in West Virginia, Manchin hearing it from both sides.  
  
UNKNOWN: Tell Joe Manchin don't give in to this liberal madness.  
  
UNKNOWN: If you see Joe, tell him to keep up the fight, just like he's always done.  
  
RAJU (voice-over): But he feels no pressure in meeting his party's October 31st deadline.  
  
(On camera): Do you think it's possible to get this done by October 31st?  
  
MANCHIN: I really don't know what the timing is. There's no time. There's no rush on timing. Let's just do it and do it right.  
  
(END VIDEOTAPE)  
  
RAJU (on camera): So Sanders and Manchin have also been sparring over the strategy to pass that $1.2 trillion infrastructure plan. Manchin wants the House to pass that immediately. Sanders has supported a delay in that vote in order to get Manchin and Sinema to sign on to that larger social safety net package all of which, Jake, has caused unease among top Democrats. The number two Democrat in the Senate, Dick Durbin told me earlier there is "high anxiety among Democrats" and he wants Manchin and Sinema to close the deal.

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/cg/date/2021-10-18/segment/02>

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7c CNN asks West Virginia residents about climate change. See their responses

04:09 2021/10/19

West Virginia continues to grapple with the effects of the climate crisis after the town of Clendenin was nearly wiped off the map in 2016 in what was dubbed the "thousand year flood." CNN's Rene Marsh reports as Sen. Joe Manchin (D-WV) continues to fight legislation aimed at combating severe weather.

cms3-CNN-west-virginia-climate-crisis-joe-manchin-marsh-dnt-lead-vpx-primary-135233-490007-1920x1080\_8000k.mp4

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: Our house is about ready to fall and there's a set of babies here and one, two, three, four, five adults.  
  
UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: We're in a car, and the car's flooding full of water.

RENE MARSH, CNN GOVERNMENT REGULATION CORRESPONDENT:   
MARSH (voice-over): Floodwaters submerged people, cars and homes in what was dubbed the 1,000-year flood. The town of Clendenin, West Virginia almost wiped off the map in 2016. And this past summer, part of the state saw more flooding. From raging deadly floods to widespread drought, West Virginians over the past few years have faced weather whiplash, and scientists predict it will get worse.  
  
JIMMY RADER, ELK VIEW, WEST VIRGINIA RESIDENT: It was rising about 1 foot an hour.  
  
MARSH (voice-over): Jimmy Rader, a retired Iraq war veteran survived the deadly 2016 West Virginia flooding, but his home did not. Five years later, he's still rebuilding. In the meantime, he, his wife and three dogs called this camper home.  
  
RADER: It's really tough with my PTSD being in such tight quarters.  
  
MARSH (voice-over): Look around the small West Virginia town of Clendenin and it's still without a grocery store, bank and elementary school. Yet Senator Joe Manchin is blocking the most aggressive climate change legislation in U.S. history.  
  
This neighborhood lost safe access to their homes after the 2016 flood weakened the foundation of this bridge and rested it out.  
  
MARSH (on-camera): If someone dials 911, could not come across this bridge.  
  
UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Yes, they'd be afraid that they wouldn't make it, that the bridge might collapse.  
  
MARSH (voice-over): This bridge is Connie Richards lifeline to everyday life, including medical care.  
  
CONNIE RICHARD, CLENDENIN, WEST VIRGINIA RESIDENT: You just keep moving along and praying you get to the other side.  
MARSH (voice-over): But even in the face of severe weather and its costly destruction, neither Rader nor Richard blame climate change.  
  
RADER: I'm not bad (ph) into the whole climate change thing.  
  
MARSH (on-camera): So somebody said in order to make sure a flood like this never hit your community again, we need to get rid of coal. What would you say?  
  
RICHARD: Let it flood again.  
  
MARSH (voice-over): In the second largest coal producing state in the nation, climate change is a complicated issue. Senator Joe Manchin, one of the key lawmakers blocking the most aggressive parts of climate legislation that would drastically curb greenhouse emissions linked to climate change is currently ranked the top congressional recipient of campaign donations from the coal mining and fossil fuel industry. Manchin's personal investment in Enersystems, a coal brokerage company he founded and later put in a blind trust, is valued between $1 and $5 million.  
  
(on-camera): Will you be OK knowing that West Virginia could continue to get hit by severe flooding because we, as a country, failed to curb greenhouse gases?  
  
CHRIS HAMILTON, PRESIDENT, WEST VIRGINIA COAL ASSOCIATION: I think the premise is filled with malarkey. I really do. Now, again, you know, we're sensitive to the fact that if we're contributing towards climate change, but you can't blame every undesirable weather event on West Virginia call.  
  
MARSH (on-camera): But it truly --  
  
HAMILTON: We don't have serious droughts here. We don't have serious fires here.  
  
MARSH (on-camera): You do.  
  
HAMILTON: We have a little bit of flooding --  
  
MARSH (on-camera): The doctor (ph) order to state of emergency because there were multiple counties going through droughts, and almost every county in West Virginia has seen massive flooding. HAMILTON: None. But it's very, very difficult to blame that on coal because, again, we've cleaned up every airborne constituent and to the extent we're contributing towards greenhouse gases, we're doing everything imaginable and humanly possible.  
  
MARSH (voice-over): Senator Manchin echoed this Monday.  
  
SEN. JOE MANCHIN (D-WV): Want to make sure we have reliable power, we have basically cleaned up the environment more than any other time in the history of this world.  
  
MARSH (voice-over): West Virginia University Professor Nicolas Zegre has studied the state and climate change for 11 years. He says, "Breaking through the complexity of the issue feels impossible."  
  
NICOLAS ZEGRE, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY: Climate change is so complicated here in West Virginia because West Virginians perceive it as a direct attack on their livelihoods. But it's also interesting too, that inaction of our business leaders and inaction of our decision makers is also a direct attack on livelihoods.

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/cg/date/2021-10-19/segment/02>

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7d Biden reveals Sinema's demands on taxes 01:41 2021/10/21

President Joe Biden and CNN's Anderson Cooper discuss Sen. Kyrsten Sinema's stance on issues around the President's plan.

cms3-CNN-biden-kyrsten-sinema-demands-sot-cnn-town-hall-vpx-primary-135995-493876-1920x1080\_8000k.mp4

ANDERSON COOPER, CNN HOST:

COOPER: Well, let me ask you, just getting to his question, you -- we have talked a lot about Senator Manchin and Senator Sinema.  
  
You seem relatively confident you can kind of get Senator Manchin on board. The -- there's a lot of Democrats in the House and Senate who are confused about where Senator Sinema actually stands on things.  
  
(APPLAUSE)  
  
COOPER: And I know she's been negotiating directly with you and the White House.  
What is your read on her? And, obviously, you need her to remain positive in your direction, so I don't know what you're going to say.  
  
(LAUGHTER)  
  
COOPER: But what is your read on her?  
  
BIDEN: No.  
  
(CROSSTALK)  
  
COOPER: Do you know where she stands?  
  
BIDEN: First of all, she's smart as the devil, number one.  
  
[20:25:02]  
  
Number two, she's very supportive of the environmental agenda in my legislation, very supportive. She's supportive of all -- almost all of the things I mentioned relating to everything from family care to all -- to all those issues.  
  
Where she's not supportive is, she says she will not raise a single penny in taxes on the corporate side and/or on wealthy people, period. And so that's where it sort of breaks down. And there's a few other issues it breaks down on.  
  
But what we're trying to do is reach a point here where I'm able to present to the Senate, able to vote on, and the House, a serious, serious piece of legislation that changes the dynamic for working- class folks in America and middle-class folks and begins to have the very wealthy and corporations just begin to pay their fair share, not a lot.  
  
How we get there, we're down to four or five issues, which I'm not going to negotiate on national television, as you might guess.  
  
COOPER: We'd be interested in hearing them, if you want.  
  
BIDEN: No, no, no, no, no. Oh, I know.  
  
(LAUGHTER)  
  
BIDEN: But all kidding aside, I think we can get there.

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/se/date/2021-10-21/segment/01>

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7e Five of Sinema's advisers criticize lawmaker as they resign 03:20 2021/10/21

Five of Kyrsten Sinema's military veteran advisers resign and say she is one of the "principal obstacles to progress" as she continues to battle Democrats on Biden's agenda.

cms3-CNN-kyrsten-sinema-veterans-quit-advisory-board-inside-politics-vpx-primary-135789-493076-1920x1080\_8000k.mp4

JOHN KING, CNN HOST:

KING: And she, you know, look, that's the old John McCain seat. She views herself like McCain as somebody who's a maverick, who does not follow the party, you know, not lockstep in the party label. But she is. Manu just noted, a potential primary challenge, that's a big deal. We have "New York Times" reported this first, CNN is now, massive five military veterans who are part of an advisory panel for her resigned. And they say this, you have become one of the principal obstacles to progress, answering to big donors rather than your own people. We shouldn't have to buy representation from you, and your failure to stand by your people and see their urgent needs is alarming. You can be a maverick, you can be different, you can be steadfast and stubborn, if you want to win the next election, you at some point need to be watching your base.  
  
DANA BASH, CNN CO-ANCHOR, STATE OF THE UNION: And that is one of the biggest criticisms of Kyrsten Sinema, beyond the fact that she's secretive, that she's hard to pin down, and so forth. It's that the criticism that you're hearing loud and clear from progressives, you're alluding to this, is that she's bought and paid for by her big donors. And that's why she doesn't want to change the way that regular Americans pay for their prescription drugs. That's why she doesn't want to change the fact that corporations don't pay high enough taxes from the point of view of many Democrats.  
  
And what is even more galling from the perspective of this, progressives is that she used to be one of them. She started out in political life in the statehouse on the local level, as very, very progressive. If you put that in contrast with somebody like Joe Manchin, who's always represented a conservative state now it's very, very conservative. But he's always been in that point of view. He's always said on the campaign trail for decades, even when he was governor, I don't want the government to work for you. I want the government to be your partner. And that's not the consistent Kyrsten Sinema for people in Arizona.  
  
KING: And so if you're a politician, you always think of your last election, we could just put up that she just barely won, 50 percent to 48 percent over Martha McSally, who's a Republican candidate. So if your Senator Sinema, you say, hey, look, my state's really close. A lot of people say the demographics of Arizona are changing. Mark Kelly won one last year. They -- I mean she says you should be more confident about your base.  
  
What's striking, though, is that the language. Listen to this. This is Ritchie Torres, one of the progressives in the House. There's a sense in which we no longer live in a democracy, we live under the tyranny of Kyrsten Sinema. The perception of erraticism is brought on by a lack of communication and clarity for where she stands. That's a member of her own party, her own family, tyranny.  
  
OLIVIER KNOX, NATIONAL POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT, THE WASHINGTON POST: Yes. It's a lot. You know, you brought up, you brought up McCain, and I think McCain actually is a pretty good, pretty instructive example here, because maybe you remember John McCain from right, voting against unraveling Obamacare. But people on this table are also familiar with John McCain on the campaign trail when he was facing challenges from the right.  
  
You can go find it now online, the build the dang fence ad, John McCain would tack sharply rightward in his primaries. He was not recognizable as the John McCain inside the Beltway when he did so. So I think it's -- I think this is interesting because the big question now is, yes, she's vulnerable to a primary challenge. What is she going to sound like on the trail? I don't think it's going to be a lot of I stopped Medicare from lowering drug prices and I kept corporate tax rates low. I don't think that's going to be the message.  
  
BASH: And that's the thing, she doesn't sound like anything right now. She's not only not talking to --  
KNOX: The recurring criticism.  
  
KING: Right.  
  
[12:45:00]  
  
BASH: -- local media. She's not talking to anybody publicly. So it's hard to -- she's inscrutable --  
  
KING: While we're still in the trying to make a deal chapter if there is a deal we'll see what the next chapter is. If there isn't a deal, she's going to take a lot of heat from her own party.

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/ip/date/2021-10-21/segment/02>

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7f Avlon: What does Sen. Sinema want other than attention? 03:58

New Day 2021/10/22

CNN's John Avlon analyzes Sen. Kyrsten Sinema's (D-AZ) various stances as President Biden attempts to pass his sweeping agenda.

cms3-CNN-what-does-sinema-want-democratic-agenda-reality-check-avlon-newday-vpx-primary-136109-494461-1920x1080\_8000k.mp4

JOHN AVLON, CNN SENIOR POLITICAL ANALYST: For months the most popular parlor game in Washington has been what does Senator Kyrsten Sinema want? The Sphinx of Phoenix has been tightlipped, negotiating directly with the White House while finding time to visit her foot doctor in Arizona and fly to fundraisers in Europe while the Democratic agenda twists in the wind.  
  
But last night at the CNN Town Hall, President Biden laid out her priorities.  
  
(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)  
  
BIDEN: She's very supportive of the environmental agenda. Everything from family care to all those issues. Where she's not supportive is she says she will not raise a single penny in taxes on the corporate side and/or on wealthy people, period.  
  
(END VIDEO CLIP)  
  
AVLON: It's nice to want clean energy and childcare for working families, but typically centrists would want to pay for them. And so, it's puzzling to hear that Sinema's bottom line seems to be an absolute opposition to raising taxes, especially on corporations.  
  
Because that same Kyrsten Sinema used to believe that, quote, "asking big corporations and the rich to pay their fair share is common sense, not class warfare." That now deleted tweet dates from her time in the Arizona State Senate when she was already aiming for a seat in Congress. That was a pretty progressive position at the time, but it's now well within the Democratic mainstream.  
  
It's also popular with a Pew survey finding that 66 percent of American support raising taxes on big business. Now there's always room to negotiate rates and loopholes and the like, but unless you raise revenue to actually pay for the programs the senator supports, then you're going to gut Biden's effort to not add more to the deficit, something that used to be called fiscal responsibility.  
  
Which brings us back to the question what does Senator Sinema want other than attention? After all, every Democratic member of Congress, including Sinema, voted against the Trump tax cuts, which led to a massive increase in the debt. The current Democratic plan doesn't even repeal all those cuts. Instead they propose just returning to the top rate during the Obama years while raising the corporate rate to 25 percent, which is still well below the previous rate of 35 percent.  
  
In fact, most middle class families would actually see an overall tax cut under the Biden plan. But here's why Sinema's resistance even a modest corporate tax increase is such a head scratcher. The effective tax rate in the U.S. is not 21 percent but 11 percent. That's far less than most Americans pay. That's courtesy of loopholes that were never closed and in some cases even expanded.  
  
And get this, 26 companies have paid no federal income tax since the Trump cuts took effect while booking more than $77 billion in profits. And "The Washington Post" found that many corporations spent that wind fell (ph) on stock buybacks while laying off employees.  
  
And contrary to supply-side theology it hadn't even benefited the U.S. Treasury. While other wealthy nations typically raise around 3 percent of GDP from corporate taxes, in the U.S. that fell to 1 percent after the Trump cuts, so the status quo just doesn't make any sense especially if you want to strengthen the middle class and the social safety net.  
  
But there are other ways to skin this cat that Sinema might support like a guaranteed minimum corporate tax, which would be especially effective if Biden is successful in getting the rest of the world to sign on. There's also proposals to tax stock buyback and billionaires on paper gains that are not reported as income, which could raise more than a trillion dollars over 10 years.  
  
[07:40:00]  
  
These worthy ideas would meet their own resistance. Already "Politico" is reporting that Al Sharpton is making calls trying to keep open the carried interest loophole that helps hedge funds. It's late in the day for big, new proposals that could have been raised months ago, but better now than never.  
  
And if Senator Sinema wants to be known as a maverick, bold as Arizona's John McCain, she should remember his wise advice that nothing in life is more liberating than to fight for a cause larger than yourself. In other words, it's time to make a deal and move America forward, and that's your Reality Check.

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/nday/date/2021-10-22/segment/04>

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7g Sinema's constituents react to her actions on Capitol Hill 03:28 2021/09/30

Kyrsten Sinema's 2018 Senate victory was a triumph for Arizona Democrats. Now, many of her constituents feel she is squandering her position by holding back major agenda items crafted by President Joe Biden and supported by progressives. CNN's Ed Lavandera reports.

cms3-CNN-sinema-arizona-constituent-reaction-lavandera-ac360-dnt-vpx-primary-130367-466567-1920x1080\_8000k.mp4

ED LAVANDERA, CNN CORRESPONDENT (voice over): Under the lights in Scottsdale, Arizona, two of America's pastimes play out, high school baseball and a few swings at talking politics.  
  
We came to talk about Arizona Senator Kyrsten Sinema. She used to represent this area around Phoenix when she was in the House of Representatives.  
  
LAVANDERA (on camera): As you see Senator Sinema doing what she's doing, what do you make of it?  
  
LAVANDERA (voice over): Lou Ziccarelli voted for the Democrat when she was elected to the U.S. Senate in 2018.  
  
LOU ZICCARELLI, ARIZONA VOTER: The thing about it is, it's one thing to go against your party, but you have to be transparent as to why and let people in your party and your constituents know why.  
  
LAVANDERA (voice over): Confusion has been a constant theme among Sinema's supporters. Answers to questions like this aren't helping.  
  
QUESTION: What do you say that progressives -- progressives are frustrated and they don't know where you are?  
  
SEN. KYRSTEN SINEMA (D-AZ): I'm in the Senate.  
  
LAVANDERA (voice over): Sinema says she is motivated by being an independent voice and supports a bipartisan approach. Sinema was elected by a thin margin of just over two percentage points.  
  
Emily Kirkland was part of an army of progressive activists who worked to get Sinema elected. Kirkland says she canvassed neighborhoods, knocking on doors to turn out voters for the future senator.  
  
LAVANDERA (on camera): Where are you now with the senator?  
  
EMILY KIRKLAND, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, PROGRESS ARIZONA: Incredibly frustrated, just so angry and disappointed, in part because it feels like she is just doing what corporate donors want, and she's not listening to voters.  
  
LAVANDERA (voice over): Kirkland points to what happened in March when Sinema walked into the Senate chamber, and with an emphatically expressive thumbs down voted against a bill to create a $15.00 an hour minimum wage. Sinema said she has supported past minimum wage increases, butt the March proposal should not have been tied to a COVID focused relief bill.  
  
Still, progressive activists blasted Sinema for listening more to corporate donor interests, instead of her supporters. The senator then posted this picture of herself on Instagram with a ring that said, "Eff off."  
  
Kirkland believes Sinema was sending a message to activists like her.  
  
KIRKLAND: It seems like she kind of delights in saying, hey, voters don't have to listen to you. And I don't think that's an attitude that's winning her a lot of friends in Arizona.  
  
LAVANDERA (on camera): What do you take away from that?  
  
KIRKLAND: Yes, it tells me that she is really enjoying being in Washington and getting to be this powerbroker.  
  
LAVANDERA (voice over): Kirkland says she won't campaign for Sinema again. She is not alone. Two progressive activist organizations are recruiting another Democrat to challenge Sinema when she is up for re- election in 2024.  
  
Over a happy hour beer, Fran Williams tells us, she has been a lifelong Democrat who voted for John McCain, but she doesn't see Sinema as Arizona's newest political Maverick.  
  
FRAN WILLIAMS, ARIZONA VOTER: She and Joe Manchin are running for Mr. and Miss Congeniality of the Senate. It is the best I can determine, you know, so we're unhappy with what we thought she would bring to the table.  
  
LAVANDERA (voice over): Sinema has caught the attention of Republicans like Kristina Murray. Just before her son came up to bat, she told us Sinema's actions make her open to voting for her in the next election.  
  
KRISTINA MURRAY, ARIZONA VOTER: Well, we want somebody who is independent thinking, right? We don't want somebody to be in lockstep with their party.  
  
LAVANDERA (on camera): The way Senator Sinema is acting right now.  
  
MURRAY: Yes.  
LAVANDERA: You seem surprised by what you've seen.  
  
MURRAY: Absolutely, because like I said, she is not falling in line with the game, you know. It's just -- she is thinking for herself thinking critically and don't we want politicians to think critically and to actually represent their constituents?  
  
(END VIDEOTAPE)  
  
[20:25:11]

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/acd/date/2021-09-30/segment/01>

West Virginia參議員Joe Manchin與Arizona參議員Kyrsten Sinema兩人都是民主黨，重大議案表決時他們是否支持黨團立場，便成為能否通過的關鍵，這是民主黨(多數)國會與拜登總統亟需面對的問題，也是很好的報告題材，有興趣的話報告可從此處入手。

參議院院會相關問題下週繼續介紹。下課。