

RYAN to ensure that the House was able to include language within this act to ensure that no future free trade agreement can include language for backdoor cap-and-trade agreements.

We included language that would prevent this as it would negatively impact States like Indiana, which is the second largest user of coal in the United States. I look forward to voting in support of this vital piece of legislation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 1(c) of rule XIX, further consideration of the motion to concur is postponed.

#### RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 44 minutes a.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 1055

#### AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. WOMACK) at 10 o'clock and 55 minutes p.m.

#### ENSURING TAX EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS THE RIGHT TO APPEAL ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 1(c) of rule XIX, further consideration of the motion to concur in the Senate amendment to the bill (H.R. 1314) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide for a right to an administrative appeal relating to adverse determinations of tax-exempt status of certain organizations will now resume.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. When proceedings were postponed earlier today, 39 minutes of debate remained on the bill.

The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TIBERI) has 18 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN) has 21 minutes remaining.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCLINTOCK), one of our leaders here in the Congress on free trade.

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman so much for yielding and for his good work.

Mr. Speaker, trade means prosperity. In any trade, both sides go away with something of greater value to themselves, or the trade wouldn't take place. More markets for American products means more jobs and higher wages for American workers. More products entering our economy means more consumer choices and lower prices.

Trade agreements make trade possible, but the authority to effectively

negotiate trade agreements lapsed years ago, handicapping America ever since. This is not some new power; it just restores the same negotiating process that has served us well since the 1930s.

A lot of people confuse the TPA with the TPP. That is a trade agreement that hasn't even been finalized. If it is finalized, this bill assures that it has to meet 150 congressionally mandated conditions and be available for every American to read for at least 60 days before Congress votes to approve or reject it.

TPA tells world markets America is back.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, it is now my pleasure to yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS), a member of our committee, the most distinguished Member from Georgia—or I should say the very distinguished Member.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my friend and my ranking member for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to the fast track amendment.

Over 20 years ago, I stood on this very House floor in opposition to NAFTA. I felt strongly then, as I do now, that these agreements are about more than trade. They are reflections of our values. Let me be clear, I am for trade. Since NAFTA, I have opposed some agreements and supported others, but I am not for trade at any price or at any cost.

Those of us on the Ways and Means Committee tried time and time again to make this legislation better, but mine and every single other Democratic amendment was rejected.

Mr. Speaker, I visited Vietnam, and I know that there is much work to be done. There is no freedom to organize, and freedom of speech is limited.

The people of Georgia are calling and writing my office in waves. For over 20 years, they have felt the hardship of unfair trade. Textile and automobile factories disappeared from metro Atlanta. Good jobs were shipped to Bangladesh, to China, to Mexico. Americans should not have to compete with starvation wages and environmental destruction.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know about you, but as Joshua of old said, as for me and my house, I am going to cast my lot with the working people of America.

Today, we have an opportunity to do what is right and what is just.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield the gentleman an additional 15 seconds.

Mr. LEWIS. We can develop smart trade policies which reflect our values. Labor, human rights, and trade have always been connected. This is not new. This little planet is not ours to waste, but to use what we need and leave this little planet a little greener and a little more peaceful for generations yet unborn.

This Congress must be a headlight and not a taillight, or history will not be kind to us.

I urge each and every Member of this Congress to do what is right. Stand up for the working people of our country.

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. PAULSEN), a leader on trade, a member of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Trade.

Mr. PAULSEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of trade with other countries. The benefits of trade are huge and enormous for our economy.

If you take all the trade agreements that we have with other countries around the world and you add them together, we have a trade surplus. If you take the nontrade agreements with the countries we don't have trade agreements with, we have a deficit. These agreements help us; they benefit us.

There is no doubt that the U.S. has been on the sidelines in recent years. This gets us back in the game, making us create a healthier economy here at home, changing and making sure that our status as a global leader will be right back on top, higher-paying jobs, better-paying jobs. This is an opportunity also to make sure the United States is setting the rules for our economy, for the world economy, instead of China.

Mr. Speaker, if you are for these things, you should be for this legislation. Trade promotion authority allows these agreements to move forward with congressional oversight.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS), a member of our committee.

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

I rise in strong opposition to the trade bill before us, and I am also in opposition to using 1 cent of Medicare money for anything other than paying for health care for senior citizens.

I am not antitrade; I believe in trade, and I want a trade bill, but I want a trade bill that creates jobs and economic opportunity for the communities that I represent. I want a trade bill that creates fair wages and opportunities for employment.

I don't want a bill that continues to help the rich get richer and the poor get poorer and the middle class get squeezed into oblivion, and I don't want a fast track. As a matter of fact, the jobs in economic development have left the communities I represent fast enough. They don't need our help, and they don't need to be gone. We need jobs in America.

I am going to vote against this. If I do and if it is the wrong vote, I am going to be voting with the people that I represent, the people who sent me here, the people who have said "represent us." They want a "no" vote. I vote "no" because I represent them.

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. SMITH), a leader on trade, a

member of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Trade.

Mr. SMITH of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the Trade Act of 2015.

We have the opportunity to remove major trade barriers which make it harder to sell U.S. products to consumers in other countries.

To grow our economy, we must expand our access to the 96 percent of consumers outside the United States. Nebraska's producers—farmers, ranchers, and others—want to serve new markets, and this bill is an important step forward.

A number of concerns have been raised, and I want to clarify a couple of points. Many Nebraskans are concerned about the President's actions on a number of issues. To address these concerns, we need to actually pass this bill and establish more than 150 congressional parameters that the President will be required to follow as trade negotiations take place.

Some might be concerned that no one is allowed to read proposed trade agreements. We must pass this bill, actually, to ensure that every Member of this body has full access to negotiating text and any final agreement is publicly posted online for 60 days before the President can sign it.

This bill also ensures we have an up-or-down vote on any trade agreement and contains new provisions allowing us to block agreements if the executive branch does not follow our rules.

This bill is important; it is an important step for opportunity and growth, and I ask for a "yea" vote.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER), another valued member of our committee.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, Democrats just left a very powerful presentation from the President of the United States to our Members, who simply ask that our Members play it straight: vote for things they believe in.

For instance, 125 Democrats voted for Trade Adjustment Assistance to help workers displaced because of things in the global economy. We have a provision before us today that is actually stronger than what 125 of us voted for before; yet there are some that are thinking, well, they may not vote for it.

I have had ads run against me for cutting Medicare; yet I am going to ask to enter into the RECORD a letter from the American Hospital Association, the American Medical Association, American Health Care Association, and the National Association for Home Care & Hospice that point out there were no cuts to Medicare because of the changes that we are involved with making.

Now, this is part of the problem we are having dealing with how to consider trade promotion authority. This is something that all of us should embrace. It sets the rules for the adminis-

tration to negotiate and how we will evaluate it.

It will guarantee, as my friend from Nebraska just pointed out, everybody in America will have almost 5 full months to look at it before it is ever voted on. It contains the strongest environmental and labor provisions of any trade provisions in history.

That is what people talked to me about when they wanted NAFTA fixed. Trade promotion authority that we have here will do it. It is very important. I have not stopped working to improve this package. I have got things I want to change, work with the Senate, work in conference committee.

If we ever get an agreement, then I will evaluate the TPP based on what is in it, not speculation, innuendo, and reckless charges.

JUNE 11, 2015.

Hon. JOHN BOEHNER,  
*Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.*

Hon. NANCY PELOSI,  
*Minority Leader, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.*

DEAR SPEAKER BOEHNER AND LEADER PELOSI: On behalf of our members, who include a broad spectrum of Medicare providers, we are writing to share with you our appreciation for addressing the cuts to Medicare that had been included in trade legislation but will now be removed. We support the provisions in H.R. 1295, the "Trade Preferences Extension Act of 2015," that remove this Medicare cut.

This week, the House is considering several trade bills. Section 603 of H.R. 1295, which was passed by the House earlier today, would eliminate the Medicare sequester extension for the last six months in 2024, which would have cut \$700 million from Medicare according to Congressional Budget Office estimates. This provision also would have resulted in a net effect of increasing the sequester in 2024 beyond the 2 percent in the Budget Control Act. With the protection of Section 603, coupled with expeditious passage by the Senate of H.R. 1295 as amended, we would no longer view a vote in favor of the Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA) legislation as a vote to cut Medicare.

Hospitals, physicians, nursing homes and home health and hospice providers have already absorbed hundreds of billions of dollars in cuts to the Medicare program in recent years. We believe that it is an unwise precedent to use Medicare cuts to pay for non-Medicare related legislation. We are grateful this is addressed favorably in Section 603.

Sincerely,

AMERICAN HOSPITAL  
ASSOCIATION;  
AMERICAN MEDICAL  
ASSOCIATION;  
AMERICAN HEALTH CARE  
ASSOCIATION;  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR  
HOME CARE & HOSPICE.

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DOLD), a new member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. DOLD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, we want to make sure that we are moving forward and providing American leadership when it comes to trade.

My friend from Oregon here just articulately noted some of the reasons

why this needs to move forward. Literally one in three manufacturing jobs relies upon exports; 95 percent of the world's consumers are outside of the United States.

I want to make sure that we have got good, high-paying jobs right here at home. The way to do that is to be able to make sure that we are deciding what are the rules of the road when it comes to trade.

The rules of the 21st century in the global economy are being written today, and the question is: Will the United States of America be there to be able to write these rules, to be part of the process? If we don't, certainly China and others will, putting the United States and our businesses, our workers, at an enormous disadvantage.

We want trade deals that are enforceable, accountable, and have high standards. This is about creating good, high-paying American jobs. This is what we all want. Frankly, we have got an opportunity to move forward.

The 10th Congressional District is the 4th largest manufacturing district in the nation, with over 107,000 manufacturing employees.

1 in 3 manufacturing jobs rely on exports. New opportunities for America's small businesses.

97% of U.S. companies that export are small and medium-sized businesses.

The actual vote on any final trade agreement is months away. I want to clear up confusion, because there are efforts by critics of trade to distort what TPA is.

This is merely a vote on the process associated with moving forward on trade agreements—this is not the vote on any actual trade deal. That vote would not occur for months.

TPA explicitly prevents the enactment of any trade deal without separate, subsequent approval by Congress. Nothing will be enacted without an additional up-or-down vote in Congress.

TPA ensures that the American people will have an opportunity to read the actual text of any preliminary agreement that the President intends to enter into.

Specifically, the President must publish the text online at least 60 days prior to signing off on anything. And even after that, Congress still gets an up-or-down vote on approval or rejection. So, there is unprecedented transparency here.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PASCRELL), another member of our committee.

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. Speaker, I will tell you what an innuendo is. It is saying that the jobs that we lose are going to be replaced by just as good or better jobs.

Well, here is the record. Remember, you are giving assistance to workers who already lost their jobs. Wouldn't it make sense logically to try to save the jobs in the first place? Or do we believe, as President Bush said in February of 2004 in his economic report: Hey, if they make it cheaper overseas, we have got to do something else? That is a way out. That is innuendo.

If you want to talk about inequality, the jobs we are losing in manufacturing are paying over \$600 a week, and

the jobs that are being replaced pay \$330. Who are we kidding here? Get to the facts. Get to the facts.

Past trade deals have hurt the American worker. By the way, you placed this thing—those who are proponents of this legislation—that we are against trade. Nothing could be further from the truth. We want fair deals that help our workers. That is what this is all about.

In my town, a textile business lost everything 40–50 years ago; 25,000–30,000 people were employed with that textile industry. We sat here in the Congress of the United States and watched these people lose their jobs. You are sure as heck they want the retail jobs. Do you know what they paid?

Fast track and the underlying Trans-Pacific Partnership will continue the trend of corporations offshoring American jobs, driving down wages; and now, we are going to be competing with the Vietnamese who pay maybe 60 cents an hour. That is the level.

Everybody can't be like us. We understand that. We are not against trade. We want it to be fair, and we want the American worker to be protected. That is what this is all about.

We had our fears confirmed when the President told us that China wanted to join the TPP. That is the icing on the cake, making a bad deal even worse.

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I would like to remind my friend that globalization occurred long before any trade agreement. My dad lost his job, his steelworker job, years before NAFTA. In fact, we have a trade surplus, Mr. Speaker.

We have a trade surplus with the 20 countries that we have a trade agreement with, a deficit with the countries that we don't.

It is now my privilege to yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MEEHAN), a member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. MEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Trade Act of 2015.

Ninety-five percent of the world's market is outside the United States, and selling our goods to these markets is critical to America's future prosperity. One in five of American jobs are directly tied to trade. If we can't knock down the tariffs that are placed on American goods around the world, the world is going to buy these goods elsewhere. Simply put, a strong trade agenda is essential to America's national security and the economic opportunity of hard-working taxpayers.

If you want a strong trade agreement with better protections for U.S. workers, you want trade promotion authority. TPA allows Congress to hold the administration accountable and gives Congress the chance to vote down a bad deal. Without it, we are negotiating from a disadvantage. If we are not setting the rules on global trade, China will.

Mr. Speaker, trade promotion authority means stronger, better trade agreements. I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support it because what is happening right now is, if we don't have an increasingly aggressive China in there setting the rules, the trade agreements give us the chances on things like labor, things like the environment, things like a fair and open Internet. Those are the kinds of things that are going to create future jobs and keep the world safer and better.

I urge my colleagues to support this.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LINDA T. SANCHEZ), another valued member of our committee.

Ms. LINDA T. SANCHEZ of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak against this misguided TPA bill. Many of my colleagues have highlighted the reasons to oppose the bill, but I want to focus on two specific fundamental issues, labor and civil rights.

There is nothing in this that requires countries to bring their labor laws and regulations into compliance before this deal takes effect. How can we have an agreement that doesn't require everybody to play by the same rules? That is just ridiculous.

We need trade agreements that prohibit signatory countries from murdering, jailing, torturing, or firing citizens for doing such outlandish things as trying to unionize and bargain for safer working conditions.

Enforceable labor provisions tell trading partners that we mean business on labor rights before letting their goods into the U.S. Trade agreements should not continue a race to the bottom for workers. We should be setting the standards.

I am frustrated that TPP negotiations are nearly complete and we are just now giving the administration their marching orders, but here we are, and those marching orders should be clear, especially on labor rights.

Additionally, in the Ways and Means markup for this legislation, I offered a commonsense amendment to address the issue of countries whose laws call for imprisonment, torture, and even death for the supposed crime of one's sexual orientation.

□ 1115

I was baffled to watch every single Republican member on the committee vote to say that it is perfectly acceptable to do business with countries that have these laws. Perhaps it was naive of me to think that we could at least have one bright-line rule for the most basic of human rights—not to be put to death based on a person's actual or perceived sexual orientation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield the gentlewoman an additional 30 seconds.

Ms. LINDA T. SANCHEZ of California. U.S. market access shouldn't be a free pass. If you want to do business

with the U.S., we shouldn't tolerate such barbaric behavior.

For these reasons, I urge my colleagues to oppose this legislation.

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, I now have the privilege to yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ROSKAM), a member of the Ways and Means Committee and an important voice on trade.

Mr. ROSKAM. I thank Chairman TIBERI.

Mr. Speaker, one of two things is going to happen: we are either going to lean forward and claim the best days of America, which are ahead of us, or we are going to recede from those. The choice is here and the choice is today, and I urge us to move forward because I truly believe, if we pursue an aggressive trade agenda and if the United States leads on that trade agenda, I think good things are going to happen.

There is another part of this story, Mr. Speaker, as we have an opportunity to make history today as well. Included in the TPA is bipartisan legislation that I authored to shield Israel from being the victim of the insidious boycott, divestment, and sanctions movement that is brewing within Europe. This would be the first time in nearly four decades that Congress has taken action to combat boycotts against Israel.

Just last week, we saw a telecom giant, Orange, which is a company partially owned by the French Government, recede back from doing business in Israel and so forth based on BDS pressure. The language I offered that was unanimously adopted is simple: If you want to trade with the United States, you can't boycott Israel.

I want to thank Chairman RYAN and Chairman TIBERI for their leadership and Representative VARGAS and Senators PORTMAN and CARDIN for working with me on these important issues.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. BEYER).

Mr. BEYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to stand as tall and as boldly as I can for the American worker. Almost 10 million Americans are unemployed; middle class income wages have been stagnant for decades; almost every low-wage job that could have moved overseas has moved overseas. We have to do something different—something smart, honest, brave, bold, and based on the almost unanimous consensus of American economists.

We need to tear down the trade barriers of other countries so that they will buy our goods and services. We need to establish much stronger labor and environmental laws overseas. We need to bring the rule of law to those countries so that investors will build new plants and equipment, and we need much stronger intellectual property protections around the world. We have to take globalization head on. We cannot isolate ourselves. No economy can grow from within. We tried protectionism, and we got the Great Recession.

Mr. Speaker, I stand for the American worker, and I support the Obama administration's commitment to free trade and to lifting the American middle class.

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BRADY), a leader on trade, a leader on the Trade Subcommittee, a past chairman of the Trade Subcommittee, and a leader on the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. I thank Chairman TIBERI for his leadership on trade and American success.

Mr. Speaker, who has the power? This is the question. When your family or your business wants to buy a product, who decides what you can buy and at what price? Is it you, or is it special interests or union bosses or the government? If you build a better product or come up with a new idea, who has the power to decide where you can sell it around the world? Is it you, or is it special interests and government and, again, the union?

American trade is about giving you the power and you the freedom to buy and sell and compete around the world with as little government interference as possible. It is not enough to just buy American. We want to sell our American products around the world. When we do, we win. When we say to countries, "You are selling into the U.S., and we insist we sell into your country," we win and we create jobs. When we don't, America grows weaker, and our foreign competitors grow stronger. Our manufacturers and our farmers and our local businesses get priced out and shut down.

American trade is about our jobs and our prosperity. This bill sets the rules for trade so that, with these agreements, everyone benefits; everyone plays by the rules; everyone has the same opportunity. I am voting "yes" for more American jobs and more American economic opportunity and for less government control of our trade.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR), a longtime veteran of this Congress.

Ms. KAPTUR. I thank our distinguished ranking member, Mr. LEVIN of Michigan.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this limited fast-track trade debate.

Proponents of TPA are trying to lure votes for this Pacific deal by cynically adding \$700 million to trade adjustment assistance to take care of millions more people who are going to lose their jobs as billions and billions more of our productive wealth is outsourced to other countries. What a fig leaf. It is too little for the damage about to be done.

The eyes of working families in communities across our country are focused on Congress today, hoping we will finally stand up and do what is right for America. This latest job out-

sourcing trade deal serves only the 1 percent, rewarding the few at the expense of the many. It is a great deal for Wall Street, and it is a great deal for transnational corporations. But for Main Street, a shrinking middle class, and millions more of our workers, it is another punch to the gut.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield the gentlewoman an additional 30 seconds.

Ms. KAPTUR. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, this week's scenario reminds me of the NAFTA fight. To pick up wavering Members back then, a deal was cut even to protect the corn broom industry, but in this deal, we don't protect people. In this deal, there is no protection against human trafficking. That has been stripped out. So we have protections for corn brooms but not for people.

In return for securing votes for narrow interests to gain a majority for passage, a few thousand people may benefit handsomely from these little provisions, but America won't. We will continue to rack up massive trade and job deficits as world markets remain closed to us, as they have for four decades. State-run enterprises will continue to eat more of our lunch. And for America's working class, millions more of whom will be left out in the cold, the TPP will be a truly pathetic package. I urge "no," "no," "no" votes this afternoon. Stand up for America's workers for a change.

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I have great respect for my colleague from Ohio, but let me just give you a few facts.

Of the 20 countries with which we have trade agreements, we have a trade surplus. With the countries with which we don't, we have a trade deficit. It speaks for itself. In Ohio, 89 percent of our exporters are small- and medium-sized companies with fewer than 500 people. With respect to TAA, I must say that most of these trading dollars are spent at community colleges, at technical colleges, and they use that money to train workers and to upgrade skills for a 21st century economy.

I wish my dad, who had lost his manufacturing job way before NAFTA and who had lost his steelworker job way before any bilateral trade agreement for globalization, had had TAA to help him get a new job.

As the President said, in reality, a vote against this TAA bill will be a vote to actually cut funding for community college. As the President said yesterday, a "no" vote could potentially kill TAA forever.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Washington State (Mr. REICHERT), a distinguished member of the Ways and Means Committee and Trade Subcommittee and a leader on trade issues.

Mr. REICHERT. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, today, Americans find themselves asking this question over

and over again: Are things ever going to get better for America? The only answer has to be "yes." Today, we begin that process. Today, it is time for action. Today, we vote on trade legislation that is absolutely critical for America's future. Today, we send a message to the world—across this globe—a strong message that we are America, that we are strong, that we are free, and that we are united.

A "yes" vote today on TPA and TAA is a vote for a healthy economy. It is a vote for creating jobs. It is a vote for higher wages. It is a vote for selling America. That is the message we are going to send across this globe today. America is back, and we are going to be strong in this world economy.

Hard-working taxpayers deserve a government that gives the citizens of this country freedom, choice, and control to pursue their futures. Every American deserves this—to build one's own business, to hire employees, to seek promotions, and to provide for one's family. Mr. Speaker, it is what real leaders will deliver today.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. ASHFORD).

Mr. ASHFORD. I thank the ranking member.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that this is a vote for the ages. My constituents in Nebraska are asking me: "BRAD, can we govern? Can we come together? Can we move this country forward?" What we do here today will determine how we do move forward as a nation. What kind of country do we leave our children?

In my view, Mr. Speaker, we are at our best when we reach for the Moon. This, in my view, is one of those moments. This is a vote for better jobs, a stronger economy for American workers and for American exceptionalism. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that this is a vote for the ages. Please support TAA and TPP and TPA to make life better for all Americans.

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. BOUSTANY), a leader on trade, a leader on the Ways and Means Committee, and a leader for Louisiana.

Mr. BOUSTANY. I thank the chairman.

Mr. Speaker, after 1945, the U.S. set up a global trading system, and countries around the world are taking advantage of it. The world is not sitting still. Hundreds of trade agreements exist, but we only have 20 with which we have a trade surplus, and we are sitting on the sidelines, standing still. It is just unacceptable.

American leadership is needed. If we are going to grow this economy, if we are going to create good-paying jobs for workers and farmers, we need to open markets, as 95 percent of the markets are outside the U.S. Let's open those markets. Let's be fair to our American workers and farmers. Let's give them market access. TPA is the catalyst to opening those markets and for growth.

The world is crying for American leadership. I am afraid American prestige is on the line right now. It is waning. Countries around the world are watching us to see how we vote on this today. We have the opportunity to show that America will lead the global trading system we created. I think, if we don't do this, we have dealt a serious blow to American leadership. It is a catalyst for American leadership. Let's pass TPA.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, would you tell us how much time remains.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan has 8 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Ohio has 5½ minutes remaining.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor of yielding 1 minute to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ).

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, time and again, we are promised trade deals create opportunity. Time and again, instead, they send jobs abroad. In the first 7 years of NAFTA, New York City's textile and apparel industry shed 7,900 jobs. In total, fast-track trade policies have cost the U.S. more than 1 million jobs. New York lost more than 374,000 manufacturing jobs since NAFTA and the World Trade Organization agreements.

Why would the Trans-Pacific Partnership be different? If that deal is approved, the U.S. will lose more than 130,000 jobs to just 2 of the 12 TPP members—Japan and Vietnam. New York already ran a \$47 billion trade deficit last year. This agreement will make the situation worse.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield the gentlewoman an additional 20 seconds.

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. When I go home to New York, I don't hear people telling me we need to rush into another trade deal. The only people pushing fast track are lobbyists and big corporations. They are not whom I represent. I would rather stand with New York's working families who oppose fast track. Vote "no."

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Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from South Dakota (Mrs. NOEM), a leader on the Committee on Ways and Means, a leader on trade.

Mrs. NOEM. Mr. Speaker, South Dakota tells the true story of what the benefits of trade can bring. When we have a trade agreement with another country, we sell 11½ times more goods to that country than if there were no agreement in place.

Trade has been and continues to be an important part of the American economy, but we cannot afford to fall behind. We have to continue to expand opportunities to export American-made products to these countries, but first we have to set the rules of the road.

The Constitution allows the President to negotiate trade agreements, but only Congress can approve or disapprove them. What we are voting on today ensures that Congress sets the priorities and the rules that the President has to follow. It allows an open and transparent process where the public can view any potential trade deal for 60 days before it is sent to Congress. If the President doesn't follow our rules, we can take TPA away; or if we don't like future trade deals, we can simply vote them down. But we need to assert the power of Congress in the process and ensure that the public gets to weigh in down the road. That is what we are doing here today.

I urge my colleagues to support this bill. America is counting on it.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE).

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend for yielding.

Over the past 2 years, I have been a part of efforts, good-faith efforts, to write the strongest possible fast-track bill. But the process the legislation has gone through recently, with Ways and Means Democrats denied every opportunity to improve the legislation in committee, while Republicans were accommodated in the Customs bill with anti-immigrant, anti-environmental provisions, has moved the bill in precisely the wrong direction from what might have gained my support. Therefore, I plan to vote against TPA today.

But I strongly oppose the devious and reckless efforts to bring down TPA by trying to defeat the Trade Adjustment Assistance Act. TAA is a good bill which reflects longstanding Democratic priorities, and the objectionable Medicare offset that it contained has been removed. TAA has been critically important in North Carolina. I refuse to put displaced workers at risk for the sake of a political tactic.

I urge my colleagues, play it straight. Support TAA whether or not you support TPA.

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH), a new member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in support of TPA because trade is too important to southeast and southern Missouri to leave in the hands of this President or any President. TPA would bring more transparency and involvement to the negotiation process and gives Congress more authority over the President.

Without TPA, the President can keep Congress and the public in the dark on trade negotiations. Without TPA, the President alone sets the negotiating objectives; without TPA, Members of Congress are not entitled to read the text of negotiating documents during the process; and without TPA, the President does not have to publish updated summaries of trade bills during the negotiations.

However, with TPA, Members of Congress can be involved in the negotiation process to get the best deal for our folks back home. With TPA, for the first time ever, all bills negotiated would have to be public for 60 days before Congress votes on them; with TPA, Congress directs the negotiating objectives for trade bills; and with TPA, Members of Congress will have open access to the text anytime they want.

Mr. Speaker, we need TPA so that American trade deals can be transparent, effective, and enforceable.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN).

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, the proponents of this bill have not played it straight as far as legislative procedure. They took a Senate bill that should be a "yes" or "no" vote on this floor and split it up into two or three pieces. It is one package. If you are against fast track, vote "no" on TAA.

It is not the opponents who came up with this crazy procedure. If they had played it straight, we could play it straight. But now we are in a position to use the legislative tactics afforded by this House, pursuant to a rule that is complicated beyond belief, to sink this whole package by voting "no" on TAA. Vote "no" on Trade Adjustment Assistance because, if that happens, Republican leadership has said we go home.

What is the good of having a little bit of trade adjustment assistance if we lose millions of jobs because we put them on a fast track to Asia? Take Nancy Reagan seriously; when it comes to all three votes today, just vote "no."

Mr. TIBERI. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. CUELLAR).

Mr. CUELLAR. I thank the ranking member for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, President John F. Kennedy once said: "The U.S. did not rise to greatness waiting for others to lead. Economic isolation and political leadership are wholly incompatible."

This is the moment for the United States to lead. I am voting "yes" on the trade bills that we have today. Trade is good for the United States: 95 percent of all consumers are outside the United States. Trade is good for Texas: last year we had over \$289 billion of goods exported from Texas; 1.1 million jobs were created in Texas; millions of other jobs were created in the United States.

Now, who are those small companies? Who are those companies exporting? Ninety-three percent of those companies in Texas are small- and medium-sized, so therefore this is how we create good jobs here in the United States.

Ladies and gentlemen, let's support fair trade. Again, I ask you to support the trade bill today.

Mr. TIBERI. I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LEVIN. How much time do I have remaining, please?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan has 3¾ minutes remaining.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, the debate today is about one issue; it comes down to one question: Do we support hard-working Americans or do we abandon them? A vote for these bills is a vote against jobs, and it is a vote against wages.

The Trade Adjustment Assistance bill is underfunded. It excludes teachers, police officers, firefighters, and farmers who are hurt when production jobs are shipped abroad, go overseas. If we want to protect working families, we must stop fast-tracking bad trade deals.

Fast track denies public scrutiny, it denies debate in this House, and it relinquishes our congressional authority and does not allow us to amend a piece of legislation that will have such an effect on people's lives in this country.

Why is this trade agreement in so much difficulty? Why? Because this is the first time that a majority of the Congress is starting to say: We need to prioritize what is happening to the hard-working men and women in our country. What is happening to their lives? What is their struggle?

This trade agreement is only going to hurt their ability to have a job and to increase their wages. If we want to change that, then our job today is to vote down this bill.

Say "no" to Trade Adjustment Assistance and say "no" to fast track.

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, before I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky, I just want to point out the record here. No public service worker has ever been certified for TAA under the 2009 stimulus TAA that was passed. I will also reiterate a statement from the White House with respect to TAA, Mr. Speaker:

If you're a Member of Congress and you vote against TAA this week, you are signing the death certificate for this assistance.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. BARR).

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for the opportunity to speak in favor of this important legislation for jobs, our economy, transparency, and accountability.

Free trade is critical for my constituents in central and eastern Kentucky. More than half a million Kentucky jobs are related to international trade, and expanding trade agreements will provide even more opportunities for job growth. Our State has a diverse economy that is synonymous with certain products, including coal, bourbon, and thoroughbred racehorses. We are a powerhouse of manufacturing, producing vehicles such as the Toyota Camry and even aerospace technology, which is the State's leading export category.

To continue the growth in these signature industries, we need to establish fair and strong rules that hold other nations accountable for their unfair trade practices. We need to tear down barriers that block Kentucky goods from foreign markets.

What does free trade mean for Kentucky? In 2013, 2 years after our last free trade agreement was completed, the car of the year in South Korea was the Toyota Camry, manufactured in my district in Kentucky.

Let's be clear: The President already has the authority under the Constitution to negotiate trade agreements, but by passing TPA, we will ensure that Congress has the input into the final product and that America will shape the rules of global trade, not China.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. POCAN).

Mr. POCAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I grew up in an auto town, where almost everyone had a family member who worked in the industry, but today there are no cars made there anymore. To me, trade deals should be about whether or not we will fight for American jobs and American workers' wages. Bad trade deals cost us both. Unless we have a say, unless the American people have a say, this trade deal will do exactly the same and cost us more jobs.

I have read the text, and I know where we are at with it as of now. I would like to see a deal that has better real protective teeth for labor and environmental law, strong protections for American sovereignty, and better protections for food safety and more. Bottom line: I want a trade deal that protects American jobs and lifts our wages right here at home.

If we vote for TPA, we will have no ability to make it better. For this trade deal or any other trade deal in the next 6 years under any President, if we want the American people to have a voice, a real voice, we must retain our authority to impact trade deals and vote against TPA in all votes that affect it today.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, let me set the record straight. All three bills that we are voting on today can be read. This is TPA. This is the bill that will hold the President accountable—this President, the next President. This is the bill that tells the administration what we expect. This is the bill that Congress inserts itself into to the President's negotiating.

Listen, ladies and gentlemen, the world is trading. The world is globalized. The world was globalized long before America decided to pass NAFTA—long before. And, in fact, NAFTA, in 1993, the year before NAFTA took effect, the U.S. had a steel trade deficit of 3 million net tons with Canada and Mexico. In 2014, the most recent year for which data is

available, the U.S. had a steel trade surplus of 1.2 million net tons with Canada and Mexico. NAFTA has benefited the entire North American steel industry. Total U.S.-Canada steel trade has increased 99 percent from 1993 to 2014. Total U.S.-Mexico steel trade has increased 352 percent between 1993 and 2014. That is why the steel industry in America supports this bill along with the enforcement that we are going to debate in a little bit.

In Ohio, Honda of America is a net exporter—is a net exporter. This is about jobs. This is about allowing those people, those workers, some of my constituents at East Liberty or in Marysville, to build more cars in Ohio, to send them overseas. The only way we do that is to break down barriers—more jobs.

Listen, I get job loss. My dad lost his job of 25 years. Ladies and gentlemen, we need to pass TPA to increase the number of jobs.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. Speaker, today's vote on the trade package that includes trade adjustment assistance and trade promotion authority, also known as fast track, represents a flawed and hurried process to expedite the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement that is almost at the finish line. We should not vote for a TPA that fails to include strong and enforceable negotiating objectives on currency manipulation, labor rights and does not address the investor state dispute settlement system, which could see corporations challenge government regulations in secret tribunals that leave taxpayers on the hook for the bill.

I also strongly oppose using trade adjustment assistance as a bargaining chip to help pass a flawed TPA. I support providing assistance to workers displaced by trade but this bill should stand on its own merits and be improved on behalf of all workers before it is rushed through for a final vote. We must go back to strengthen TAA and TPA before moving forward on any future trade agreement that will have wide-ranging consequences for America's working class.

Mr. VISCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to H.R. 1314, which allows for fast track Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) for trade agreements entered into prior to July 1, 2021, including the prospective Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (T-TIP). Past trade agreements have outsourced American jobs and caused irreparable harm to our domestic manufacturing base. I believe that TPP, T-TIP, and other potential future agreements will be no different.

Throughout my career, I have voted against unfair trade agreements. I voted against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which was sold on the promise of creating 200,000 American jobs. After enactment, the Economic Policy Institute (EPI) estimates that America lost 682,900 jobs, primarily in the manufacturing sector. I voted against the Korea Free Trade Agreement, which was sold on the promise of creating 70,000 American jobs. After enactment, again the EPI estimates that America lost 60,000 jobs. The future trade agreements we are discussing today are being sold on the promise



of creating more American jobs. That argument may continue to work for some. But I am not buying it.

There has been a bipartisan failure, administration after administration, to address the effects of unfair trade on domestic manufacturers. Democrat and Republican administrations have been wrong to support irresponsible trade agreements in the past that have exacerbated the problems faced by American workers. President Obama is wrong in this instance. Congress should instead support trade agreements that substantially improve our existing trade laws and enhance our ability to enforce them in a timely fashion. We should only support trade agreements that include strong enforcement procedures, address currency manipulation, provide environmental protections, and protect American manufacturers from competing unfairly with exploited foreign workers. It is wrong to expect American workers to compete against state-owned enterprises that have unlimited government resources and violate our free market trade laws.

American manufacturing and the steel industry are struggling every day to keep their footing in the fight against unfair trade. Earlier this year, I co-chaired a Congressional Steel Caucus hearing where industry and labor representatives unanimously agreed that America's steel sector is being systematically targeted by trading partners that use the U.S. market as their dumping ground.

Just this month, six American steel producers, including two producers with facilities in my district, filed anti-dumping and countervailing duty petitions against foreign countries engaged in illegal trade practices. While I am pleased that American steel producers are taking action to hold these countries accountable, I am concerned that this case will not stop the ongoing trend of countries dumping their products into U.S. markets. I have frequently testified in front of the International Trade Commission (ITC), and was pleased that in 2009 the ITC ruled against China in an Oil Country Tubular Goods case. However, last year I testified again in a similar case involving these same products. After duties were imposed on China in 2009, other countries, such as Vietnam, Thailand, Turkey, and South Korea, started dumping the same product on our shores. This is a dangerous trend and Congress and the Administration must stop such practices from continuing.

I am encouraged that the House has taken some action to address unfair trade practices by including provisions in the Trade Facilitation and Trade Enforcement Act of 2015 that would strengthen our antidumping and countervailing duty laws. But while these provisions are a step in the right direction, they are not enough.

TPA does not include strong, enforceable currency reforms, and instead allows the Administration, without any clear guidelines, to determine how best to address currency manipulators. TPA does nothing to ensure that strong environmental protections will be included in future trade agreements. TPA does not crack down on worker exploitation or lay out a roadmap to ensure countries included in future trade agreements are in compliance with international labor and human rights standards. Such economic inhibitors should be rejected. Instead, we should focus on investing in and encouraging vigorous domestic manufacturing.

Mr. Speaker, steel is the economic backbone of the First Congressional District of Indiana, the foundation of our manufacturing base, and an essential element of our national defense. I am proud to represent the workers who make this steel every single day. Today, I ask that my colleagues stand up for American workers and oppose H.R. 1314.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the Trade Act of 2015 (H.R. 1314), which would "fast-track" trade agreements, such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), by allowing them to pass Congress by a straight up or down vote without any possibility of amendment.

Ever since NAFTA in 1993, these so-called free trade agreements have all been sold to the American people on the same propaganda; that they will boost exports and increase jobs. Yet the results have always been the same. Although we might increase exports somewhat, one of our biggest exports has been American jobs. Any claims to the contrary are not worth the paper they are written on.

For starters, these are not really free trade agreements. A true free trade agreement would consist of no more than a few pages simply listing the dates on which tariffs for various commodities would be eliminated. In fact, these agreements consist of thousands of pages of negotiated provisions, which history demonstrates have benefited multi-national companies while destroying millions of American jobs and depressing American wage levels. Without adequate labor, environmental and human rights standards, our trading partners can and do pay their workers 30 cents per hour, make their goods cheaper by dumping waste products in the river, and murder workers who try to join a union. No wonder factories in the United States close and move abroad. No wonder our balance of trade becomes calamitous.

We are always told that the next trade agreement will have better protections, but that has never been the case. None of the so-called protections have been enforceable or enforced. So it is particularly troubling that the text of the TPP is still classified. Members of Congress can look at it, but cannot take notes, cannot make copies, and cannot talk about what they have seen. What are they afraid people might discover? If it is true that the TPP includes enforceable provisions related to labor and environmental standards, why not make it public? Why not share what is supposedly so critical in this trade agreement with the American people?

The fact that the TPP is secret is obnoxious. Most of what we know about it has come from leaks that indicate that the TPP, just like its predecessors, will simply help multi-national corporations and further impoverish the lower and middle classes here at home.

For example, the TPP includes a chapter on Investment-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) that would allow multi-national corporations to sue state and local governments, or the Federal government, in private tribunals by alleging that American laws or regulations limit their profits. Companies like Phillip Morris could sue for compensation for loss of sales because of cigarette labeling laws. Companies could sue to void enforcement of minimum wage, or factory, safety or consumer laws.

According to the USTR, the TPP will also include new rules to "ensure fair competition be-

tween state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and private companies." This could lead to privatization of a variety of public services. And just this week, the House voted to repeal our Country of Origin Labeling law after the WTO ruled that it discriminated against Canada and Mexico, raising even more questions about the consequences of these trade agreements on the sovereignty of our nation.

These questions are only the tip of the iceberg, and highlight the need for an open and honest review of the TPP rather than blindly facilitating its passage. The Constitution grants Congress the power to regulate foreign commerce. We must not cede that authority to the Executive Branch and abdicate our responsibility to protect the public interest. If the TPP is as beneficial as its supporters have claimed, it should be able to withstand scrutiny in the light of day and a full debate in Congress.

But we don't have to rely on leaks about the TPP to justify voting against the bills on the floor today. A host of provisions that have been added to the Trade Enforcement bill (H.R. 644) in order to gain support for this bill are egregious, such as prohibiting negotiations to address climate change, weakening language to combat human trafficking, and removing language to address currency manipulation.

This bill is dangerous and destructive. I urge my colleagues to vote No.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to clause 1(c) of rule XIX, further consideration of the motion to concur is postponed.

□ 1145

#### AMERICA GIVES MORE ACT OF 2015

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 305, I call up the bill (H.R. 644) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend and expand the charitable deduction for contributions of food inventory, with the Senate amendments thereto, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the Senate amendments.

Senate amendments:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) *SHORT TITLE.*—This Act may be cited as the "Trade Facilitation and Trade Enforcement Act of 2015".

(b) *TABLE OF CONTENTS.*—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

Sec. 2. Definitions.

#### TITLE I—TRADE FACILITATION AND TRADE ENFORCEMENT

Sec. 101. Improving partnership programs.

Sec. 102. Report on effectiveness of trade enforcement activities.

Sec. 103. Priorities and performance standards for customs modernization, trade facilitation, and trade enforcement functions and programs.

Sec. 104. Educational seminars to improve efforts to classify and appraise imported articles, to improve trade enforcement efforts, and to otherwise facilitate legitimate international trade.