

Now, that may bring up the question of why would one ever support ceding those powers and relinquishing those powers, and I think that, ultimately, one hypothetically can do that because what we can do is take the time in the fast-track debate to set the conditions, to set the negotiating principles that have to be met in order to be able to relinquish that power later.

That is where we get into this issue of process right now. It is so critical that we take the time to debate the conditions that we need to see present as representatives of people from States across this country, that we take the time to debate thoroughly these amendments so that we know the trade deals that will come before us later will be fair—not just free but fair. So I hope we take the time to debate all of these provisions because they matter in people's lives. They matter to middle-class, working Wisconsinites, some who have lost jobs in recent years and decades because of mistakes we have made in prior trade deals.

I come to the floor this evening to share with my colleagues that I have filed nine separate amendments to this trade promotion authority. I know we won't have the chance to fully debate and vote on all of them, but I think it is important that we try to have a thorough and comprehensive consideration. So far, we have only voted on two amendments, and there are only a handful that are pending for consideration. So on that point, I wish to take a few moments to address just four of the amendments that I think are crucial to my State of Wisconsin and the middle-class workers whom I have the honor of representing.

My first amendment is No. 1317. It is cosponsored by my colleagues Senator FRANKEN and Senator BLUMENTHAL. It strengthens the principle negotiating objective with respect to trade-remedy laws. This is talking about enforcement and having teeth in that enforcement. These trade remedies ensure that American manufacturers and their workers would compete on a level playing field globally.

American manufacturers fight an uphill battle to keep their prices low while foreign companies sell goods in the United States often at subsidized prices. U.S. manufacturing has already suffered financial losses—and thousands of jobs, I might add—as a result of unfair trade practices. My amendment would strengthen our ability to fight on behalf of our American manufacturing workers.

A second amendment I have offered is No. 1365, and I am proud to have joined forces with Senator BLUMENTHAL. It would restrict trade promotion authority for any trade agreement that includes a country that criminalizes individuals based on sexual orientation or otherwise persecutes or punishes individuals based on their sexual orientation or gender identity. These countries are identified for us in the State Department's annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices.

At least 75 countries across the globe continue to criminalize homosexuality, subjecting lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people to imprisonment, various forms of corporal punishment and, in some countries, the death penalty. For example, in Brunei, a newly adopted law provides for execution by stoning for homosexuality. As we all know, Brunei is part of the Trans-Pacific Partnership free-trade agreement that is now under negotiation.

Senators voting here on this legislation should know and understand this. If we do not adopt my amendment, we will be granting our highest trading status to a country that executes people based on whom they love. This is not hyperbole. This is a fact. The United States should not reward countries that deny the fundamental humanity of LGBT people by subjecting them to harsh penalties and even death simply because of who they are or whom they love.

My third amendment, No. 1320, would add a principal negotiating objective to ensure that any trade agreement actually increases manufacturing jobs and wages in the United States. Many Wisconsin communities, as I mentioned earlier, bear the scars of NAFTA and other flawed so-called free-trade agreements. From closed factories to foreclosed homes to devastated communities, Wisconsinites know all too well what happens when politicians in Washington tell them that they know what is best for them in Wisconsin.

Let me give a few numbers on trade from Wisconsin's perspective.

On jobs, according to the Economic Policy Institute, NAFTA has led to the loss of more than 680,000 jobs, most—60 percent of them—manufacturing jobs in the United States as a whole.

Since China joined the WTO in the year 2000, there has been a net loss of over 2.7 million U.S. jobs. Of that amount, Wisconsin has lost around 68,000 jobs between the years 2001 and 2013 because of our trade deficit with China and their currency manipulation.

Now, in 2011 we passed the South Korea Free Trade Agreement. In the years since, the growth of the U.S. trade deficit with South Korea has cost us more than 75,000 U.S. jobs.

On wages, competing with workers in China and other low-wage countries, it has reduced wages of 100 million U.S. workers without a college degree, a total loss of about \$180 billion each year.

Since China joined the WTO, U.S. workers who lost their jobs because of trade with China have lost more than \$37 billion in wages as a result of accepting lower-waged jobs.

The final amendment I wish to describe is amendment No. 1319, cosponsored by my colleague Senator MERKLEY, who was speaking with all of us earlier this evening. This amendment would require the administration to notify the public when it waives "Buy American" requirements. Wis-

consin workers make things, and we have been one of the top manufacturing States in the Nation for generations. Now, if we hope to continue making things, we think we should continue to have our own government as a customer. Or, put another way, U.S. taxpayer dollars should support U.S. jobs. That is why I am a strong supporter of "Buy American" provisions that require Federal agencies to purchase American-made products. Free-trade agreements have historically allowed foreign nations way too much leeway when bidding for our government projects and contracts while not affording American companies the same access.

Now, I believe the issues I have brought up this evening and these four amendments are really important issues—important to our country, important to our standing in the world, and important to my State of Wisconsin. These are issues that the Senate should debate. I urge the majority leader to allow an open and robust amendment process so that we can vote on these critical provisions.

With that, I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 1411, AS MODIFIED

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I have a modification to my amendment No. 1411 at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is so modified.

The amendment, as modified, is as follows:

In the language proposed to be stricken on page 27, lines 6 & 7 strike "appropriate." and insert:

(12) FOREIGN CURRENCY MANIPULATION.—The principal negotiating objective of the United States with respect to unfair currency practices is to seek to establish accountability through enforceable rules, transparency, reporting, monitoring, cooperative mechanisms, or other means to address exchange rate manipulation involving protracted large scale intervention in one direction in the exchange markets and a persistently undervalued foreign exchange rate to gain an unfair competitive advantage in trade over other parties to a trade agreement, consistent with existing obligations of the United States as a member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DAINES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROUNDS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### VOTE EXPLANATION

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, due to inclement weather causing a flight delay, I was unavoidably detained during consideration of Brown amendment No. 1242 and missed the rollcall vote that occurred on Monday, May 18. As a cosponsor of S. 568, the Trade Adjustment Assistance Act of 2015, and supporter of trade adjustment assistance for workers here at home, had I been present I would have voted yea.

#### BADGER ARMY AMMUNITION PLANT LAND PARCEL

Ms. BALDWIN. Mr. President, in the closing days of last Congress, I was proud to see this body include a provision in the Carl Levin and Howard P. "Buck" McKeon National Defense Authorization Act, P.L. 113-291, to transfer a parcel of land at the former Badger Army Ammunition Plant near Baraboo, WI, from the Department of Defense to the Department of the Interior. I worked throughout the drafting of this legislation to include this provision, which is of great importance to Wisconsin.

During discussions on the specific legislative text to be included in the bill, a question was raised as to how the language might apply to Department of Defense contractors, particularly any Badger Army Ammunition Plant operators. I understand the legislative language that refers to "activities of the Department of Defense" to include activities undertaken by the officers and agents employed or contracted by the Department of Defense, meaning that under the terms of this provision, the Army retains responsibility for remediation of environmental contamination resulting from activities undertaken by the Department of Defense and its contractors. This clarification is critical because Badger Army Ammunition Plant was operated by the Department of Defense contractors, and contamination at the site was caused as a direct result of their activities.

I wrote to the Department of Defense to request their clarification on this matter, and I ask unanimous consent that my letter and their response be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, DC, January 12, 2015.

Mr. JOHN CONGER,  
Deputy Under Secretary of Defense, Installations & Environment, Department of Defense, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CONGER: The National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2015 (PL 113-291) includes a provision (Section 3078) transferring administrative jurisdiction, from the Secretary of the Army to the Secretary of the Interior, of property located on the site of the former Badger Army Ammunition Plant (BAAP) near Baraboo, Wisconsin. I worked throughout the drafting of this legislation to include this provision, and would like to thank you for the assistance provided by your staff in drafting the legislative language that became part of the final bill.

During discussions on the specific legislative text to be included in the bill, a question was raised as to how the language might apply to Department of Defense contractors, particularly any BAAP operators. I understand the legislative language that refers to "activities of the Department of Defense" to include activities undertaken by the officers and agents employed or contracted by the Department of Defense, meaning that under the terms of this provision, the Army retains responsibility for remediation of environmental contamination resulting from activities undertaken by DOD and its contractors. This clarification is critical because BAAP was operated by DOD contractors, and contamination at the site was caused as a direct result of their activities. I would appreciate your views on this matter.

I have worked on this project for 16 years, and I am extremely grateful for the assistance provided by DOD and the Army to help craft a legislative solution. Thank you for your consideration of this request and for all that you do in support of the men and women of our Armed Forces.

Sincerely,

TAMMY BALDWIN,  
United States Senator.

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,  
Washington, DC.

Hon. TAMMY BALDWIN,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR BALDWIN: Thank you for your January 12, 2015, letter requesting clarification of section 3078 of the Carl Levin and Howard P. "Buck" McKeon National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2015 (Pub. L. 113-291), transfer of administrative jurisdiction, from the Secretary of the Army to the Secretary of the Interior, of the property at the former Badger Army Ammunition Plant (BAAP) near Baraboo, Wisconsin. You asked how the act applies to the former Department of Defense operating contractors at BAAP.

The operating contractor for BAAP would have been responsible for operating the plant in accordance with the terms of the contract. Such an operating status would not change the underlying responsibility of the United States Army for the activities at the plant simply because they were performed by its contractor. This is not to say that the contractor would be absolved of responsibility for its activities while performing under the contract, but that responsibility would be governed by the terms of the contract as between the contractor and the United States Army.

To the extent that the contractor's activities were performed pursuant to and in accordance with the contract, the United States Army would retain responsibility for the activities that occurred in the operation of the plant. During those periods you appear

to be most interested in, the Army was the owner of the plant for purposes of the environmental laws. We cannot prejudice any actual issue relating to who would be responsible for actions that occurred at the plant. Such responsibility would be determined after a careful review of the law and its application to the specific facts.

I hope you find this information helpful, please let me know if I can be of any further assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,

JOHN CONGER,  
Performing the Duties of the  
Assistant Secretary of Defense.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

##### TRIBUTE TO MAJOR GENERAL R. MARTIN UMBARGER

• Mr. DONNELLY. Mr. President, today I recognize and honor the extraordinary service of MG R. Martin Umbarger, the Adjutant General of Indiana, and to wish him well upon his retirement. A dedicated and loyal public servant, Major General Umbarger has served the people of Indiana and the United States in the Indiana Army National Guard for more than 45 years.

A native of Bargersville, IN, Major General Umbarger enlisted in the Indiana Army National Guard in 1969 after graduating from the University of Evansville. Shortly thereafter, in June 1971, he was commissioned as a second lieutenant, Infantry Branch, following his graduation from the Indiana Military Academy as a Distinguished Military Graduate. Since then, he has dedicated more than four decades to serving his State and his country. Some of his notable assignments include serving as Commanding General of the 76th Infantry Brigade; the Assistant Division Commander for Training, 38th Infantry Division; and the Deputy Commanding General, Reserve Component, U.S. Forces Command. On March 11, 2004, Gov. Joseph Kernan appointed Major General Umbarger to lead the Nation's fourth-largest National Guard contingent as the Adjutant General of Indiana, a position he was reappointed to by Gov. Mitch Daniels on December 1, 2004, and further reappointed by Gov. Mike Pence on December 13, 2012.

During the past 11 years as the Adjutant General, Major General Umbarger has led the Indiana Army and Air National Guard, as well as the more than 15,800 Indiana Guard, Reserve, and State employees, challenging them to embody the National Guard's motto, "Always Ready, Always There." He has directed the training and deployment of nearly every unit of the Indiana Army and Air National Guard in support of the global war on terror and helped establish and oversee the well-respected J9 Resilience Program to support Guard members and their families during predeployment, deployment, and postdeployment. He also served as a member of the Secretary of the Army's Reserve Forces Policy Committee and the Secretary of Defense's Reserve Forces Policy Board.