

about what I saw because he didn't have that clearance.

I have never been through something like this. For me to go home to West Virginia and say, with all full knowledge and my ability to make a decision on the facts I have in front of me, that I support or I do not support it for these reasons—I can't really do that. I am not really sure if I could support it. Maybe I can support TPP. But I am really objectionable to TPA by not having that opportunity to have input in TPP.

I think that is where I fall. And with a 51-vote threshold, I am not going to have any input to represent the people of West Virginia. With all due respect, that is where I am on this.

Mr. HATCH. I understand the distinguished Senator. Let me say that we all have to make our own individual decisions here.

I would encourage you to reconsider because I think we have a good bill that is far better than it has been in the past. Frankly, it is your administration that is putting this forward, and I am doing everything I can to help this administration get this through.

Mr. MANCHIN. I understand.

Mr. HATCH. Remember that this is the procedural mechanism that gives Congress the right to really know what is going on and to really look at these matters. That is why we put in these particular provisions, which, as far as I know, are better than they have ever been. So Members of Congress will have an opportunity to know what is in these bills. I don't know fully what is in TPP, myself, and I am going to be one of the most interested people on Earth when that comes, if not the most interested, and when we finally agree. It is still not a completed agreement, as far as I know.

All I can say is I think we provide enough time in this bill for anybody who is sincere enough and dedicated enough to look at it.

Mr. MANCHIN. Senator, if you do see something, let's say, as the bill unfolds and comes to its completion, that you really think is going to harm the people of Utah, you are not going to have any input to change that harm. And it is only going to take 51 votes to pass it, even if harm is in there for Utah.

Mr. HATCH. We will have the ability to take this floor, and those in the House to take the House floor, and fight against it if you disagree with it and it starts to get 51 votes.

The administration knows that. They know they can't do a slovenly agreement. They have got to do a good agreement in order to get both sides up here to, in a bipartisan way, accept the agreement for our country.

Mr. MANCHIN. I just feel very strongly that this most reasonable thing that we have asked for is something that was done under President Bush. I think it was in his wisdom to put it out there before. There was nothing to hide.

If we looked into their dialogue back at that period of time, they felt it was

necessary, as Senator WARREN mentioned, to get the public's buy-in, to get support from the public. So they were proud of what they put into it.

I am not saying things in here aren't good and won't be good for this country. But there might be some things that could be improved upon that would make it much better for this country.

I have lost 31,000 manufacturing jobs since NAFTA. It is hard when I go through my State and I look at people struggling. The jobs have not returned. They have not come to our little State. We did not see the uptick.

I am not saying my State represents every State, but I am sure there are parts of every State that have been hit pretty hard by this, and we want to make sure we get this one right. That is all we have asked for.

So I am sorry you had to object. I hope you understand our position on this.

Mr. HATCH. I do, and I appreciate the distinguished Senator and his efforts to represent his State. I know he does a very good job. I know the senior Senator from Massachusetts is doing a very good job. We are friends. This isn't going to change that. All I can say is that we disagree respectfully. I think I have made this as palatable as we possibly could under the circumstances.

The point I have been making is that the agreement is available 60 days before it is even signed. So it isn't as if people will not have a chance to look at it or to fight against it or talk to the President—whoever that might be.

The fact of the matter is that I am not sure that it should be longer than 60 plus 60 plus, I think, another 60.

So all I can say is that I have to object, as manager of this bill. I never feel good about objecting to something my colleagues want. I respect your desire to have as much information as you can. I respect the senior Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. MANCHIN. Would the Senator be kind enough to yield for a question from the Senator from Massachusetts if I would yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia has the floor.

Mr. MANCHIN. I yield for the Senator from Massachusetts for the purpose of a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Ms. WARREN. Mr. President, I just want to say to the Senator from Utah how much I respect his leadership in this Senate and his leadership on so many important issues.

All I want to say about this is that we are just asking for the trade deal to be made public before we have this crucial vote about whether there will be any opportunity in the future to amend the trade deal, to slow down the trade deal or—as the Senator from West Virginia says—if we really find objectionable parts, to be able to block it. We are just asking for some transparency

before we have this crucial vote on the TPA. We don't want to see fast-track until the American public can evaluate the deal. That is all we are asking for at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. I would like the floor. But I would yield the floor to Senator HATCH, and then ask my friends to stay on the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from California.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate be in a period of morning business until 4 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each, and that the time during morning business count postcloture.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from California.

FAST-TRACK AUTHORITY

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I thank my colleagues, Senators WARREN and MANCHIN, because what they tried to do here is to give to the American people the same opportunity they had when George W. Bush was President and a trade deal was being negotiated. Before fast-track came up, everybody saw the deal.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be added as a cosponsor to their bill.

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

Mrs. BOXER. I appreciate that. I am proud to stand with them on this. And I do respect Senator HATCH. He is my dear friend. But let's be clear. When you go down to that secret room—and I had the same experience as Senator MANCHIN. I couldn't take the proper staffers because they didn't have the clearance.

This isn't about fighting ISIS or the war in Syria or any other very high security matter. It is about a trade deal that is supposed to be negotiated in the best interests of the people of this country.

All my friends are saying is that before we give this President the ability to fast-track this deal, let's look at it. Here is what happens when he gets fast-track authority: Not one Member of this Senate and not one Member of the House can offer any amendment whatsoever.

I think the Senator from West Virginia was very clear on the point. What if we find out that there is something horrible in there for our State?

The Senator from Massachusetts pointed out that there are whole parts of this deal—and I know I am not speaking out of turn here—where it

just says that they are still being negotiated. So how the heck do we know what we are even voting on? And here we have given away the store in this last vote so that we will not have an opportunity to make it better.

When my friend talked about how many jobs were lost in West Virginia after NAFTA, my heart sank. Those are a lot of jobs in a smaller State. My State is a large State. We lost about 80,000-plus jobs. That is a lot. We are a larger State, though.

Percentage-wise, you had 2 million and at the time we had about 30 million. So in terms of percentages, your people suffered mightily. But we suffered mightily. More than 80,000 families lost their jobs.

I don't want to keep my colleagues on the floor, but I am only going to speak for 60 seconds more because my colleague from Delaware is such a pal and said I could go before him.

I have a very simple amendment I am fighting to get a vote on. Listen to what it is. It simply says you cannot get fast-track authority to negotiate with any country that doesn't pay at least a \$2 minimum wage. I ask the people who are watching this debate here and at home: Do you know that out of the 12 countries we are negotiating with, 7 of them have less than a \$2 minimum wage?

Let me be specific. Chile has a \$1.91 minimum wage. Malaysia has a \$1.21 minimum wage. Peru has a \$1.15 minimum wage. Mexico has an 80-cent minimum wage.

Do you remember NAFTA? Let's do NAFTA. It is going to raise the standard of living in Mexico, and the Mexican people won't come across the border. We had all those factory jobs leave. And in this, Mexico is part of this deal.

How about Vietnam? 58 cents. And how about Brunei and Singapore? They have no minimum wage.

What kind of a chance do our workers have? I don't care how productive they are. We have the most productive workers. The people in these countries are very smart. They are terrific.

Mr. MANCHIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be added as a cosponsor on that amendment.

Mrs. BOXER. Absolutely.

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

Ms. WARREN. I ask unanimous consent to be added as a cosponsor on that amendment.

Mrs. BOXER. Absolutely, I am very proud to have Senator WARREN.

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

Mrs. BOXER. What kind of chance do our workers have? Do you think a manufacturer in their right mind is going to stay here when they can go to Vietnam and have some terrific people?

I know the Vietnamese community in my home State is fantastic. They are fantastic leaders. They are fantastic workers. It is sad that the ones who are left behind earn 58 cents an hour. What chance do our workers have?

Now, we have 12 million manufacturing jobs left in this Nation of ours—

this greatest of Nations. What kind of chance do they have? Do you know that I cannot get this amendment up for a vote? I think I know the reason. They do not want to have to vote against it. I am still hopeful. I am holding out hope. I am fighting for it. But it seems to me when you are saying to the American people: Do you want your Senator to have to go downstairs to a secure room, give up your electronics to a clerk, be told that if you take notes you have to leave them behind so the clerk can read it, but your staff cannot read it, you cannot discuss it with the people who do not have top clearance for the trade agreement?

Then, you have to have the amendment that Senators WARREN and MANCHIN have offered, which simply says: Make the trade agreement public before we give exceptional fast-track authority to any President. I do not care who it is—Democrat or Republican—this is not a partisan issue.

I have voted for half of the trade agreements, so I have voted for many trade agreements but not with countries that pay slave wages. Let's be clear.

This is a tough day for the U.S. Senate. I know we have been split up every which way on this, but I think there are certain things we have learned from this debate: Secrecy is no good. I respect my President. I have talked to him. I know in his heart he is doing what he thinks is right, but when he says this is not secret and everyone has access to it, I say to my President and I say to my friend Senator HATCH: This is not an open process.

The secrecy is ludicrous. It is ridiculous. It is against the interests of the people we represent. I represent close to 40 million people. As Senator MANCHIN said, those people count on us, but if we do not know what is in an agreement, how can we be wise about what we want to say about it and what we want to do about it?

I want to thank my friends for coming down here this afternoon. I know this is hard on the Senate. We are going to probably be here a very long time. But the fact is that people depend on us, and I am proud to stand with them.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

OUR COUNTRY'S TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, I have come to the floor to discuss the need to strengthen the transportation system of our country, our roads, our highways, our bridges—our transportation system. A long time ago, the question was asked: What is the role of government? If you ask 500 people, you probably will not get 100 different answers, but you will get a lot of different answers.

Abraham Lincoln was once asked: What is the role of government? This is what he said: The role of the govern-

ment is to do for the people what they cannot do for themselves. Let me say that again. The role of government is to do for the people what they cannot do for themselves.

Sometimes I go to schools and young students ask me: What do you do? The kids in elementary schools, third, fourth, fifth graders say: What do you do?

I tell them I am a United States Senator.

They say: What do you do?

I tell them I help make the rules for our country. We call them laws. I do that with 99 other Senators, 435 Representatives, the President, and the Vice President.

They say: Well, what else do you do?

I tell them I help people. I help people. The best way to help somebody is to make sure they have a job—to make sure they have a job.

I had the privilege of being Governor of Delaware for 8 years. I am told that in those 8 years, more jobs were created in Delaware than any 8 years in Delaware history. I did not create one of them.

We have seen in the last 6-plus years in this country some 12 million jobs created. I did not create one of them. My colleagues did not create those jobs. The President and the Vice President did not create those jobs.

What we are responsible for doing here is to create a nurturing environment for job creation, access to capital—to money—for businesses that need to raise money, a world-class workforce, public safety, clean environment, public health, a Tax Code that is fair and reasonable, regulations that embody common sense and reflect common sense.

We actually have, believe it or not, on each of our desks on the floor, a book. It is called the "Senate Manual." We do not look at it that often, but if you go to one of the sections about two-thirds of the way through the book, you will find the Constitution. The Constitution lays out who is responsible for what generally in our country, for different responsibilities that do fall on government.

There is a section in the Constitution—I am not going to read it, but Senator JIM INHOFE of Oklahoma has oftentimes referred to it—where it talks about the obligation and responsibility of the Federal Government to post roads—post roads. For years, that has been read and interpreted to mean to build some roads, some highways, and some bridges.

As time goes by, we have more and more people to build transit systems as well. As it turns out, as we go along in time—after being a country for almost 225 years or so, one of the most important things that we do in creating a nurturing environment for job creation and job preservation is to make sure our country has transportation systems—roads, highways, bridges, transit