

people" who could be pushed to attack U.S. targets.

"It's like the devil sitting on their shoulders saying, 'Kill, kill, kill,'" Comey told reporters.

The United States has entered a "new phase, in my view, in the global terrorist threat," Jeh Johnson, director of Homeland Security, said Friday on MSNBC.

"We have to be concerned about the independent actor, and the independent actor who is here in the homeland who may strike with little or no warning," he said. "The nature of the global terrorist threat has evolved."

That poses a special challenge for U.S. intelligence and law enforcement agencies, which spent years desperately trying to penetrate and understand Al Qaeda's rigid hierarchy and top-down approach to terrorism.

Now they are struggling to detect and prevent lethal attacks by individuals—such as the April 2013 bombing of the Boston Marathon by two Russian-born brothers—with little or no outside communication or support.

The administration has sought to stiffen homeland defenses, and intelligence gathering, in response.

This month, U.S. Northern Command boosted security at all bases in the United States. Officials cited the May 3 shooting in Texas, specific threats against military personnel and the increasing number of Americans communicating with Islamic State supporters.

In March, a group calling itself "Islamic State Hacking Division" posted online the names, home addresses and photos of 100 U.S. troops. The group wrote on Twitter that it was posting the apparent hit list "so that our brothers residing in America can deal with you."

More armed guards have been deployed at federal buildings across the country, and Homeland Security officials have quietly urged more security at privately run facilities and infrastructure that could be targeted, including shopping malls, railroads, water treatment facilities and nuclear power generators.

"Since last summer we have ramped up security at federal installations across the country, and we have increased our outreach with critical infrastructure operators," a senior Homeland Security official said in an interview.

Authorities have urged companies to conduct more "active shooter" drills to "heighten awareness and make sure people are leaning forward with security protocols," he said. The official was not authorized to publicly discuss internal communications and security measures.

Defeating Islamic State will take not only the ongoing military operations in Iraq and Syria, U.S. officials said, but stronger international efforts to block foreign recruits from joining and to cut the group's financing networks. Officials acknowledge they also need better messaging to counter a barrage of polished videos, social media and Internet appeals from the militants.

"It's a long-term challenge," Brett McGurk, deputy assistant secretary of State for Near Eastern affairs, told CNN. "We have not seen this before. And it's going to take a very long time to defeat them."

Still, attacking Western targets is not the group's top priority, as it was for Osama bin Laden, according to Seth Jones, a former U.S. counter-terrorism official now with Rand Corp., the Santa Monica-based think tank. The group is far more focused on the battleground in Iraq and Syria, and establishing ties to terrorist groups in Libya, Yemen, Algeria and elsewhere.

Without a strong hand to help direct and organize attacks abroad, they are "likely to

be less sophisticated," Jones said. "You actually need a lot of training to conduct a Madrid-style attack or a London-style attack. Those kinds of bombs are hard to put together."

Most of the 30 Americans arrested this year were suspected of aiding or trying to join Islamic State. Many were approached on social media or on chat programs designed for cellphones.

In March, for example, a 22-year-old Army National Guard specialist was arrested at Chicago Midway International Airport as he allegedly attempted to join Islamic State in Syria. The FBI said he had downloaded military training manuals to take with him and told an undercover agent he was prepared to "bring the flames of war" to the United States.

That same month, a retired Air Force avionics instrument specialist was indicted in Brooklyn, N.Y., on suspicion of trying to travel to Syria to join the group. Prosecutors in Brooklyn also have charged three other men with seeking to link up with the militants.

And on Thursday, the FBI arrested a former interpreter for the U.S. military in Iraq, now a naturalized American citizen, who had tried to travel to Syria from Texas. In June he had used Twitter to "pledge obedience" to Islamic State.

"As a numbers game, it is pretty easy for ISIS to reach out to a very large number of people using a very robust social media presence," said J.M. Berger, a nonresident fellow at the Brookings Institution, using a common acronym for Islamic State.

"I suspect we should see more plots going forward," he added.

#### RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

**THE PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Democratic leader is recognized.

#### HELPING THE MIDDLE CLASS

**MR. REID.** Madam President, I think everyone knows that I disagree with the reasoning for the trade bill. Based on my experience of looking at trade bills that have passed the Congress in years past, it is not going to help the people whom I want to help.

I am happy that multinational corporations are doing well, but my first goal is not them. It is people who work for a living, middle-class Americans, who work so hard, first of all to find a job, and then once they find a job, they do everything they can to hang on to that job. The trade bill is another example of how we have ignored in this Congress the working men and women of this country.

I so admire our ranking member of the banking committee, Senator BROWN of Ohio. He has done a remarkably good job of pointing out what is wrong with the trade bill. It passed, and I accept this. The vast majority of Democrats opposed it, but there are some who didn't. I respect them, and I respect their judgment. I am not here to criticize them. I am here to criticize the underlying legislation. This Republican-led Senate has done nothing to help the middle class. It doesn't matter what you look to—minimum wage, equal pay for men and women, the bur-

den of student debt, and, of course, the tremendous lack of impetus to do something about our surface transportation system, our highways.

We have 64,000 bridges in America that are structurally deficient. Fifty percent of our highway roads are deficient, and we do nothing. Likely, what will happen here in the next day or two is that we will extend the highway authorization for 60 days. It should be pretty easy to do because we have done it 32 other times.

Since the Republicans came to town and started flexing their muscles, we found a situation where they were unwilling to help middle-class Americans. Think about that. Our country has 64,000 bridges that are structurally deficient. Does this really matter? Well, talk to the people of Minnesota. One of their bridges collapsed and 13 people died. Of course it matters, and we are ignoring it as a Congress, and that is not right.

Ray LaHood, a Republican, who was Secretary of Transportation for President Obama for a long time, said that our transportation system should be called the pothole because that is all the highways are anymore.

The trade bill is an example of not helping the middle class, and it is an example of how we focus on multinational corporations.

My friend the Republican leader talked about the FISA bill, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. The Republican leader and I are friends. We have served together for decades here in this body. But with all due respect to him, I think I will take the word and opinion of the head of the FBI, the Attorney General of the United States, and the man who is in charge of all of our intelligence, James Clapper, who has said, without any question, that the bill that passed the House of Representatives—by almost 390 votes—is what we should be doing here.

Among other things, in a letter they wrote to Senators LEAHY and LEE, they say:

The Intelligence Community believes that the bill preserves essential operational capabilities of the telephone metadata program and enhances other intelligence capabilities needed to protect our Nation and its partners.

I repeat, the bill passed by a 4-to-1 margin in the House of Representatives. My friend the Republican leader talks continually about bipartisanship. We have a piece of legislation out of the House. It was one of the rare times where bipartisan efforts were made and they worked. They passed this bill, and we should do the same before we leave here rather than extend this program.

Efforts have been made to extend a program that has already been declared by the Second Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States as illegal. How can we extend an illegal act? That is what some of the talk is from the other side of the aisle. I think that is unfortunate, and I think we should make sure that before we leave here, we do what

our intelligence community suggested to us, and in very strong words—that we simply move forward on the legislation that has a name that maybe says it all, and that is the USA FREEDOM Act. That is what that legislation is, and we should pass that.

We know there is work to be done on the trade legislation, and I am happy to work with Senator BROWN, Senator WYDEN, and anyone else who has a way of moving forward on that.

#### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

**THE PRESIDING OFFICER.** Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

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

**THE PRESIDING OFFICER.** Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of H.R. 1314, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A 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.

Pending:

Hatch amendment No. 1221, in the nature of a substitute.

Hatch (for Flake) amendment No. 1243 (to amendment No. 1221), to strike the extension of the trade adjustment assistance program.

Hatch (for Inhofe/Coons) modified amendment No. 1312 (to amendment No. 1221), to amend the African Growth and Opportunity Act to require the development of a plan for each sub-Saharan African country for negotiating and entering into free trade agreements.

Hatch (for McCain) amendment No. 1226 (to amendment No. 1221), to repeal a duplicative inspection and grading program.

Stabenow (for Portman) amendment No. 1299 (to amendment No. 1221), to make it a principal negotiating objective of the United States to address currency manipulation in trade agreements.

Brown amendment No. 1251 (to amendment No. 1221), to require the approval of Congress before additional countries may join the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement.

Wyden (for Shaheen) amendment No. 1227 (to amendment No. 1221), to make trade agreements work for small businesses.

Wyden (for Warren) amendment No. 1327 (to amendment No. 1221), to prohibit the application of the trade authorities procedures to an implementing bill submitted with respect to a trade agreement that includes investor-state dispute settlement.

Hatch modified amendment No. 1411 (to the language proposed to be stricken by amendment No. 1299), of a perfecting nature.

**THE PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, as we resume the debate of our Nation's trade policy, I want to take a few minutes to provide an update about where things really are, where we are going, and the possibility of a path forward.

We took a big step yesterday, and I thank all of my colleagues who voted for cloture, once again, for helping us to get closer to the finish.

I am, of course, aware that a number of Senators have concerns about the process and amendments. I understand those concerns. As I said yesterday, I would have preferred a different path for moving this bill. It was always my preference to consider more amendments and have a fuller debate on these important issues. I know that is what the majority leader wanted, as well.

Sadly, there were some who just did not want to cooperate, and instead of moving directly to the bill, we had to negotiate around a filibuster. Then, instead of bringing up and debating amendments, we spent a lot of time addressing concerns and overcoming objections.

I am not going to point fingers or complain about anyone who chooses to exercise their rights under the Senate rules to slow down the debate. We are all well aware that a number of Senators would love to prolong this debate forever to keep the TPA bill from passing. But with a bill this important, we had to find a way forward, which led to a cloture motion and yesterday's vote.

But even now that cloture has been invoked, I am still working to try to reach a reasonable accommodation to address Senators' concerns. Both sides worked late into the night to try to come up with an agreement on time and amendments in order to give Senators an opportunity to make their case. Up to now, no deal has been reached, which from my point of view is unfortunate. And keep in mind that under the rules, we don't have an obligation to do that. We bent over backwards to try to solve this problem, but so far, no deal has been reached.

I am still willing to work with my colleagues to address their concerns, although it is becoming increasingly clear that some concerns are beyond accommodation. But I am always an optimist. As I said yesterday, if any of my colleagues have a reasonable proposal to solve this impasse and allow us to consider more amendments, I am all ears. But as of right now, cloture is invoked and only pending, germane amendments can be considered without an agreement.

Until that time, however, one thing is clear: Absent an agreement on time and votes, the Senate will deal with pending amendments and vote on whether to invoke cloture on TPA this evening. I am, of course, more than willing to wait that long, but I am sure there are many in this Chamber who would prefer to see a solution come together before then.

Let's work together. Let's find a way to hear more amendments and address more issues. I hope people will be willing to work with us on a reasonable path forward, but if not, it appears that the clock, more than anything else, will determine how this debate will unfold.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 1299

Mr. President, later today the Senate will vote on the Portman-Stabenow currency manipulation amendment.

Up to now, we have all heard more than our fair share of arguments about this amendment. I want to take a few more minutes today to express my opposition to the Portman-Stabenow amendment and to explain to my colleagues why they should vote against it.

I want to reiterate that the Obama administration has made it abundantly clear that if this amendment gets adopted, President Obama will veto the TPA bill. As I have already said a number of times, a vote for the Portman-Stabenow amendment is a vote to kill TPA. That would be, indeed, tragic.

I know that all of my colleagues are aware of the statements made by Secretary Lew and the White House on this matter. I also know that a number of my colleagues who support Portman-Stabenow have said that they don't believe the President would veto the TPA bill over this amendment.

Well, let's say, for the sake of argument, that they are right—but only for the sake of argument. Let's assume that the administration is bluffing. Should we call that bluff? Should we pass the amendment and dare the President to make good on his veto threat? The answer to that question is an emphatic no.

Even if we take veto threats and administration statements of opposition completely out of the equation, one fact still remains: The Portman-Stabenow amendment is bad policy for America, and it is far too risky.

Earlier this week, I laid out four separate negative consequences that would result from the Portman-Stabenow amendment, and I would like to reiterate those concerns here today.

First, the Portman-Stabenow amendment would derail the Trans-Pacific Partnership. Once again, we know that this is the case. I have chatted with Japanese leaders, and they tell me this is the case. That is a very important aspect of what we are trying to do here. We are trying to get Japan, for the first time, to agree to a trade policy that works. I think we have a new leadership there that wants to agree, and we ought to help them.

None of our negotiating partners would sign a trade agreement that included the kinds of rules mandated by the Portman-Stabenow amendment. We have already heard from countries such as Japan that they would walk away from the agreement if the United States were making these types of demands.

Furthermore, the United States would never agree to these types of demands, either. What country would willingly sign a trade agreement that would subject their monetary policies to potential trade sanctions? No country that I am aware of.

I heard some of my colleagues respond to these claims the same way they responded to the President's veto threat. They don't believe Japan when they say they will walk away from the TPP or they say that any country refusing to accede to these types of