

to a better paying career. In other words, service jobs are presented as great jobs for people who do not really need them, in many instances. The truth is, people do need these jobs, and many of the holders of these jobs are adults who depend on that paycheck to pay rent or child care. Many are former industrial workers simply trying to exist in the new economy.

Studies of counties in Colorado, Missouri, and Mississippi found a declining standard of living for workers and their communities as they moved from manufacturing jobs to service jobs.

Martha Burt of the Urban Institute found that the growth of homelessness in the United States in the 1980s was not, as commonly supposed, the result of drug addiction, or the deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill, nor the cutbacks in social programs during the Reagan administration, but the shift from an industrial economy to a service economy. With the decline in manufacturing jobs in the 1970s, she explains, huge numbers of former full-time factory workers earning union wages were replaced with part-time workers in retail stores, restaurants, and other service jobs, where wages are too low to enable them to afford the price of housing.

The facts are, as the Stearns Trustee Professor of Political Economy at Northeastern University, Barry Bluestone, emphasizes, even workers who retain manufacturing jobs also face a bleak future, a future of a declining standard of living, if we do not revise our trade policies and insist upon effective labor and environmental standards in our trade agreements. This is because competition from countries which lack, or do not enforce, labor and environmental standards, continues to have a large, negative impact on employment in key sectors of our economy, and on American wages and living standards across the board.

With the rise of international competition and the shift to lower wage service jobs in the United States, real wages have stagnated, making life much more difficult for all American workers. Real average weekly earnings peaked in 1972 at \$315.44. Today, even with some recovery in real wages due to the rapid growth in the economy in the 1990s, the average weekly wage is nearly 12 percent less than at its peak.

This decline in real wages is forcing American workers to work longer hours than ever before in order to maintain their living standards. They are running in place—sweating on a treadmill operated by the hyper zealots of free trade regardless of consequences. In fact, the United States is the only major developed country that has experienced an increase in the average workweek and the average work year. Since 1982, the average workweek among prime-age workers in the United States has increased from 39.6 hours to 41.3 in 2000.

This means that the average work year has increased from around 1,840

hours to over 2,020. Put simply, stagnating wages are forcing Americans to work longer and longer hours just to maintain their standard of living. They are not getting ahead. They are simply maintaining what they have worked so hard for, if, indeed, they are even maintaining that.

This is why the Congress must protect and exercise its right to amend trade agreements. Why do we give away Congress' power to amend trade agreements?

We must insist on establishing universal labor and environmental standards. We must insist on protecting American industries from even more devastation by unfair competition from firms operating abroad, exploiting cheap labor pools, and tolerating working conditions which are unacceptably harsh, and environmental standards which are nonexistent.

These essential universal labor and environmental standards can be extracted only through our trade agreements.

In the 1930s, the United States instituted a range of laws and regulations to protect workers and the environment. We did this at the Federal level so that individual States could not take unfair advantage of other States by lowering their minimum wages, permitting child and prison labor, ignoring occupational and safety provisions, eliminating or reducing unemployment benefits, or disregarding environmental standards. We leveled the playing field domestically. No one could manipulate for advantage.

Now we must level the playing field in international competition, where American workers are too often forced to play by the rules in a rigged game. In our new, globalized economy, we run the risk of undermining our own hard won labor and environmental standards if other countries choose to have none of their own or refuse to enforce reasonable requirements. Congress, which has the constitutional power, and therefore the duty "to regulate commerce with foreign nations," must have the means to insist on reasonable labor and environmental standards as part of any and all trade agreements. This is to the benefit not only of American workers, but also of workers, both children and adults, who are laboring under oppressive, unsafe, and unhealthy conditions in other lands.

Over the years, I have seen administrations—Republican and Democratic—repeatedly negotiate trade agreements that reflected priorities other than those of the American people. I say that with a background of 50 years in Congress, the House of Representatives and the Senate, so let me say it again. I have seen administrations—Republican and Democratic—repeatedly negotiate trade agreements that reflected priorities other than those of the American people. I have seen this Nation genuflect at the altar of big business interests. I have witnessed the holy battle cry of "free trade" become

a club by which to beat into submission any voice that expressed an argument for balance and fairness. That is understandably the outcome of trade talks that ignore the constitutional role of the Congress in international commerce.

While it is not surprising that Republican and Democratic administrations would attempt to enter into trade agreements that reflect their own priorities, it is absolutely distressing—it is extremely puzzling to this Senator—that the Members of Congress would willingly give up their right to shape trade agreements that reflect the priorities of the American people, and the best interests of the United States. It just demonstrates how cowed and how intimidating we in public life have become by the absolute terror of bumper sticker politics. Free trade is the battle cry. Don't complicate it with real world concerns.

As a U.S. Senator from West Virginia, I am always—first, last, and all the time—for the protection of the interests of this country, of this Nation's workers, and this country's manufacturing industries and I am going to continue being that way by opposing the granting of blanket fast track authority for this or any other President.

Call it trade promotion authority, if you will—it is still fast track—to give away American interests when it comes to trade.

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 the order for the quorum call be dispensed with.

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

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

NOMINATION OF PAUL G. CASSELL, OF UTAH, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF UTAH

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now go into executive session and proceed to the consideration of Executive Calendar No. 815, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Paul G. Cassell, of Utah, to be United States District Judge for the District of Utah.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the time until 6 p.m. will be for debate on the nomination, equally divided between the