

should do all we can to increase fuel efficiency of our cars and our trucks. But we have to do it in a way that is realistic and that doesn't cost thousands of autoworkers, in places such as Louisville, Bowling Green, and Georgetown, KY, and countless other communities across the country, literally eliminating their work.

Every summer, our good friends on the other side dust off the old class warfare playbook and blame our gas prices on cigar-chomping oil executives. Look, price gouging is wrong. If it is found, it should be punished. But the other side has called countless hearings to try to pin down big oil on price gouging and they haven't come up with the goods yet. It is time to put away the playbook and do something that can help Americans who are suffering every day from high gas prices.

Republicans are eager to move forward on this energy legislation. We are acutely aware of the dangers associated with our dependence on foreign sources of oil. But we can address all of these dangers responsibly, and we should start with the most immediate concern, which is gas prices. Increasing refinery capacity and domestic production should be our goal in this debate. After all, the purpose of an energy bill is to reduce the cost of energy and that is what Republicans intend to do.

I yield the floor.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will be a period for the transaction of morning business for 60 minutes, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each, the time equally divided and controlled between the two leaders or their designees. The first half shall be under the control of the majority, of which 20 minutes shall be under the control of Mr. BROWN or his designee and the second half shall be under the control of the Republicans.

The Senator from Ohio is recognized under the order.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the 20 minutes time be divided among myself, Senator STABENOW, and Senator DORGAN and that we will, during this 20 minutes, do a colloquy and discussion.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### TRADE POLICY

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, it is pretty clear, as we survey the landscape around our great country, what has happened to manufacturing jobs and what has happened to our economy. Over and over, in my State of Ohio, I know, and Senator STABENOW's State of Michigan, we have seen huge job losses, especially in manufacturing. In my State, since 2000, Ohio has lost 1,800 manufacturing companies, more than 200,000 jobs with average wages of

\$48,000, according to the Northeast Ohio Campaign for American Manufacturing. We also know that American workers, when it is a level playing field, can outcompete workers, can outcompete small businesses, can outcompete companies all over the world—when there is a level playing field.

Last week, Senator STABENOW and others participated in a manufacturing summit. She brought leaders of small businesses and large manufacturers to the Nation's Capitol with labor leaders and other people who care about manufacturing. We discussed how we remain competitive, how we shape trade policies to help not hurt our small- and medium-sized manufacturers. At that summit, an Ohio businessman named John Colm walked up to me with a stack of fliers. They were auction notices. He had received 47 of them in the last 4 months. These notices were for "going out of business" sales; they were companies selling off assets, in essence cannibalizing their companies, selling their machinery at rock-bottom prices—all that this manufacturing crisis has done to small manufacturers and large manufacturers but especially small companies in our communities.

We also know how U.S. trade policy has failed American business, especially small business, especially small manufacturers. We know the year I first ran for Congress, in 1992, we had a trade deficit in this country of \$38 billion. Today our trade deficit, whether you count services or not, exceeds either \$700 billion or \$800 billion—from \$38 billion to \$700 billion to \$800 billion in a decade and a half. Our trade deficit with China went from low double digits a decade and a half ago to somewhere in the vicinity of \$250 billion today.

President Bush, Sr., the first President Bush, said for every \$1 billion in trade deficit, it costs a country somewhere in the vicinity of 13,000 jobs. You do the math and you figure how many jobs we have lost, in part, because of our trade policy.

The response of the administration is: Let's do more of these trade agreements. We have already had NAFTA, we have already had PNTR with China, we have already had CAFTA and Singapore and Chile and Morocco and Jordan; let's do more, let's do a trade agreement with Panama, let's do one with Peru, let's do one with Colombia, let's do one with South Korea. The fact is, this trade policy is the wrong direction for our country.

In elections last fall, where Senator STABENOW, who has been a leader on trade and manufacturing, was reelected with a huge margin in a State that has been devastated by bad trade policies; in my State, and Senator WEBB's, Senator SANDERS', Senator TESTER's, the Presiding Officer's, and Senator CARDIN's—in all of our States, the voters spoke loudly and clearly that our trade policy has failed our middle class. Our trade policy has failed small business. Our trade policy has failed

our communities. When a company shuts down with 300 workers in Steubenville or Lima or Dayton or Finley—when a company shuts down, it devastates a community. It means schoolteachers are laid off, police and firefighters are laid off. It means people are not as safe in their communities as their economy deteriorates.

I will close and turn the podium over to Senator STABENOW with a brief mention of energy. Senator REID, the majority leader, spoke about energy. He spoke about Democratic accomplishments today and talked about the energy bill coming up. I wish to illustrate, for a moment, how energy policy can matter and make a difference in manufacturing. At Oberlin College, a community not too far from where I live, between Cleveland and Toledo, on the campus of Oberlin College is located the largest building on any college campus in America that is fully powered by solar energy. When speaking to David Orr, the professor who helped raise the money to build this building, he told me the solar panels that power this building at Oberlin College—a whole roof, a large expanse of roof or solar panels—they were bought in Germany and Japan because we don't make enough of them. Go west of there, where the University of Toledo is doing some of the best wind turbine research in the country. Yet we are not building the turbines and the components and the solar panels and solar cells in this country. This Energy bill we will discuss today, this week and next week, coupled with a real manufacturing policy as Senator STABENOW has articulated over the last several years, can mean more good-paying industrial manufacturing jobs in our country, can help to stabilize energy prices, and can make a difference in rebuilding the middle class in Ohio, Michigan, North Dakota—all over this country.

I yield the floor to Senator STABENOW and thank her for her leadership.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, thank you to my colleague from Ohio. It is so wonderful to have this strong voice, a leader in the House of Representatives on trade and manufacturing and all the issues that affect middle-class families and to now have Senator BROWN joining us in the Senate. It is such a benefit for all of us who care deeply about keeping the middle class in this country, about making sure we move forward with a 21st century manufacturing strategy that works for our country in a global economy. I thank the Senator from Ohio for his words and also join with him and with our wonderful colleague from North Dakota who has been such a champion on issues of fair trade.

First, I will start by reinforcing what has been happening to manufacturing in the last 6½ years. In this country, we have lost over 3 million manufacturing jobs. Why should we care about 3 million jobs that people raised their kids on, sent them to college—middle-

class families with good jobs, good incomes, with health care, with pensions? These are the jobs that have created the middle class of this country. That is not rhetoric. That is a fact.

These are those kinds of jobs, even though they are different. This is not your father's factory. These are new, advanced technology manufacturing jobs now that are being created. But in the future these are needed if we are going to keep the middle class of this country. That is why we are on the floor of the Senate, to express deep concern about the incredibly poor judgment and lack of attention coming from this administration and coming, in general, from those all together making policy that relates to trade and how we compete in a global economy.

We have to pay attention before it is too late, before we lose our economic competitiveness in a global economy, our ability to make things.

I believe any economy is based on the ability to make things and grow things and add value to that. We have to have a strong, vibrant manufacturing economy in order to be able to move forward and compete around the globe now.

We did hold a manufacturing summit, I think the first of its kind in the Senate, last week. I was very proud that Senator REID, our leader, enthusiastically supported us bringing together 70 different CEOs and high-ranking manufacturing leaders, as well as those representing their labor force, their unions, to come together and talk about what has happened in manufacturing and how we in the Senate can be supportive of keeping manufacturing competitive—a level playing field, which is all we are asking for in a global economy.

We heard some desperate pleas for us to pay attention to what is going on. Over and over again these CEO's talked with us about the fact that in a global economy, now competing with non-market economies such as China, they in fact are not competing with companies, they are competing with countries. We go out in the marketplace. There are rules required of our companies to be able to put a plant in another country or have local content in China with auto suppliers. You can't send it in and do business with China. You have to make the product there. Their country owns part of the business or provides great incentives, through a variety of other policies. Yet we are not paying attention. Unfortunately, this administration has not gotten what is happening when we talk about currency manipulation and counterfeiting and all the other policy issues that have put our companies at a disadvantage.

We are happy to export in a global economy. We wish to export our products, not our jobs. Right now we are exporting too many of our jobs.

What is the reality? When China went into the WTO in 2001, we were told two things: our trade deficit would

go down and that our jobs would go up. Unfortunately, the facts are exactly the opposite; a \$83 billion trade deficit with China. Last year that number skyrocketed to \$288 billion, from \$83 billion to \$288 billion. It is certainly not going down. We have seen the Economic Policy Institute release a study 2 weeks ago that revealed 1.8 million jobs have been displaced through trade with China alone since they entered the World Trade Organization. They promised they would follow the rules. That is part of how you become part of the WTO. We were told: Support them so they can become a part of this international organization, where they will be required to follow the same rules as everybody else. They have not and we have lost, with China alone, 1.8 million good-paying, middle-class jobs.

It is now time to say enough is enough. In fact, 11 agreements have been completed since this administration, new trade agreements. Yet to enforce the agreements, the money has actually gone down by 17 percent. There is no willingness to understand what is going on.

In the counterfeiting business, we have a \$12 billion counterfeit auto parts industry alone. What does that mean? These are auto parts coming in that do not meet our safety standards. The brakes may look the same, but if you go to a shelf and say I want this one because it is cheaper and put it in your car, it doesn't meet safety regulations. What happens when you are driving with your kids in the car? These are serious issues for what happens when auto parts are brought in, in a counterfeit manner.

Now, \$12 billion worth of counterfeit auto parts have come in. In fact, in the last 5 years, we have lost 250,000 jobs in America because of that, and we have seen six of our Nation's largest auto suppliers go into bankruptcy. This is no accident. We don't have a policy. We passed, here, a counterfeit policy to strengthen our counterfeiting laws and the administration doesn't even use those. They have turned a blind eye. We have lost 250,000 jobs. We have seen our largest auto suppliers going into bankruptcy—Delphi, Dana Corp., Collins & Aikman, Federal-Mogul, Tower Automotive, and Dura Automotive.

Our job is to fight for our businesses that are competing in a global economy where other countries are not following the rules.

Let me give one other example, and I will be happy to turn to my colleague from North Dakota, the issue of currency manipulation. When we say currency manipulation, most people's eyes glaze over. What does that mean? Because a country such as China or Japan, when it comes to the auto industry, purposely keeps their currency down in value, they get a discount on the exchange rate when they bring their product into this country. In China, for instance, again, where we look at an auto part, the same auto parts that are being pirated, snuck into

America or they are stealing the patents and making them illegally in China—if they actually bring them in, they also, on top of everything else, get a discount. They can sell the same auto part, the same bolt for \$60 that we sell for \$100 here, a \$40 difference.

When you add that up, that is a \$40 discount. On top of that, they are not paying health care the way we structure it. We are the only industrialized country that puts that on the backs of our businesses.

They are following a whole different set of rules. Their wages are dramatically lower. When we say to our auto suppliers or we say to our furniture makers or we say to others: Why can't you compete in a global economy, well, Mr. President, the manufacturers who joined us last week, and the great manufacturers in Michigan I go home and speak with every single weekend are saying: Look around you. We are competitive. We can be competitive. We are productive, but we have to have a Federal Government that partners with us so we have a level playing field on which to operate. Don't let the other team go down to the 20-yard line toward the goal. Put us both on the 50, have the level playing field, and we will compete with anybody and American ingenuity and hard work will win. That is what fair trade policies are all about.

I yield now to my colleague from North Dakota who comes to the floor every day speaking out on these issues and who has been a powerful voice for American workers and free trade.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, how much time remains?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from North Dakota has 4 minutes remaining.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, first of all, I thank my colleagues for their strong voice on trade.

I note this morning in the Washington Post that they have written one more "don't confuse us with the facts" editorial on trade. It is a creed that we see often in this newspaper. And this one is under the guise of criticizing Senator CLINTON for saying that she opposes the United States-Korea Free Trade Agreement.

In fact, let me read a part of the article. It says: If ratified, this Korean free-trade agreement, would be the most far-reaching trade agreement since the pact with Mexico and Canada.

Oh, really? Well, the pact with Mexico, we actually negotiated that when we had a trade surplus with Mexico. We have turned that into a \$60 billion-a-year deficit. The trade with Canada, we had a small deficit with Canada. We have turned it into a giant deficit.

So if the Washington Post compares this with the NAFTA and the Mexico and Canada trade pacts, they ought to go back and look at the facts.

But let me just say, if they choose to applaud this trade agreement as the

ideal of what trade agreements ought to be like, I think they have chosen the wrong tent pole.

Here is what is happening with trade. This is what the Washington Post is supporting: an avalanche of red ink, dramatic trade deficits, which means we have shipped American jobs overseas. I believe we have begun to undermine this country's economy.

With respect to automobile trade and Korea and this agreement, let me say we have already negotiated two agreements with Korea in the 1990s. They have not abided by either of them. They say: Yes, yes, yes. They sign up for the agreement, and they do not do anything with respect to the enforcement.

Here is what we have with Korea. Last year, they sent us 730,000 Korean cars to be sold in the United States. Guess what. We were able to sell 4,000 cars in Korea. Let me say that again. They shipped 730,000 cars to be sold here. We were able to sell 4,000 cars in Korea.

Fair trade? I don't think so. Ninety-nine percent of the cars driving on the streets of Korea are Korean-made because that is the way they want it. That is the way they will keep it. Go read the story about the Dodge Dakota pickup that we tried to sell in Korea, and how the Korean government blocked that. You will know all you need to know about Korea auto trade.

So when the Washington Post criticizes Senator CLINTON for standing up for this country's economic interests, I think it is a curious kind of thing for the Washington Post to do.

This issue of trade is about jobs, real jobs. And the people who have those jobs are the people who know about second shifts, second jobs, second mortgages. They are American workers trying to make a go of it in a global economy, supported by the Washington Post, that puts downward pressure on their wages, and says let's sign up for any trade agreement, even if it is unfair to this country's economic interests.

A group of us proposed that we do benchmarks with trade agreements. Let's find out whether there is the kind of benchmark and accountability that will meet the test of progress on the other side with respect to trade agreements. But this administration opposes that as well.

The reason I wanted to take the floor today was to talk about the Korean free-trade agreement. We could talk about most others, as well, but the editorial this morning criticizing Senator CLINTON is unbelievable, and deals with the Korean deal.

This is the weakest possible point the Washington Post could make, or those who support these trade agreements could make. The Koreans send us 700,000 cars. They will allow only 4,000 of ours into their marketplace. That is fair trade? So they say, let's sign up for a third agreement with them. How many bitter lessons do we have to

learn? What about accountability? What about benchmarks? Why won't this administration agree to benchmarks on trade agreements so that we can see whether we really are standing up for this country's economic interests?

Mr. President, in my judgment, it is not just the Washington Post but so many others here I think are experiencing a triumph of hope over real experience when they support trade agreements that we know to be bad agreements from this country's economic standpoint.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's time has expired.

The Senator from New Jersey.

#### ENERGY

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, as a member of the Energy Committee, I know a tremendous amount of work has been put into making this a strong energy package that will help us achieve energy self-reliance, lower gas prices, and reduce our greenhouse gas emissions.

Under Democratic leadership, we are headed into a new cleaner, greener, and more affordable energy future, one where we do not seek to treat our addiction to oil by drilling for yet more oil in the Arctic or off the east coast. This bill represents a bold step forward toward an economy that is based upon energy efficiency and renewable rather than fossil fuels.

I do believe, however, that there are a few key amendments that will make this good bill even better. The most important of these is Chairman BINGAMAN's renewable portfolio standard amendment, requiring that 15 percent of the Nation's electricity be produced from renewable sources by 2020. This forward-thinking provision is a declaration that our country is ready to be a renewable energy leader.

I often hear in the Halls of Congress that energy is a regional issue. If you represent a cold State, you probably support one set of policies; if your State grows corn or drills for oil, you support other policies.

I understand the passionate advocacy one must undertake on behalf of one's home State. But energy can no longer be viewed as a parochial issue that only affects local interests. We in the Senate have a responsibility to ensure that our local interests do not jeopardize the Nation's interests as a whole, nor can we stand in the way of this great Nation becoming a global leader on what has become a global issue.

For most of the past two centuries, this country has been blessed with an abundant supply of domestic energy, bountiful enough to provide us with all of the heat and power we have needed. But for the last 40 years we have increasingly had to look abroad to secure supplies of oil. This quest to feed our seemingly insatiable appetite for oil has unquestionably shaped our foreign policy.

We pay the price for our oil habit when a corrupt regime such as Iran feels emboldened to threaten its neighbors with nuclear weapons, and do so with impunity because their access to oil makes it possible for them to buy influence around the globe.

As New York Times columnist Tom Friedman has pointed out, it is not a coincidence that when oil was \$20 a barrel, both Russia and Iran launched internal reform programs to increase democratic participation. As the price of oil has soared past \$70 a barrel, both of those countries have reversed course and used their burgeoning treasuries to stifle dissent and roll back democratic progress.

The same story can be told across the world, from the corrupt royal governments and pseudo-theocracies of the Middle East, to the iron-fisted dictators who hold sway in the former Soviet countries in Central Asia, to the petro-populism of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela. Many of the countries that sit on the largest reserves of oil are the same countries that are now resisting reform and creating global instability.

If the story of the 20th century was of a tidal wave of democracy sweeping across the globe, the emerging story of the 21st century is of that wave being swallowed underneath a floor of crude. As long as there are tyrants who have the lucky fortune to sit on top of massive oil reserves and prop up their regimes through huge petroleum profits, there will be no reform. Finding alternatives to oil is a key to democratic, economic, and social reform in much of the world.

In response to this energy security challenge, some of my friends and colleagues will undoubtedly advocate Federal support for efforts to support a liquid fuel from coal. They point out that we have an abundant supply of coal, that we are the "Saudi Arabia" of coal. This line of thought ignores the threat of global warming.

The lifecycle emissions of liquid fuel made from coal are over twice that of gasoline. If we substitute oil for coal, a fuel that releases even more greenhouse gasses than oil, we are setting our planet up for disaster. Global warming is happening. It is caused by human activities. It is threatening our very existence.

Recently, the New Jersey Research and Policy Center catalogued the impacts of global warming in my State over the next century. If we do not act quickly and decisively, Cape May Beach will erode between 160 to 500 feet inland. The Holland Tunnel will be forced to close due to repeated floods. Heat-related deaths in our cities will rise fivefold, and flooding along the Delaware River will cause millions of dollars in property damage.

Similar devastating impacts will be seen all over the world. Floods will require the evacuation of millions in India and Bangladesh. East Asia will experience increased water shortages. Central Africa will see ever worsening