

voted to extend unemployment benefits. Yet, because of a minority of 41, they have been able to stop the debate and this bill from moving forward. Look at the stress it has caused Richard and the anguish it has caused Larry from Shelby County. Look at what Jillian and her husband are facing.

Here is the last letter. This is from Joan from Montgomery County, which is Dayton:

I am an unemployment accountant with a college degree. I was laid off last year when my small law firm merged with a larger one. There was no position for me in the new firm. I decided to go back to school, using up much of my retirement and my husband's savings. I reduced my hours at school and went part-time. I was able to collect unemployment benefits, but since it has run out, my savings are dwindling rapidly.

Given the high level of unemployment in Ohio, extending federal unemployment benefits is imperative. We can't afford further delay. Two weeks is a long time for someone whose only means of support is unemployment benefits. I hope the Senate passes an extension in the next few days.

As I said to her, we hope we will do that today, and the President will sign it quickly and the benefits will go out. I hope more than a couple of Republicans will join us so we can pass this with a significant vote. Some of these are people who have gone back to college, and they work hard. They are people who have been in the workplace for 10, 20, 30 years. They have a good work ethic.

Again, Joan is from Montgomery County—a county that has been hit especially hard, as DHL shut down there and the GM plant shut down, and National Cash Register up and moved to Atlanta. There have been some good things happening but not enough. That is why we need to extend these benefits today, get this done so we can focus on job creation and help people get back to work.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio assumed the chair.)

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, I am pleased, though frustrated, like my colleagues, to be here this morning on the floor to talk about the critical need to extend unemployment insurance.

Across the Nation, there are almost 15 million Americans who are out of work, and although we are making progress on our unemployment rate, it is still too high at 9.5 percent. We need to extend unemployment insurance, and we need to do it now, today, before one more family is put on the street and before one more child goes to bed hungry.

This legislation is every bit as important to our economy as it is to those who are struggling to get by. Nearly 7 million people, or half of all Americans collecting unemployment insurance, have been out of work for 6 months or longer. They have run out of the insurance that is provided by their State. These are the workers who will collect this Federal unemployment extension, which they are using, as my colleagues have said—the Senator from Ohio, with his letters, was eloquent as he reported on the people from Ohio who are talking about why they need this to pay their rent, to make mortgage payments, to buy groceries, and to put gas in their cars to go out and look for their next job.

As the Senator said so eloquently, sometimes the real people whom this legislation affects are forgotten during this debate. While Members of this body stand and give economic lessons and talk about the macro situation, there are honest hard-working people out there who are suffering because of our failure to act.

I recently heard from a woman in Canterbury, NH, named Jo Ellen. She is a professional psychiatric nurse with a graduate degree. She had a good job until she was laid off because of cutbacks to our mental health system. She is in her sixties and has been working since she was 11 years old. Since being laid off, she has applied for dozens of jobs, from part time to retail positions. She has cut back on her professional experience on her resume so that she is not ruled out for being overqualified. She always mentions that she is willing to accept any salary, but nonetheless she has not yet been called for an interview—not once.

Jo Ellen wrote to me not just because her unemployment was going to run out but because she is so troubled by what she keeps hearing from people who voted against the extension of unemployment benefits, who say that people who are collecting unemployment are irresponsible or that they are not looking for a job, they are looking for a handout. Jo Ellen is not looking for a handout; she is looking for a job.

While we still face one of the most difficult job markets in history, with five applicants for every one job, we need to make sure people such as Jo Ellen stay afloat. There are millions of people across this country who are just like Jo Ellen, who are working hard, who want to find a new job, who are one step away from disaster if they don't get an extension of unemployment benefits.

In New Hampshire, 20,000 people could see their unemployment insurance expire within the next 4 months if we don't act. By supporting the legislation today, we can make sure New Hampshire's unemployed workers receive \$75 million in essential Federal assistance. This money, as has been pointed out, won't sit quietly in savings accounts; it will go to grocery stores, pharmacies, and small busi-

nesses in the communities where the unemployed are living. In fact, conservative economist Mark Zandi, a former adviser to Senator MCCAIN, has cited unemployment insurance as one of the three most effective uses of Federal funding. According to his analysis, every dollar we invest today will create \$1.61 in economic growth.

When I was Governor, after the September 11 attacks, when this country went into a recession, one of the first things we did in New Hampshire was to increase unemployment benefits because we knew what Mark Zandi said was correct—that people would put that money back into the economy, help stimulate the economy, and help create economic growth. We did that with bipartisan support from a Republican legislature. I don't know what has changed in the last 9 years since September 11 that we have our colleagues on the other side of the aisle who, by and large, say we can't support unemployment benefits and extending those benefits but we can have tax cuts for the wealthy without funding those. There is something wrong with that kind of logic.

These benefits that, hopefully, we are going to pass today will help people all across America invest in their community. At a time like this, with our economy poised to turn the corner, this funding is critical to our future. Quite simply, these are investments we can't afford not to make.

I am pleased to join my colleagues, and I hope we will get those 60 votes and extend the unemployment benefits for millions of Americans.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. UDALL of New Mexico). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KAUFMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for up to 10 minutes.

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

#### CLEAN ENERGY

Mr. KAUFMAN. Mr. President, 2 years ago for the first time global investments in clean energy technology exceeded those for fossil fuels. This is clearly a trend that will continue, and a good trend. Unfortunately, America is not keeping up with the clean energy revolution. Today, 90 percent of the market for production of clean energy is outside the United States. We are losing the race to develop those technologies in nearly every market.

Of the top 10 solar panel companies in the world, only 1 is American. Similarly, of the top 10 wind turbine manufacturers, only 1 is American. And of

the top 10 advanced battery manufacturers, only 2 are American.

For decades we have talked about the need to reform our Nation's energy policy. Every President since Franklin Delano Roosevelt has included energy reform in their policy agenda, and in virtually every Congress we passed an energy bill. But these efforts have not been successful in revolutionizing our Nation's energy system because they did not go far enough. Our oil imports have tripled since 1974. Today we rely on fossil fuels to meet 86 percent of our energy needs and we are one of the largest contributors to global carbon pollution.

The truth is simple and unmistakable. If we want to move away from dirty fossil fuels, we need to put a price on carbon pollution and we need to do it now. Putting a price on carbon will reflect the true costs of our energy sources and enable market forces to drive American ingenuity to develop clean energy technologies that will create jobs, enhance U.S. competitiveness, strengthen national security, and cut carbon pollution.

We are in the worst economic recession our country has seen since the Great Depression. We need to invest in sectors of the economy that can create jobs today and then long into the future. Studies have shown that investments in clean energy jobs create more jobs per dollar than fossil fuel-based energy products. These clean energy jobs use American ingenuity to turn Sun and wind into electricity, waste into fuel, and reduce the energy we use to power our homes, businesses, cars, and trucks. These are the sectors that will provide the long-term economic security and job creation we desperately need.

Studies by numerous academic institutions show that by putting a price on carbon, we could create up to 1.7 million net new jobs over the next 10 years. That is 170,000 jobs per year and includes any jobs that may be lost in the transition away from fossil fuels. Many clean energy jobs cannot be shipped overseas. From installing insulation to building offshore wind turbines, these are jobs that can exist only on American soil. The creation of these new clean energy jobs will themselves create a multiplier effect, allow Americans to do more with their income—such as eat out at a restaurant, take a vacation, or buy a home. These activities could add an additional \$39 billion to \$111 billion boost to the economy. It is clear that investing in clean energy will give us the best bang for the buck by creating more jobs today and for generations to come, paving a long-term sustainable path to economic recovery.

The good news is that we do not have to wait for these clean energy technologies to be developed. We can get started today. Over the last few decades we made great strides in improving green energy technologies. For example, advances in wind energy tech-

nology have reduced the cost from 30 cents per kilowatt hour in the early 1980s to less than 5 cents per kilowatt hour today. The Obama administration as well as cities and States across the country have recognized the potential for these technologies. In fact, the energy provisions of the Recovery Act represent the largest single investment in clean energy in American history.

The truth is, as much as that is, it is still not nearly enough. The rest of the world also faces an economic recession, energy insecurity, and carbon pollution, and many countries have also begun to take significant steps to transition to a new clean energy economy, including China.

We have some things in common with China. We each contribute roughly 20 percent of the world's carbon pollution, and we both rely heavily on foreign oil to meet our energy needs. However, China is outpacing the U.S. investments in clean energy. From 2005 to 2009, China's investment in clean energy increased by 148 percent. This surge of financing led China to surpass the United States for the first time last year, spending nearly twice as much on renewable energy technology.

China is now the largest manufacturer of wind turbines and the largest manufacturer of solar panels, 95 percent of which they export to other countries.

My home State of Delaware is a leader in renewable energy development. In fact, we are on the verge of constructing one of the first offshore wind farms in the United States. The project leaders are working hard to make sure that the turbines off the Delaware coast will proudly wear the label "Made in the U.S.A."

Today, the average wind tower has 50 percent American-made components. If we want to ensure that 100 percent of future wind and other renewable energy projects are made in America, then we must make it a national priority. Only then will we have the capacity to meet our own rising demands for clean energy.

We must also recognize the fact that our reliance on foreign oil is a serious threat to our national security. The United States imports nearly 60 percent of the oil we use, and 70 percent of the imports come from outside North America. All told, we send \$1 billion overseas every day for foreign oil. Some of the nations we buy oil from do not share our interests and may be hostile to the United States or their own people, and some of these nations are unstable, corrupt, and dangerous. Because of this, we send our troops overseas to ensure the secure flow of oil around the world. This stretches our military thin, and puts our troops in harm's way.

Even during times of peace, we have spent \$50 billion a year to patrol shipping lanes and secure Middle Eastern oilfields and transport routes. Our dependence on foreign oil also forces us to deal with undemocratic nations in

order to protect our interests in oil. It reduces our leverage and forces us to make oil security part of our international diplomatic and military strategies.

Furthermore, because we consume 25 percent of the world's oil, our high demand drives up prices worldwide. So no matter from whom we choose to buy oil, oil-rich nations, some of which are unstable and hostile to the United States, will reap the benefits.

This dependence on oil also leaves us vulnerable to price manipulation by entities such as OPEC, which can influence global oil prices at any time, as they have done so many times in the past. We have the opportunity now to make this right. We can eliminate the threat of foreign oil to our national security by transitioning to a clean energy economy. We can harness American ingenuity and regain our competitive edge in the global markets. We can create hundreds of thousands of new jobs in America for generations to come.

By putting a price on carbon, we will send a signal to investors, industries, manufacturers, and global competitors that the future of the American economy lies in clean energy.

Pricing carbon is the most cost-effective policy tool available to transition the United States away from dirty fossil fuels. It will create incentives for businesses and industry to find low-cost solutions to reduce carbon pollution, and it will send a clear signal that offers predictability in the marketplace. It will allow businesses and investors to finance long-term projects in renewable energy knowing that they are standing on the same common ground as their competitors.

Many of the new clean energy technologies require decades of lead time before they are ready for commercial-scale development. Therefore, it is imperative that we start investing in them immediately. Furthermore, because market barriers exist, we must also provide additional investments such as loan guarantees, grants, tax incentives, and other assistance to encourage early and significant action toward clean energy technology development and deployment.

We can no longer afford to pay for the high cost of a fossil-based economy. Putting a price on carbon will reflect the true costs of our energy sources and enable market forces to drive American ingenuity to develop clean energy technologies. We have the most creative and talented workforce in the world. We can transform our energy system to one that creates jobs and enhances U.S. competitiveness, strengthens national security, and cuts carbon pollution. But we have to take the bull by the horns. Now is the time to chart a new course for the country.

I urge my colleagues to join me and seize this moment.

I yield the floor and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

### ESTATE TAX

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, each and every day it gets harder and harder to listen to my Republican friends who race to the Senate floor breathlessly telling the American people how concerned they are about the \$13 trillion national debt and how we have got to get our financial house in order. They are just very, very upset about that.

But, as you know, under the leadership of President George W. Bush, these same Republicans turned a record-breaking Federal surplus left by the Clinton administration into record-breaking deficits.

Back then, their rallying cry was "deficits don't matter," articulated by then-Vice President Dick Cheney. This "deficits don't matter" philosophy gave us two wars that were not paid for. There are estimates that the war in Iraq alone will end up costing some \$3 trillion, unpaid for. They gave us some \$700 billion in tax breaks that went to the wealthiest 1 percent. They gave us a \$400 billion unpaid for prescription drug program written by the insurance and drug companies. They gave us a \$700 billion bailout of Wall Street.

But under President Obama, Republicans have seemingly taken a 180-degree turn. Apparently, deficits do matter. Now they say we can't afford to extend unemployment insurance to 2 million Americans who lost their jobs during the worst recession in modern history, and they say we just don't have the money to create millions of new jobs by investing in rebuilding our crumbling infrastructure and transforming our energy system. We just don't have the money to do that.

The Republican hypocrisy is now about to advance to a whole new level. In the name of fiscal responsibility, they are opposing virtually every effort to help the middle-class and working families. We just can't afford to do it. But when it comes to the needs of millionaire and billionaire families, our Republican friends have no problem reducing revenue by hundreds and hundreds of billions of dollars. In other words, they are deficit hawks when it comes to the needs of ordinary people, but they are very big spenders when it comes to the needs of the rich.

Four years ago, every Republican but two voted to completely eliminate the estate tax, a tax that has been in existence since 1916, and impacts only the very wealthiest families, the top three-tenths of 1 percent. Under the estate tax, 99.7 percent of American families do not pay one nickel. This huge tax break for the wealthy, repealing the estate tax, which Republicans are fight-

ing to do, would increase the national debt by more than \$1 trillion over a 10-year period. These deficit hawks, who are so concerned about the national debt and record-breaking deficits, want to increase the national debt by over \$1 trillion in a 10-year period.

Let me tell my colleagues who the major beneficiaries of this tax break would be. Would it be the average middle-class worker who during the Bush years saw a \$2,200 decline in his income? We have a collapsing middle class, working people desperately in need. Would Republican repeal of the estate tax help those workers? Not a chance. Nobody in the middle class would get one nickel of a tax break.

Would Republican repeal of the estate tax help a single mother struggling to send her daughter to college, maybe for the first time ever in that family's history? College costs are going up. Working people can't afford college. Would it help that single mom? No, I am afraid not. That single mom would not get one penny.

Would it help one of the millions of senior citizens struggling to maintain their dignity on Social Security benefits? This year there is no COLA for senior citizens. I tried to get some help there. Republicans voted against it. Couldn't do it. Would it help senior citizens struggling with the high cost of medicine? No. Those senior citizens would not get one penny of help by Republican repeal of the estate tax.

I must be honest. Sadly, there are also a few Democrats who are supporting this giveaway, all Republicans and a few Democrats.

Who are the major beneficiaries of the repeal of the estate tax or, as Republican pollsters like to call it, "the death tax"? If we completely eliminated the estate tax, it would provide an estimated \$32 billion tax break for the Walton family, the founders of Walmart. We have a family whose fortune today is worth an estimated \$86.8 billion. If, as the Republicans want, we eliminate the estate tax completely, this family—obviously of desperate need, obviously struggling hard to keep their family above water economically, struggling hard to stay off welfare—would receive an estimated \$32.7 billion in tax breaks, if the estate tax is completely eliminated.

Let's be clear. This policy being pursued by Republicans is designed to help the very richest people in our society.

Interestingly enough, our Republican friends today in all likelihood are going to vote against providing a \$35 billion emergency extension of unemployment benefits that will help 2 million Americans who have lost their jobs through no fault of their own. We can't afford to do it. We just don't have the money. But apparently we do have the money to provide almost \$33 billion to a family worth \$86 billion, one of the richest families in the world.

It is not only the Walton family our Republican friends and a few Democrats want to help. Permanently re-

pealing the estate tax will also provide an \$11 billion tax break to the Mars candy bar family. We all eat Mars candy bars. They are going to get an \$11 billion tax break.

It would provide a \$9 billion tax break to the Cox Cable family and a \$2.5 billion tax break to the family who founded Campbell Soup. No one in the bottom 99.7 percent of the population, nobody in the working class, nobody in the middle class, no low-income person, nobody even in the upper middle class will gain one cent of benefit from these tax breaks.

Today, while Republicans may not have the votes to permanently eliminate the estate tax, they are working feverishly to push legislation to substantially lower that tax. In fact, they have already succeeded in eliminating the estate tax this year, and this year alone, as result of President Bush's \$1.35 trillion 2001 tax cut legislation. Wiping out this tax in 2010, when billionaires are dying, for the first time in 95 years their families will not pay one cent in taxes. That has already cost our Treasury, in the midst of a \$13 trillion national debt, billions and billions of dollars in needed revenue.

It seems to me that at a time when this country has a \$13 trillion national debt, at a time when 22 percent of our children are living in poverty—the highest rate of childhood poverty in the industrialized world—at a time when our infrastructure is crumbling, at a time when we have a desperate need to transform our energy system and by doing that we can put millions of people to work rebuilding America, transportation infrastructure, energy, it is beyond comprehension, literally beyond comprehension that anyone can come down to the floor of this Senate and argue with a straight face that we should provide hundreds of billions of dollars in tax breaks for millionaires and billionaires.

I should add all of this takes place within the context of the United States already having by far the most unequal distribution of wealth of any major country on Earth. The top 1 percent own more wealth than the bottom 90 percent. When we give away billions more in tax breaks to the very rich, we are only exacerbating that. We are making that wealth gap even greater.

That is why I have introduced the Responsible Estate Tax Act, S. 3533, along with Senators HARKIN, WHITEHOUSE, SHERROD BROWN, and Senator FRANKEN. This legislation would raise \$318 billion over the next decade by establishing a graduated inheritance tax on estates of over \$3.5 million. I actually cannot take credit for this legislation. I would like to, but I cannot. It would be dishonest. This is an idea developed 100 years ago by a good Republican President named Teddy Roosevelt.

In 1910 he pushed this idea which eventually became adopted in 1916. This is what Teddy Roosevelt, as this chart indicates, said 100 years ago. I