

In the form of free use of the public TV spectrum. These stations do not own the airwaves. The American people own the airwaves, and we give them licenses to use our airwaves, America's airwaves, to make their profits.

The New America Foundation estimated the total value of the TV spectrum used by commercial TV stations at nearly \$5.5 billion a year, and that doesn't count the additional tens of millions of dollars that commercial TV stations make selling political ads every campaign season. Sound familiar? We have all been there, writing checks to these commercial TV stations to put on our ads so we can run for office and preserve the right of that TV station to use the public airwaves—free. The public subsidies to commercial stations dwarf what we spend on public broadcasting.

I admire the reporting on NPR, but I am a progressive Democrat. Many conservatives admire their reporting. David Brooks is a conservative I respect. He writes for the New York Times and I look forward to his column. Even when I disagree with him, I know it is a thoughtful analysis of the challenges we face. Listen to what he said:

I think NPR has done a good job over the last 10 years of reducing that bias. I thought it was really biased 10 years ago, but now I think it's pretty straight, and the Federal money for NPR doesn't go so much for the big stations. It goes out to the rural parts of the country which wouldn't have those stations otherwise.

David Brooks, you are right. If the Republicans have their way in the House, the losers will be a lot of red States in red parts of America that want to hear both sides of the story, as I believe all Americans should.

Tony Blankley was a longtime aide to Newt Gingrich who works now for FOX News and NPR. He said:

I've been on NPR regularly for a very long time. . . . From a personal perspective they have always given me plenty of access. I am clearly a right-wing commentator so I cannot complain. There's a conservative on and there's a liberal on, so that's all fair.

He added:

No editor or host has ever suggested, "Could you not be quite so conservative on this show?" I have been open and free to express my opinion.

Michael Medved is a conservative radio host. This is his take on NPR:

I think NPR tries harder to be fair than just about any other media source. . . . I listen almost every day to Morning Edition and All Things Considered. I think that they do as good a job as anybody in media in reporting the news.

The conservative blogger said of NPR:

My own interaction with them has been fine. I have found them to be fair. I think their coverage is often quite good. I think NPR does a good job.

As proof of NPR's political bias, some critics of public broadcasting point to what appear in the video to be critical comments Ron Schiller made about the Tea Party.

This is another incident of deceptive editing. The full transcript shows that Mr. Schiller was recounting the views expressed to him by two top Republicans, including a former ambassador.

Let me say very clearly: Even repeating those comments was ill-advised on Mr. Schiller's part. He no longer works for NPR.

And his comments have been roundly condemned by journalists who have given years of good work to NPR. In an open letter released last week to NPR listeners and supporters, the journalists said Mr. Schiller's comments:

. . . violated the basic principles by which we live and work: accuracy and open-mindedness, fairness and respect.

But the suggestion that NPR cannot be relied on to cover the Tea Party or conservative organizations fairly is refuted by Tea Party members themselves.

Katrina Pierson is a Tea Party activist in Houston. She told the media watchdog group Media Matters:

I think NPR was very cordial to our group. They actually came to Texas and spent a few days with us visiting our homes, and our work places. They attended meetings and asked questions. I enjoyed having them here. I think the reporting that they ended up using for All Things Considered, it was fair.

At a time in America when we value our government, when we applaud freedom, when we preach it to the world, when we beg authoritarian regimes to give their people a chance to hear both sides of the story, when we say that our Bill of Rights, when it comes to free speech and free press, should be a guidepost for the world, can we be in the business of shutting down this opportunity for Americans every single day to hear both sides of the story when it comes to the big issues? I don't think what was done in the House is about money. I think it is about a political philosophy. Many of them think they just want to shut down NPR because they are offended by some things that are said.

Let me say from my side of the spectrum, I have been offended the other way. I thought they went too far the other way. But isn't that what it is all about? They give you both sides, make up your own mind, and that is the way it should be.

We have seen what could happen when people rush to judgment after seeing selectively edited and sometimes deceptively edited videos. Shirley Sherrod was fired from her job at the Agriculture Department and painted unfairly as a bigot when she was, in fact, making a passionate plea for racial tolerance. Her comments were knowingly distorted in a video produced by a man who has, in the past, supported Mr. O'Keefe.

Congress voted to cut off Federal funding for ACORN before there was any objective investigation into Mr. O'Keefe's damaging video about them. Later investigation showed there was no criminal wrongdoing.

Let's not make the same mistake again. Let's not be duped by decep-

tively edited videos at a time when Americans need the objective reporting and informative programming that public radio and public television provide.

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

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

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for 10 minutes.

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

#### EXPORT POLICY

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Earlier today in Columbus, OH, the State capital of my great State, I was at the Ohio State University's Fisher College of Business. We talked by phone with Under Secretary of Commerce Francisco Sanchez, who is one of the leaders at the Department of Commerce, on how to grow exports in this country.

The President has charged the Congress, our businesses, encouraged all of us to find ways to double exports as a major path to economic growth, especially to grow manufacturing in our country. We know that for the last several months, we have seen manufacturing growth, albeit too small, but manufacturing growth in this country.

That is especially important in Ohio. My State is the third leading manufacturing State in the country, behind only California and Texas, States which are two and three times our size in population. Yet Ohio has kept pace with doing relatively well in manufacturing. But we know what has happened to manufacturing in our country in the last 30 years.

Only 30 years ago, manufacturing was more than one-quarter of our GDP, financial services was about 10 or 11 percent of GDP. In these 30 years that position has almost flipped. Financial services is over one-quarter of our GDP, manufacturing is only 10, 11, or 12 percent. That is why the President and his push on exporting is so important, not that we only export manufacturing goods, of course, we export services, as we should. But clearly manufacturing is a major component of that.

I sit on the President's Export Advisory Council with leaders of the administration and the CEOs of some of America's largest companies and many successful mid-sized and small companies in this country. We had a meeting last Friday with Secretary Locke, Under Secretary Sanchez, Secretary of State Clinton, Jim McNerney of Boeing, Ursula Burns of Xerox, Alan Mullaly of Ford, as part of the President's export council.

In Ohio, as a result, I have put together an export advisory council. We met today in Columbus. That is what our meeting was about, to talk about ideas. We heard from Albert Green of Kent Displays, William Dawson of NexTech Materials, Philip Irwin of Ametek Solidstate Controls, Randall Willaman of Command Ilkon, Inc., Mark Friedman of National Biological Corporation, Arlinda Vaughan from Volk Optical, and Ken Hagen from Fosbel.

All of them raised concerns directly to the Under Secretary of Commerce and directly to me, concerns about corruption in Russia, concerns about tariffs in Brazil, concerns we all face and all of our companies face in breaking into the Chinese market, and many other concerns about everything from medical devices to export of services and all of that. So the meeting was important.

I will mention one other. Susan Helpert, the head of the Economics Department at Case Western, had particularly good thoughts about how we grow manufacturing in this country. We know those jobs are created by medium and small businesses. We also know that fewer than 1 percent of American companies actually export. Even as close as we are to Canada or to Mexico, only 1 percent of our businesses export. So we know we have to do much more.

In Germany, for instance, 20 percent of their workforce is in manufacturing. They have a trade surplus with the rest of the world, while we have a huge almost insidious trade deficit. Germany has done some pretty interesting things in encouraging manufacturing.

As many people point out, we have not had in our country a manufacturing policy. I spoke with Pat Russo tonight, who is the former CEO of Lucent Technologies and a couple of—she sits on the General Motors board and a couple of other people from the GM board I spoke to, and talked about the fact that we do not have a manufacturing policy in this country. That is why we are seeing other countries begin to do much better in manufacturing, while we have, by and large, drifted in our policies and our strategies on manufacturing.

There are several things that came out of this meeting that we need to do. We need to pay particular attention on economic development assistance and creating economic development partnerships and business incubators.

We need to pay special attention to help those companies get access to capital. That has been a vital roadblock—as the Presiding Officer from Oregon has been involved—a roadblock to our full economic recovery. We need to look at our R&D tax credits.

Part of a national manufacturing policy should be increases in R&D tax credits, including making 48(C) a part of the Code that encourages conservation, encourages more efficiencies in energy production and in energy use, making 48(C) permanent.

It means workforce training—our Sectors Act, which matches up what local businesses and labor unions and community colleges and workforce investment boards do to retrain workers so they find jobs after that training. That is why we are doing at end of the month our fourth annual Ohio College Presidents Conference, where I invite in some 55, 60 college presidents. We have done it for the last 3 years, since my second year in the Senate, to talk about these issues: How do we encourage people to become engineers? How do we help with access to college, particularly in light of the fact that Republicans are trying to cut Pell grants several hundred dollars per student, sometimes a couple of thousand, \$3,000 a family, whatever.

How do we fight back and make sure that students have access to education and to our higher education system, those who choose to go to college? We have a lot of work to do. All of this includes, as I said at the White House the other day in the meeting of the President's Export Council, while we work on exports, we need to fix our trade agreements, we need to fix our tax policy, we need to make sure those workers who lose their jobs because of trade—and this is so often forgotten about by my Republican colleagues—workers who lose their jobs because of trade have to be compensated. They need to be retrained. They need to keep their health care. That is why the Presiding Officer and I and many others have to fight for the extension—Senator CASEY especially from Pennsylvania—of trade adjustment assistance and the health coverage tax credit, two long-time Federal programs. The TAA, Trade Adjustment Assistance, was started bipartisanly under President Kennedy in 1962.

Those are so important for workers who have lost jobs through no doing of their own but because of trade agreements passed wrongfully, wrong-headedly in this body and in the House. Because of trade agreements they have lost their jobs. We need those workers to have the opportunity to be retrained and to continue to keep their health insurance after they have been laid off through no fault of their own.

Our efforts to double exports is extraordinarily important for economic growth. At the same time it is important that we are sensitive to those workers who have lost their jobs because of trade policy. We can do this right. We can enforce our trade laws more aggressively as President Obama has begun to do. We can work on trade agreements. We can fix trade policy so it actually helps American workers and American consumers. Instead of practicing trade policy adopted out of a textbook that is 20 years out of print, we ought to be adopting a trade policy that is in our Nation's national interest. As we move with President Obama and this Congress toward a manufacturing strategy and, even better, a manufacturing policy such as most of

the rest of the industrialized world has, we will all be in a better position to build a middle class in Oregon and Ohio and across the country.

I yield the floor.

#### CFTC HEDGING AUTHORITY

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, you hear a lot of talk about the trouble in the Middle East, and people are saying that oil prices are going up and, therefore, the pain at the gas pump is being felt because there is this shakiness in the oil markets. You hear the commentary: Well, we ought to be solving this problem by drilling more in the United States. In essence what people are talking about is they want to drill more in the Gulf of Mexico. Of course, there is plenty of opportunity to drill in the Gulf of Mexico. There are 30 million acres that are already under lease that have not been drilled. There are 7 million acres that are being drilled under lease, but there are an additional 30 million acres in the Gulf of Mexico under lease, so there is plenty of opportunity. There is a lot more opportunity for domestic drilling.

But what I want to talk about today is, it is this simplified message that if we drill more domestically—which we clearly have the capacity to—that is going to solve the problem. That is not the problem, and that is not the reason for why the gas prices are going up as they are.

I will grant you that whenever there is an oil-producing region of the world where there is a disruption, then that does have some effect on the price of oil. But what we have seen is an extraordinary spike in the last couple of months in the price of oil. I want to try to point out to the Senate why this Senator thinks, and a number of my colleagues join me, that spike in gas prices is going up.

There is further evidence that our energy markets are no longer governed just by the economic dictums of supply and demand when it comes to oil prices. That is what I want to talk about. It is simply this: The speculators are back. We saw the speculators in oil futures contracts. We saw their handiwork 2 years ago when the price of oil hit an all-time high of \$147 a barrel. This time the speculators are seizing on the turmoil in the Middle East and North Africa to use that as an excuse to drive this price of oil sky high. Yet recent upheavals abroad have had little, if any, effect on the actual supply of oil.

Again, coming back to the economic theories of supply and demand, Libya, for example, controls only 2 percent of the world's oil supply. Well, there is a key piece of evidence that points the finger at these "condo flippers" in the commodities market. Data from the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, the CFTC, reveals that since January, when the protests began in Egypt, speculators have increased their