

the coming of World War II, it was attempted only twice. During the Eisenhower administration, twice. During John Kennedy's presidency, four times—and then eight during Lyndon Johnson's push for civil rights and voting rights bills. By the time Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan occupied the White House, there were about 20 filibusters a year.

But in the 110th Congress of 2007–2008, there were a record 112 cloture votes. And in the 111th Congress, there were 136, one of which even delayed a vote to authorize funding for the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps during a time of war. That is not how the Founders intended the Senate to work—and that's not how our country can afford the Senate not to work.

Chris Dodd said it best in his farewell address just a few weeks ago—a speech the Republican leader called one of the most important in the history of the Chamber. Chris sounded a warning: "What will determine whether this institution works or not, what has always determined whether we will fulfill the Framers' highest hopes or justify the cynics' worst fears, is not the Senate rules, the calendar, or the media. It is whether each of the one hundred Senators can work together."

That was a speech that needed to be heard. But the question now isn't whether it was heard; it is whether we really listened to it. Because when it comes to the economy, our country really does need 100 Senators who face the facts and find a way to work not just on their side, but side by side.

It was with Chris's words in mind that I supported Senator HARKIN's effort to reform the filibuster rules even though I have concerns about how the provision would affect debate in the Senate by moving to a majority vote. I did so because I believe it is important to protest the actions by the minority over the past four years and make a statement that we must have an end to the unprecedented disruption that has occurred.

Ultimately, Leader REID is right—the question is not the rules, but our decisions about how to abuse those rules. I hope the minority will end this needless obstructionism as we move forward in the 112th Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

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

The Senator from Delaware.

#### THE NEXT GENERATION OF AMERICAN MANUFACTURING

Mr. COONS. Mr. President, I rise to speak for the first time in this Cham-

ber as a Senator. It is an honor to do so. Already, after my service at the end of the 111st Congress, I am keenly aware of the impressive array of skills brought to this place by my colleagues and of the great traditions of this Chamber, as well as the tremendous challenges facing both our Nation and this institution as we work together to make progress.

On November 2, the citizens of Delaware elected me to come here on their behalf and work with 99 other Senators for a very specific goal: getting America moving again and getting our economy back on track. With our country just now recovering from the loss of so many jobs, with a substantial deficit and the painful and lingering wreckage of a great recession, we must set aside politics and focus on progress.

I am honored to have this opportunity to serve. I am especially honored to serve alongside our State's distinguished senior Senator, TOM CARPER, and to serve at a time when the President of the Senate is another distinguished Delawarean, Vice President JOE BIDEN, whose service in this body for 36 years was marked by a tireless advocacy for America's middle class and the people of our State. Membership in the Senate is a privilege not to be taken lightly, and I am determined to make the greatest contribution I can to solving the challenges facing us all.

Similar to my colleagues, my path to the Senate involved many experiences that have shaped my views and priorities. Growing up in Delaware, my family taught me the values of faith, hard work, and service to others. As a student, traveling and volunteering in Africa and later working with the homeless in this country, I learned difficult truths about poverty and human suffering but also witnessed the awesome power of hope and faith. Later, working for the National "I Have a Dream" Foundation and running an AmeriCorps program, I saw the transformative power of education and of national service to change lives.

Following these early years of learning and service, I spent 8 years as in-house counsel to one of Delaware's most innovative, high-tech manufacturing companies, where I saw the strength of American ingenuity and entrepreneurship. Later, as county executive, running a local government that served half a million Delawareans, I learned how to make the tough choices that led to reining in spending, to growing our local economy, balancing a budget, and achieving a surplus. Most important, today, as a husband and father of three young children, I spend more time than ever concerned about their future, wondering whether we will leave them and all our children a nation burdened by debt and struggling to maintain its place in the world or a nation with a renewed strength and focus on the fundamentals that made this the greatest Nation in human history. As a Member of the Senate, I look

forward to applying these lessons while working with my new colleagues.

I said a few moments ago our constituents sent us here with the goal of getting our economy back on track, a goal of focusing relentlessly on economic recovery. However, mere recovery—recovery alone—cannot be our goal. The American people deserve and expect from us policies that will lead to an economy and a job market stronger, more vibrant, and more prosperous than before. To achieve this, I believe we need to pursue a new manufacturing agenda, one that will lead to the creation of inventive businesses and that will open new plants and hire skilled workers for modern and sustainable jobs, one that will produce the next generation of American manufacturers. It should focus on sustaining and growing American manufacturing by rewarding innovation and fostering entrepreneurship and by pairing those great American strengths to an equally great American workforce.

As someone long committed to progressive values, I believe the best way to help stabilize neighborhoods and support families, to advance social justice and fight poverty, is through ensuring more and more Americans have access to good, high-quality jobs. I am encouraged President Obama chose to highlight competitiveness and innovation in his State of the Union Address and its potential to create those sustainable middle-class jobs. He is right to call this our generation's "Sputnik moment."

We have a choice. We can keep doing the things we have for years, but then we will simply keep getting the same results or we can recommit ourselves, as we did as a nation during the space race, to outinnovate, outcompete, and outproduce every other Nation. That is how we, once again, can spark an era of growth and prosperity. Unlike so many other sectors of our economy, with manufacturing, it is not just about creating jobs, it is about creating and sustaining good jobs, jobs that pay a livable wage, provide quality health insurance, jobs with longevity and security.

According to the National Association of Manufacturers, the average manufacturing worker in our country earned 25 percent more than workers in all other sectors. That is over \$72,000 last year, including pay and benefits, while the average nonmanufacturing worker earned less than \$59,000. Manufacturing jobs means higher wages and better benefits, and they have for decades been a reliable path for the middle class for millions of hard-working American families. That path is not nearly as wide or as clear as it was just 10 years ago. Since then, our Nation has lost more than 3 million manufacturing jobs not only to the developing world but to our competitors in the industrialized world as well.

For those who have lost jobs, the stakes couldn't be higher, and for we as leaders our mandate couldn't be clearer.

I strongly disagree with those who believe America's leadership in manufacturing is behind us and that our future lies somehow in being a country dedicated to services and consumption financed by debt. Those naysayers point to factories that have sprouted up across the developing world, that it is cheaper labor and looser environmental and worker protections—key reasons why we have, in fact, seen millions of our manufacturing jobs move offshore.

However, while labor-intensive commodity manufacturing may, in fact, have permanently moved offshore, we can remain a global leader in innovative and high-performance manufacturing, as we still are today in industries ranging from aircraft to pharmaceuticals, if we will just focus our efforts on creating an encouraging environment in tax and trade policy, in education and training that matches the strength of American engineering and innovation.

Many Americans may not realize it today, but ours still remains the No. 1 manufacturing economy in the world. We still produce one-fifth of all manufactured goods worldwide, and this sustains more than 18 million private sector jobs. Advanced manufacturing businesses know that to achieve the quality and productivity they need, they must find a top-notch workforce, modern infrastructure, and a fair and predictable system of regulation.

I learned this myself firsthand when I was working in the private sector at a company known as W.L. Gore & Associates. It is better known perhaps for discovering and marketing GORE-TEX fabrics, but it is a materials-based company that manufactures hundreds of products, from medical devices to wire and cable. At one point, I was part of a site location team that had to decide where to build a new state-of-the-art manufacturing plant, costing more than \$100 million. It could have been anywhere in the world, but we wanted to locate it right here in America. As we considered many cities and States bidding for the plant, we ultimately made a decision.

What made the difference? What were we looking for? First, a reliable and skilled workforce. Second, State, county, and city governments that were responsive and had already made investments in local infrastructure. While we also considered tax credits and training grants, an educated workforce, responsive local government, and high-quality infrastructure were the main factors that attracted our business.

When we visited the ultimate site, our team was greeted by area educators who told us about a strong public education system and city leaders who informed us of the public infrastructure we would need, such as water, electricity, sewer, and ready access to road, rail, and air, which were already in place. When we asked local officials how long it would take to get building permits, they said: Just send

us your plans. Everything we needed was ready to go.

In the end, we were able to stand up a successful and profitable new venture in record time and to achieve significant growth in the local tax base and the economy, offering hundreds of clean, high-tech manufacturing jobs to a responsive community.

That experience on the site selection team taught me two things: the advanced manufacturing sector can really thrive in America, and we in government have a critical role to play.

It will be the private sector and America's entrepreneurs and innovators that will create jobs. It is our job in government though, to ensure our country is the most attractive choice for business investment.

We can do it by reducing bureaucratic hurdles and investing in an educated workforce capable of high productivity and ongoing innovation.

That's the critical role we can play not only in getting Americans back to work but ensuring a bright and prosperous future for America's middle class.

Right now, far too many middle-class families are struggling not because they made poor choices but in spite of having made the right ones. People who worked hard in school, who raised good families, who served in the military, who gave back by volunteering in their communities—Americans who did everything right—in this recession they still lost their jobs.

They need to know that we in Congress have their backs.

The truth is, we are not going to be able to reopen all the plants that have closed and get those workers back on the assembly lines making the same products they used to make. This is why we must make this push for advanced manufacturing.

Thankfully, we are not starting from scratch. Innovative businesses, including many from my home State, have long been leaders in creating new manufacturing jobs based on new inventions.

This, I believe, is the result of Delaware's highly educated workforce and the State and local government commitment to working with business as partners toward growth.

One of the most compelling examples of this partnership between government and business took place in Delaware over the past 2 years. More than one thousand people lost their jobs when General Motors shut down its plant in Newport, DE, in 2009, a plant that had been in production more than 60 years and was long touted as one of the most productive in the country.

Some of those workers packed up their families and sought work elsewhere in the country. Some stayed and found other work. Too many are still looking today.

But they weren't the only ones looking for jobs. Led by our tireless Governor, Jack Markell, those of us in State and local government in Dela-

ware were engaged in a job search as well, and after months of searching and hard work, we were able to bring Fisker Automotive to Newport, DE, to take over and reinvest in the shuttered GM plant. We did it by bringing together state and local officials, UAW union leaders, and Federal tax credits and investments. This partnership could not have been possible without \$500 million in Federal stimulus funds.

I was proud to be a small part of the team that brought Fisker to Delaware, but I will be even prouder to watch hundreds of Delawareans stream through the plant's gates again when it reopens to build plug-in electric automobiles.

When I asked the leadership of the new company what made them choose Delaware, it was a familiar answer—a skilled and reliable workforce, a responsive State and county governments, strong local infrastructure, and access to global markets through our roads, rails, and the Port of Wilmington.

Fisker is just one example. In Delaware, we have recently seen long-established leaders such as DuPont as well as relative newcomers such as Ashland Chemical, Agilent, and Perdue invest in new facilities, new research or new production.

My State has also been at the forefront of high-tech job growth with innovative Delaware companies such as ILC Dover, Solar Dock, and Miller Metal, as well as multinational companies such as Sanosil, Motech, and Fraunhofer USA that have brought jobs there.

I am proud that so many new products and technologies that are invented here are also "Made in America, Manufactured in Delaware."

In Delaware, businesses have seen that we're "ready to go."

In our State, we have the ability to bring together stakeholders often seen as adversaries and deliver productive collaboration. This involves both labor and businesses making sacrifices and sharing responsibility.

We need to replicate this model and these successes all over the country as much as possible.

Indeed, we are already seeing progress nationally, as the latest manufacturing numbers attest. In 2010, our manufacturing sector grew 136,000 new jobs. Some economists have predicted a further gain of more than double that this year.

Despite predictions that American manufacturing was in a permanent decline, we are actually seeing a modest uptick, one on which we must capitalize.

The formula for our economic success has long been the unstoppable combination of an innovative citizenry and investment in cutting-edge research. This is what generates companies that invent new products, often high-tech and research-driven products, and, along with these new products, create skilled jobs right here in the United States.

Investments in an educated workforce, our public infrastructure, and critical funding for research and development will be the keys to both short-term economic recovery and long-term growth. These investments must coincide with efforts to make it easier for Americans to start and expand small businesses and for multinational companies to locate advanced manufacturing here in America.

As we embark on this renewed effort, we must continue, though, to safeguard the important workplace safety, labor, and environmental protections we have put in place over the past decades. Our manufacturing growth must be a function of innovation, not a turning-back of the clock.

That is why I strongly support policies such as extending the research and development tax credit, a manufacturing tax credit tied to research and development done here, in and the extension of the Build America Bonds program for public infrastructure improvements.

We have unfinished work to do to change the focus of our tax and trade policies. We must stop providing incentives to move productive work offshore. Instead, we should reward those companies that reinvest in America—in both inventing a new generation of products and manufacturing them here.

We will also need to focus more of our attention on clean-energy manufacturing. Government investment in clean energy technologies has been a core factor in our competitors' growth. We need to help our businesses compete with theirs.

I was disappointed, frankly, that the Senate was unable to reach an agreement to include the advanced energy manufacturing tax credit in the bipartisan tax relief package we passed last December. That credit is an example of the kinds of policies that will help spur the innovation, manufacturing, and new deployment that will generate clean-energy jobs. I am encouraged, though, that it included funding for the treasury grant program, which leverages private investment in clean-energy projects, for which I pushed along with a number of my colleagues to be included in the package.

Additionally, if we wish to remain on the cutting edge of new clean-energy manufacturing technologies and retain our place as the global leader in scientific innovation, we need to pass more legislation like the America COMPETES Act. In addition to creating ARPA-E, which makes strategic investments through the Federal Department of Energy in game-changing technologies, it also focuses resources on science, technology, engineering, and mathematics education.

I am proud to have been a cosponsor of the America COMPETES Act, which was so actively championed by my predecessor, Senator Ted Kaufman, who served Delaware so well. This is just the type of legislation that I came here to support.

We need to find additional ways to expand educational opportunities for more of our students, especially in these fields essential to future competitiveness. There is vital work to be done in ensuring that our business leaders are at the table as we renew America's education policy, helping make certain that our schools are educating our children for the demands of the modern workplace.

This is especially critical in light of recent international standardized test scores that once again showed American students falling behind their competitors from Asia and Europe in reading, science, and mathematics.

A strong educational foundation is the launching pad for new ideas, which will soar to become tomorrow's products and industries.

To achieve this, we must have a strong Federal investment in great teachers and strong schools, set high standards matched with the resources to achieve them, and engage parents, communities, and employers.

We should never settle for just recovery. We must reach for the prosperity and growth I know we can together achieve. We can do it if we make these critical investments and changes in direction today.

That is why I am excited to get to work with my colleagues on a number of important legislative projects. Because I believe we need to redouble our efforts to protect the fruits of that innovation through stronger protections for our intellectual property, I am proud to be an original cosponsor of the Patent Reform Act and look forward to working with Chairman LEAHY on the Judiciary Committee toward its passage.

Likewise, I found out this week that I will be serving on the Foreign Relations Committee, and I will be pushing for us to be tougher on our trading partners to ensure fairness and a level playing field for American exports, as well as new efforts to expand the range of our overseas markets.

I am honored as well to be a new member of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, and I am eager to work with Chairman BINGAMAN, Senator MURKOWSKI, and the other members on finding ways to spur clean-energy manufacturing here in America.

My other assignment will be as a member of the Budget Committee, and I look forward to working with my colleagues there to identify ways to address the deficit comprehensively and in line with our necessary priorities of simplifying the Tax Code, investing in our workforce, and incentivizing manufacturing job growth.

Outside of my committee assignments, I am excited to get to work reinvigorating the Senate Manufacturing Caucus with many of my colleagues, including Senators STABENOW of Michigan, BROWN of Ohio and GRAHAM of South Carolina. We are going to renew this Chamber's focus on what voters sent us here to do: restoring our econ-

omy by getting our neighbors back to work.

The American people have at times grown frustrated with the Senate because it seems as if this body has not realized the scale of our Nation's challenges; that legislators have taken a piecemeal approach to important policies and have failed to address our most difficult problems comprehensively.

Why are we not looking at tax policy, education policy, and job growth strategy collectively? Our problems are interrelated, and the solutions must be as well.

Likewise, our budget deficit should not be treated merely as a talking point or a source of partisan advantage but instead as the serious threat that it is. And real deficit reduction will only come with a careful approach, and a willingness to share in the sacrifice will see us toward real deficit reduction.

Working together, we can change how we get things done here, and we can find a way to do it without jeopardizing the Senate's vital role in our political system.

Even more importantly, at a time when many worry about the tone of our politics, we as Senators must do all we can to return this body to its founding mission as a stabilizing force in our political system.

The Senate must lead by example and for this Nation be a source of civility, a beacon of cooperative spirit, and a place where we come together to address our greatest challenges.

That is how we will move forward together to solve our problems. That is how we will boost our manufacturing sector and get millions back to work. And that is how we will build a strong, prosperous, and sustainable future for America's middle class.

Those who have lost their jobs are doing the very best they can to find new ones. We owe it to them to do our best—to be determined and deliberate, to focus on progress not partisanship, to be true to our principles, but not so unyielding in our positions that we make more news than progress.

These are serious times, and our Nation—our people—face tough challenges. I look forward to working with each and every one of my new colleagues to bear down and work together to find innovative solutions, real solutions, that will build a brighter future for all Americans.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

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

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

#### FILIBUSTER RULE

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, while Senator MERKLEY and Senator