

causing a national disaster and they need to back off from that position.

They have said they will not. Well, will that be the final solution? It may very well be, and we have to understand that. But you cannot negotiate something which is so antiworker. You cannot negotiate that. The President has said he will veto it if it appears in the bill in any form. The House has voted for it. The Senate has voted against it. We have been very clear that it cannot pass over here and will not pass over here. So why are they playing that game?

The airlines are not now even paying for their use of the national airspace system. The carriers also do not appear to care about the impact on the dedicated FAA workforce that serves them—once again, 4,000 already having been furloughed. Most of the airlines are not even passing any savings on to the customers they serve. Why do I say that? Because they are having a tax holiday now because our extension ran out. So all of a sudden they do not have to pay taxes on jet fuel and a number of other things, so they are getting a lot of money. But what will you do with that money? Would you keep it for yourself or would you turn it over to the trust fund or would you keep ticket prices the same and not raise them? Well, they keep it. Frontier Airlines, I think Alaska Airlines, Virgin, all have kept their fares exactly where they were. They are trying to protect the consumer.

Delta and the other airlines are raising ticket prices as fast as they can, even though, because the time has run out on the agreement, they are getting endless millions of dollars. They are choosing to keep it and make a profit for themselves. That is unconscionable behavior in terms of national policy.

What are the real benefits to Delta from what they are doing? How badly were they harmed by the decision, the NMB decision? After the change, several unionization votes were held among components of their work force, which I have already said. None of those units voted to organize. So what is their game? It is a game. It is politics. It is theology. You cannot let that stand. You cannot allow people to get furloughed who are serious about their jobs, who are engineers and technical people—the first 4,000. Many of them will not come back. They will choose to figure: Well, they will never get this settled. They will go out and find other jobs, and they will be able to get other jobs. It is unconscionable. It is almost you cannot believe you are in this situation, that you are in some “Disney World” somewhere where people do not take life seriously and do not take politics seriously.

I want to reiterate that the Senate appointed conferees—which is sort of necessary to try and reach resolution—on the very day the House sent over its FAA package for us to consider. We appointed conferees. More than 100 days later—1-0-0 days later—the House still

dragged its feet. The House has still not named any conferees.

What am I to make of that? They are not serious about this. So if they are not serious about it, do we then buckle because they are not serious or do we stand for what is right and what is fair for the people who work for the Federal Aviation Administration and also, frankly, for consumers of aviation all over this country?

I will tell you, you wait until some of these air traffic control systems shut down, the towers shut down because there is nobody to man them. Then business, American business and these airlines are going to understand how bad it is going to be. The only policy I know how to adopt is to try and drive home to them what they are actually doing to their own futures. They will shut themselves down if they continue on their course.

We can still get this process working again, but we need to get the FAA stable first. We should pass a clean extension, that which we have done forever. All extensions are clean. Senator CORKER was just talking about a clean extension on something else. We should pass a clean extension and then get to work finding a compromise on our remaining differences.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and await the presence of Senator HARKIN who will be speaking on this subject.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. HAGAN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Madam President, first, I wish to thank Senator ROCKEFELLER for his leadership on the FAA issue. It is so important in rural areas. It is so important to attract and retain a workforce. It is so important to the local economies in large cities like Cleveland, Cincinnati and Columbus and in smaller communities too. As Senator ROCKEFELLER said, our aviation system is absolutely critical for economic development.

People in big cities might make fun of small airports that they do not have all the hustle and bustle. But we do know medium-sized and smaller airports matter a great deal.

With the refusal of the House to take up a clean extension of FAA, nearly 4,000 employees across the country have been furloughed and dozens of construction projects have come to a halt. In this economy, some radicals in the House of Representatives have decided—because they have a political mission and ideology that does not quite fit with the majority of Americans—they are going to again hold hostage something that simply needs to be done; that is, what is called reauthorization of the Federal Aviation Administration.

As Senator ROCKEFELLER said, these furloughed employees may be forced to look elsewhere for jobs to meet their mortgage payments or pay for groceries—these are very skilled technicians and engineers. And what does this mean to these construction projects? FAA helps to pay, all over the country, for modernization of airports—rebuilding air traffic control towers, improving runways, and making countless safety improvements.

We have all heard stories—I do not recall that I have ever seen it, but we have heard stories of the Beijing or Shanghai airports or some of these airports—I have not seen them in the last many years—about the new technologies and the modern features of those airports. As a country we cannot afford to fall behind. We have to keep up.

Not passing a clean extension of the FAA bill is exactly the wrong thing to do. The unemployment rate in the construction industry is nearly double the national average. Yet we are idling cranes and we are idling bulldozers all because of a political mission, an ideology that some Members of the House—some radical Members of the House—have decided to inflict on us.

A clean extension of FAA has been done 20 times. All of a sudden it is not. I hope the House gets serious. I hope they appoint conferees and come to the table and work this out. I appreciate very much Senator ROCKEFELLER's leadership. He is making a difference on these important issues, and our House colleagues need to follow.

SUPPORTING AMERICAN MANUFACTURING

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Madam President, I wish to talk also about another issue where we should have done a clean extension—as we have done dozens of times in this country. In the past three decades alone, we have avoided default by addressing the debt limit 38 times; 34 of those were with Republican Presidents. That is almost 90 percent of the time we have raised the debt ceiling—more precisely, avoided default—it has been under Republican Presidents.

A lot of us did not like it. We maybe made a public statement saying we did not like their fiscal policy, but we never stood in the way, we never tried to take hostage—take the government hostage or each other hostage by saying—almost like children—if I do not get my way, then I am going to block this and I am going stop—I am going to potentially throw our financial system and our economy into turmoil. What kind of behavior is that for adults?

Then, when I hear Speaker BOEHNER and some of his radical kind of cheerleaders on the far political right say we should do this again in 6 months, I wonder what are they possibly thinking, when we go through this right now.

I spend a lot of time with manufacturers around my State. I love seeing

things made. My State is the third largest manufacturing State in the country, exceeded in production only by California, three times our population, and Texas, twice our population. I talk to manufacturers, and some of them are not investing now for a variety of reasons. Mostly they do not see the demand for products because the demand is still anemic in our society, in our economy, for companies to grow.

But they also talk about the uncertainty. They talk about the uncertainty in the economic environment. This is the worst kind of uncertainty we are going to inject into our economy if we are going to say let's do this in 6 months. Do they think anybody in North Carolina or Ohio or around the State, around the country, any businesses are thinking: This is a great time to invest, right when Moody's and Standard & Poor's might downgrade us, right when we do not know what is going to happen in the next week with a potential default.

Do they think anybody is going to make a major investment decision right now? Of course, they are not. So let's do it again in 6 months? When I heard Speaker BOEHNER—I like JOHN BOEHNER personally. He is from my State. Our offices obviously work together in places such as Butler County, Preble County, and the Dayton-Cincinnati areas. But I would have thought people would have laughed when he said: Yes, let's do this again in 6 months because we do not have a jobs problem to worry about. Clearly, we should get this done with and focus—that means cutting the budget. I understand that. We have to work toward a balanced budget.

We knew how to do it in the 1990s. In the early 1990s, President Clinton—I came to the House the year he was elected President. We faced a terrible budget situation and an unemployment situation. But you know what. We cut spending. We increased taxes appreciably for only a relatively few number of people, the wealthiest people in our society. We continued to make investments in education, health care and infrastructure and our economy.

We had almost 8 years—not quite, maybe 7 years some months—of regular economic growth, and 21 million new jobs were created. So we know how to do this. But this crowd wants to hold the government hostage saying, if you do not do it exactly our way, we are going to let the government go to default, and once we solve that, let's do it again in 6 months.

I just think it does not make sense. What we should be doing instead is focusing—I know what an important manufacturing State the Presiding Officer represents in North Carolina, as in Ohio—on manufacturing. We are still a country that makes things. My State is particularly a State that makes things.

The year after what is called the American Recovery Act passed, my

State got more new jobs in clean energy than any State in the United States of America. My State is a leader in aerospace. It is a leader in auto and steel and chemicals and cement and paper and aluminum and glass. Yet we are also in the kind of traditional industries, and we are also, as I said, a leader in solar, in Toledo, OH, and other places.

We are a leader in wind turbine component manufacturing, especially in the northeast but all over Ohio. We are a leader in aerospace, as I mentioned. We are a leader in biomedical and biotech, in large part because we have great universities and great teaching hospitals in, I was going to say, prominently in northeast Ohio but also Columbus, also Cincinnati, also Toledo—all over our State. Clearly, we know how to do these things. But what we have seen in the past three decades is a shift in our Nation. Thirty years ago, manufacturing was 25, 26, 27 percent of our gross domestic product. Basically, one-fourth of the dollars in our economy were all about manufacturing.

That created great wealth, because the way to create wealth is to make something, to grow something or to mine something, preeminently. So 30 years ago, manufacturing was some 23, 24, 25, 26 percent of our GDP. Financial services was only 11 percent in those days. Today, it is almost the reverse. Financial services makes up about 20 or 22 percent and manufacturing makes up only about 11 percent of our GDP and even a slightly smaller percent of our workforce.

Why does this matter? It matters because we know when we make things it creates wealth. Manufacturing jobs pay 20 percent more, on average, than service jobs. We know the difference between retail versus making steel or the difference between fast food restaurant work versus making cars or chemicals or glass or biotech.

We know manufacturing jobs have a strong multiplier effect. So if we have an auto company—let me give an example. The Chevrolet Cruze is a car my daughter just brought—by and large, an Ohio car. It would not have happened if we had not done the auto rescue that so many of my colleagues opposed for ideological reasons, not substantive, practical, let's-make-it-work reasons. Nonetheless, we know the auto industry is coming back and we know manufacturing jobs have increased—far too anemically, but they have increased over the last year.

But the Chevy Cruze, the engine is made in Defiance, OH, and the bumper is made in Northwood, OH, and the transmission is made in Toledo, OH, and the steel comes out of Cleveland, OH, for much of the car. The aluminum wheels come out of Cleveland, OH. The stamping is done in Parma, OH. Some of the other stamping is done in Lordstown, OH. The assembly is done in Lordstown, OH. There are 5,000 people working just on the assembly alone. So that is the multiplier effect.

When we assemble in Toledo, we assemble the Jeep. Chrysler assembles the Jeep in Toledo.

Some 3 years ago, only 50 percent of the components for the Jeep were American made. Today, over 70 percent are American made. So we know manufacturing creates all kinds of jobs, making 20 percent more, on average, than service jobs.

Since the beginning of the recession, though, we still see profits at large financial institutions and other service firms increase, but our Nation's unemployment rate is still hovering around 9 percent. So when profits go up for those financial services firms—and I appreciate JPMorgan Chase in Columbus, OH. I met with their top person in Ohio just this week—just moving from Cleveland to Columbus. I know the important work they do in my State. I know they provide thousands and thousands and thousands of jobs. That is all a good thing.

But I also know in an economy which is not paying attention to manufacturing, we do not get the multiplier effect, we do not get the higher wages, we do not get the employment growth that we might get otherwise.

That is why, yesterday, Senator ROCKEFELLER and I convened a meeting, where Senator WHITEHOUSE, Senator JACK REED, Senators SCHUMER and KLOBUCHAR and FEINSTEIN and others attended. We talked about a real national manufacturing strategy. That means closing the skills gap. We have a lot of jobs in places such as Iowa and North Carolina, Ohio, where they go unfilled because we do not have well enough connected worker training with those jobs, with the needs. We need to pursue better tax and trade policies. We need to pay special attention to manufacturing.

Yesterday, the Senate sent to the House legislation we passed unanimously that said: When the government buys American flags, rather than 50 percent—a requirement that 50 percent of them be made in the United States—the requirement now is that 100 percent be made in the United States.

Why do we not put more focus on “Made in the USA”? It will matter for us. It matters for our national pride on flags, to be sure, but it matters for our communities, it matters our companies, and it matters for our workers.

I yield the floor and 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. HARKIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

FAA REAUTHORIZATION

Mr. HARKIN. Madam President, I meant to be here earlier when Senator