

Mills, Kamesha Mills, Artara Benson, Tim Adams, Chayson Williams, Kierra Adams, and Michael Williams. They all died by gunshots. They left behind children, parents, and neighbors who are scarred for life.

Psychologists will tell you that when a shooting occurs, there are at least 10 people who experience life-altering trauma. What we know is that episodes of trauma don't just affect you up here; they affect your entire body. We have new developing evidence which shows that children who experience multiple episodes of trauma in their lives—and they don't have to be as grave or serious as a shooting—are physiologically affected for the rest of their lives. People who witness trauma and experience trauma die earlier than people who don't, never mind have episodes related to post-traumatic stress that stay with them for the rest of their lives. So the spillover, the ripple effects of these 11,000 deaths, frankly, represents a number that can't even fit on a chart like this.

There is no simple solution. Sometimes it seems as if the only thing we come down here and talk about is stricter gun laws. And I don't believe there is any reason why we don't require background checks for guns before they are purchased or we don't just simply say that these dangerous assault weapons should stay out of the hands of people who aren't in law enforcement or the military. But that is not the beginning and end of the conversation.

This young man, Karl Pierson, who walked into Arapahoe High School started shooting the place up because he was upset about his place on the debate team. He apparently had a history of disciplinary incidents at that school, but he clearly had some serious issues of mental illness not identified and treated. Of course, the same thing can be said of Jared Lee Loughner and Adam Lanza and this long list of mass shooters across this country. We absolutely have to put more resources into our mental health system.

I appreciate my colleagues on the other side of the aisle who have said: We are not willing to go with you when it comes to background checks or assault weapons, but we will work with you on mental health funding.

In order to do that, we actually have to put the money behind the system. We have closed down 4,000 in-patient mental health beds in this country over the last 5 years. Why? Because the Federal Government is pulling funding from the very programs that actually support increased mental health resources which can identify these individuals before they perpetrate incidents of mass violence. So there is an illusion of bipartisan support around the issue of mental health even while we have these outstanding disagreements on gun laws. Yet there really isn't agreement because when you are fighting over the budget, when Republicans are calling for massive cuts to

programs such as Medicaid or the mental health block grant, then they are undermining the very programs that actually identify and help people such as Karl Pierson or Adam Lanza.

Enough is enough. I will be down here after the holiday, and that number will be over 12,000—12,000 individuals, many of them little girls and boys like those represented on this chart: Daniel Barden and Jesse Lewis and Dylan Hockley.

Back in Newtown, out of respect for the families who are tired from 365 days of grieving, there was no big public remembrance on Saturday. There was a small private ceremony which I had the honor of attending at St. Rose Church, where so many of the children were parishioners.

As tired as that community is, they also were bewildered, in Newtown, because they went up to the State capitol in Connecticut and got laws passed that will prevent these kinds of episodes of mass violence in the future, but they came down to Washington and, while they got a lot of meetings, they got absolutely no progress—zilch, zip, nada.

As we head into 2014, I hope the memory of these little boys and girls will not fade as we get beyond the 1-year mark of Sandy Hook. My hope is people will start paying attention to this number, creeping up to 12,500 deaths, and will recognize that while this number simply represents the number of people who have died, there are all sorts of people out there such as Claire Davis, who survived, but survived gun incidents that will cripple them for the rest of their lives, and there are, frankly, hundreds of thousands of more people who surround these incidents of violence who have their lives changed forever because of the trauma they experienced.

All of these victims, whether they were killed in the incident or were part of the collateral damage, have voices, voices that should command this place sometime soon to action.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Madam President, I ask consent to speak as in morning business for up to 20 minutes.

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

#### CLIMATE CHANGE

THANKING TODD BIANCO

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Madam President, this is my 53rd time for consecutive weeks we are in session that I have come to the floor to speak about climate change and to urge my colleagues that it is time to wake up. These speeches are not easy. A great deal of effort goes into assisting me with research and crafting of them. I am particularly grateful for the hard work of Dr. Todd Bianco in helping me to prepare them. He is the fellow sitting on the other side of the sign, looking em-

barrassed that I have just called him out.

Todd joined my office in September of 2012 as a Geological Society of America-U.S. Geological Survey congressional science fellow. He has contributed considerable scientific understanding and analytical rigor to our work. His ability to interpret the latest climate research has helped me to convey complex scientific concepts both accurately and in a way that is accessible and meaningful to policymakers and the public. You may be used to seeing him with me here on the floor for each week's speech, but he has also been effective in researching legislation and preparing for hearings in the Environment and Public Works Committee.

I say this because this week marks the end of Todd's fellowship and he will soon return home to Rhode Island with his wife Allison. Allison Bianco, by the way, is a very talented artist whose work reflects our deep human connection to the natural world. In addition to lending us Todd, Allison has also lent us some of her artwork which is hung on display in my front office. So in addition to thanking Todd for his efforts, I also want to thank Allison. Todd, like me, is an over-married human being.

I wish them both the best of luck back home, and I thank Todd for his work in the U.S. Senate to advance responsible public policy, grounded firmly in the best science.

It is time at last for Congress at least to heed that best science and act responsibly. It is time to wake up. Denying and delaying is irresponsible. In the judgment of history, it will ultimately, I believe, be shameful. Carbon pollution from the burning of fossil fuels is altering the climate. The consensus around this fact within the scientific community is overwhelming, and public awareness of this crisis is growing stronger.

Interestingly, it is growing stronger across party lines. Republicans might want to listen to this. A survey conducted for the League of Conservation Voters found that more than half of young Republican voters, 53 percent of Republicans under the age of 35—53 percent would describe a politician who denies climate change is happening as "ignorant," "out-of-touch," or "crazy." Madam President, 53 percent of Republicans under 35 view that kind of climate denying as "ignorant," "out-of-touch," or "crazy."

Even though a majority of young Republicans understands that denying climate change is out of touch with reality, Republicans in Congress refuse to get serious. Why? Another national survey, this one by the Pew Research Center, found that 61 percent of non-tea-party Republicans actually agree there is solid evidence the Earth is warming, with a plurality saying it is mostly because of humans. But the tea partiers are different. Seventy percent of tea partiers, contrarily, say there is

“no solid evidence” the Earth is warming and 41 percent of tea partiers assert that warming is “just not happening.” Not that we don’t have enough information yet, but it is “just not happening.”

Regardless of what you think is the cause, there are legion independent measurements that the Earth is warming. This is not a theory. We measure that the temperature of the atmosphere and oceans is rising. We measure that snow, ice caps, and glaciers are melting. We measure that seas are rising. We measure that the very seasons are shifting.

It is one thing to be the party that is against science. The tea partiers would make it the party against measurement. Just as the tea partiers led the Republicans off the government shutdown cliff, just as the tea partiers tried to defeat the budget deal most Republicans supported, so the tea party wants to lead the Republican Party off the climate cliff.

Outside these walls it is different. Responsible Republican voices more and more acknowledge the threat of climate change and call for responsible solutions. Many want to correct the market failure that aids and abets the polluters’ irresponsible practices.

My colleagues, Representative HENRY WAXMAN, Representative EARL BLUMENAUER, Senator BRIAN SCHATZ, and I have put forward just such a market-based proposal, a revenue-neutral fee on carbon emissions, the revenues of which would be returned back to the American people. Here, within Congress, where the polluters’ money flows so abundantly, no Republican colleague has come forward to join us. But outside of Congress here are some of the responsible voices in the Republican Party: Former South Carolina Representative Bob Inglis has long urged his party to get serious on climate change. In an article in the Duke Environmental Law & Policy Forum this year, Mr. Inglis invoked the tenets of conservative economics. He wrote:

If you’re a conservative, it is time to step forward and engage in the climate and energy debate because we have the answer—free enterprise. . . . Conservatives understand that we must set the correct incentives and this should include internalizing pollution and other environmental costs in our market system. We tax income but we don’t tax emissions. It makes sense to conservatives to take the tax off something you want more of, income, and shift the tax to something you want less of, emissions.

That was Bob Inglis and that is exactly how you use his words “internalize pollution and other environmental costs in our market system.” You do it with a carbon fee.

Sherwood Boehlert and Wayne Gilchrest, former Republican Representatives from New York and Virginia, in a joint February 2012 op ed with Representative WAXMAN and Senator MARKEY, made the fiscal case for a carbon fee. Here is what they said:

The debate over how to reduce our nation’s debt has been presented as a dilemma be-

tween cutting spending on programs Americans cherish or raising taxes on American job creators. But there is a better way: We could slash our debt by making power plants and oil refineries pay for the carbon emissions that endanger our health and environment. This policy would strengthen our economy, lessen our dependence on foreign oil, keep our skies clean—and raise a lot of revenue. The best approach [they continue] would be to use a market mechanism such as the sale of carbon allowances or a fee on carbon pollution to lower emissions and increase revenue.

For one former Republican Member of this body, the threat of climate change has serious professional implications. As Secretary of Defense, it is Chuck Hagel’s job to account for all hazards to our national security and our interests in the world. He gave this clear-eyed assessment at the Halifax International Security Forum just last month:

Climate change does not directly cause conflict, but it can significantly add to the challenges of global instability, hunger, poverty, and conflict. Food and water shortages, pandemic disease, disputes over refugees and resources, more severe natural disasters—all place additional burdens on economies, societies, and institutions around the world. . . . The effects of climate change and new energy resources are far-reaching and unpredictable . . . demanding our attention and strategic thinking.

Top advisers to former Republican Presidents have joined this chorus of Republicans speaking out on climate and urging a carbon fee. Republican Presidents listened to these men and women. Who knows, maybe Republican Members of Congress will listen to them also.

William D. Ruckelshaus, Lee M. Thomas, William K. Reilly, and Christine Todd Whitman, all headed the Environmental Protection Agency during Republican administrations. They spoke with one voice in an August New York Times op-ed. They wrote:

As administrators of the EPA under Presidents Richard M. Nixon, Ronald Reagan, George Bush and George W. Bush, we held fast to common-sense conservative principles—protecting the health of the American people, working with the best technology available, and trusting in the innovation of American business and in the market to find the best solutions for the least cost.

These former Republican officials recognize both the wisdom of properly pricing carbon and, as well, the obstinate opposition that stands in the way of progress in Congress. They continued in their article:

A market-based approach, like a carbon tax, would be the best path to reducing greenhouse gas emissions, but that is unachievable in the current political gridlock in Washington. But we must continue efforts to reduce the climate-altering pollutants that threaten our planet. The only uncertainty about our warming world is how bad the changes will get and how soon. What is most clear is that there is no time to waste.

They could even have said that it is time to wake up.

George Schultz, another prominent Republican, served as Secretary of both Labor and Treasury under President

Nixon and Secretary of State under President Reagan. He, too, is calling for an end to the polluters’ free ride.

In an April op-ed with Nobel economist Gary Becker that appeared in RealClearPolitics, George Schultz appealed to our American sense of fairness writing:

Americans like to compete on a level playing field. All the players should have an equal opportunity to win based on their competitive merits, not on some artificial imbalance that gives someone or some group a special advantage. We think this idea should be applied to energy producers. They all should bear the full costs of the use of the energy they provide.

Let me repeat that:

They all should bear the full costs of the use of the energy they provide . . . Clearly, a revenue-neutral carbon tax would benefit all Americans by eliminating the need for costly energy subsidies while promoting a level playing field for energy producers.

Veterans of a much more recent Republican administration are likewise acknowledging the appeal of a carbon fee proposal.

David Frum, speechwriter to George W. Bush, wrote in a December 2012 *cnn.com* op-ed that a carbon fee could help address a number of pressing national issues. Here is what he wrote:

Take three worrying long-term challenges: climate change, the weak economic recovery, and America’s chronic budget deficits. Combine them into one. And suddenly three tough problems become one attractive solution. Tax carbon. . . . The revenues from a carbon tax could be used to reduce the deficit while also extending new forms of payroll tax relief to middle-class families, thus supporting middle-class family incomes.

Gregory Mankiw, economic adviser to George W. Bush and Mitt Romney, specifically highlighted our carbon fee proposal in an August op-ed in the New York Times. Our bill, he wrote, “is more effective and less invasive than the regulatory approach that the federal government has traditionally pursued.”

Speaking of us, he said:

If the Democratic sponsors conceded to using the new revenue to reduce personal and corporate income tax rates, a bipartisan compromise is possible to imagine. Among economists, the issue is largely a no-brainer.

I say to Mr. Mankiw, as one of the Democratic sponsors, we are very interested in a bipartisan compromise. We just need a Republican to come to the negotiating table and we can begin. That is what the American people want, what voters want, and it is what responsible State and local leaders want as well.

Take, for example, Jim Brainard, a five-term Republican mayor from Carmel, IN. In an Indianapolis Star op-ed this month, Mayor Brainard implored Democrats and Republicans alike to face up to the reality of climate change. Here is what Mayor Brainard said:

[T]his issue isn’t just about saving polar bears. It’s about saving our cities. . . . No matter your politics, there is overwhelming evidence of climate change and we as a nation have a moral obligation to address these issues.

For himself, he says he plans “to urge the federal government to take a stronger leadership role in helping our cities prepare for what is certainly coming our way.”

There are a lot of Republicans out there who are awake to the threat of climate change and to the win-win-benefits of pricing carbon and using the revenues to invest in tax reductions and adaptation and other ways to protect ourselves and advance our economy.

Unfortunately, in Congress, the dark, heavy hand of the polluters is helping the tea party drive the Republican party off the cliff. One day the Republican Party will pay a heavy price for this, and that day may be soon. They need to make the change.

It is the responsibility of Congress to heed the warnings of environmental calamity, to stamp out market distortions that favor polluters, and to steer this country on a prudent, reasonable path toward a proud future that is both sustainable and equitable. It is time for Congress to wake up.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DONNELLY). The Senator from Ohio.

#### BUDGET AGREEMENT

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I rise to talk about the budget agreement before the Senate. We had a vote today on moving ahead to that legislation, and I supported that movement. I supported the cloture vote and will support the underlying budget agreement because it does take modest steps to reduce the deficit. It does so without raising taxes. It also relieves some of the sequester's worst impact on our national security, and it also prevents another government shutdown next month and also next year.

I also support it because it is time for us to have a budget. We have not had a budget for 4 years. It will enable us to begin the process of having appropriations bills again. In the appropriations process, of course, we have oversight over the Federal departments and agencies and we prioritize spending, which is very important. Among other things, this will give us the opportunity to root out some of the waste and fraud and actually determine what programs are working and not working to be able to use the power of the purse that Congress has, to help be sure taxpayer funds are being used efficiently and effectively.

As Members know, this agreement was the culmination of what is called a Budget Conference Committee between the House and the Senate. So it was Democrats and Republicans but also the House and Senate coming together. That has not happened in 4 years. So we have not had a budget in 4 years. We have not had a budget conference in 4 years. If you think about that, is it any wonder that during those 4 years Congress has racked up historic debts and deficits?

The deficits of the past 4 years have been the largest deficits in the history of our country, and one reason is we have not had the discipline that comes with having a budget and being sure there is some accountability for the spending. We have not made the hard choices our constituents have to make every day, how much to spend and what to spend it on. That is what a budget is supposed to do.

This budget agreement we will be voting on this week is far from perfect. There is a lot I don't like about it. In fact, I just supported the attempt to amend it on the floor of the Senate to improve it, but I do believe that with a divided Congress—Republicans in charge in the House, Democrats in charge in the Senate—it was the best we could hope for. There were no tax increases, as the Democrats wanted. We just heard from one of my colleagues about how more taxes are needed, but there were no tax increases in this budget agreement.

There is actual deficit reduction, although I will acknowledge that the deficit reduction is way too small. There is about \$22 billion in deficit reduction over 10 years compared to the existing law.

It does provide some sequester relief for the Department of Defense. The Department of Defense was facing across-the-board sequester cuts which were kind of arbitrary across-the-board cuts of about \$20 billion starting on January 15 and over the next few months.

This relief is very important to our military. We have heard from them. It is important to our readiness. It is important to our troops. It is important to Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Ohio and other bases around the country. It is important to our war fighters who are stationed around the globe tonight and putting their lives on the line for us. So I think the sequester relief for the Department of Defense that is in the budget agreement is important.

While this might be the best 2-year budget agreement that is imaginable in a time of a divided government, such as we have with all of the dysfunction in this town, it is certainly not the comprehensive agreement the American people deserve.

Through this agreement, Congress has now accomplished the bare minimum of what the American people should be able to expect from Congress. After all, Congress does have, as I said earlier, the power of the purse, and that is in the Constitution. Every dime has to be appropriated by the Congress. We should be the ones determining how taxpayer dollars are spent, and we certainly need a budget.

There are some who took to the floor today, and will tomorrow I am sure, who will say this is a great budget agreement; this shows everyone how Washington can work and come together to fix a problem. Fair enough. We avoided a government shutdown. Yes, we are not going to gut national

security, and, yes, we will have a small deficit reduction—again, about \$22 billion.

Let's be honest about the opportunity Congress missed this week with this budget agreement. When it comes to the very real budget and fiscal problems we face as a country, when it comes to the mandatory spending, which is two-thirds of the budget and is on autopilot, that is the part that is driving our country toward bankruptcy and threatening to undermine important vital programs, such as Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid.

We have done nothing on that side of the ledger in this budget agreement. We kicked the can down the road one more time and missed the opportunity. As we all know, unless we address these fiscal problems, the day of reckoning is coming.

This is a pie chart of Federal spending that will kind of show where we are relative to 1965 when mandatory spending—again, this is the part Congress does not appropriate. It is on autopilot. It is 34 percent of the budget. Defense is 43 percent of the budget, domestic discretionary is 23 percent.

Here is where we are today: Mandatory is 66 percent of the budget. We went from 34 percent to 66 percent. Remember, this is Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, also interest on the debt. By the way, defense spending has gone from 43 percent down to 18 percent. Yet the sequester disproportionately takes most of the savings out of defense, which is one of the reasons this budget agreement was needed.

We have seen big growth in mandatory spending. By the way, over the next 10 years, it goes from 66 percent to 76 percent. What does that mean? That means it crowds out discretionary spending—defense spending, research spending, education spending, infrastructure spending. That is what is happening.

Our deficits are going to record highs over the next couple of decades and mandatory spending is exploding and it is squeezing the other spending in our budget.

Over the next decade, the Federal Government is going to collect revenue of about \$40 trillion, spend about \$46 trillion, and run a deficit of \$6.3 trillion. Over the next 10 years, there will be another \$6.3 trillion on top of the \$17 trillion debt.

In that 10th year, by the way, 2023, the best case scenario has a projected annual deficit of nearly \$1 trillion—\$895 billion for 1 year. By the way, it assumes no wars, it assumes a decade of prosperity, and it assumes 10 years of historically low rates. It is quite a rosy scenario. If any of these factors fall through, things could be much worse, and it could be well over \$1 trillion.

This is not a problem that can be solved by just cutting discretionary spending. Over the next 10 years, Washington will spend more than \$22 trillion on these vital programs: Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security. If we