

the pteropod, a key food source for salmon.

Here is my challenge to my Republican colleagues who say they are not scientists: Ask the scientists. Ask the scientists at your own home State universities. And ask the folks, by the way, employed by your outdoor industries—the people who see the changes happening around them. Ask your park rangers. Ask your forest rangers.

If a colleague is from North Carolina, ask the scientists at the University of North Carolina Institute of Marine Sciences.

If a colleague is from Colorado, ask the scientists at the National Center for Atmospheric Research in Boulder.

If a colleague is from Iowa, ask the scientists at the Center for Global and Regional Environmental Research at the University of Iowa.

If a colleague is from Arizona, ask the scientists at the University of Arizona, which hosts the Climate Assessment for the Southwest Program.

If a colleague is from Florida, ask the scientists at the University of Florida's Climate Institute.

If a colleague is from Texas, ask the scientists at the Texas Center for Climate Studies at Texas A&M. The Aggies get climate change. Check it out.

If a colleague is from New Hampshire, ask biologist Eric Orff, who worked for the New Hampshire Fish and Game Department for 30 years, what is happening to the moose. Ask Mike Bartlett of the New Hampshire Audubon Society what is happening to the purple finch, the State bird.

If a colleague is from Utah, ask the Park City Foundation and, while colleagues are at it, employees at Alta Ski Area, Canyons Resort, Deer Crest, Deer Valley, or Park City Mountain Resort what they foresee for that industry.

If a colleague is from Idaho, ask University of Idaho Professor Jeffrey Hicke how rising temperatures let loose the bark beetle and decimated almost 1,000 square miles of the iconic mountain pine forests.

If my colleagues like big business, if they think only the private sector knows anything, then ask the big property casualty reinsurers such as Munich Re or Swiss Re, who have billions of dollars at stake and have to get this right.

If a colleague is from Georgia, ask the folks from Coca-Cola. If a colleague is from Arkansas, ask the folks from Walmart. If a colleague is from North Carolina, ask the folks at \$30 billion clothing maker VF Corporation. They all have a lot of money riding on getting this right, and they are making decisions based on business, not on ideology. So ask them.

If my colleagues trust the military, ask ADM Samuel Locklear, commander of U.S. Pacific Command, who says climate risk is the most dangerous long-term challenge we face in the Pacific.

If my colleagues are looking for some pretty good high-level scientists, they might want to ask NASA and NOAA. Remember NASA? They put a rover safely on the surface of Mars, and they are driving it around on Mars. Do my colleagues think they might know what they are talking about?

If my colleagues need to hear it from Republicans, ask former Republican Treasury Secretaries, such as George Shultz and Hank Paulson. Ask former Republican EPA Administrators such as Bill Ruckelshaus, Christine Todd Whitman, William Reilly, and Lee Thomas. Ask James Brainard, the Republican mayor of Carmel, IN. Ask Bob Dixon, the Republican mayor of Greensburg. Ask Betty Price, the Republican mayor of Fort Worth, TX. Ask Republican mayor Sylvia Murphy and county commissioner George Neugent of Monroe County, FL.

If my colleagues are not scientists, just ask. Do your homework. Exercise this new great responsibility that will come with the great power you have won. But don't pretend climate change isn't real. Even your own young voters know better than that. A majority of Republican voters under age 35 think a politician who denies climate change is ignorant, out of touch, or crazy. Those were the words checked off in the poll. To paraphrase Michael Corleone from that great movie, "Don't tell me it isn't real, because it insults my intelligence and it makes me very angry."

To our Republicans, I say I want to be your best friend in all of this, the kind of best friend who tells you when you are in no shape to drive and should hand over the keys until you are sober enough to drive safely even if it makes you mad to hear it, the kind of friend who will tell you the truth you need to hear but don't want to hear. And let me say, friends don't let friends deny climate change.

I know the big carbon polluters want this issue to be ignored. But responsibility is knowing when to tell even your friends no. Responsibility is doing what is factual and is based in real science and measurement. Responsibility is doing what is right for your State and for your country in the long run, not just what rewards your supporters—even those really big supporters—in the short run.

Maybe as their friends you might even want to have a little conversation with them because this is only going one way. As Pope Francis just said, God is not "a magician with a magic wand." He put laws of the universe, laws of nature in place, and we don't get a pass on them just because it is politically convenient. How long does ExxonMobil think it can pursue unsustainable fossil fuel goals by fixing the politics? Laws of nature can't be bought or repealed. The Koch brothers are rich enough to buy virtually anything, but even they can't buy new laws of nature. BP went and quietly shut down its solar and wind programs, but carbon still does what carbon does.

As your friends, they might need a little intervention from you.

Just so you know, I am not going anywhere. I have homes and businesses being swept into the ocean in my State. I have fishermen who tell me it is getting weird out there in Rhode Island Sound, that the lobsters and fish aren't where they are supposed to be when they are supposed to be there, that they are catching the kinds of fish their fathers and grandfathers never saw in their nets.

It is getting weird out there. I am not going anywhere. My State is small and coastal, and worse, bigger storms put us in serious danger. I am not ever going to ignore that. I am never going to walk away from this issue. I will never deny what Rhode Islanders see right in front of their faces and what all our expert warnings tell us is only going to get worse.

If you are going to be responsible and not just powerful, you won't deny this issue and walk away either. I promise you this. One way or another, we are going to get this done.

I yield the floor.

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

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

#### MORNING BUSINESS

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

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

#### PARAGUAY

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, a common reality that permeates the complex and colorful history of Latin America is large numbers of landless, impoverished people and small elites who control the majority of the land and the country's wealth, often exploiting its natural resources for personal gain.

While the significant growth of the middle class in some South American countries over the past decade is encouraging, nowhere is the disparity of land ownership more pronounced than in Paraguay, a landlocked country of 6.5 million people that rarely receives the attention of the U.S. Congress.

A few statistics tell the story. Some 80 percent of agricultural land in Paraguay is owned by just 1.6 percent of the landowners, and the 600 largest properties comprise 40 percent of the total productive land. Meanwhile, a third of a million small farmers have no land at all. It should surprise no one that 40

percent of the country's population lives in poverty and that land, wealth, and political power are concentrated in the hands of a few.

The conflict over land in Paraguay, which dates back hundreds of years, has grown even worse due to the expansion of mechanized soy production, primarily for export. Government policies, including tax breaks, access to credit, and weak environmental and labor regulations, have favored large corporate farms which are often foreign owned, over local family farms that receive little if any government support.

As we have seen in many other Latin countries, the Paraguayan Government has used the army, police, and judicial inaction or bias to protect the interests of the large landowners.

The 35 year dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner ended in 1989. He ruled under a state of siege, imprisoned and tortured political opponents, and reportedly gave away or sold for a pittance 20 percent of the country's land to friends of his regime. Paraguay is slowly moving beyond the Stroessner years, but since 1989 more than 130 small farmers who have tried to defend their rights under the agrarian reform law have reportedly been killed.

I mention this bit of history to put into context what happened on June 15, 2012. According to information I have received, on that day several hundred police officers forcibly evicted a group of about 60 landless farmers who were occupying an area known as Marina Kue in eastern Paraguay. In the ensuing violence, eleven farmers and six police officers were killed and others injured from the gunfire. There has apparently been no investigation of the conduct of the police, despite the existence of published reports about human rights abuses, but all the farmers were charged with crimes.

This case offers the Paraguayan Government an important opportunity to conduct a thorough, independent investigation of the events of June 15, prosecute and punish those responsible for the killings and injuries of the farmers and police officers, and enable poor farmers in that community to acquire legal rights to land and put it to productive use to feed their families.

I understand that the Paraguayan Government recently began working to reach an agreement with the affected communities regarding the land dispute prior to the beginning of the trial of the farmers later this month. This is encouraging news, and it could be a turning point if it results in a thorough, independent investigation and prosecution of those responsible and a just resolution of the dispute.

Paraguay and the United States, while separated by more than 4,000 miles, share many interests. As chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on the Department of State and Foreign Operations that funds U.S. foreign assistance programs, I have supported programs to help Paraguay

strengthen its democratic institutions, promote efficiency and transparency, and promote equitable economic development. I also supported the funding for the Millennium Challenge Corporation's Threshold Program in Paraguay.

There will be other ways the United States can help Paraguay build the capacity and accountability of its public sector, expand its economy, and sustainably manage its natural resources. Few things would do more to advance these goals, and improve social stability, than addressing what happened at Marina Kue and providing access to land for Paraguay's small farmers. I am aware that several other Members of Congress are sending a letter to President Horacio Cartes urging these steps, and I look forward to his response.

#### CHIXOY DAM REPARATIONS AGREEMENT

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, more than 30 years ago, in the midst of Guatemala's civil war, the construction of a large hydroelectric dam on the Chixoy River resulted in destruction of 33 indigenous Mayan communities and the massacres of more than 400 villagers and other abuses by the Guatemalan army.

The history of that tragedy is well known so I will not recount it here. Suffice it to say that a great injustice was committed. There was ample blame to go around between the Army, the World Bank, and Inter-American Development Bank that financed the dam, governments, including the United States, whose representatives on the banks' boards of directors voted for the construction, and subsequent Guatemalan Governments that failed to compensate the victims or punish those responsible.

Last month, the Guatemalan Government and representatives of the communities culminated many months of negotiations with an agreement to implement the contents of the 2010 reparations plan, including individual payments and community development investments that will be financed over a period of years. The agreement was formalized at a public ceremony on Saturday, November 1, attended by Guatemala's President Otto Perez Molina, members of the communities, other government officials, and representatives of the multilateral banks and the United Nations.

There are many who thought this day would never come, and I commend the commitment and patience of the members of the communities, particularly those who lost loved ones so many years ago, the Guatemalan officials who negotiated the agreement, President Perez Molina for his personal support, as well as key officials from the multilateral banks who played an indispensable role, and Inter-American Development Bank President Luis Moreno, who also took a personal interest. I also commend the U.S. Em-

bassy officials and representatives of the Catholic Church who provided encouragement and support during this process. Finally, I want to acknowledge Guatemala's Ambassador to the United States and the U.S. Treasury Department officials who recognized the need to resolve this issue.

This is a historic milestone that finally begins to right a grievous wrong, a wrong that was emblematic of the horrors of the armed conflict that engulfed Guatemala a generation ago. A great many innocent people lost their lives or their livelihoods in that war, and many of the key provisions of the 1992 Peace Accords remain unfulfilled.

Until now, Chixoy was among the unfinished business, so this is a welcome and important step toward addressing the damages suffered by these communities. Yet I am as mindful as others that in many respects this agreement is only the beginning. The task ahead is to ensure its implementation, which will be the responsibility of the current and future Guatemalan Governments, the multilateral banks that have pledged to redirect some of their own resources to this effort, and all those who care about Guatemala's past, present, and future.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a description of Saturday's ceremony formalizing the agreement, provided by the Guatemalan Embassy in Washington, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### PRESIDENT PEREZ MOLINA FORMALIZES HISTORIC AGREEMENT

The President of Guatemala, Otto Perez Molina, formalized an historic agreement for economical reparations for 33 communities of Baja Verapaz affected by the construction of the Chixoy Hydroelectric in 1978.

A public event was held in the Municipal Stadium in Rabinal, Baja Verapaz on Saturday, where representatives of the Executive, the affected communities, the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office, the Organization of American States and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights handed the Government Decree number 378-2014 to the Communities.

"Today is an historic day" expressed President Perez Molina, "one that closes a shameful chapter of abuses, human rights violations and injustices suffered by thousands of families that lived in the area where Chixoy was built". Also, in front of thousands of people from the affected communities that attended the formalization of the Government Decree at the Rabinal Municipal Stadium, he ratified his administration's commitment to comply with the terms of the Public Policy.

He continued to express, on behalf of the State of Guatemala, a public apology to the families of the 33 communities that were wronged by the construction in 1978 of the Chixoy Hydroelectric Dam. With this public apology, he began implementing the Government Decree for moral and material reparations. "I want to be the first to follow through with the public policy of reparations and comply with one of the main points of the agreement which is responsibility of the Presidency of Guatemala. So today, in this historic day of happiness and celebration of