his enthusiasm for getting the Coast Guard legislation completed. As a fellow ocean State, albeit a somewhat smaller ocean State, we are strong supporters of our Coast Guard and appreciate very much their service on our waters.

CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I am here for my 189th ''Time to Wake Up'' speech to discuss the Republican tax bill. Who knew? Folks watching today's debate from home are probably wondering what the tax bill has to do with climate change. That is a good question. They might also ask, as I do, why the tax bill includes massive giveaways to fossil fuel producers or what opening up precious wilderness to oil drilling has to do with tax reform.

The chairman of the Senate Finance Committee said: ''We need a simpler tax code that puts more money back into the pockets of workers and families.'' Republicans, he said, want to create ''a fairer, more predictable system for taxpayers across the country.''

Their tax plan is none of those things. Its benefits are weighted heavily to big corporations, not workers and families. The corporate tax cuts are permanent, while the modest breaks for some workers disappear after a few years. What is fair or predictable about that?

The chairman also said:

> I want a bipartisan process that renders a bipartisan result. . . . I think we need a vigorous and open debate in the Senate, which, in my view, should include a full process in committee and regular order on the Senate floor.

We got none of that. Republicans have rammed this bill through, using every procedural and parliamentary trick at their disposal, as a purely partisan measure, in the dead of night, producing amendments in handwritten chicken scratch in the margins of the bill at the last minute.

If we were to ask middle-class families their top priorities for fixing our tax system, I don't think very many would say: You know, we really need to let oil companies pump crude in an Alaskan wildlife refuge. But that is what they do.

The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge was established in 1960 to preserve ''unique wildlife, wilderness, and recreational values.'' It now encompasses almost 20 million acres, with around 8-million acres designated as wilderness. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service manages the refuge, which is roadless, trailless, and represents the best of wild Alaska in a world where wilderness is increasingly scarce and vanishing far too fast.

The Republican tax bill opens the refuge's 1.5 million-acre coastal plain to the oil drillers. Opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas development does little to provide energy security. The oil-producing potential of the area is estimated by the U.S. Geological Survey to be, at a maximum, around 12 billion barrels total of recoverable oil. In 2016, the United States consumed 7.2 billion barrels of petroleum products just in that year. So all of the oil we get from the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, which will take decades, represents fewer than 2 years of current consumption, and that is according to the most optimistic estimate.

The budget resolution required that this venture raise $1 billion over 10 years. Republicans need that $1 billion to fund the big tax cuts they are giving out to the wealthy and to big corporations. When the numbers were finally crunched, though, drilling in that Arctic coastal plain couldn't produce those numbers. Did this reality dissuade my Republican colleagues? No. Instead, they have proposed to make up the difference by selling off 7 million barrels from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve—the United States' emergency supply of crude oil, which actually does help guarantee our energy security. They want to sell reserve oil to fund those cuts for the wealthy and the big corporations.

An auction last week of oil and gas leases in another part of Northern Alaska bodes ill for Republican hopes about drilling in the wilderness preserve. On 900 tracts of land offered up to oil and gas companies, the Bureau of Land Management fielded just seven bids—900 tracts of land, 7 bids.

Why is that?

For one thing, low prices for crude oil make the prospect of exploring undeveloped Alaskan wilderness less appealing. In general, current industry appetite for high-risk ''frontier'' exploration is very low, observed an energy analysis at Raymond James & Associates. The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge ''would suffer from much the same thing.''

A second problem is that oil companies are likely overstating their achievable existing reserves already. They will have to leave a lot in the ground of what they are now claiming as reserves. Buying more when you cannot sell what you already have is not a great strategy. Low-cost renewables and excess supply will further drive oil prices down and down if the laws of supply and demand hold true.

This may be one reason the World Bank just announced in this new story, dated 2 days ago, that it will end its financial support for oil and gas exploration within the next 2 years. It is in response to the growing threat that is posed by climate change. That is where they are going. We are going the wrong way.

The sad irony of Arctic drilling is that the American Arctic will feel the effects of burning fossil fuels most severely. The U.S. Global Change Research Program's ''Climate Science Special Report,'' authored by scientists and experts from top universities and across the Federal Government, found that while all regions of the United States will see significant warming by the end of the century, Alaska is expected to take the hardest hit—potentially over 12 degrees Fahrenheit warmer by 2100, which is under the high-emission scenario shown down here at the bottom right.

The northern edge of Alaska, including the historic whale-hunting village of Utqiagvik—and please forgive me, the people of Utqiagvik, for mangling the village's pronunciation—could see temperature increases of 18 degrees Fahrenheit. This village, which is only about 300 miles west of the area in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge targeted for oil and gas development, is already seeing its coastlines overrun by rising seas, its permafrost melting beneath its buildings, and its beaches washing out to sea in strong winter storms as the protective shoreline sea ice forms later and later each year.

Here is another news flash from Utqiagvik: 320 miles north of the Arctic Circle, a weather station in America's northernmost city of Utqiagvik has been collecting temperature data since the 1920s. Just recently, the average temperature went so off the chart at the weather station there that the instrumentation shut down the recording because the algorithm that monitored this figured that something must have gone wrong with the instrumentation because the numbers were so out of whack.

The numbers were not out of whack. It was actually very real climate change that changed the environment and sent that signal that blew through the algorithm that the scientists had set up.

But, in this building, in this room, the warnings from our best scientists about the consequences of our carbon emissions just don't count. The hyped economics about oil drilling don't count here. The weird budgetary jujitsu required to shoehorn this environmental hit into a tax bill doesn't matter here. What matters here is that the oil companies want to drill in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, and so Republicans are making it happen.

Republicans claim to be cleaning up the Tax Code, but their so-called tax reform leaves in place most of the oil and tax giveaways that have benefited that industry for decades. The Big Oil giants, like BP, Shell, ExxonMobil, Chevron, and ConocoPhillips, have enjoyed nearly $1 trillion in profits over the past 10 years. Yes, let's rush to their assistance. Never mind the beleaguered American families, many of whom will see taxes go up from this bill. Let's rush to the defense of those companies with $1 trillion in profits over the past 10 years. They continue to benefit from multibillion-dollar tax subsidies.

I am proud to have repeatedly cosponsored Senator MENENDEZ's bill that would close the loopholes for the Big Oil giants, saving $22 billion for taxpayers and debt holders over the next decade. The Republican bill not

only leaves most of the old loopholes in place, but it offers new giveaways to the oil and gas industries. A last-minute change scribbled in during the Senate vote-arama will allow traded oil and gas partnerships to use the so-called passthrough loophole that the Republicans claim is designed to help small businesses.

While the Republican tax plan boosts the fossil fuel polluters with this new tax gift, it singles out renewable energy to undermine those jobs. The way this works is that, under the historic bipartisan agreement that many of us worked on in 2015, developers of new wind energy were given a period in which tax credits for projects for which construction begins by the end of 2019 would be protected. There was a bargain struck in this body. We came together, and we agreed on a bipartisan result. This tax bill breaks that deal and breaks that result for wind and for solar. For wind, it was until the end of 2019. For solar, it was through 2021.

These tax credits have been vital to the growth of the renewable industry across the country. It has grown in red States and in blue States. In fact, the five States that get the largest percentage of their electricity from wind and that have all of those wind energy jobs are Iowa, Kansas, South Dakota, Oklahoma, and North Dakota. Texas produces the most wind power of any State. The Republican tax bill is likely to upend the progress that we have made on renewables, disrupt ongoing projects, and ruin those jobs—all with clever provisions, the trick being to render those renewable tax credits that we bargained for practically valueless.

Renewable developers don't usually turn a profit in the early years. So they don't have taxes against which to apply the tax credits. They sell the tax credits to others, and they use the revenue from selling the tax credits to support those wind and solar investments. The clever fossil fuel trick in the Senate bill—specifically, the corporate AMT and base erosion so-called provisions—would make these credits worthless to the businesses that have been buying them. With no buyers for the tax credits, funds for new wind and solar projects will dry up.

There is even more nonsense in the House bill that takes direct aim at the wind and solar credits, including changing the rules on how projects would qualify for the credits, not just in the future but also retroactively. They go back to undo deals that have already been done. So $20 billion in projects have frozen up, developers say, just from the threat of these changes.

Renewable energy industry organizations, including the American Wind Energy Association, the American Council on Renewable Energy, the American Conservation Coalition, Citizens for Responsible Energy Solutions, the Conservative Energy Network, and Conservatives for Clean Energy, all warn that the tax bill will jeopardize growth and jobs in wind and solar projects.

''If these provisions are retained,'' the groups wrote to Senators, ''they will result in broad instability and uncertainty for businesses and investors across many sectors, including the clean energy sector.''

Gosh, I hope my Republican friends will listen to our wind and solar producers, particularly the ones in their home States. I hope they will listen to the people who are counting on the jobs of those $20 billion in projects that have now been put on the shelf. I hope they will listen to American taxpayers, who are sick of midnight-deal corporate welfare like this.

If they do listen, they can scrap this terrible bill. They can sit down and work with Democrats. It would be a novelty, but we would welcome it. We could have a bipartisan tax bill that works for the middle class, for the economy, and for the environment, but with the oil and gas industry calling the shots around here, fat chance of that.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, first of all, I thank my friend, the Senator from Rhode Island, for two things—one, for being a constant voice on the need for us to diversify our energy sources and supplies and for recognizing the enormous challenge around climate change.

I come from a State that is not too dissimilar from his in terms of its having a great deal of shoreline. We see the effects of the changing climate each and every day. At high tide, we have parts of the city of Norfolk that have never before flooded that flood on a regular basis.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. On a sunny day.

Mr. WARNER. On a sunny day.

We have a church that has to regularly change its schedule of worship, not because the Lord has asked them to change the schedule of worship but because it floods on a regular basis.

Let me also thank him for his comments about the tax legislation. I share his concern as somebody who feels very strongly that there is a right way and a wrong way to do tax reform. Unfortunately, the product I believe we will be voting on next week, not only the provisions the Senator from Rhode Island talked about, will also add close to $2 trillion to our debt.

In many ways, it does not even take care of the problems we are supposed to solve, in terms of the ability of companies to bring back profits from overseas in a way to reinvest in this country. Frankly, it exacerbates the problem where companies can further hide their profits abroad.

I share his doubt about whether our colleagues will join us in starting anew, but if they would, I would join with them and others in trying to make sure we do tax reform in a fair, balanced way that is fiscally responsible. I thank Senator WHITEHOUSE for his comments.

DACA

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I stand today to talk about a different subject; that is, to stand in solidarity with over 12,000 of my Virginia constituents who are students, entrepreneurs, members of our military, and individuals who have the distinction of being Dreamers, like the nearly 800,000 Dreamers across our country.

These people, many of them young folks, are worried about facing deportation—not for anything they have done wrong but because the vast majority of these young people were brought to this country as children many years ago. Today, unfortunately, due to no actions of their own, they are caught up in some of the worst of our Nation's politics.

Up until this past September, these young people were living in the United States legally under the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Program or what has been called DACA. As part of this program, these young people came out of the shadows, paid a fee, went through an extensive background check, and complied with all the other requirements of the DACA Program. Unfortunately, Dreamers and their families are now in a perilous situation because, unfortunately, President Trump ended the DACA Program, literally putting hundreds of thousands of these young people in a state of legal limbo.

Unfortunately, while a number of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle want to work through this problem, we hear the Republican leadership has done nothing to provide that permanent solution for these hard-working young Americans. That is who they are, folks who have lived here oftentimes for decades. This is not how the greatest country on Earth should treat anyone, especially these young people who, in most cases, have only one nation they have called home, and that is our country, the United States.

I am not the only one who thinks this. As I mentioned, there are colleagues on both sides of the aisle who have been coming to the floor for weeks making this point. The fact is, more than three-quarters of Americans of all political stripes support a pathway to permanent legal status for Dreamers. Here in the Senate, my friends, Senator LINDSEY GRAHAM and Senator DICK DURBIN, have introduced the bipartisan Dream Act and have been actively working toward its passage.

In the Senate and the House, there are enough votes to pass this bipartisan legislation if leadership would only bring it to the floor, and that is just not the case in the Senate. Last week, my friend Congressman SCOTT TAYLOR, a fellow Virginian and a Republican, led a bipartisan group of 30 Members in the House again asking the House leadership to find a legislative solution—not next year, not next month but now.

Unfortunately, it seems like folks on the other side of the aisle would rather