

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session to resume consideration of the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Wendy Williams Berger, of Florida, to be United States District Judge for the Middle District of Florida.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Berger nomination?

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from West Virginia (Mrs. CAPITO) and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. ISAKSON).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce the that the Senator from Colorado (Mr. BENNET), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. BOOKER), the Senator from New York (Mrs. GILLIBRAND), the Senator from California (Ms. HARRIS), the Senator from Minnesota (Ms. KLOBUCHAR), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS), and the Senator from Massachusetts (Ms. WARREN) are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COTTON). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 54, nays 37, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 228 Ex.]

YEAS—54

Alexander	Gardner	Perdue
Barrasso	Graham	Portman
Blackburn	Grassley	Risch
Blunt	Hawley	Roberts
Boozman	Hoeven	Romney
Braun	Hyde-Smith	Rounds
Burr	Inhofe	Rubio
Cassidy	Johnson	Sasse
Collins	Jones	Scott (FL)
Cornyn	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Cotton	Lankford	Shelby
Cramer	Lee	Sinema
Crapo	Manchin	Sullivan
Cruz	McConnell	Thune
Daines	McSally	Tillis
Enzi	Moran	Toomey
Ernst	Murkowski	Wicker
Fischer	Paul	Young

NAYS—37

Baldwin	Heinrich	Schatz
Blumenthal	Hirono	Schumer
Brown	Kaine	Shaheen
Cantwell	King	Smith
Cardin	Leahy	Stabenow
Carper	Markey	Tester
Casey	Menendez	Udall
Coons	Merkley	Van Hollen
Cortez Masto	Murphy	Warner
Duckworth	Murray	Whitehouse
Durbin	Peters	Wyden
Feinstein	Reed	
Hassan	Rosen	

NOT VOTING—9

Bennet	Gillibrand	Klobuchar
Booker	Harris	Sanders
Capito	Isakson	Warren

The nomination was confirmed.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the next nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Brian C. Buescher, of Nebraska, to be United States District Judge for the District of Nebraska.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Buescher nomination?

Mr. WICKER. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from West Virginia (Mrs. CAPITO) and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. ISAKSON).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Colorado (Mr. BENNET), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. BOOKER), the Senator from New York (Mrs. GILLIBRAND), the Senator from California (Ms. HARRIS), the Senator from Minnesota (Ms. KLOBUCHAR), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS), and the Senator from Massachusetts (Ms. WARREN) are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. BLACKBURN). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 51, nays 40, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 229 Ex.]

YEAS—51

Alexander	Fischer	Perdue
Barrasso	Gardner	Portman
Blackburn	Graham	Risch
Blunt	Grassley	Roberts
Boozman	Hawley	Romney
Braun	Hoeven	Rounds
Burr	Hyde-Smith	Rubio
Cassidy	Inhofe	Sasse
Collins	Johnson	Scott (FL)
Cornyn	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Cotton	Lankford	Shelby
Cramer	Cramer	Sullivan
Crapo	Crapo	Thune
Cruz	McConnell	Tillis
Daines	Cruz	McSally
Enzi	Daines	Moran
Ernst	Enzi	Toomey
Fischer	Ernst	Murkowski
		Paul

NAYS—40

Baldwin	Hirono	Schatz
Blumenthal	Blumenthal	Jones
Brown	Brown	Kaine
Cantwell	Cantwell	King
Cardin	Cardin	Leahy
Carper	Carper	Manchin
Casey	Casey	Markey
Coons	Coons	Menendez
Cortez Masto	Cortez Masto	Merkley
Duckworth	Duckworth	Murphy
Durbin	Durbin	Murray
Feinstein	Feinstein	Peters
Hassan	Hassan	Reed
Heinrich	Heinrich	Rosen

NOT VOTING—9

Bennet	Gillibrand	Klobuchar
Booker	Harris	Sanders
Capito	Isakson	Warren

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the motions to reconsider are considered made and laid upon the table. The President will be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

The Senator from North Dakota.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. HOEVEN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to legislative session and be in 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.

The Senator from Oregon.

RECOGNIZING SHELDON WHITEHOUSE'S 250TH CLIMATE CHANGE SPEECH

Mr. MERKLEY. Madam President, I rise in recognition of a friend and colleague, Senator SHELDON WHITEHOUSE, on this special occasion of his 250th speech in his “Time to Wake up” series, a series of speeches, as far as I know, unparalleled in the history of the Senate for addressing a major national issue, a major world issue—the issue of carbon pollution and climate chaos.

As we take in a breath of air at this very moment, when you are sitting on the dais or at one of the desks or sitting on the benches, that breath of air contains air very different from the air when I was born. The air contains 33 percent more carbon. This has never happened over the lifetime of any individual in the history of the human species on this planet, and it means big changes because every molecule of carbon is grabbing heat and holding on to it.

Out in Oregon that means there are warmer winters, which is wonderful for the pine beetles and bad for the pine trees. It means there is a smaller snowpack that melts earlier, on average, resulting in less irrigation water for our farmers and ranchers. It also means less healthy streams for salmon and trout. It means that a lot of the carbon will be absorbed into the ocean and become carbonic acid, and now we have to artificially buffer the Pacific Ocean seawater in order for baby oysters to survive.

The list goes on, but the point is that these changes are happening not just in my State but all over our country, and not just in our country but all over the world. Most of these changes have manifested themselves within the last 10 years, that is, when we actually see what is happening. Just a couple of years ago, the sea stars off the coast of Oregon started dying, and off the coast of Washington and off the coast of California. In fact, in some areas they have been completely wiped out. The result of that is that the blue sea urchins have exploded without the sea stars to eat them. The result of that is the rapid disappearance of big kelp forests that harbor thousands of species. Who knows what impact that will have on

the chain of life in the ocean or on the fisheries that are such an important part of our economy. In place after place, effect after effect, effects can be measured with a thermometer or with litmus paper for acidity or with a ruler—effects that can be seen by our ranchers, farmers, fishermen, and the forests and timber economy; effects that are felt by the 180 million Americans who suffered through an extraordinary heat wave in what is now expected to be the hottest month in human recorded history, this July.

So we face a huge challenge, but we cannot respond by saying: Oh, my goodness, it is overwhelming. I want to ignore it. Or it is such a large challenge that I cannot make a difference.

Instead, we have to increase our attention. We have to increase our efforts. We have to drive a faster transition off of fossil fuels that are creating the carbon to renewable fuels, and, in so doing, create millions of jobs and make sure they are good-paying jobs, and have a race to the top with project labor agreements and with good family wages and benefits. We need to make sure that we move forward in a fashion that puts jobs in places where they are needed, including in our frontline communities, in our frontier communities, as I like to call them, and in rural parts of Oregon, in our rural communities, in our former fossil fuel communities. Our former fossil fuel workers who did the hard work, took the risks, and suffered black lung should be first in line for new energy jobs in our economy.

But we have no time to wait. This needs to be bipartisan. This is not blue or red. This is planet Earth. We are all on it together. We are all on this little remote planet, a long distance to our next planet, a long distance between our star and the next star. There are an estimated 2 trillion galaxies in the universe with perhaps a billion stars each, but all we have is our little blue-green orb. So let's save it.

Can human civilization rise to the task? That hangs in the balance. We are not doing very well so far.

But my colleague from Rhode Island has given his attention to this analysis, bringing everything to bear, saying: Pay attention and work hard. So I applaud him and thank him for his weekly speeches and his efforts to understand and establish a momentum around a solution and applaud him in this very robust form of leadership on such an important undertaking.

Thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. SCHATZ. Madam President, in the Senate, in the Congress, and in politics, people are a little too loose with their praise. Everybody is getting applause, everybody is getting thanked, everybody is the greatest, and it gets a little tiresome. So I try to be a little more sparing. I mean you still have to be nice to people, but I try to be a little more sparing because this gets ab-

surd. Sometimes we have caucus lunches, and there are probably 10 or 15 moments when we are all applauding each other. It gets crazy.

But I want to take this moment on the Senate floor to applaud someone who really deserves it and who has really displayed extraordinary leadership. Whatever one may think about the U.S. Senate and how it functions, these are 100 pretty impressive people. They have accomplished something probably prior in their life and just to get to the Senate is a real thing. But SHELDON WHITEHOUSE is the single most fearless individual in politics that I ever have met. He is the single most tireless individual in politics that I have ever met, and it is not just with speechmaking.

Today is a marker because he has made 250. Is it 250 or did the Senator already do it?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. This is 250.

Mr. SCHATZ. He has done 249, and he is about to do 250, and I will let him get to it. But it will be 250 individual speeches on the Senate floor. Sometimes there are people in the Chamber, and sometimes it is empty and you are talking to these incredible young men and women who serve as pages and the Presiding Officer, who has no choice but to sit there politely. But SHELDON WHITEHOUSE will give his 250th speech on climate, and it is not most of what he has done. It is a small part of what he has done to lead on climate with absolute moral, scientific, political, and pragmatic clarity.

I will just say a couple more things about my partnership with SHELDON. You know, I was a very happy Lieutenant Governor of the State of Hawaii, and I was leading the Hawaii Clean Energy Initiative, which is our effort to get to 100 percent clean energy by the year 2040. The very unfortunate death of Daniel K. Inouye made a vacancy in the Senate seat, and I decided to pursue this Senate seat because I wanted to do something about climate. I didn't know most of the Members except for the famous ones.

When I came to the Senate, everybody told me to talk to SHELDON WHITEHOUSE, and we became fast friends. He comes from the Ocean State, even though that sounds weird to me. I come from the Aloha State, and he comes from the Ocean State, and we have been working together ever since.

But I want to report to whomever is watching that I never felt such momentum on this issue. It is because of the young people who have sort of stormed the castle over the last year or so and demanded change and demanded action and demanded the kinds of change and action that are equal to the scale of this problem.

People will quibble with the political tactics and the messaging and all of that, but when change happens in the United States of America, it is led by young people, and that is what happened. They stormed the castle. Even

those of us who have been working on climate for a long time felt a jolt of energy in a positive way. That is No. 1.

No. 2 is a little unfortunate, but it is changing the politics, and that is events—weather events, climate events. We are no longer talking about climate change as a near-term future issue or a long-term future issue; climate change is now. It is happening across the country. It is not just happening to conservation areas or places where you might enjoy the outdoors; it is happening to communities from coast to coast and everywhere in between. There are record heat waves, record floods, record snowstorms, coral bleaching events. It is very difficult to describe something as a 100-year flood or a 500-year flood—which means it is supposed to happen, statistically speaking, about every 100 or 500 years—if that flood is happening every year.

It is very difficult to ignore the reality of climate change when the last 8 hottest years on record were over the last 9 years. The weather is absolutely getting weirder and more unpleasant, and our storms are getting more frequent and more severe.

Public opinion is moving. Now you have a majority of Republicans, a decisive majority of young Republicans, a huge, vast majority of Independents, and pretty much every single Democrat wanting climate action. The other part of that, which is encouraging, is that Senator WHITEHOUSE has a strategy. He understands it is not enough just to marshal public opinion.

Look at what is happening with gun safety. We are not there yet, even though public opinion is absolutely on our side. Sometimes you have to look at what is structurally happening in politics, especially in the U.S. Congress.

Senator WHITEHOUSE understands that we have to deal with the structural aspects of the way campaigns are funded, the way information and misinformation is propagated, and we need to engage on that battlefield, as well.

I will close with this. A, I have never been so hopeful about the prospect for climate action in 2021, and, B, I have never been so thankful to have a partner who can lead this effort as Senator SHELDON WHITEHOUSE can.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Madam President, let me first thank my friend Senator SCHATZ for his incredibly kind remarks. He is an outstanding colleague. We work together extremely well. He brings a good cop “aloha” sensibility to a conversation, whereas I tend to lean more toward the bad cop, and he has a remarkable vision for how this can be solved. I am incredibly honored that he is here.

For the 250th week that the Senate has been in session, I rise to call this Chamber to wake up to the threat of climate change. In April of 2012, I delivered the first of these speeches. I

began: “I know that many in Washington would prefer to ignore this issue, but nature keeps sending us messages—messages we ignore at our peril.”

It was a cry of frustration—frustration that the Supreme Court’s infamous *Citizens United* decision had killed the bipartisan work that I saw here on climate for 3 years; frustration that the fossil fuel industry’s death grip had tightened around this Chamber, preventing action; frustration that our Democratic administration had abandoned leadership on climate change and would barely even talk about it.

It has been a run, and here I am, still at it, 7 years on. Some things have changed; some things have not.

Let’s start with what has not changed. What has not changed is the scientific certainty about what is happening in our atmosphere and oceans. Scientists have understood that burning fossil fuels has caused our planet to heat up since the days when Abraham Lincoln was riding around Washington, DC, in his top hat. This is not new news.

Nearly four decades ago, Exxon’s own scientists reported to Exxon management that there is “little doubt” that atmospheric CO₂ concentrations were increasing due to fossil fuel burning. They said back in 1982 that the resulting greenhouse effect “would warm the Earth’s surface, causing changes in climate affecting atmospheric and ocean temperatures, rainfall patterns, soil moisture, and . . . potentially melting the polar ice caps.”

There was no legitimate debate over the science when I started in 2012, and there is no legitimate debate over the science today. Indeed, the science has only strengthened. With each passing year, as Senator MERKLEY said, we rely less on complicated climate models and on scientific forecasts and, unfortunately, more on straightforward, real-time measurement of the changes. Today, we observe with our own eyes what recently was predicted: glacial collapse and retreat, sea level rise, arctic warming, and increasingly extreme weather.

Another constant since 2012 is the fossil fuel industry’s remorseless campaign, A, to block climate change and, B, to do this while hiding its hands behind front groups. I have delivered dozens of these speeches about the dozens of climate denial front groups. Indeed, we have had whole groups of Senators come to the floor to talk about the web of denial that the fossil fuel industry has constructed to propagate fake science, to hide that it is the fossil fuel industry pulling these strings, and to push its muscle and weight around Congress. Mostly, it is funded by Big Oil and the Koch brothers. They set these groups up, and they set them loose to sow false doubt about real climate science and to obstruct, obstruct, obstruct here in Washington.

They have spent—at a minimum—hundreds of millions of dollars on this

anti-climate campaign. With that money, they have talked up some seriously ridiculous notions, such as carbon pollution is good for us all because carbon is plant food. They have taken out billboards comparing climate scientists to the Unabomber. It is false and ugly stuff powered by hidden money.

Oil giants still spend huge amounts to infect America’s corporate lobbying with their obstruction message. InfluenceMap reckons the biggest anti-climate lobbying force in Washington is the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, a trade group that purports to represent typical patriotic American businesses. It should, more properly, be called the “U.S. Chamber of Carbon.” There it is at the rock bottom, side by side with the National Association of Manufacturers, in a statistical tie for worst obstructor of climate action in America.

Why wouldn’t Big Oil go to all this trouble? They are defending a \$650 billion per year subsidy in the United States alone, according to the International Monetary Fund. So it is logical, but it is still shameful.

There is a vast majority of American companies that have a different view and that want to see climate action. Yet in Congress, that vast majority is a silent majority. When I say “silent,” I mean they are not showing up in Congress—not to push back, not to correct the record, not even to seek serious climate legislation. Corporate America was AWOL in Congress in 2012, and they are AWOL in Congress now. Corporate America’s silence was deafening then, and it is deafening still today.

So what has changed since that first speech 7-plus years ago? First of all, the economics of renewable energy changed in a big way. In 2012, wind and solar weren’t cost-competitive with fossil fuels. Storage and electric vehicles were nowhere. That year, the average cost of solar was over \$200 per megawatt hour. Today, it is one-quarter of that. The cost of wind power is down, and offshore wind is emerging. Battery storage now competes on price with gas-fired, peak-demand plants in many areas. Automakers around the world are making more and more electric vehicles, driving costs down and performance up for consumers. Even with that massive subsidy for fossil fuel, renewables are starting to win on price.

Another new area is that we are starting to capture carbon. This little cube that I have in my hand is CO₂ that was pulled out of the air by direct air capture technology and can be turned into tiles, blocks, bricks. There it is. It is the beginning of a new era of carbon capture. The group that did this is competing in Wyoming this summer for the XPRIZE for carbon capture.

Another big thing that has changed since 2012 is that economists, central bankers, Wall Street bankers, real estate professionals, and asset managers are all recognizing the major risks that climate change poses to the global

economy. It is not free to ignore it, and the costs could come in the form of crashes. Back in 2012, these economic warnings—these crash warnings—were uncommon. Today, they are coming from everywhere.

Freddie Mac predicts that rising sea levels will prompt a crash in coastal property values greater than the housing crash that caused the 2008 financial crisis.

First Street has shown how sea level rises already are affecting coastal real estate values up and down the east coast. It found that rising seas have already resulted in \$16 billion in lost property values in coastal homes from Maine to Mississippi.

Moody’s warns that climate risk could trigger downgrades in coastal communities’ bond ratings. Just last week, the mayor of Honolulu testified at Senator SCHATZ’s Climate Committee’s first hearing that the credit rating agencies are already grilling him about this.

BlackRock has estimated that some coastal communities face annual average losses of up to 15 percent of GDP from climate change by the end of the century. Heads up, Florida.

Coastal property is not the only financial risk. The Bank of England, Bank of France, Bank of Canada, San Francisco Fed, and European Central Bank—along with many top-tier, peer-reviewed economic papers—are all warning of systemic economic risk. That is central banker speak for something that poses a risk to the entire economy, all from stranded fossil fuel assets called the carbon asset bubble.

One other thing I have spent a lot of time on is oceans—the heating, the acidification, the lost and shifting fisheries, the collapse in coral and expanding dead zones, and, of course, the rising sea levels. Our terrestrial species needs to pay a lot more attention to the seas. There has been a real shift in attention in these intervening years.

Then you have Standard & Poor’s, Moody’s, Citigroup, and more economists warning that the costs of climate change will not be measured in the hundreds of billions or even in the trillions but will be measured in the tens of trillions of dollars. That is a penalty worth avoiding and worth the attention in the Senate.

So here I am, 7-plus years later, giving my 250th speech. Somewhere between persistent, tiresome, and, I suppose, foolhardy is where you will find me.

I never thought I would still be at it well into 2019, but the fossil fuel industry, with all of its wretched dark money, is still calling the shots in Congress while the rest of corporate America still sits on its hands. The U.S. Senate still is not seriously considering any legislation to reduce carbon pollution, and I am still frustrated, but I am optimistic because the denial wall is cracking.

Bankers and asset managers and financial titans recognize the massive

economic risks of a fossil fuel-based economy and see the huge economic potential of a low-carbon economy. They now see real business incentive to push back on the fossil fuel denial apparatus. They now see real business peril in allowing the fossil fuel denial apparatus to rule.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks the “Economists’ Statement on Carbon Dividends” that was published in the Wall Street Journal, which illustrates that exact point.

I am also optimistic because people are talking about climate change again, and colleagues are talking about climate change. Americans everywhere are talking about climate change. Most Republicans want action on climate change. Voters are engaged on climate change, and more than anyone else, young people especially are engaged. From young hero Greta Thunberg to kids all across this country, to the young plaintiffs in the Juliana suit, young people are engaged. Any politician who wants a long career had better care about what young people think. Any political party that wants to matter in a decade had better care.

Over in the House, it is starting to show. A few Republicans have actually introduced legislation to put a price on carbon emissions. Even President Trump—the guy who handed over the keys to his administration to the fossil fuel industry—feels the need now to talk about the environment. As empty as that talk is, the pressure he feels is progress. The fact that he feels he has to talk about it is progress.

As for me, I can’t wait to stop giving these speeches. These speeches chronicle the continued failure of this body and the continued failure of our country to grapple with an evident climate crisis, and these speeches chronicle the fake science and the political mischief and muscle that the fossil fuel industry has used to debauch our American democracy. Marking that sordid history is important, but I want it to be history. When the dark days of denial and obstruction are past, these speeches will no longer be necessary.

I particularly thank my colleague from Hawaii, Senator SCHATZ; my colleague from Oregon, Senator MERKLEY; my colleague from Massachusetts, Senator MARKEY; and other colleagues who have been incredible friends and allies in this fight, like Senator HEINRICH of New Mexico and Senator WARREN of Massachusetts. I thank my colleagues for being here today and for being such extraordinary partners and teammates. We are a band of brothers and sisters in this cause, and our band is growing.

As more and more Americans, from kitchen tables to corporate cocktail parties, come to terms with the real scope of the problem and the danger this failure presents, not only am I proud of my colleagues who are with me already, but I am very hopeful my colleagues across the aisle will also soon become great partners.

Until then, I conclude for the 250th time by saying it is time to wake up.

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

[From the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 16, 2019]
ECONOMISTS’ STATEMENT ON CARBON DIVIDENDS—BIPARTISAN AGREEMENT ON HOW TO COMBAT CLIMATE CHANGE

Global climate change is a serious problem calling for immediate national action. Guided by sound economic principles, we are united in the following policy as recommendations.

I. A carbon tax offers the most cost-effective lever to reduce carbon emissions at the scale and speed that is necessary. By correcting a well-known market failure, a carbon tax will send a powerful price signal that harnesses the invisible hand of the marketplace to steer economic actors towards a low-carbon future.

II. A carbon tax should increase every year until emissions reductions goals are met and be revenue neutral to avoid debates over the size of government. A consistently rising carbon price will encourage technological innovation and large-scale infrastructure development. It will also accelerate the diffusion of carbon-efficient goods and services.

III. A sufficiently robust and gradually rising carbon tax will replace the need for various carbon regulations that are less efficient. Substituting a price signal for cumbersome regulations will promote economic growth and provide the regulatory certainty companies need for long-term investment in clean-energy alternatives.

IV. To prevent carbon leakage and to protect U.S. competitiveness, a border carbon adjustment system should be established. This system would enhance the competitiveness of American firms that are more energy-efficient than their global competitors. It would also create an incentive for other nations to adopt similar carbon pricing.

V. To maximize the fairness and political viability of a rising carbon tax, all the revenue should be returned directly to U.S. citizens through equal lump-sum rebates. The majority of American families, including the most vulnerable, will benefit financially by receiving more in “carbon dividends” than they pay in increased energy prices.

George Akerlof, Robert Aumann, Angus Deaton, Peter Diamond, Robert Engle, Eugene Fama, Lars Peter Hansen, Oliver Hart, Bengt Holmström, Daniel Kahneman, Finn Kydland, Robert Lucas, Eric Maskin, Daniel McFadden, Robert Merton, Roger Myerson, Edmund Phelps, Alvin Roth, Thomas Sargent, Myron Scholes, Amartya Sen, William Sharpe, Robert Shiller, Christopher Sims, Robert Solow, Michael Spence and Richard Thaler are recipients of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences.

Paul Volcker is a former Federal Reserve chairman.

Martin Baily, Michael Baskin, Martin Feldstein, Jason Furman, Austan Goolsbee, Glenn Hubbard, Alan Krueger, Edward Lazear, N. Gregory Mankiw, Christina Romer, Harvey Rosen and Laura Tyson are former chairmen of the president’s Council of Economic Advisers.

Ben Bernanke, Alan Greenspan and Janet Yellen have chaired both the Fed and the Council of Economic Advisers.

George Shultz and Lawrence Summers are former Treasury secretaries.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. MARKEY. Madam President, what an honor it is to be out here with

the great leader from the State of Rhode Island, SHELDON WHITEHOUSE, who has come onto the Senate floor 250 times to say to the Senate and to say to our country that it is time to wake up. His voice is inspiring. His voice cuts through all of the obfuscation that has been paid for by the special interests. It ensures that we hear the truth about the danger climate change poses to our country and to the planet.

I came out here just to say how special it is for me and for every other Member who partners with SHELDON WHITEHOUSE on this issue. This is somebody who has dedicated his career to solving this problem. He knows all issues go through three phases—political education, political activation, and political implementation. He has been a one-man tutor in his educating of the American public and the U.S. Senate on not only the technical aspects of climate change but on the political aspects of it because, ultimately, it is not a technology problem; it is a political problem we have. The technologies are ready to go.

What Senator WHITEHOUSE has done is to have served as this inspirational center point. He has ensured that the voice of sanity has been heard, that the voice of truth has been heard. Why is it important for him to be this incredible leader? It is that climate change—or the climate crisis—is the national security, economic, environmental, healthcare, and moral issue of our time, of this century. Everything he has been saying is something that, in my opinion, is going to wind up putting him in the history books for the incredible leadership he has shown.

There are a lot of times in which you can be right but too soon. People are not ready to hear it. Yet what we are finding across the country is that more and more people are ready to hear it, especially the younger generation, especially people who recognize right now they are going to live their entire lives with this crisis.

How do we know that?

Back in November, our scientists—13 Federal agencies—who were mandated by a 1990 law, had to present a report to the President on climate change. All 13 agencies—the Department of Energy, the EPA, the Department of State—had to come together. Here is what they concluded: If we do not change what we are doing right now, the planet will warm by 9 degrees Fahrenheit by the year 2100. Let’s say that again. The planet will warm by 9 degrees Fahrenheit between now and 2100—81 years from now.

In other words, the pages who are here in the well of the Senate right now will live through this entire story as it unfolds if we continue with business as usual. Interestingly, the consequences are not those the deniers want us to know, for all 13 agencies concluded there could be upward of—get ready for this—an 11-foot rise in the ocean in the Northeastern part of the United States. Think about that—

11 feet higher. The impact would be catastrophic. Our pages will live through this entire story unless we change what we are doing in our country, unless we change what the U.S. Senate does to put preventive measures in place.

What Senator WHITEHOUSE is saying is: Wake up. The science is clear, and it is unchallengeable.

Our problem is that too many Republicans—especially the denier in chief who sits in the Oval Office—are nostalgic for a time that never existed. They pretend, somehow or other, that all of these climate-related problems are going to magically be solved by policies that don't exist and perhaps we are just in some kind of cycle on our planet that will go away and that these young people will not have a legacy of climate change to have to deal with in their lives. Of course, every scientist in America, with the exception of those who are bought by the Koch brothers, bought by ExxonMobil, bought by the fossil fuel companies, agrees that this is going to happen.

From my perspective, what we are seeing is something that is deadly—the forest fires, the extreme heat waves, the supercharged hurricanes, the Biblical flooding. All of it is happening as a result of what human beings are doing to our own planet. Global temperatures are rising like a runaway freight train. This month is on track to be the hottest month on Earth ever recorded. May I say that again? The month of July in 2019 is on track to be the hottest month ever recorded in the history of our planet. Last month was the hottest June in recorded history. Every month so far in 2019 has been in the top five hottest on record. The last 5 years have been the hottest 5 years ever recorded, and 20 of the last 22 years have been the hottest ever recorded.

This is not a drill; this is an emergency, and it is an emergency that has an answer in deploying wind and solar and new batteries and all-electric vehicles and energy efficiency and investing in new technologies that can accelerate the solution even more. It is all there for us to do.

Right now, we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Apollo mission to the Moon. President Kennedy felt there was an existential threat to our planet that the Soviet Union was posing. He actually said at Rice University that he knew we were behind. The Russians had already sent up Sputnik. The Russians had already sent up Yuri Gagarin. He said we were behind but that we would not be behind by the end of the decade. He made it quite clear that we would have to invent metals that did not exist, invent alloys that did not exist, invent propulsion systems that did not exist; that we would have to return from the mission from the Moon through heat that was half the intensity of the Sun and that we would have to do so within a decade so we would control that existential threat.

The U.N. scientists and our scientists have each now said that climate change poses an existential threat to our planet—not ours, not Senator WHITEHOUSE's and mine. Those are the words of the scientists of the planet and our own scientists.

So we have to respond in the same way that President Kennedy asked our Nation to respond back in the 1960s. And the young people in our country—they are ready to go. They are ready to do whatever is necessary. But in order to do so, it is going to require us to take the kinds of actions that are necessary.

The U.N. special report said that if emissions are not cut by 100 percent by 2050, climate change will lead to natural disasters costing \$54 trillion over the next 80 years.

A lot of people say: Can we afford to take on this challenge? What our scientists are saying is that we can't afford not to take on this challenge. We can't afford that kind of a price when we can create millions of jobs saving the planet in wind and solar and new all-electric vehicles and buildings, technologies, energy efficiency. We can save all of creation by engaging in massive job creation. It is all there for us.

We just did it with the telecommunications revolution. We moved from black, rotary dial phones to the young people who are here in the well of the Senate here today—they have iPhones that they walk around with. Those iPhones have more computing power than the computers on the Apollo mission. How did we do that? We are Americans. We take on these challenges, and we revolutionized the telecommunications industry to move from the black, rotary dial phone. And these young people don't even know what that is.

We have moved from having no fax machines in our country 40 years ago to today. There are no fax machines in America. That is how quick the revolution goes when you put a plan together to accomplish it.

Well, the same thing is true in the clean energy sector, and what Senator WHITEHOUSE has been leading us on is this explication to the Senate that we can do it. You can't let the special interests dictate it, though. You can't let the dark money control it. That is his lecture to us, that it is incredibly important for us to ignore it. In the same way we ignored the monopolies in telecommunications, we have to ignore the monopolies and the duopolies that exist in the energy sector as well.

So I thank the Senator from Rhode Island again, and I will repeatedly do so because he will reach 300 speeches out here on the floor and 500 speeches out here on the floor. You might as well put an infinity sign behind the number because that is how many speeches he will give out here on the Senate floor to wake up this institution. That day is going to come, and I just wanted to come out here and

thank Senator WHITEHOUSE for his incredible leadership and to let him know that I am honored to be his partner in this effort.

I will be by your side the entire time it takes for us to get a solution for the young people in our country that they deserve and they expect from this institution.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Madam President, may I propose to my wonderful colleague, the Senator from Massachusetts, that the Good Lord forbid that I have to get to 500 such speeches before we solve this problem.

Mr. MARKEY. The Good Lord and MITCH MCCONNELL.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I would note that if we look back to 2009, there are some very important signs of optimism.

On the legislative side, Senator MARKEY—then-Representative Markey with his colleague Representative Waxman—successfully ushered, with significant industry and popular support, a serious climate bill through the House of Representatives, proving that it can be done, proving that real climate legislation can pass in this body.

In that same year, in 2009, a gentleman named Donald Trump—the same Donald Trump who is President now at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue in the White House—took out an advertisement in the New York Times, and in his advertisement, Donald Trump and his children—Donald, Eric, and Ivanka—as well as the Trump Organization, all said that the science of climate change was incontrovertible. They further said that if we did not act, the consequences of climate change would be catastrophic and irreversible.

So we have the living experience of legislation passing, led by then-Representative Markey and Representative Waxman, and all we need, really, is to bring back that 2009 Donald Trump. Come on back, buddy. We want you because you were right in 2009.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. MARKEY. Madam President, you know, Massachusetts is the Bay State, and Rhode Island is the Ocean State.

Back 240 or so years ago, Paul Revere got on his horse, and he started riding, warning of great danger. From my perspective, SHELDON WHITEHOUSE is a latter-day Paul Revere, and he is warning that the climate crisis is coming and that it is going to be much worse than it is today.

So from my perspective, this latter-day Paul Revere, who is SHELDON WHITEHOUSE, represents the best of New England and the best of our country and the best of our planet because we have to be all in this together, and we can't be leaders by sitting on the sidelines, which is where Donald Trump wants to have us. The Indians, the Chinese, and others—they won't

listen to us. You cannot preach temperance from a barstool. You can't tell the rest of the world to do something while you have a cigar in one hand and a beer in the other. That is where we are now with pollution under President Trump.

We have to be leaders, not laggards. That is what SHELDON WHITEHOUSE is all about. That is why it is my great honor to be up here with him, and for as long as it takes, he will be out here.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CRAMER). The majority leader.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT
AGREEMENT—VETO

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the veto messages on S. J. Res. 36, 37, and 38 be considered as having been read en bloc, that they be printed in the RECORD and spread in full upon the Journal en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the veto message with respect to S. J. Res. 36, S. J. Res. 37, and S. J. Res. 38 be considered at a time to be determined by the majority leader in consultation with the Democratic leader prior to August 2; that they be debated concurrently for up to 2 hours, with 15 minutes reserved for the chairman and ranking member, respectively; that the Senate vote on passage of the joint resolutions, the objections of the President to the contrary notwithstanding, in the order listed; and, finally, that the unanimous consent order of June 19 for the remaining joint resolutions of disapproval of arms sales remain in effect.

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

The Senator from Oklahoma.

BORDER SECURITY

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. President, in April of this year, Border Patrol agents in South Texas, in McAllen—one of the most crossed areas for illegal traffic in the entire southern border—saw a group of individuals walking north who had already crossed the border, and they broke and ran. They assumed these individuals were illegally present in the United States, and they started moving to try to interdict them. They searched through a very large and very overgrown field.

I can tell you that that area is very, very rough terrain. It is very isolating, and the brush is exceptionally heavy. On a day in April, even in South Texas, it is extremely hot.

As they searched through the field looking for individuals, they happened to hear a child crying in their search. They encountered a 3-year-old boy who had been abandoned by the human smugglers when they broke and ran. This young boy, 3 years old, had these shoes on, and on his shoes were written

a name and a phone number across them. That is the only identifying thing they have. They tested the phone number, by the way, and the phone number didn't work.

Those human smugglers—moving people into the United States, using children as the vehicle—are prone to just cast that child aside if they slow them down.

The Border Patrol agents who encountered this child wearing those shoes, took him back to the office. Those Border Patrol agents personally bought him new clothing. The fellow agents entertained him. You can see him playing PAW Patrol back in the station. They spent time comforting him and trying to figure out who he was and where he was from. Border Patrol agents alternated taking care of him, personally buying supplies for him until they can transition him into Health and Human Services' care. That is what is really happening on the border every single day.

Border Patrol agents are dealing with children that cartels are using to move adults into the United States. Yes, there are some family units who are moving in, but every single family unit that moves into the United States is being ushered in by a cartel that works the border, and they are choosing the time and the place to move those individuals.

These officers are risking their lives every single day. They are working with families every single day to try to figure out who is a family unit and who is a child that is just being smuggled to be used as a vehicle to get across the border and how to separate the two. Then, once they identify the child, they try to figure out this: What do we do now with this child that we have? Where are you from?

Several months ago, most of the children who were moving across were 10, 11, and 12 years old, and they could interview those children. The cartels have figured that out now, and they are sending more and more children who are infants, 1, 2, and 3 years old, who don't know where they are from and don't know their names or their background or any other details. It is becoming more and more difficult for the Border Patrol agents to figure this out.

In fact, Border Patrol agents just like this are now actually bringing their own car seats or finding other people from their churches and other places that would donate car seats because when HHS needs to transport them out of a bus, they don't have car seats there. So they are paying for car seats to help some of these abandoned children be able to get to a place of safety.

These are the folks who are being criticized. These are the folks who some of my colleagues, even as recently as this week, said they need to get 40 hours of sensitivity training because they are so insensitive to what is happening on the border. These are the folks putting their own personal fi-

nances and their lives on the line and who are working every day to solve some of the problems that we have.

For the past several years, there have been disagreements on the solutions and wide disagreements on Federal law enforcement and what they are doing along the border. There have been a lot of folks casting blame on Federal law enforcement and on the President, instead of actually trying to figure out what the problem is at the border. Why is this happening? Why have our numbers so rapidly accelerated?

This past weekend, I visited the border with some of my colleagues. I went with Senator JONI ERNST of Iowa and Dr. BILL CASSIDY of Louisiana. We went to the Rio Grande Valley Sector. That area of the border is a thin slice of the border between the United States and Mexico, but in that area, in that one zone, 40 percent of all illegal traffic moves across the border. The most heavily trafficked area of that zone is the McAllen Sector, and that is where we went.

Across that one area, in that one small segment of the border, they have between 1,500 and 2,000 individuals illegally crossing the border every single day. That is one small sector of a 2,000-mile-long border. Just this year, in that one small sector, they have had individuals from 63 different countries cross the border illegally—63 different countries.

I hear a lot of folks say: It is all people from Central America who are crossing across the border to flee. That is not true. There are 63 countries just this year, just around McAllen, TX, not including the whole rest of the border.

You see, the cartels sort individuals by country and by background. They send Indians in one direction. They send Pakistanis in another direction. They send individuals from Bangladesh in another direction. They send folks from Honduras and Guatemala in another direction.

When I walked into one of the five stations that we visited all through that area this weekend, just to do a quick pop-in to see who was there at that moment, half of the adults who were there—these were single adults—were there from Venezuela and half of them were from Cuba, because that is how the cartels sort individuals.

Just in that one station in McAllen, we have had individuals from Pakistan, Yemen, China, Venezuela, Bangladesh, and Syria, in addition to many countries from Africa and Asia, and obviously much of Central America as well. Those individuals are moving across the border in very high numbers. Ninety percent of the apprehensions that have happened this year—90 percent—have been from countries other than Mexico.

Just as recently as 2014, only 1 percent of men who crossed the border had a child with them. Now the number is 50 percent of the men crossing the border have a child with them—50 percent.