

talked about, reclaiming the Russian Empire, as they say, and increased Chinese aggression throughout Asia, including in the Pacific Ocean.

The Solomon Islands is an example of that today, increased Chinese aggression with regard to Taiwan, and aggressive moves by Iran, exporting terrorism and instability across the Middle East.

So this is about Ukraine, but it is really about a broader issue, and all countries are watching—our allies and our adversaries.

I know there are some out there who say we can't provide indefinite funding to Ukraine, with no end in sight. I totally agree. That is not what anybody wants to do or no one expects to do. Everyone agrees that our aid to Ukraine will end at the right point, as Ukraine reclaims its rightful territory. The question is just when. We cannot let an arbitrary timeline determine that. We tried that in Afghanistan; it doesn't work. We have to be guided by the reality on the ground.

It is clear that ending our support now would be premature and ill-advised. We have to step up, and this is money well-spent in defense of freedom. A Russian victory would be disastrous for U.S. national security and the stability and volatility of the world, the security of our NATO allies, and, certainly, the security of Eastern Europe.

We know that Russia would not stop there. Vladimir Putin himself has said:

The borders of Russia never end.

He talked about recreating the Soviet Union, recreating the Russian Empire. I would say the borders of Russia end where freedom begins.

Meanwhile, China would see the West's surrender in Ukraine as proof of the West's "weakness." This would further embolden them. A Ukrainian victory would have the opposite effect. It would not only cripple Russia's war machine that President Putin has used to invade Georgia, Ukraine in 2014, Transnistria, Syria, and parts of Africa where they continue to meddle. It would also make Russian military aggression less likely for a long period of time.

With President Putin expected to meet with Chinese President Xi this week, both men know that the United States and their allies stand together against rogue aggression against sovereign countries. That is very important as a message to send.

Of course, with our assistance that we are going to be voting on, once again, here in this body, there have to be safeguards in place. There have to be guardrails. We have to ensure that military assistance is subject to careful accountability.

When Senator KLOBUCHAR and I were there, we talked to the 101st Airborne in Poland, who are handling a lot of the equipment coming in from around the world, from all these dozens of other countries and the United States. They talked a lot about what is called

"end-use monitoring," knowing where these weapons are going precisely to ensure they are going to the right hands, to ensure there is not an issue with regard to how these weapons are being used. It has been more difficult to do that in Ukraine given the security concerns. But during our trip, we heard about real progress being made to increase that U.S. and global oversight of our military aid to Ukraine with real end-use monitoring. As our Embassy in Kyiv begins to bring people back, we have more American eyes on the ground to ensure that oversight. Ukraine, itself, by the way, wants that transparency and strongly supports it.

The price that we pay to stop Russia now is small compared to what we would pay if they succeed, and the deeper price, of course, is being paid by Ukraine. As NATO Secretary Stoltenberg said recently:

The price we pay is measured in currency. The price they pay [in Ukraine] is measured in lives lost every day.

We are on the side of freedom. Ukrainians want their freedom back. They fought for it in 2014 in the Euromaidan. They fought for it several times in their history. The United States and dozens of our allies have stepped up to help them achieve this goal and win this brutal war.

They have this big advantage. They are fighting with heart. They are fighting for the freedom of their homeland, their families. Russia is fighting against an enemy that never truly existed in the first place. They are fighting against a neighbor that never wanted anything but peace with all their neighbors, including Russia, but now has to take up arms to protect itself.

Recent polling by the International Republican Institute, IRI, shows that 98 percent of Ukrainians believe Ukraine will win this war. Their morale is strong. Their spirit is amazing. That was certainly the feeling I got from President Zelenskyy, his team, and every other Ukrainian Senator KLOBUCHAR and I met with on this trip. They are united together for victory.

We met with parliamentarians from four different parties in the Rada, the equivalent of their U.S. Congress, their parliament. They are all together, all working together toward a common cause and a common enemy.

This morale isn't just in Ukraine. I see this spirit every time I go back to Ohio, where tens of thousands of Ukrainians call Ohio their home. These Ukrainian Americans and others from the Eastern European area—others of the community of nations that have been affected by the Soviet Union and Russia over the years—they are sticking together and their morale is high too.

On Sunday, President Zelenskyy brought this spirit to his people in a powerful address to the Ukrainian people. This was a 200-day speech that talked of 200 days of brave troops fighting. He said that he was certain

Ukrainians would get through this difficult path to victory. This was an inspirational speech at a time when the Ukrainian people are making progress toward victory on the battlefield and, therefore, peace by getting Vladimir Putin to the bargaining table. This must be the result.

With our help and the help of all freedom-loving countries, victory can be achieved. That is what is so important right now as we look at this new appropriations bill, this legislation that the administration has sent us to help Ukraine continue its battle for freedom.

My hope is that this week and next, as we take up this legislation, that Congress passes it, showing the same spirit and the commitment to victory as we saw in Ukraine.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, before I start my planned remarks, let me thank Senator PORTMAN for his remarks and all his effort. There is considerable bipartisan consensus about the need for support of Ukraine's efforts. The mantle of freedom in the world right now is carried by Ukraine against Russian oppression. I am delighted to have been present for his remarks.

Very early on, there were a few of us here in the Senate who, on a bipartisan basis, decided that the U.S. policy ought to, at a minimum, contemplate the possibility of Ukrainian victory, that writing it off was simply a bad mistake. At the time, it looked like it was a very small prospect, but the courage of the Ukrainian military, as they have pushed back in Kharkiv with counteroffensive and the abundant supply of military hardware that they have received from the West has made what seemed a fantastic, hopeful notion something that actually could be real, and it could be real in a fairly short time.

I, again, thank Senator PORTMAN for his remarks.

U.S. SUPREME COURT

Mr. President, I am here on a different subject. I will now turn to that subject.

This is the 18th time that I have come to the floor to expose the dark money scheme that has captured and controlled our Supreme Court.

Over the last 2 years, I have, over and over, exposed how dark money operatives, working from the shadows, have installed Supreme Court Justices handpicked—handpicked—by the minions of far-right donors.

I have exposed the key front groups through which this Court-packing operation is driven and the tactics that the schemers have used to hide the dark money donors who pull its strings.

And when you take a close look at the scheme, the little spider that you find at the center of the dark money web behind it is a character named Leonard Leo.

From his perch at the dark money-funded Federalist Society, Leo crafted a reputation as the Court-capture scheme's puppet master. The key to his craft is an armada of phony front groups that shuffle dark money back and forth, around and amongst each other, to deploy as spin, as propaganda, as political ads, or as hidden campaign funding.

During Donald Trump's time in office, Leonard Leo brokered the scheme to have the Federalist Society or—more accurately—the big secret donors behind the Federalist Society handpick Trump's Supreme Court nominees. Remember that list we all heard about?

Leo coordinated the dark money propaganda machine that kept the heat on Senate Republicans to confirm those nominees, and he supported the big donors' doctrine factories where donor-approved fringe legal doctrines are concocted for the anointed judges to weaponize from the Bench.

Look no further than the recent *West Virginia v. EPA* decision weaponizing the doctrine factory-concocted major questions' doctrine. And this was no small scheme. The latest estimate from earlier this year is that these big donors put \$580 million, more than half a billion dollars, into Leo's network of Court-capture front groups.

Well, little did we know, that was just the beginning. Last month, ProPublica and the New York Times broke the news that a reclusive, far-right billionaire supercharged Leo's dark money operation with a \$1.6 billion donation to a Leo front group. You heard that right, \$1.6 billion into this dark money operation.

The man behind this new slush fund is a billionaire named Barre Seid, and even the way the donation was made was creepy and clandestine. Seid and Leo devised a plan to transfer all the shares in an electronics company to Leo's front group, on the way to selling that company.

So when that company sold for \$1.6 billion, it all went straight to Leo's group and, by the way, helped Seid avoid what would have been roughly \$400 million in taxes.

Seid has a long history of funding far-right front groups. Here is how ProPublica characterized what Seid calls his "attack philanthropy."

Seid has funded climate denialism as well as a national network of state-level think tanks that promote business deregulation and fight Medicaid expansion. He's also supported efforts to remake the higher education system in a conservative mold, including to turn one of the nation's most politically influential law schools into a training ground for future generations of right-wing judges and justices.

So let's unpack all of that, starting with the climate denialism. The "climate denialism" that they are referencing came from a group that he funded called the Heartland Institute. I have talked about the Heartland Institute on the floor before in my "Web of Denial" speeches.

Heartland is a dark money disinformation mouthpiece for fossil

fuel interests. In 2012, Heartland compared climate scientists to the Unabomber. So you can see it is a classy bunch.

According to one of Seid's advisers, he was Heartland's major patron, and he even convinced his business's chief financial officer to join Heartland's board of directors.

If that isn't creepy enough for you, we move on to the national network of State-level think tanks that promote business deregulation and fight Medicaid expansion.

That is a reference to the State Policy Network, a web of dark money front groups that pump into State legislatures the propaganda and legislation designed by fossil fuel and other corporate interests.

The State Policy Network has also received millions from DonorsTrust, which has been called the "dark money ATM of the right," a central node of the rightwing Koch dark money network.

The service that DonorsTrust provides is to scrub the identities of actual donors. It creates dark money. Anonymity is key for these donors, many of whom have financial interests behind their political schemes that they really don't want disclosed.

If a fossil fuel billionaire, say, wants to run ads against me in Rhode Island—folks will get the joke. So the real donor's identity gets laundered through groups like DonorsTrust and comes out under other groups with names like—I am making this one up, but they sound this way "Rhode Islanders for Peace and Puppies and Prosperity."

All of that, of course, leaves citizens in the dark about both the actors and the plot in the politics in which they are supposed to be active participants. And that brings us to Seid's project to "turn one of the nation's most politically influential law schools into a training ground for future generations of right-wing judges and justices." That is a reference to Antonin Scalia Law School at George Mason University, a central cog in the right-wing doctrine factory.

The cog was not always named Antonin Scalia Law School. In 2016, George Mason received \$10 million from the Charles Koch Foundation, plus another \$20 million from an anonymous donor, orchestrated by that same Leonard Leo, and one of the strings attached was that George Mason rename its law school after Scalia.

When folks at George Mason University, a public university, pushed for answers about all of this, the university, after a legal battle, had to disclose that renaming the law school wasn't the only string attached to that \$20 million donation.

Leo and his donor wanted input over faculty hiring. And that legal battle also unearthed the name of the anonymous donor: Barre Seid. And all of that brings us back to Seid's \$1.6 billion to

the Leonard Leo dark money apparatus.

Remember that with \$0.6 billion, Leo was able to orchestrate a dark money takeover of our Supreme Court, stacking it with far-right Justices, who have already delivered massive victories for their donors: overturning *Roe v. Wade*, undermining the government's power to combat climate change, throwing out century-old commonsense gun regulations.

If he can do that with \$0.6 billion, imagine what kind of damage he will be able to do with \$1.6 billion to squirt out as dark money through his armada of phony front groups.

Leo's already dispensed \$153 million to Rule of Law Trust, which appears to exist solely to funnel money to other dark money groups and another \$16.5 million to his own Concord Fund. If you have been watching these "Scheme" speeches, you will remember that the last time I addressed the scheme in this Chamber, I laid out how the Concord Fund and its corporate twin, the 85 Fund, are the central nodes in a collection of phony front groups that deploy fictitious names, fictitious names to mask their connections.

The coordinated and colocated front groups, Concord Fund and 85 Fund, operate through the fictitious names Judicial Crisis Network and Honest Elections Project, among other fictitious names. So, yes, you have got this right. In this dark money netherworld, the front groups have front groups.

With this new billion-dollar slush fund, Leo can take those efforts to entirely new levels: more voter suppression, which is the job of Honest Elections Project; more abortion bans, which was the accomplishment of Dobbs; more climate denial, which was powered by *West Virginia v. EPA* and the earlier EPA decision by the Supreme Court about the Clean Power Plan; more power for corporations, which is, of course, the constant goal of this dark money operation; more disinformation; and more dirty dark money in politics—sluiced around inside this covert apparatus until it gets squirted out through even more phony front groups.

This dark money slime will ooze everywhere. With pivotal elections coming up this fall, this slime will ooze out through your television sets, through your mailboxes, through your telephone, all of it designed to smear and lie to benefit far-right donor interests.

The phony front group squirting out the slime will have innocuous-sounding names, but make no mistake, hiding behind many of them will be Leo and his secretive billionaire backers.

While this tactic isn't new, it has been perfected by the rightwing. It began with the Koch brothers, who spent the last decade pumping dark money into our politics, producing a decade of successful climate obstruction, until finally we got the Inflation Reduction Act passed with the first real climate measures Congress has

ever passed, but because of the Koch brothers' pressure, we had to rely entirely on Democrats to get that bill passed. We did not get one Republican vote in the Senate. We did not get one Republican vote in the House.

Constant assaults on workers' rights, endless attacks on the Affordable Care Act, and, of course, the rightwing billionaires own big payoff, big tax cuts for billionaires—it is probable that for all of the money that got thrown into this dark money apparatus by rightwing billionaires, some of them probably made more money than that back from the tax cuts that were delivered for them under the Trump administration. This is a it-pays-to-play dark money operation.

And the result is that all this dark money has reduced the once Grand Old Party to the political operation of a handful of extremist megadonors.

The dark money assault on our democracy is not over. Right now, Leonard Leo, his rightwing donors, and their dark money apparatus are devising the next phases of the scheme.

They have already captured the highest Court in the land, but they will not stop until they have enacted their entire radical agenda. They will turn their sights on State courts, on city councils, on local school boards—anywhere they can find a way to subvert democracy with dark money.

So now is the time to fight back, and the first step is to pass the DISCLOSE Act. It is way long past time that we shine the light on the dark money schemers.

You may recall that in the Citizens United decision, by a vote of 8 to 1, even that Court said that dark money is corrupting. That is an established principle of the Citizens United decision.

Well, if it is corrupting, we ought to get rid of it, because the American people deserve to know who captured their Supreme Court and who keeps flooding our politics with dark money.

When you spend that kind of money, there is a motivation, and voters, citizens, deserve to know.

To be continued.

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, we revert now to the closing script, and I will ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding rule XXII, the Senate consider the follow nominations en bloc: Calendar Nos. 921, 1101, 1102, 1040, and 1042; that the Senate vote on the nominations en bloc without intervening action or debate; that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table; and that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PETERS). Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nominations of Bruce I. Turner, of Colorado, for the

rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as U.S. Representative to the Conference on Disarmament; E. Martin Estrada, of California, to be United States Attorney for the Central District of California for the term of four years; Gregory J. Haanstad, of Wisconsin, to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Wisconsin for the term of four years; the following named officer for appointment in the United States Coast Guard Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203(a): to be Rear Admiral, Miriam L. Lafferty; the following named officer for appointment to serve as the Director of the Coast Guard Reserve in the grade indicated under title 14, U.S.C., section 309(b): to be Rear Admiral (Upper Half) Rear Adm. Miriam L. Lafferty, en bloc?

The nominations were confirmed en bloc.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

##### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. 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.

##### ARMS SALES NOTIFICATION

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act requires that Congress receive prior notification of certain proposed arms sales as defined by that statute. Upon such notification, the Congress has 30 calendar days during which the sale may be reviewed. The provision stipulates that, in the Senate, the notification of proposed sales shall be sent to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In keeping with the committee's intention to see that relevant information is available to the full Senate, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the notifications which have been received. If the cover letter references a classified annex, then such annex is available to all Senators in the office of the Foreign Relations Committee, room SD-423.

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

DEFENSE SECURITY  
COOPERATION AGENCY,  
Arlington, VA.

Hon. ROBERT MENENDEZ,  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended, we are forwarding herewith Transmittal No. 22-07, concerning the Air Force's proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance to the Government of Pakistan for defense articles and services estimated to cost \$450 million. After

this letter is delivered to your office, we plan to issue a news release to notify the public of this proposed sale.

Sincerely,

JAMES A. HURSCH,  
Director.

Enclosures.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 22-07

Notice of Proposed Issuance of Letter of Offer Pursuant to Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended

(i) Prospective Purchaser: Government of Pakistan.

(ii) Total Estimated Value:  
Major Defense Equipment \* \$0 million.  
Other \$450 million.  
Total \$450 million.

Funding Source: National Funds.

(iii) Description and Quantity or Quantities of Articles or Services under Consideration for Purchase: This Foreign Military Sales (FMS) Case is a follow on effort and consolidation of prior F-16 sustainment and support cases to support the Pakistan Air Force F-16 fleet by reducing duplicate case activities and adding additional continued support elements.

Major Defense Equipment (MDE): None.

Non-MDE: Included are U.S. Government and contractor engineering, technical, and logistics services for follow-on support of Pakistan's F-16 fleet to include participation in F-16 Aircraft Structural Integrity Program, Electronic Combat International Security Assistance Program, International Engine Management Program, Engine Component Improvement Program, and other technical coordination groups; aircraft and engine hardware and software modifications and support; aircraft and engine spare repair/return parts, accessories and support equipment; classified and unclassified software and software support; publications, manuals, and technical documentation; precision measurement, calibration, lab equipment, and technical support services; studies and surveys; and other related elements of aircraft maintenance and program support.

(iv) Military Department: Air Force (PK-D-QAP).

(v) Prior Related Cases, if any: PK-D-NAP, PK-D-SAF, PK-D-QAJ, PK-D-QCX.

(vi) Sales Commission, Fee, etc., Paid, Offered, or Agreed to be Paid: None known at this time.

(vii) Sensitivity of Technology Contained in the Defense Article or Defense Services Proposed to be Sold: None.

(viii) Date Report Delivered to Congress: September 7, 2022.

\* As defined in Section 47(6) of the Arms Export Control Act.

#### POLICY JUSTIFICATION

##### Pakistan—F-16 Case for Sustainment

The Government of Pakistan has requested to consolidate prior F-16 sustainment and support cases to support the Pakistan Air Force F-16 fleet by reducing duplicate case activities and adding additional continued support elements. Included are U.S. Government and contractor engineering, technical, and logistics services for follow-on support of Pakistan's F-16 fleet to include participation in F-16 Aircraft Structural Integrity Program, Electronic Combat International Security Assistance Program, International Engine Management Program, Engine Component Improvement Program, and other technical coordination groups; aircraft and engine hardware and software modifications and support; aircraft and engine spare repair/return parts, accessories and support equipment; classified and unclassified software and software support; publications, manuals, and technical documentation; precision measurement, calibration, lab equipment,