

through billions of dollars in remittances every year.

Now, I have been speaking a bit. One word you haven't heard me mention at all is Cuba. I have a feeling, based on an earlier iteration of this, that my colleague will cite concerns about the administration's challenges with Cuba as a reason for this hold, and I just ask the question: What does this have to do with El Salvador?

There are always differences of opinions within the Senate on every administration's policies on Latin America and especially Cuba—I get that—even, at times, strong opposition. And I have raised opposition about issues with respect to Cuba with this administration and others.

We all are free to offer bills and amendments dealing with the many challenges in Cuba, but Mr. Duncan was nominated for this role in an entirely different country, El Salvador, in February 2022. His Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing was in August. He has been pending consideration by the full Senate since then, as the human rights situation in El Salvador has been worsening. Let's get our Ambassador out onto the field and put him to work.

And so with that, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate consider the following nomination: Calendar No. 1106, William H. Duncan, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador of the United States of America to the Republic of El Salvador; that the Senate vote on the nomination without intervening action or debate; that, if confirmed, the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table and the President be immediately informed of the Senate's action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Florida.

Mr. SCOTT of Florida. Reserving the right to object, first, I want to thank my colleague from Virginia for coming down to the floor and bringing up the issue of U.S. foreign policy toward the Western Hemisphere. I agree with my colleague that U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America is of the utmost importance and that the Ambassadors we send into Latin America must advocate for the right policies.

Sadly, as both Vice President and President, Joe Biden has had a policy of appeasement toward Latin America dictators. President Biden has given operational control of the U.S. southern border to criminal cartels that work with narcostates like Venezuela and has shown that there are no consequences for crossing the U.S. border illegally.

He removed FARC from the list of foreign terrorist organizations, which I cannot understand why he would do that. He didn't invite Juan Guaido to the Summit of the Americas, even though the United States recognizes him as a legitimate interim President of Venezuela.

He eased sanctions on the illegitimate regimes in Cuba and Venezuela, while getting nothing in return to stop the oppression of the innocent people in these countries.

Biden's policy of appeasement toward Latin America dictators has done nothing to help the Cuban and Venezuelan people. I believe his actions have made our hemisphere more dangerous and more dangerous for the people who live in these countries. While President Biden doesn't stand up to Castro, Diaz-Canel, and Maduro, we are left with a destabilized hemisphere that is less peaceful and puts our national security at greater risk and hurts the citizens of these countries. These are murderers, illegitimate dictators. Appeasement is the worst move imaginable.

Iran, Russia, and communist China love it when Biden is nice to their friends in Latin America.

And as any active observer of Latin America knows, the countries in the region are incredibly interconnected. Policy toward Cuba affects policy toward everywhere else in the region. And as we see leftwing, socialist candidates rise in the region, like Gustavo Petro in Colombia, it only gives further reasoning for why the United States must strongly project our values of stability, democracy, and anti-communism.

Joe Biden has the power to join the Cuban people to call for the Cuban Communist Party to change. Where is he? Aside from a couple of statements he made last year, President Biden has not taken one action to support the Cuban people in their fight for freedom. He has done nothing to provide them with internet connections. He talked about it but didn't do it. He has done nothing to support the democracy movement on the island. He talks about it but hasn't done it. Instead, he and his administration have bowed to the demands of Cuba's murderous regime and have chosen not to stand for democracy and human rights.

The President couldn't even be bothered to speak about the 1-year anniversary of the July 11 historic and peaceful demonstrations in Cuba.

It is time for President Biden to stand up. He must call for the immediate release of the hundreds—hundreds—of pro-democracy activists, including children as young as 14 years old, that the regime has unjustly detained and subjected to physical and psychological torture.

President Biden's policies toward Latin America have diminished our influence in the region, and the people have seen their calls for freedom abandoned. It is essential to the national security of the United States, as well as our efforts to support freedom, democracy, and human rights, that President Biden reverses these foolish actions and not allow totalitarian dictatorships in our hemisphere to go unchecked.

We can never bow to dictators—never. It is time for Biden to lead and

oppose these genocidal dictators and support human rights. Until he does, I am not going to allow these nominations to go forward.

And I don't disagree with anything that my colleague from Virginia said, as far as that there are different ways that you can do foreign policy in Latin America. But not to be willing to just make a statement that these poor people in Cuba ought to be released is just unbelievable to me.

So, therefore, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is heard.

Mr. Kaine. Mr. President, let me respond, and I will soften my request toward my colleague after I briefly respond.

My response is this: I don't see the logic. Cuba is not El Salvador. I listened to my colleague's comments, and I heard him talk about Cuba, and I talked to him about Venezuela. I didn't hear him say one word about El Salvador or one word about William H. Duncan.

These are not the same countries. It is not like they all look alike. They are different countries.

Now, we don't want them to be alike. That is true. We don't want them to be alike, and the danger we have—and I will have a request for the Senator from Florida in a second. The danger we have is, if we send El Salvador a sign of disrespect by not sending them an Ambassador, the dangerous tendency of the current President Bukele becoming more and more authoritarian could move El Salvador into a position where they are more and more like Cuba, and I don't think any of us want that to happen.

And so I would render a softer version of my request to my colleague from Florida and, instead of asking unanimous consent, that we just have a UC vote on this.

I would soften it and ask unanimous consent that, at a time to be determined by the majority leader, the Senate consider this nomination: Calendar No. 1106, William H. Duncan, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service; and that the Senate vote on the nomination, offering to all the opportunity to vote no, if that is their choice, without intervening action or debate; and that if confirmed, the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table, with the President notified immediately of the Senate's action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Florida.

Mr. SCOTT of Florida. As soon as President Biden puts out a statement that all the peaceful protesters in Cuba should be immediately released, I will not object.

But until he does, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is heard.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. Kaine. Mr. President, I have a second UC request.

Understanding that request, I agree with you on the request, and we will work to see if we can accomplish something that will be satisfactory.

Now I rise to seek consent to advance the nomination of a friend and a Virginian, Leopoldo Martinez, for Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank. I did this a few weeks ago, but the important need of America to have an IDB that is investing in the region to counter Chinese investments that are occurring every day has become even more apparent to me because, since the last time I took to the floor to promote Mr. Martinez, I have visited the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, and Panama and seen the tremendous competition that we are up against.

The IDB is the largest source of international financing and development financing for Latin America and the Caribbean. It is of national interest for the United States to build up the economic prosperity of the countries of the Southern Hemisphere.

Latin America and the Caribbean continue to face challenges from COVID-19, where the region had the highest global per capita infection and death rate. And 8 percent of the world's population is in Latin America, and 30 percent of the world's COVID deaths were in Latin America.

It is also experiencing the largest economic contraction of any region in the world. The IDB plays a key role in improving economic outcomes for the region. We have seen again and again that when these countries have troubled economies, it is not just a faraway problem. It drives government corruption, organized crime, drug use, drug trafficking, and irregular migration that can start as a country's problems, but very quickly they expand beyond the borders of the country to affect other nations, including the United States.

When we don't step up, we see China, Russia and Iran and other nations step up.

Over the last decade, China's investments in Latin America have ballooned. They are moving aggressively and rapidly in this space. In 2020, just for a pre-pandemic example, China's direct investments in Latin America were roughly \$17 billion. The China Development Bank and the Export-Import Bank of China, both of which I know are state-owned, are among the regions's leading lenders. So between 2005 and 2020, these two banks together loaned around \$137 billion to Latin American governments.

So what does that matter to us? Well, the cost to American interests is very clear. In exchange for these funds, China gets favorable access to oil resources. They support and control high-value strategic energy and infrastructure projects. They force tough decisions on the recognition or the removal of recognition of Taiwan. The Dominican Republic and Nicaragua flipped their positions after being of-

fered financial incentives by China. The few holdouts left, like Haiti, are facing increased pressure to do so as well.

So how do we push back? It is the IDB that allows us to push back. In 2021, despite the pandemic, the IDB pumped \$28.3 billion in investments, loans, and assistance into the region. I would note that China is now a voting member of the IDB. Our absence has a direct impact on China's ability to exert influence even within the IDB structure itself.

Now, again, my colleagues across the aisle, they want a more muscular approach on China. They are right. They accuse the Biden administration of not doing enough, of being soft, but if you look at the extraordinary effort they are putting in to block qualified nominees across the region without any justification that meets my standards, it is clear that—wait a minute—are these blocks of nominations in the Western Hemisphere, are they helping the United States stand up to China or are they making it harder for us to do that? If we can't even take the step of approving Ambassadors and putting key people in place that will use U.S. resources to exert our more pro-democratic influence, what is the outcome? China has an active and growing presence right here in the neighborhood. Failing to confirm Leopoldo and these other nominees based off of accusations and unrelated policy concerns, I think, is malpractice in terms of our foreign policy.

Mr. Martinez is the right man for the job at the IDB. He brings decades of experience in the public and private sectors as well as academia. He has extensive experience advising Fortune 500 companies, private equity funds, international businesses, and nongovernmental organizations. He is the CEO of the Center for Democracy and Development of the Americas as well as commissioner for small business of the Commonwealth of Virginia, and on the Board of Visitors at the University of Mary Washington. He is a constituent, and I will admit to the personal bias that he is also a friend—a person of high integrity whom I have known for years and can vouch for.

Now I want to take now a minute just to respond to some comments that were made by my friend—and he is a friend—from Texas about Mr. Martinez's background when we last discussed this nomination in September. Mr. Martinez was then labeled—accused, actually, somehow of being a Chavezista or a Maduro regime sympathizer. I responded without notes on that day, but I want to go a little deeper into it to tell you about Leo's personal history because that personal history is a significant and painful one, and it suggests that his being branded as a Chavezista could not be further from the truth.

Yes, Leo Martinez is a former Venezuelan politician. He was elected to his role in the Venezuelan Parliament

in opposition to Hugo Chavez. His consistent, strong, and public opposition to Chavez resulted in his persecution by that regime. For this reason, he had to flee to the United States in 2005 to escape persecution by a regime and a very real threat of imprisonment. The regime confiscated all of his family's assets. The idea that someone who had the courage to risk his life to oppose Chavez, who quite literally fled from the regime's attacks, who has had his family wealth seized by the Chavez regime, who is in the United States and eligible for this nomination because of his opposition to the regime—to claim that that person is somehow a Chavezista is just outrageous.

But don't take my word for it. When the accusations were made in September, they were thoroughly debunked by fact checkers. Univision went line by line through the accusations and found them to be grossly incorrect. The very day that President Biden nominated Leo for this role, the Maduro regime put a communications official on Venezuelan national TV and accused him of being a traitor. That is what the Maduro regime says about this nominee that President Biden has put forward to carry forward U.S. interests, including our U.S. interests in calling for accountability in Venezuela. Does that sound like a Chavezista to anyone—a person who would be branded a traitor by the Maduro regime because of being too pro-American?

Ultimately, I understand and respect there are differences of opinion within the Senate on some of the Biden administration's policies on Latin America. And I also admit that this is a challenging region with a number of challenges that are immune from easy answers, but strong opposition is one thing, and we are all free to offer bills and amendments to go in a different direction and to ask the Senate to vote on them.

But I would ask my colleagues—all of them—what does keeping the U.S. Executive Director position at IDB vacant accomplish for us? As we try to make smart investments in Latin America to get at the root causes of problems like migration, is hobbling the most important organization charged with financing our goal really helpful?

With that said, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee be discharged and the Senate proceed to the following nomination: PN1028, Leopoldo Martinez Nucete, to be United States Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank for a term of 3 years to succeed Eliot Pedrosa; that the Senate vote on the nomination with no intervening action or debate; that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table; that no further motions be in order on the nomination; that any related statements be printed in the Record; and that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Texas.

Mr. CRUZ. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, in September, Democrats asked unanimous consent to the confirmation of Mr. Martinez Nucete. I objected.

At the time, I explained that President Biden had been pursuing a policy in Latin America that has given momentum to the hard left pro-Chavez, pro-Castro, anti-American movements across the hemisphere.

Indeed, I have explained at considerable length my deep opposition to the misguided foreign policy of President Biden and his administration. This President and this administration has consistently shown weakness and appeasement to the enemies of America, whether Communist China or Russia or Iran or Venezuela, while at the same time demonstrating deep animosity to friends and allies of America.

It is a foreign policy that I believe is precisely backward if the objective were defending U.S. national security interests.

President Trump, the previous President, frequently described his foreign policy as an America-first foreign policy. One of the best descriptions that can be given of President Biden and the Democrats' foreign policy is an America-last foreign policy.

Every region on Earth has gotten worse, more hostile to America, and more dangerous in the 2 years that Joe Biden has been President, and yet no region has been hurt more than Latin America.

President Biden came into office and immediately froze out pro-American governments in Latin America. For example, he went out of his way to undermine and to alienate the government of Colombian President Ivan Duque. He denied Duque a phone call for the first 5 months of the administration, providing morale and momentum to Duque's domestic enemies, and so the predictable result occurred. The Colombian far left gained more and more momentum, and a few months ago, leftist Gustavo Petro took control of Colombia, a former terrorist with a long record of deep anti-American animosity.

Since then, things have only gotten worse. In the aftermath of recent elections, Lula da Silva is set to take control of Brazil, the largest country in Latin America. And, of course, Biden immediately picked up the phone to call Lula to congratulate him.

I will note during the same few days, it took Biden a full week to call and congratulate Benjamin Netanyahu, who had just won election to be the next Prime Minister of our dear friend and ally Israel.

But for the Biden administration, they were thrilled to see an anti-American leftist like Lula in power, and they were deeply dismayed to see a pro-American friend and ally like Netanyahu in power.

Just last week, the Biden administration announced that it was providing sanctions relief to the Maduro regime in Venezuela.

Mark my words, I believe this administration is moving step by step systematically toward formally recognizing the Maduro regime. That would be a catastrophic mistake. I think the Biden administration would do it expeditiously. They would do it today if they could, but they know the political costs are high so, instead, they are advancing incrementally, inch by inch.

Right now, they are starting to unwind sanctions on Venezuelan oil while continuing to stifle drilling here at home, forcing American energy producers to seek oil from dictators and enemies of America rather than produce high-paying jobs here in the United States.

And I might note that oil produced in the United States is produced much more cleanly, emits less carbon, emits less pollutants than does the foreign oil, and yet the Biden foreign policy is such that they relish putting billions in the coffers of dictators.

Back in September, I said that the Senate badly needed to debate the trajectory and the likely consequences of Joe Biden and Kamala HARRIS's disastrous Latin America policy and that the nomination of Mr. Martinez Nucete for Executive Director of the IADB was particularly problematic in this context.

Mr. Martinez Nucete has a long career of being a hard-left partisan. In Venezuela, he served as a socialist congressman during the tenure of Hugo Chavez.

His nomination is both an example of, and if confirmed he would fuel, the Biden administration's ongoing effort to drag Latin America to the far left to empower anti-American Marxists throughout the region.

Now, I just listened to the words of my friend and colleague, the Senator from Virginia, claiming that, in actuality, Mr. Martinez Nucete was not the kind of Venezuelan socialist who supported Chavez; he was a different kind of Venezuelan socialist. He doesn't dispute that he is a Venezuelan socialist former congressman, but he says: No, he wasn't exactly of the same flavor of Chavez.

I will say I am not particularly interested in slicing and dicing the varieties of socialists in Latin America operating in Chavez's Venezuela.

I am opposed to former socialist congressmen of foreign nations representing the United States of America in any context, let alone at international banks.

I will say my colleague from Virginia spoke movingly about the importance of the IADB. I agree. We should have an American representative on that bank, and that underscores the need for President Biden to withdraw this nomination and nominate someone with experience who would advocate for America and not for the far left in Latin America.

I will note also that Mr. Martinez Nucete failed to advance favorably out of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee because every single Republican on the committee voted against him, and it was not just his record as a former socialist congressman.

One of the significant concerns was his deeply manifested hostility to religion and to people of faith. That hostility was demonstrated in answers and written testimony provided by Mr. Martinez Nucete in response to questions that I asked him.

These answers demonstrated a bizarre and disturbing hostility and antipathy for conservatives and people of faith and especially for conservative people of faith.

And let me note specifically what the concerns were. I asked Mr. Martinez Nucete, in writing, about his views and to what extent faith should be disentangled from development. Development often employs and is deeply involved with faith-based nonprofits throughout the developing world.

Here was his answer:

There should be no entanglement between government and religion. That is a bedrock constitutional principle for us in America. I don't think any particular culture or religion is superior to others in terms of achieving socioeconomic development.

That answer was nonresponsive and deeply confused. So I asked more precisely for Mr. Martinez Nucete to describe the role that faith plays in economic development as a constraint or as a contributing factor.

Here was his answer:

Education and respect for human rights, promoting social mobility in market economies, is the key to development, not faith.

For anyone involved in the efforts of the IADB and other international banks engaged in development, that is a bizarre answer, because faith-based nonprofits have played transformational roles in development. It demonstrates, sadly, the kind of antipathy to people of faith that is becoming more and more common on the American left and apparently was the view of at least one former socialist congressman from Venezuela.

I do not believe this nominee is an appropriate nominee to represent the United States of America on this international bank; and, therefore, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. Kaine. Mr. President, I would like to respond briefly, and then I will soften my request of my colleague.

Mr. Martinez was chased out of Venezuela because of his opposition to the regime that my Texas colleague opposes.

As to Mr. Martinez in Venezuelan politics, I didn't concede that he was a socialist. You said that I did. I did not. He was a member of three parties: the Democratic Party, the Justice First Party, and the Democratic Action Party. Those were the parties that he served in. And for one period of time, because of disagreements with the parties, he was an independent member.

So that is why the fact-checkers that went through this in September rebutted the allegation that Mr. Martinez was somehow a hard man of the left.

He is an opposition leader, and the proof of that is he had to do something that is very difficult: leave his own native country, leave family behind, be branded a traitor by the very regime that both of us would want to counter, and lose family assets and wealth to the regime.

I mean, do we want him to sacrifice more than that as evidence that he is in opposition to the Maduro regime? Left his country, lost his wealth, been branded a traitor—is that not enough to demonstrate his bona fides as an opponent of the Maduro and Chavez regime?

And with respect to the other claims made by my colleague, he doesn't like the answers that Mr. Martinez gave about faith. He broadens that to suggest that people on the left are against faith.

I resent that. I was a missionary in Honduras for a year in Latin America with Jesuits in 1980 and '81, and I know an awful lot of people on my side of the aisle, some who talk about it a lot and some who may not talk about it, including the Presiding Officer, whose faith is a central and motivating factor in our lives.

So if you don't like an answer that Mr. Martinez gave, that is a good reason, I guess, to vote against him. You have that right. But don't use that as an opportunity to say about everybody over on this side of the aisle, that we have hostility to people of faith. Many of us have sacrificed a lot and acted to do so because of our faith.

Let me soften my request, since my colleague, I understand, would like to vote against Leo Martinez and doesn't like a UC motion that would sort of lump everybody together to advance him.

I would ask unanimous consent that at a time to be determined by the majority leader, the Senate consider the nomination PN1028, Leopoldo Martinez Nucete, to be U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank for a term of 3 years; that the Senate have a vote on that nomination—a debate and vote on that nomination, with Members able to vote no, but with no intervening action; that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table, with no further motions be in order with respect to the nomination; that any related statements be printed in the RECORD; and that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Texas.

Mr. CRUZ. Mr. President, reserving the right to object. There are a couple of things, but first of all, that nowhere did the Senator from Virginia, in his remarks, dispute in any way, shape, or form the chronology I laid out about

the absolute disaster the Biden foreign policy has been in Latin America.

Nowhere did the Senator from Virginia dispute that as a result of Joe Biden undermining our friends and allies, far-left Marxist, anti-American leaders over and over and over again have risen to power, hurting the region and hurting America. That has been a consistent, deliberate pattern to undermine our friends and allies and to elevate vocal enemies of America.

My friend from Virginia also said he did not concede that Mr. Martinez has said that he was a socialist congressman. I believe what I said is he didn't dispute it. But, actually, in saying he didn't concede it, my friend from Virginia perhaps inadvertently did concede it, because he described on the Senate floor how Mr. Martinez Nucete was a member of the Democratic Action Party in Venezuela.

Democratic Action is a party that is formally and officially part of Socialist International. It is a socialist party. And that is one of the factors that I believe renders Mr. Martinez Nucete inappropriate for this nomination.

Let me finally talk about faith. I do not remotely question or doubt the Senator from Virginia's faith and the good faith with which he advocates his positions. He and I served together on the Foreign Relations Committee. I will say an unusual thing about my friend from Virginia. He is virtually alone among Democratic Senators. He will sit and patiently listen to my remarks in public and often in closed classified settings. I am certainly not immune from the senatorial disease of being sometimes long-winded and enjoying the sound of my own voice; although, I will note, I am not the only Member of this body afflicted with that particular disease.

Senator Kaine regularly will sit and listen to my arguments, despite the fact that the topics on which we are debating, he disagrees passionately with me. I try to reciprocate the favor and listen to his arguments, despite the fact that I disagree with many of the things he says. And I know that the Senator from Virginia cares deeply about his faith.

I also lament the rise of explicit hostility to faith among the left in today's Democratic Party. I recall when one Democrat Senator, questioning a nominee in the prior administration, suggested at a hearing that his Christian faith made him unsuitable to serve in the post to which he had been appointed. I recall when another senior Democrat in a confirmation hearing for Justice Amy Coney Barrett said infamously that "the dogma lives loudly" in her, by which that Senator meant Justice Coney Barrett's Catholic faith.

There was a time a few decades ago when we had a bipartisan embrace of religious liberty. The Religious Freedom Restoration Act passed this body overwhelmingly with Democratic and Republican support and was signed into law by a Democratic President. Sadly,

that Democratic Party no longer exists.

Today's Democratic Party routinely votes in ways directly hostile to people of faith. And I need not look to prior confirmation hearings. I can look to votes on the floor of this Chamber yesterday. Yesterday, in advancing their gay marriage legislation, Democrats stood united against religious liberty. My colleague, Senator MIKE LEE from Utah, introduced an amendment that would protect religious liberty, that would prevent the Biden IRS from targeting for persecution churches and charities and universities and K-through-12 schools that believe marriage is the union of one man and one woman. Every Democrat in this Chamber had the opportunity to vote in favor of religious liberty, and yet the Democrats in this Chamber overwhelmingly voted against protecting religious liberty.

That is a sad development for this body. I wish we were back in the days where the protection of religious liberty was a bipartisan commitment. I hope one day we can return to that time.

Regardless of where today's American Democrats are, Mr. Martinez Nucete has written answers that demonstrated an unusual antipathy to faith, even among nominees in the Biden administration. And for all of these reasons—his antipathy to faith and his history as a socialist congressman in Venezuela—I believe this nominee is inappropriate to represent the United States on this international bank.

Therefore, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. Kaine. Mr. President, I would like to respond, but I am not going to, just to remind my colleague from Texas that the bill we passed yesterday had ample protections for religious liberty that we and Republicans in both Houses have found very acceptable. But my colleague from Rhode Island has been very patient in waiting to take the floor.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

U.S. SUPREME COURT

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I rise today for the 19th time to discuss the dark money scheme to capture and control our Supreme Court.

These themed speeches have covered a lot of ground, and if they have shown one thing, it is that the capture of the Supreme Court didn't happen overnight. It took years of planning and hundreds of millions in dark money dollars to turn our highest Court into a delivery system for far-right special interests. Slowly but surely, these special interests engulfed our Supreme Court. They set up dark money front groups to help confirm handpicked Justices. They swarmed the Court with flotillas of phony amici curiae to signal to the Justices which way they