

2149, a bill to expand access to health insurance coverage for immigrants and their families by removing legal and policy barriers to health insurance coverage, and for other purposes.

S. 2196

At the request of Ms. KLOBUCHAR, the name of the Senator from Maryland (Ms. ALSOBROOKS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2196, a bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to define intimate partner to include someone with whom there is or was a dating relationship, and for other purposes.

S.J. RES. 56

At the request of Mr. CRUZ, the name of the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. PAUL) was added as a cosponsor of S.J. Res. 56, a joint resolution designating the month of June as "Life Month".

S. RES. 288

At the request of Mr. McCORMICK, the name of the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 288, a resolution condemning the rise in ideologically motivated attacks on Jewish individuals in the United States, including the recent violent assault in Boulder, Colorado, and reaffirming the commitment of the Senate to combating antisemitism and politically motivated violence.

S. RES. 315

At the request of Mr. OSSOFF, his name was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 315, a resolution expressing support for the designation of July 10, 2025, as Journeyman Lineworkers Recognition Day.

AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I have 12 requests for committees to meet during today's session of the Senate. They have the approval of the Majority and Minority Leaders.

Pursuant to rule XXVI, paragraph 5(a), of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the following committees are authorized to meet during today's session of the Senate:

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

The Committee on Armed Services is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 9, 2025, at 9:45 a.m., to conduct a closed business meeting.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

The Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 9, 2025, at 10:15 a.m., to conduct a hearing.

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

The Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 9, 2025, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing on nominations.

COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

The Committee on Energy and Natural Resources is authorized to meet

during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 9, 2025, at 9:30 a.m., to conduct a hearing on nominations.

COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

The Committee on Environment and Public Works is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 9, 2025, at 8:45 a.m., to conduct a business meeting.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Committee on Foreign Relations is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 9, 2025, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing on nominations.

COMMITTEE ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR, AND PENSIONS

The Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 9, 2025, at 9:30 a.m., to consider a nomination.

COMMITTEE ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR, AND PENSIONS

The Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 9, 2025, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

The Select Committee on Intelligence is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 9, 2025, at 3 p.m., to conduct a closed hearing.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CYBERSECURITY

The Subcommittee on Cybersecurity of the Committee on Armed Services is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 9, 2025, at 9 a.m., to conduct a closed business meeting.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMERGING THREATS AND CAPABILITIES

The Subcommittee on Emerging Threats and Capabilities of the Committee on Armed Services is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 9, 2025, at 9:15 a.m., to conduct a closed business meeting.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL

The Subcommittee on Personnel of the Committee on Armed Services is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 9, 2025, at 8:30 a.m., to conduct a business meeting.

APPOINTMENTS

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the President of the Senate, pursuant to Public Law 85-874, as amended, appoints the following individuals to the Board of Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts: the Honorable SUSAN COLLINS of Maine (Reappointment); and the Honorable DEB FISCHER of Nebraska.

The Chair, on behalf of the President of the Senate, pursuant to Public Law 106-286, appoints the following Members to serve on the Congressional-Ex-

ecutive Commission on the People's Republic of China during the 119th Congress: the Honorable DAN SULLIVAN of Alaska (Chairman); and the Honorable TOM COTTON of Arkansas.

ORDERS FOR THURSDAY, JULY 10, 2025

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand adjourned until 10 a.m. on Thursday, July 10; that following the prayer and pledge, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the morning hour be deemed expired, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, morning business be closed, and the Senate proceed to executive session and resume consideration of Calendar No. 64, Jonathan Gould; further, notwithstanding rule XXII, at 11 a.m., the Senate vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the Gould nomination, and following that vote, the Senate vote on the motion to invoke cloture on Calendar No. 261, Whitney D. Hermandorfer; further, if cloture is invoked, the Senate vote on confirmation of the Gould nomination at 1:45 p.m.; and if cloture is invoked on the Hermandorfer nomination, all postcloture time be expired and the Senate vote on confirmation at a time to be determined by the majority leader in consultation with the Democratic leader on Monday, July 14; finally, if any nominations are confirmed during Thursday or Monday's session of the Senate, the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table and the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

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

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask that it stand adjourned under the previous order, following the historic remarks of my Democratic colleagues, led by the Senator from Rhode Island after 300 floor appearances on 1 subject.

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

The Senator from Rhode Island.

CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, first of all, thank you, Senator MURKOWSKI.

I rise today for the 300th time with my trusty, increasingly battered "Time to Wake Up" chart to try to rouse this Chamber to the looming dangers caused by fossil fuel pollution.

I am not sure whether this is a triumph of persistence or an exposition of failure or a little bit of both. I will say that Speaker PELOSI, whom I admire immensely, called out my persistent

and relentless work on climate. But on the other hand, it is hard, given our peril, not to feel a bitter sense of failure about where we are.

The arc of these speeches has gone from climate science and warnings through effects in oceans and specific localities, particularly red State localities, to the political obstruction that went toxic in 2010, and then from that political obstruction through to the climate denial apparatus behind it, and behind that, to the dark money from the creepy billionaires who have been driving the obstruction, and then an exploration into essentially the covert op of climate denial and dark money and Supreme Court capture.

The result is that we have been through some eras along the way. Era No. 1 would be the science era which lasted quite a long time. By the way, God bless the scientists. They got it right. Even the Exxon scientists got it right. Then, that era ended, and the era of climate politics began. That is what has been the bitter failure.

We have badly let down our people with the failure in Congress to do anything significant about climate. As a result of that failure, we have now entered the era of consequences, when the stuff that was so predicted is now starting to actually happen in people's lives.

So I want to focus today on how and why we are where we are in this era of well-predicted consequences and political failure, and that takes us to this covert op that I briefly described.

It is entirely possible that history will show that the three most consequential disasters for America in our lifetimes were the capture of the Supreme Court by rightwing billionaires, the influx into our elections of floods of corrupting special interest dark money, and the success of the fossil fuel climate denial operation at blockading solutions to the fossil fuel emissions crisis.

It is entirely possible that fossil fuel interests were the driving force behind all three disasters. Indeed, it is likely.

What makes these disasters the three worst is that their damage will be lasting, and perhaps even irrecoverable. Our common failure in all three disasters as Democrats was showing up too late. Each of these disasters was a victory for the insidious political forces behind the Court's capture, behind the corrupting dark money operation, and behind the climate denial fraud. Remember, those disasters didn't "happen." They were done. And much of the work done by those insidious political forces was covert and clandestine.

But there were plenty of signals of what was going on to anyone paying attention. If you paid attention to the Court-capture scheme and the dark money operation and the climate fraud, you would quickly notice the overlap of the shadowy political forces behind all three.

You would notice the common thread: fossil fuel. Think of all three

special interest campaigns as a single covert operation. A covert op run against America by forces within our country, an enemy within of creepy billionaires, fossil fuel interests, and far-right foundations, determined to impose on the country a blighted and unpopular vision that they could never achieve democratically.

Up against a covert power-seizing plan like that, you need to move fast; you need to engage early. If you wait too long, you will show up too late. Why did we always show up too late? It wasn't because these disasters were minor matters. A captured Supreme Court puts an entire branch of government under hidden political control, with no electoral remedy to its bad decisions thanks to lifetime appointments of the captured Justices. Capture of our Supreme Court has caused lasting damage already, deforming our constitutional order. The same interests always winning is observable, as is the statistical improbability of that, that it degrades faith in the Court.

Capture rocks the Court from within. A billionaire gift program to reward the most amenable Justices with lifestyles of the rich and famous twisted the Court into knots as it tried to prevent facts from coming out, even potential tax cheating, and to defeat any real ethics code.

That is all a devilish and rotten business in a great Republic. As to dark money, well, dark money influence has corrupted Congress, and dark money political spending denies citizens—American citizens—the basic informational job of policing the public square. Knowing who is out, doing what to whom is essential.

Well, the donors and the candidates and the party leadership, they all know the players in the game. Donors don't spend billions without making sure the politicians know. It is America's citizenry that is left in ignorance. What citizens do see and feel is that they are not being listened to. They don't matter so much anymore, not when tens of millions of dollars of secret funds can be dumped into an election by a billionaire.

Politicians are drawn to the money, inevitably. Remember the famous saying:

Money is the mother's milk of politics.

Climate denial fraud may be the worst of the three. Climate denial fraud success may have cost us our children's futures—the looming physical catastrophes made inevitable by fossil fuel pollution, damaging Earth's natural systems. They are first prefigured economically in insurance markets, and it is happening. Insurance markets are seeing what is coming.

Unlike fossil fuel, the insurance industry can't lie about our future. Insurers are under a fiduciary obligation, reinforced by trillions of dollars in bets, to predict future risk honestly and well, and they are telling us that

an economic storm is coming, driven by climate upheaval. The leading edge of that economic storm is already upon us in homeowners' property insurance markets melting down in Florida and other coastal and wildfire risk areas. We are heading into that storm unprepared while being lied to at industrial scale.

Three terrible things were done. Much of the scheme was covert, but there was plenty to see. So what went wrong? I would say that my party fell into a rut. We too often allowed pollsters to determine our priorities. There are uses for pollsters in politics, but pollsters should not set priorities.

Politicians worth their salt should set their own priorities, using their own judgment based on their own interactions with their own constituents and their own powers of foresight and anticipation. Those capacities are important in politics. Depending on polls can make those capacities flabby and weak.

Polling also depends on getting the questions right. When pollsters aren't asking the right questions, it leaves massive blind spots. I have seen polling presentations supposedly telling us what we should care about that didn't even ask about climate change pollution or dark money corruption.

Plus polling is inherently backward-looking, at least back to the time the survey was taken, obviously, but truly well before that into the lived experience of the polls' audience from previous months and years that informed their answers to the polling.

So polling is "reverse Gretzky." It tells you where the puck was. How often have we been told in the Senate: That issue isn't very high up in importance to voters. What a dumb and irresponsible way to think. That way of thinking suffers from a huge readiness problem. By the time a captured Supreme Court reveals its bad effects in voters' lives, it is too late. The Court is captured.

By the time dark money influence invades elections, it is too late. Dark money, the sin that makes possible all the sins dark money pays for, is devilishly hard to root out.

And climate change, climate change is physics. Once that fossil fuel pollution unleashes natural forces that will destroy our climate safety, they are not always possible to call off. It is too late.

The lesson here, if you wait to fight until the polls tell you an issue is important, the battle can be over before you show up. Republicans' big donors want lower taxes for the rich, freedom for polluters to pollute for free, less safety regulation of business.

None of those results is politically popular, so Republicans use polling as a tool to manipulate and move public opinion. The purpose is dynamic. Democrats think of polls like goalposts. Show me where the goalposts are, and I will kick my policy football through those goalposts. Static. Being static fails us.

When danger looms, it is irresponsible to wait until everybody sees the danger to give warning. If it was your house on fire, would you wait around for your family to wake up and ask for your help? Of course not.

And when you are up against strategy, particularly covert strategy, you have to fight strategy with strategy. You have to prepare, not wait around. And third, if you are always meeting voters where they already are or were, they will begin to notice over time that you never have anything new to say; that they never learn anything from you; that you are not a leader but a follower of polls.

That sense of political listlessness quietly sinks in and informs the political refrain: Republicans are shameless; Democrats are spineless.

Look now at the climate mess we are in. We are sailing toward economic catastrophe, kicked off by collapsing insurance markets, followed by physical catastrophe as Earth's natural systems collapse. The fossil fuel polluters who caused this mess aren't penalized. They float instead on an economic subsidy in the United States of \$700 billion per year.

That subsidy comes from getting to pollute for free, a violation of basic economic market principles. That \$700 billion annual subsidy roughly reflects the annual damage fossil fuels cause, a \$700 billion negative externality, as economists would say, that should be baked into the price of the product.

But Republicans in Congress desperately protect that \$700 billion subsidy for their fossil fuel donors. Think of how that subsidy motivates the fossil fuel industry in politics. To protect a \$700 billion annual subsidy, would you spend, say, \$7 billion a year in politics defending the pollute-for-free subsidy? Seven billion dollars a year to defend \$700 billion a year?

At that rate, fossil fuel's political operation is likely the most profitable facet of the entire industry. So they have an immense, well-funded, covert, purposeful operation. And we wait until the pollsters tell us the public is alert to it before we do battle? Ridiculous.

How do we recover? How do we recover from all the years we skated to where the puck was and ignored the massive fossil fuel covert op because the public hadn't seen it yet?

Well, first, we had better get on it. We have let a lot of sand run through the hourglass as we dawdled, and we lost a lot of credibility from missing those fights.

On climate, we have to face the facts. The facts are grim, and the stakes are high.

The corporate consulting firm Deloitte has estimated a \$220 trillion difference in global GDP by 2070, depending on whether we succeed on climate, thereby generating \$40 trillion in global economic growth, or continue failing and take a global \$180 trillion economic hit. The spread is \$220 trillion, and Deloitte is not the lone voice.

The Potsdam Institute has warned of a \$38 trillion annual hit to global GDP by midcentury. Predictions of multi-trillion dollar hits abound.

And the international Financial Stability Board just warned the global banking sector to buckle up.

The warnings focus on insurance, mortgage, and real estate markets. The Economist magazine has reported a looming \$25 trillion hit just to the global real estate sector.

Fed Chair Powell testified earlier this year before the Senate Banking Committee that climate change will make insurance and, therefore, mortgages unavailable in entire regions of the United States.

Voices at Allianz and Aon have warned that climate change threatened to upend their entire industry.

The former chief economist of Freddie Mac told the Budget Committee last Congress how insurance becomes unavailable, making mortgages unavailable, driving down the value of your home. Similarly, when insurance premiums—if you can get insurance. But if the premiums double or triple, then property values fall as the carrying costs of your home dramatically increase.

Average insurance costs in Florida—\$14,000 a year—predicted to double, triple, or quadruple. What does that do to the home price?

Together, the chief economist said, the crisis in insurance availability and affordability can cascade into a 2008-style economic meltdown that clobbers the entire economy.

Many of these warnings use the word “systemic.” Boring sounding word but perhaps the most dangerous word in the economic lexicon. It means the whole system gets hit, not just the particular sector—like 2008, or worse, 1929. Everyone suffers as the economy implodes.

The way out from this danger is clear and simple: It can't continue to be free to pollute. There must be a global price or penalty on carbon emissions. Nothing else works, not after the time we have wasted. We have squandered every other option.

“Polluter pays” is not just the right thing to do morally and economically and environmentally, it is our last lifeboat. And it is a lifeboat the fossil fuel industry is trying to sink, even after pretending for years that that was the solution they wanted. Big surprise. They lied. Hydrocarbons and lies are their twin products.

Our best prospect on carbon pollution right now is the European Union's Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism, called the CBAM. It is a tariff on the emissions associated with carbon-intensive goods like steel and aluminum that are imported into the EU.

Our scenario for success—if we still have one—is that the EU sticks to its guns and doesn't chicken out; the UK honors its commitment to join the CBAM—the two economies, by the way, just coordinated carbon prices, a key

step—and Australia and Canada and Mexico and other economies follow suit.

There is actually even a sliver of Senate Republican interest in a U.S. carbon border tariff.

A price on carbon pollution in international trade, at last, moves things. It begins to offset fossil fuel's global multitrillion dollar free-to-pollute subsidy. It aligns market incentives properly, and it creates a revenue proposition—a revenue proposition for pollution reduction and carbon-capture technologies, boosting an innovation pathway to climate safety that presently does not exist.

Dark money corruption got us into this pickle, and the way out of there is also clear and simple: Pass the damn DISCLOSE Act. Require that donors over 10 grand into a political race show the public who they are. No more front groups and shell corporations.

The dark money battle is a race against time to stop the dark money influence operation before it gets its claws so deep into all three branches of government that the whole system is too corrupted to care how badly voters want transparency.

When that disclosure bill passes into law, the public will feel immediate relief. People will notice the political class beginning to turn its attention back to voters rather than to the billionaire donors and the corporate polluter elite running the foul dark money operation.

And political ads, that tsunami of slime, will diminish as real entities would have to own political messages. Many players behind the tsunami of slime will actually back off. Because once voters understand who is behind a message, sometimes, they get the joke, and you can't go forward any longer. And even if they don't back off, at least someone can be accountable for the slime and lies that permeate our politics.

Less special interest money, less slime and lies, less secrecy, voters heard again—you might call it morning in America.

Fix dark money and you break the grip of fossil fuel. Look at what fossil fuel dark money gets the Trump administration and Republicans in Congress to do for them every day. Right out of the gate, day one of his regime, Trump issued an Executive order that took wind and solar power out of the definition of “energy.”

Forget the politics; that doesn't even comport with the dictionary.

Trump's Interior Department set out to kill offshore wind, halting the permitting process, even attempting to stop projects under construction.

Trump's Energy Department choked off loans and funding for the development and deployment of low-carbon technologies and proposed slashing research budgets at our National Labs.

Trump's Environmental Protection Agency—now better called “Polluter

Protector Agency”—illegally terminated billions for clean energy products around the country. It set up California's Clean Air Act vehicle emissions standards to be killed by the Congressional Review Act, a gambit first floated by fossil fuel industry lawyers in an op-ed in the polluter-run Wall Street Journal's editorial page.

And to pull this off, my Republican colleagues even went nuclear: overruled the Senate Parliamentarian.

The Trump EPA announces it will repeal rules limiting air pollution from powerplants and vehicles, reverse the 2009 finding that greenhouse gas emissions endanger humans, suspend the collection of emissions data—they don't even want the data?—and eliminate the social cost of carbon, the rule that quantifies that \$700 billion in fossil fuel emissions harm.

In Congress—because bad things happen here as well—here is my favorite: Republicans undid our fee on excess methane emissions. You have to know that this fee only applied to emissions exceeding the industry's own industry standards. And half of those methane leaks could be eliminated at no net cost since methane—natural gas—if not leaked, can be sold. So Republicans in Congress took the side of the industry's worst leakers to relieve them of having to pay for their mess.

And just last week, Republicans passed Trump's megabill, a many-headed hydra, turning the power of government to help fossil fuel billionaires throttle their clean energy competition. This will kill thousands of jobs, cede dominance of clean energy to China, drive consumers' electric prices way higher, and turbocharge the carbon pollution that is already making insurance, groceries, and electricity more expensive.

There is one simple goal behind all of this: help Republicans' fossil fuel donors to sell more oil, natural gas, gasoline, and diesel. Every electric car that is never produced means one more internal combustion engine that will spend years consuming their gasoline. Every solar array or wind turbine that is never built will mean more of their natural gas combusted to produce electricity.

It doesn't matter to the creepy billionaires that the ownership cost of an EV are already less than those of a combustion engine or that solar power is now the cheapest form of energy there is. All that matters is the narrow self-interest of the polluting fossil fuel industry that funds and controls the Republican Party.

Every indication is that the fossil fuel industry dark money operation orchestrated the Republicans' energy agenda. Every indication is that they have burrowed into the executive branch and are running it from the inside.

Russell Vought, for instance, running OMB, has spent, essentially, his entire career on fossil fuel's dark money payroll. His counsel there is Mark

Paoletta from that infamous painting of the Court fixer Leonard Leo, billionaire donor Harlan Crow, and their pet Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas from the Court capture operation.

Which brings us to the captured Court, the Court that dark money built. Freeing the Supreme Court from its captured state will not be easy. Too many Justices are willing participants in the capture scheme.

If the Supreme Court Justices wanted to redeem their Court, they could have done it already. They could do it on their own any day. But captured is as captured does; they don't want to.

It matters on climate. A rejuvenated Court would take the evidence of climate harm seriously. Over and over, the Court that dark money built has favored fossil fuel interests. For instance, it threw out the Clean Power Plan, saving industry tens of billions in compliance costs and allowing more than a dozen years of continued pollution.

Let's say that \$700 billion fossil fuel subsidy number is close to right. If the Clean Power Plan would only have shaved 10 percent off the harm, that one decision cost Americans nearly \$1 trillion in pollution harm. That is worth capturing the Court for if you are the fossil fuel industry.

The Court created the major questions doctrine to give the fossil fuel industry a legal weapon to stop future climate regulations. The Court withdrew the Chevron doctrine, taking away from experts in the regulatory process the benefit of the doubt.

In all these cases, the fossil fuel industry got free legal services from Republican attorneys general, undoubtedly grateful for their fossil fuel political funding. What a rotten misuse of that badge of office.

To reform the Court, Congress will have to act on two fronts. One is to require a proper ethics code for the Court, including the essential elements of proper legal process: actual fact-finding and neutral decision making. Not complicated stuff. Rule of law is based on those two principles. The Justices shield themselves from both.

The present Court and its political defenders pretend that fixing this is impossible, but it is not. Every State supreme court faces the issue of administering a proper ethics code for itself, and every single one has figured it out.

Forget impossible; it is not even hard.

The problem is that the Justices—or certain of them—enjoy being the only nine people in government immune from proper ethics scrutiny. Look at that billionaire gift program, and you might see why.

They violate an ancient principle so ancient it is in Latin: “*nemo iudex in causa sua*”—no one should judge their own case. As an ethics scholar recently put it, it is a conflict of interest to judge one's only conflict of interest.

The public is ready for more than just real ethics, however. The present

Court's legacy of scandals, destruction of precedent, doctrinal leaps, false fact-finding in cases, and striking, striking patterns in what interests always win is damning. Add the unhealthy secrets—around who chose Justices and why, and around the billionaires' campaign of gifts to amenable Justices, and around tax mischief related to those gifts—and it is a mess. The public is ready for term limits and turnover.

A Court rejuvenated with regular turnover, with its secrets disclosed and a proper ethics procedure going forward, is a Court that can again merit the confidence of the American people and perform the judicial function honorably.

So can we win a pathway to climate safety, rid our politics of dark money, and liberate a captured Court? Yes, we actually can, but it won't be easy.

The successful fraud of climate denial, the insidious corruption of our politics by dark money, and the special interest capture of the Court all are political prizes that will be defended to the death by the fossil fuel industry. The fossil fuel-funded infrastructure of front groups that propagates the climate lies, that launders and funnels the dark money, and that captured and now cossets and guides the Justices will be fighting for its very survival. The front groups are many, but like keys on a piano, they are part of a larger instrument: a fossil fuel instrument of secret influence and corruption now operating our government from within. That instrument must be defanged to revive American popular democracy.

In this battle, yes, we have disadvantages. The infrastructure built for Republicans by their fossil fuel billionaire backers is immense. They can run media operations that drown us out. They have unlimited money. They plan years in advance. They have whipped the Republican Party into exceptional battle discipline.

Don't get me wrong; we have some super talent on the Democratic side. But it is ballet dancers against centurions. Ballet dancers may be better athletes than centurions, but 100 centurions against 100 ballet dancers will end predictably. We don't have much muscle memory for fighting either, as recent Democratic administrations have tended to be conflict-averse. We have been less aggressive—lambs versus wolves. The wolf doesn't much fear the bite of the lamb, and they don't much fear us.

Imagine Winston Churchill trying to defend Britain without radar or Spitfires or his war room under the streets of London. Proper defense infrastructure can be outcome-determinative, and we haven't had that.

We do have one big advantage: The whole crooked apparatus of the right-wing fossil fuel billionaires depends on secrecy to work its evils. We don't have to match fossil fuel front group for front group, propaganda mouthpiece

for propaganda mouthpiece, lie for lie, even dollar for dollar. It doesn't have to take \$7 billion on our side. Our cause can win by shining a bright light on their mischief and their motives.

Americans love solving mysteries, love to hear what Paul Harvey called "the end of the story." Fossil fuel has to lie and connive and hide behind masks to win. We can be truth tellers and win. People don't like being lied to. The truth—that is our superpower.

Even with that superpower, it is still not going to be easy. We have to face that there is some real work ahead of us. I was a prosecutor. You have seen the TV shows. Prosecutors investigating gangs build careful diagrams of all the gang's members, showing who reports to whom, who is connected to whom, what phone numbers and addresses we have, what evidence we have got, where they get their guns, and where they distribute the drugs. All of that goes up on the cork board.

You have to know your adversary. Intelligence Agencies do deep research into the personnel of opposing services. Know your adversary. We don't. Until recently, few Democrats even knew who Leonard Leo was—the top operative of the billionaires' Court-capture scheme. Most Democrats couldn't pass a basic test of what front groups are arrayed against us. That is not the fault of individual Members of Congress. We have just had no war room to organize the information, no offense coordinator to plan strategy, no bat-tlers' book to tell us who can't hit inside pitches, no cork board to pin up the gang's information. Corporations do better research on rivals when prepping a corporate takeover than we did trying to defend our country from this political takeover.

The idea of a realtime, anti-fraud, climate cleanup operations center calling out the lies, following the money, and spotlighting who is behind the front groups may seem beyond our reach, but it is not. The military has had op centers for years. You have seen the Hollywood versions with the TV screens up on the walls and the satellite feeds and the drone feeds coming in. The RAF, back in World War II, had a simpler one during the Battle of Britain, with those little ships and plane models being pushed around with the long sticks on the big map table. Radar told the RAF war room when to scramble the Spitfires, where to send them, and what enemy to expect when they got there. We haven't built that—no radar, no Spitfires, no war room under London—but we can.

Remember those three evils: the fossil fuel industry's climate denial fraud, the capture of the Supreme Court, that dark money infiltration of our politics. They didn't "happen." They were all done very deliberately, using an armada of front groups and carefully scripted fakery. It is best to think of it all as a single beast—a beast that has now burrowed in and is running the government for Trump. It is a takeover

by a shadow government, working for rightwing extremists and fossil fuel polluters.

If we don't see it for what it is and call it out for what it is, how can we warn people of what is happening? And if we don't warn people of what is happening, how can we possibly believe we have done our duty in this moment of peril?

Climate change makes this a battle with a ratchet. There are some things you just can't come back from. The ratchet has clicked, and there is no return. So it is urgent. It is time for us all to wake up and fight.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. President, over the last 250 years, this country has grown from a handful of rebellious Colonies to an economic, scientific, military, cultural, technological, and agricultural behemoth. And, crucially, through it all, we have remained a democracy devoted to the hard work our Founders envisioned of making our Nation a more perfect Union. Progress has not always been straightforward, but it has been consistent over time and nothing short of extraordinary, which is why it is all the more heartbreaking to see so much damage, so much self-inflicted harm imposed on our country by this administration, over the last 170 days.

Indeed, if you were to design a Presidency and policies to diminish our scientific and technological prowess from within, it would look a lot like this administration.

If you were determined to kill our clean energy future and retreat from any hope of addressing climate change, it would look a lot like this.

If you wanted to undermine our standing around the world, befriend dictatorships, and betray our fellow democracies, it would look a lot like this.

If you wanted to deliberately tear at the social fabric and cohesion of our country, set State against State and people against people to the point of conflict in the streets, it would look a lot like this administration.

The President and his Cabinet have been tearing down so much of what makes this country special—and so quickly—that it has been hard to see the big picture, hard to separate the biggest harms from merely the most sensational or the most proximate. One hundred days was not enough time to evaluate the harms this administration had already inflicted on our country and its people, but 170 days just might be sufficient.

So, today, I want to go through the top 10 ways this administration has been wrecking the country. From the thoughtless and irresponsible to the illegal and unconstitutional, to the deliberately cruel and malicious, I want to tell you what the actions of this Presidency have really meant for the

country and for our future. So here they are, the top 10 ways the administration is wrecking the country:

No. 10, Donald Trump is waging an all-out war on America's research universities.

America's universities have been the envy of the world, for much of the last century, in powering scientific achievement and economic growth, dramatic breakthroughs in medicine, significant achievements in the arts, technological innovation, and all of the attendant economic benefits have been driven by a decades-old partnership between universities and the Federal Government.

As a part of this grand bargain, the Federal Government invests in research conducted at top universities, and the country enjoys the benefits. From brilliant scientists and academia, the military gets new technologies and capabilities, including innovations in fusion energy, laser technology, electronic jamming capabilities, and so much more. Our healthcare is improved and our lifespans are increased by university-led research into new medicines, medical implants, and devices. Food science helps us grow healthier crops and produce more food with less water and less pesticides.

You would be hard-pressed to find a field of scientific endeavor in which university research has failed to deliver. Now all of that is on the chopping block. The administration has canceled tens of billions of dollars in university research funding. It is stopping some of the best and brightest students from coming to the United States to study by banning international students from attending. Already, some of the world's most promising students are choosing to go elsewhere—to China or the UK or Sweden or Canada.

The reason we want the very best students is so that we can remain the global leader in every field of endeavor. That is what makes us great. But this—this is a one-way brain drain in the wrong direction.

The administration is also raising taxes on research universities and threatening the removal of accreditation from universities which fail to bow to the President's ideological and political whims. It is using real concerns about anti-Semitism on campus as a pretext or the policies of athletic departments that it disfavors to justify attacks on universities that will do nothing but set the country and our economy back. Their real agenda is to change the agenda at schools, to eliminate academic independence, and to indoctrinate students into an ideology that is more to their liking, turning administration bureaucrats into a kind of thought police.

Coming in at No. 9 of the top 10 ways the administration is wrecking the country is taking away food from hungry kids in America.

Donald Trump promised to make America healthy again, but he is not. Instead, he has settled for making America hungry again.