

materials, energy storage and improving cyber security, critical infrastructure, and the energy workforce for tomorrow.

This was a very worked-over process, both in committee and on the Senate floor, and it was a very collaborative effort among our colleagues on both sides of the aisle. It did take some discussion with our House colleagues because the package they passed was a very different product. I will say, it was a very less worked product on a bipartisan basis and certainly a product that had a lot of veto threats in it.

Our House colleagues have made some comments about that legislation that have made it helpful for us to move forward. We met with our colleagues, the Natural Resources and Energy Committee chairs, Mr. BISHOP and Mr. UPTON. They basically said: Look, they didn't want to waste time on things that would be vetoed by the President of the United States, so we took that as a good sign that they were willing to sit down and talk about legislation that could move forward in a positive fashion.

Senator MURKOWSKI's staff, my staff, and we together have rolled up our sleeves and tried to look at ways in which we could talk about how we move forward from here so that all of our colleagues could have confidence that we are going to work on something that would be a final product that really would get to the President's desk. I thank my colleague from Alaska for her indulgence in that process. I know she had conversations with Senator REID about no poison pills and wasn't going to sign off on those kinds of activities.

We are here to say to our colleagues: Let's continue the good bipartisan effort that existed in the Senate bill and work with our colleagues in the House to resolve these issues. As my colleagues know, there are many thorny issues that still need to be addressed. Even though the Senate worked out many of its issues, there are still several thorny issues that are in the House bill, such as water, fire, and a variety of other issues which will take some dialogue and give us an opportunity to talk. If we can reach a conclusion, great, but if we can't, I think we have all decided that moving forward on the basis of an energy policy we can agree to is a very important concept for all of us.

As my colleague from Alaska said, it is time to move forward on an energy policy, and I encourage my colleagues to vote yes on this motion. Let us continue to work to protect these key provisions and move forward so we can get a bill to the President's desk.

CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the

Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the motion to disagree to the House amendment, agree to the request from the House for a conference, and the Presiding Officer appoint the following conferees: Senators Murkowski, Barrasso, Risch, Cornyn, Cantwell, Wyden, and Sanders with respect to S. 2012, an original bill to provide for the modernization of the energy policy of the United States, and for other purposes.

John McCain, John Cornyn, Marco Rubio, Deb Fischer, Rob Portman, Roger F. Wicker, Richard Burr, Joni Ernst, David Vitter, James M. Inhofe, Dean Heller, Pat Roberts, Lamar Alexander, Ron Johnson, Tom Cotton, Thom Tillis, Mitch McConnell.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the motion to disagree to the House amendment, agree to the request by the House for a conference, and to appoint conferees with respect to S. 2012, a bill to provide for the modernization of the energy policy of the United States, and for other purposes, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. BARRASSO), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. COATS), the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. COCHRAN), the Senator from Texas (Mr. CORNYN), the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. INHOFE), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. ROBERTS), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. ROUNDS), the Senator from Alabama (Mr. SHELBY), the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. VITTER) and the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. WICKER).

Further, if present and voting, the Senator from Texas (Mr. CORNYN) would have voted "yea."

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS) is necessarily absent.

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

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 84, nays 3, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 125 Leg.]

YEAS—84

Alexander	Corker	Hirono
Ayotte	Cotton	Hoeben
Baldwin	Crapo	Isakson
Bennet	Daines	Johnson
Blumenthal	Donnelly	Kaine
Blunt	Durbin	King
Booker	Enzi	Kirk
Boozman	Ernst	Klobuchar
Boxer	Feinstein	Lankford
Brown	Fischer	Leahy
Burr	Flake	Lee
Cantwell	Franken	Manchin
Capito	Gardner	Markey
Cardin	Gillibrand	McCain
Carper	Grassley	McCaskill
Casey	Hatch	McConnell
Cassidy	Heinrich	Menendez
Collins	Heitkamp	Merkley
Coons	Heller	Mikulski

Moran	Risch	Tester
Murkowski	Rubio	Thune
Murphy	Sasse	Tillis
Murray	Schatz	Toomey
Nelson	Schumer	Udall
Peters	Sessions	Warner
Portman	Shaheen	Warren
Reed	Stabenow	Whitehouse
Reid	Sullivan	Wyden

NAYS—3

Paul	Perdue	Scott
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NOT VOTING—13

Barrasso	Graham	Shelby
Coats	Inhofe	Vitter
Cochran	Roberts	Wicker
Cornyn	Rounds	
Cruz	Sanders	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 84, the nays are 3.

Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn having voted in the affirmative, the motion is agreed to.

Cloture having been invoked, the question is on agreeing to the compound motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

COMPREHENSIVE ADDICTION AND RECOVERY ACT OF 2016—CONFERENCE REPORT—Continued

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate the conference report to accompany S. 524.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the conference report to accompany S. 524.

The bill clerk read as follows:

Conference report to accompany S. 524, a bill to authorize the Attorney General to award grants to address the national epidemics of prescription opioid abuse and heroin use.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

(The remarks of Mr. ALEXANDER pertaining to the introduction of S. 3169 are printed in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

JUDICIAL VACANCIES

Ms. BALDWIN. Mr. President, the American public is well aware that there is a vacancy on our U.S. Supreme Court and, in addition, that there is obstruction going on in terms of our path to do what the Senate is supposed to do—confirm a President's nomination to the Supreme Court. Because it is the Supreme Court, because that term has come to an end and we have seen a number of 4-to-4 ties, because of the consequence and the gravity of what it is that the Supreme Court does, that has garnered a lot of attention. It has resulted in the calling for the Republicans in the Senate to do their job, to not obfuscate and declare that they won't hold hearings or won't schedule a vote on President Obama's nominee, Merrick Garland. As a consequence, that vacancy may persist for well over a year when all is said and done.

I rise today to draw attention to the fact that that is not the only judicial

vacancy we have here in the United States of America. We currently have 83 vacancies in the Federal courts, and 29 of those vacancies have been declared judicial emergencies, meaning that the continuing vacancy has caused serious problems and concerns, so they are deemed judicial emergencies.

Currently, because of the work that has been done by individual Senators, consulting with the President, and what the President has done in terms of forwarding nominees to the Senate so that we can exercise our role of advice and consent, so we can hold votes on confirmations, and because of the work of the Senate Judiciary Committee, currently there are 24 judicial nominees on the Executive Calendar. All of them—every one of them—have garnered majority support of the members of the Senate Judiciary Committee in order to advance to the Executive Calendar. Every one of them is deserving of a full Senate vote.

I rise to draw attention to one particular vacancy; that is, a vacancy on the Seventh Circuit Court. One of Wisconsin's seats on the Seventh Circuit has been vacant for more than 6½ years. Let me repeat that. It has been vacant for more than 6½ years. Currently, and not surprisingly, it is the longest Federal circuit court vacancy in the country. Today marks 2,378 days that this circuit court seat has been vacant.

The people of Wisconsin and our neighbors in Illinois and Indiana deserve a fully functioning appeals court. We have a highly qualified nominee who deserves a vote from this body.

Don Schott was nominated by the President on January 12 to fill this Seventh Circuit Court vacancy. He has strong bipartisan support. Both Senator JOHNSON and I have returned our blue slips. Bipartisan majorities of the Wisconsin judicial nominating commission have given their support to Don Schott and have voted to advance his nomination, a bipartisan group of the Senate Judiciary Committee voted to advance his nomination, and a bipartisan group of former Wisconsin bar presidents support him. Don Schott has the experience, qualifications, and temperament to be an outstanding Federal judge. He was rated unanimously "well qualified" by the American Bar Association. In talking to people in Wisconsin about this nomination, I have heard only tremendous praise for Don Schott.

This nomination deserves a vote. As such, I rise today to urge the majority leader, the Republican leader, to schedule a vote on Don Schott, as well as all of the other judicial nominees who are on the Executive Calendar. The American people deserve a fully functioning Federal judiciary.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

#### MINERS PROTECTION ACT

Mr. MANCHIN. Mr. President, I rise today in defense of the bipartisan Min-

ers Protection Act. This is a little bit of a history class that is going to be rolled into the facts of what we are dealing with today.

Our coal miners are some of the hardest working people in America. Any of you who come from a family who had one as a relative—maybe your grandfather, father, uncle—you know those patriarchs are tough. They are hard-working but extremely patriotic. They basically dedicated their lives to powering our Nation. We would not be the Nation we are today if it had not been for the miners, who now seem to have been cast aside and forgotten about. They powered this Nation. They brought us into the Industrial Revolution, if you will, the industrial age, and created the middle class and one of the largest unions, the United Mine Workers of America. Back in the 1930s and 1940s, especially, if you were working in the mines, you were in the United Mine Workers union. That is just the way things were. But by the end of this year, tens of thousands of our miners are going to receive notices that they are going to lose their health benefits. They are going to lose their health benefits.

I have come to the floor again to answer the points that were called into question by my friend Senator ENZI from Wyoming. First, Senator ENZI specifically questioned the promise that was made to the miners in 1946. He questioned the promise that was made to them in 1946, saying that it was made between the coal companies and the unions, not the Federal Government, so therefore we should not have an obligation to be involved. He said there was never an agreement with the Federal Government.

I don't know how else to say this except that I believe my good friend was totally misinformed. That is not correct, not at all. Now I will give you the facts. This is a lesson.

In May of 1946, the United States was in the midst of a robust post-World War II economic recovery. I mean, everybody was working during the war. We were trying to survive as a nation, trying to defeat tyranny and basically save the world as we know it today. So everybody was working. Now the war is over. We were fearing a shutdown of our economy, and somehow we had to continue to keep this energy we needed to keep the country and the economy moving.

The United Mine Workers were actively negotiating. They were actively negotiating their contracts the way you do in a civil bargaining agreement. You sit down and you work through that. President Harry Truman knew the vital role the coal industry played in the economic recovery efforts, and he feared a prolonged strike. He issued an Executive order because he thought a strike would grind our recovery to a halt. He feared a prolonged strike, and he issued an Executive order directing the Secretary of the Interior to take possession of the bituminous coal

mines—can you believe that—take possession of all of the bituminous coal mines in the United States and negotiate with the unions. So basically he stepped in and started negotiating with the unions, taking over the mines.

Senator ENZI stated that this agreement was made between the members and the companies, not between the members and the American taxpayer. In fact, the first line of the Krug-Lewis agreement—this was the agreement that was signed, the historic document that created the promise of health benefits and retirement security for our Nation's miners. This agreement is between the Secretary of the Interior acting as Coal Mines Administrator under the authority of Executive Order No. 9728, dated May 21, 1946, and the United Mine Workers of America. The title of this agreement says "Executed at the White House, Washington, D.C., May 29 of 1946."

I ask unanimous consent to have a copy of this agreement printed in the RECORD, and I will be sending a copy to my dear friend.

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

NATIONAL BITUMINOUS WAGE AGREEMENT  
EFFECTIVE MAY 29, 1946, DURING THE PERIOD OF  
GOVERNMENT OPERATION OF MINES EXECUTED  
AT THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY  
29, 1946

#### AGREEMENT

THIS AGREEMENT between the Secretary of the Interior, acting as Coal Mines Administrator under the authority of Executive Order No. 9728 (dated May 21, 1946, 11 F. R. 5593), and the United Mine Workers of America, covers for the period of Government possession the terms and conditions of employment in respect to all mines in Government possession which were as of March 31, 1946, subject to the National Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement, dated April 11, 1945.

#### 1. Provisions of National Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement Preserved

Except as amended and supplemented herein, this Agreement carries forward and preserves the terms and conditions contained in all joint wage agreements effective April 1, 1941, through March 31, 1943, the supplemental agreement providing for the six (6) day work week, and all the various district agreements executed between the United Mine Workers and the various Coal Associations and Coal Companies (based upon the aforesaid basic agreement) as they existed on March 31, 1943, and the National Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement, dated April 11, 1945.

#### 2. Mine Safety Program

##### (a) Federal Mine Safety Code

As soon as practicable and not later than 30 days from the date of the making of the Agreement, the Director of the Bureau of Mines after consultation with representatives of the United Mine Workers and such other persons as he deems appropriate, will issue a reasonable code of standards and rules pertaining to safety conditions and practices in the mines. The Coal Mines Administrator will put this code into effect at the mines. Inspectors of the Federal Bureau of Mines shall make periodic investigations of the mines and report to the Coal Mines Administrator any violations of the Federal Safety Code. In cases of violation the Coal Mines Administrator will take appropriate

action which may include disciplining or replacing the operating manager so that with all reasonable dispatch said violation will be corrected.

From time to time the Director of the Bureau of Mines may, upon request of the Coal Mines Administrator or the United Mine Workers, review and revise the Federal Mine Safety Code.

*(b) Mine Safety Committee*

At each mine there shall be a Mine Safety Committee selected by the Local Union. The Mine Safety Committee may inspect any mine development or equipment used in producing coal for the purpose of ascertaining whether compliance with the Federal Safety Code exists. The Committee members while engaged in the performance of their duties shall be paid by the Union, but shall be deemed to be acting within the scope of their employment in the mine within the meaning of the Workmen's Compensation Law of the state where such duties are performed.

If the Committee believes conditions found endanger the life and bodies of the mine workers, it shall report its findings and recommendations to the management. In those special instances where the Committee believes an immediate danger exists and the Committee recommends that the management remove all mine workers from the unsafe area, the operating manager or his managerial subordinate is required to follow the recommendation of the Committee, unless and until the Coal Mines Administrator, taking into account the inherently hazardous character of coal mining, determines that the authority of the Safety Committee is being misused and he cancels or modifies that authority.

The Safety Committee and the operating manager shall maintain such records concerning inspections, findings, recommendations and actions relating to this provision of the Agreement as the Coal Mines Administrator may require and shall supply such reports as he may request.

*3. Workmen's Compensation and Occupational Disease*

The Coal Mines Administrator undertakes to direct each operating manager to provide its employees with the protection and coverage of the benefits under Workmen's Compensation and Occupational Disease Laws, whether compulsory or elective, existing in the states in which the respective employees are employed. Refusal of any operating manager to carry out this direction shall be deemed a violation of his duties as operating manager. In the event of such refusal the Coal Mines Administrator will take appropriate action which may include disciplining or replacing the operating manager or shutting down the mine.

*4. Health and Welfare Program*

There is hereby provided a health and welfare program in broad outline—and it is recognized that many important details remain to be filled in—such program to consist of three parts, as follows:

*(a) A Welfare and Retirement Fund*

A welfare and retirement fund is hereby created and there shall be paid into said fund by the operating managers 5¢ per ton on each ton of coal produced for use or for sale. This fund shall be managed by three trustees, one appointed by the Coal Mines Administrator, one appointed by the President of the United Mine Workers, and the third chosen by the other two. The fund shall be used for making payments to miners, and their dependents and survivors, with respect to (i) wage loss not otherwise compensated at all or adequately under the provisions of Federal or State law and resulting from sickness (temporary disability), permanent disability,

death, or retirement, and (ii) other related welfare purposes, as determined by the trustees. Subject to the stated purposes of the fund, the trustees shall have full authority with respect to questions of coverage and eligibility, priorities among classes of benefits, amounts of benefits, methods of providing or arranging for provision of benefits, and all related matters.

The Coal Mines Administrator will instruct the operating managers that the obligation to make payments to the welfare and retirement fund becomes effective with reference to coal produced on and after June 1, 1946; the first actual payment is to be made on August 15, 1946, covering the period from June 1 to July 15; the second payment to be made on September 15, covering the period from July 15 to August 31; and thereafter payments are to be made on the 15th day of each month covering the preceding month.

*(b) A Medical and Hospital Fund*

There shall be created a medical and hospital fund, to be administered by trustees appointed by the President of the United Mine Workers. This fund shall be accumulated from the wage deductions presently being made and such as may hereafter be authorized by the Union and its members for medical, hospital and related purposes. The trustees shall administer this fund to provide, or to arrange for the availability of, medical, hospital, and related services for the miners and their dependents. The money in this fund shall be used for the indicated purposes at the discretion of the trustees of the fund; and the trustees shall provide for such regional or local variations and adjustments in wage deductions, benefits and other practices, and transfer of funds to local unions, as may be necessary and as are in accordance with agreements made within the framework of the Union's organization.

The Coal Mines Administrator agrees (after the trustees make arrangements satisfactory to the Coal Mines Administrator) to direct each operating manager to turn over to this fund, or to such local unions as the trustees of the fund may direct, all such wage deductions, beginning with a stated date to be agreed upon by the Administrator and the President of the United Mine Workers: Provided, however, that the United Mine Workers shall first obtain the consent of the affected employees to such turn-over. The Coal Mines Administrator will cooperate fully with the United Mine Workers to the end that there may be terminated as rapidly as may be practicable any existing agreements that earmark the expenditure of such wage deductions, except as the continuation of such agreements may be approved by the trustees of the fund.

Present practices with respect to wage deductions and their use for provisions of medical, hospital and related services shall continue until such date or dates as may be agreed upon by the Coal Mines Administrator and the President of the United Mine Workers.

*(c) Coordination of the Welfare and Retirement Fund and the Medical and Hospital Fund*

The Coal Mines Administrator and the United Mine Workers agree to use their good offices to assure that trustees of the two funds described above will cooperate in and coordinate the development of policies and working agreements necessary for the effective operation of each fund toward achieving the result that each fund will, to the maximum degree practicable, operate to complement the other.

*5. Survey of Medical and Sanitary Facilities*

The Coal Mines Administrator undertakes to have made a comprehensive survey and

study of the hospital and medical facilities, medical treatment, sanitary, and housing conditions in the coal mining areas. The purpose of this survey will be to determine the character and scope of improvements which should be made to provide the mine workers of the Nation with medical, housing and sanitary facilities conforming to recognized American standards.

*6. Wages*

(a) All mine workers, whether employed by the day, tonnage or footage rate, shall receive \$1.85 per day in addition to that provided for in the contract which expired March 31, 1946.

(b) Work performed on the sixth consecutive day is optional, but when performed shall be paid for at time and one-half or rate and one-half.

(c) Holidays, when worked, shall be paid for at time and one-half or rate and one-half. Holidays shall be computed in arriving at the sixth and seventh day in the week.

*7. Vacation Payment*

An annual vacation period shall be the rule of the industry. From Saturday, June 29, 1946, to Monday, July 8, 1946, inclusive, shall be a vacation period during which coal production shall cease. Day-men required to work during this period at coke plants and other necessarily continuous operations or on emergency or repair work shall have vacations of the same duration at other agreed periods.

All employees with a record of one year's standing (June 1, 1945, to May 31, 1946) shall receive as compensation for the above-mentioned vacation period the sum of One Hundred Dollars (\$100), with the following exception: Employees who entered the armed services and those who returned from the armed services to their jobs during the qualifying period shall receive the \$100 vacation payment.

All the terms and provisions of district agreements relating to vacation pay for sick and injured employees are carried forward to this Agreement and payments are to be made in the sum as provided herein.

Pro rata payments for the months they are on the payroll shall be provided for those mine workers who are given employment during the qualifying period and those who leave their employment.

The vacation payment of the 1946 period shall be made on the last pay day occurring in the month of June of that year.

*8. Settlement of Disputes*

Upon petition filed by the United Mine Workers with the Coal Mines Administrator showing that the procedure for the adjustment of grievances in any coal producing district is inequitable in relation to the generally prevailing standard of such procedures in the industry, the Coal Mines Administrator will direct the operating managers at mines in the district shown to have an inequitable grievance procedure to put into effect within a reasonable period of time the generally prevailing grievance procedure in the industry.

*9. Discharge Cases*

The Coal Mines Administrator will carry out the provision in agreements which were in effect on March 31, 1946, between coal mine operators and the United Mine Workers that cases involving the discharge of employees for cause shall be disposed of within 5 days.

*10. Fines and Penalties*

No fines or penalties shall be imposed unless authorized by the Coal Mines Administrator. In the event that such fines or penalties are imposed by the Coal Mines Administrator, the funds withheld for that reason

shall be turned over to the trustees of the fund provided for in Section 4 (b) hereof, to be used for the purpose stated therein.

#### 11. Supervisors

With respect to questions affecting the employment and bargaining status of foremen, supervisors, technical and clerical workers employed in the bituminous mining industry, the Coal Mines Administrator will be guided by the decisions and procedure laid down by the National Labor Relations Board.

#### 12. Safety

Nothing herein shall operate to nullify existing state statutes, but this Agreement is intended to supplement the aforesaid statutes in the interest of increased mine safety.

#### 13. Retroactive Wage Provisions

The wage provisions of this Agreement shall be retroactive to May 22, 1946.

#### 14. Effective Date

This Agreement is effective as of May 29, 1946, subject to approval of appropriate Government agencies.

Signed at Washington, D.C. on this 29th day of May, 1946.

J. A. KRUG,  
Coal Mines Administrator.  
JOHN L. LEWIS,  
President, United Mine Workers  
of America.

Mr. MANCHIN. I believe the Secretary of the Interior and the White House were representatives of the Federal Government back in 1946, just as they are today.

Second, my colleague from Wyoming stated: I worry about the claim that we are helping all coal miners with this proposal.

West Virginia coal miners—union and nonunion—continue to suffer from the devastating effects of the ongoing coal bankruptcies.

Senator, we are willing to help all miners. We truly are. Anybody who has been devastated in this downturn, if you will, of the industry, but we are focusing this particular effort on the United Mine Workers of America.

They try to make this: Well, you are picking union over nonunion. We are not picking union over nonunion. The agreement was made with the UMWA because everybody working in the mines during that period of time belonged to the UMWA. So we have to protect that promise that was made in that Executive order that was signed and made 70 years ago. So I invite the Presiding Officer and all of my colleagues to help us find a way to move forward and help put this to rest.

Also, Senator ENZI stated he wants America to remain financially solvent. Well, there is no one who wants that more than I do. I understand that if you can't get your financial house in order you can't do anything else.

In fact, let me tell you what happens if we do not pass the Miners Protection Act. The Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, which we have in place, will shoulder the burden of the outstanding liabilities. In a January letter to Congressman MCKINLEY from West Virginia, one of my colleagues on the other side, the Director of the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation con-

firmed that if the UMWA becomes insolvent, the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation of America will actually have to assume billions of dollars in liabilities causing negative ripple effects for many more and for the financial insolvency of our country.

Passing the Miners Protection Act now means covering \$3.5 billion in health and pension benefits. If we do not enact this law, the pension liability alone will carry a pricetag of over \$6 billion. So, along with my good friend from Wyoming, Senator ENZI, I do care about making prudent decisions. That is a savings of \$2.5 billion if we pass this legislation—\$2.5 billion in saving to the taxpayers.

The Miners Protection Act is important to my home State of West Virginia because West Virginia has more retired union miners than any other State in the Nation. Out of the 90,594 retired United Mine Workers in the country in 2014, more than 27,000 still live in my State.

I will say this. As to a lot of the devastation we have seen with the floods we have had in West Virginia over the last couple of weeks, it was horrific what happened. Every one of those little communities was a coal mining community that got hit. So you just add more tragedy on top of the already devastating tragedy that we have.

But the impact is going to be felt in every State in the Union, including Wyoming. In fact, the Miners Protection Act will help over 900 health beneficiaries and over 2,000 pension beneficiaries in the State of Wyoming. So I would just ask: What do my colleague who opposes this legislation or any of my colleagues who might not be for this legislation expect the widows and pensioners to do? First of all, they have an executive order by the President of the United States in 1946, over 70 years ago. On top of that, this pension plan was solvent and sound until 2008. It wasn't their fault the crash happened. The greed of Wall Street took down so many pension plans.

Most of these widows are making \$550 a month. That is their pension—\$550 a month. So we are not talking about large amounts of money, but if they lose that, it means the difference of whether they do certain things out of necessity. What do they give up? How do you explain to them that a 70-year-old commitment is now going to go unanswered? We didn't care. We didn't mean it.

It is our responsibility to keep the promise to our miners who answered the call whenever their country needed them. So I ask Senator ENZI and all my colleagues to work with me to keep our promise to these miners. Let us sit down and work together and make sure we all agree on the facts.

I have always said this, and it has been said to me many times, and we are all entitled to our opinions. We are just not entitled to our own facts. So the facts are very clear here. This is not only a promise, it is a commitment and

a responsibility we have to the United Mine Workers of America and all those people who gave us the greatest country on Earth, gave us the greatest amount of abundant energy—reliable, affordable, and dependable. There is a transition going on now, and we are working through this transition, but the bottom line is that to walk away from an obligation and a commitment we made 70 years ago, which helped us be the superpower of the world and the country we are today, would be a gross neglect of our responsibilities and an injustice to the United Mine Workers of America, the widows, and the families who still depend on this. We have a responsibility to oblige and make sure we take care of them.

With that, I hope the Chair will help me in moving forward on this. We hope to get a vote in September. We were promised a vote in the first part of September, when we come back, and that is one we are counting on to carry this forward. I am hoping we will have our colleagues supporting this.

With that, Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. AYOTTE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, I come to the floor today to speak on the issue of climate change. Before I do, I would like to read a quote.

What is a conservative after all but one who conserves, one who is committed to protecting and holding close the things by which we live . . . and we want to protect and conserve the land on which we live—our countryside, our rivers and mountains, our plains and meadows and forests. This is what we leave to our children. And our great moral responsibility is to leave it to them either as we found it or better than we found it.

These are the words of President Ronald Reagan, and I agree with those words. Climate change is one of the greatest threats to our planet Earth. When I look at my beautiful grandkids, I feel a moral responsibility to leave this world as well as I found it or even better.

We can't continue to ignore the problem of climate change. How will future generations judge us if we deny the reality of climate change and say that it is just too hard to do something that might leave them a safer, cleaner, better world? I don't think they will look on us kindly. Future generations actually count on us.

Climate change is no longer debatable. The facts are in. Climate change is real, and it is not some distant threat. From Hurricane Katrina to Superstorm Sandy, from severe flooding on the Mississippi River in 2011 in Illinois to the historic low water levels

just 1 year later and to the devastating drought and wildfires that are searing the West Coast, extreme weather is the new normal.

So why are there still so many in the Chamber who deny the threat of climate change, not to mention failing to do anything to solve the problem? I have said on the floor before, and I will say again, that there is only one major political party in the world today that denies climate change, only one—the Republican Party of the United States of America.

Well, part of the reason is because for decades the fossil fuel industry and those who cater to them have tried to blur this debate, to blur the science, to create divisions among us, instead of looking for what we have in common to try to solve this problem rationally and reasonably.

Make no mistake, there is a deliberate campaign, financed by the fossil fuel industry—a campaign that uses the pseudoscience of manufactured doubt. It is coordinated. I have seen the likes of it before.

In 2006, the major tobacco companies in the United States were found guilty of “a massive 50-year scheme to defraud the public.” Decades before, tobacco company research had already shown that tobacco was truly harmful and addictive. Instead of letting science and the moral imperative behind it promote public health, the companies launched an extensive campaign sowing seeds of doubt about the dangers of tobacco.

I know about this firsthand. I was a Member of the House of Representatives about 27 years ago. I introduced a bill to ban smoking on airplanes. It was opposed by the tobacco lobby, and the leadership in both political parties—Democratic and Republican elected leaders in the House of Representatives—opposed me. We called it for a vote, and to the amazement of everyone, it passed. It turns out Members of Congress are the largest frequent flyer club in the world, and they knew how outrageous it was to suggest there were smoking and nonsmoking sections on an airplane.

I led that initiative to ban smoking on airplanes, and I was joined by the late Senator Frank Lautenberg who took up the cause in the Senate, and 26 years ago we banned smoking. It made a difference. We had to fight the tobacco lobby all the way. They denied that nicotine was addictive. They denied there was a linkage between tobacco and cancer. They created a pseudoscience. They paid scientists to come up with theories that said tobacco really wasn't that dangerous.

Well, sadly, we are seeing that same thing today when it comes to climate change. Just as the tobacco industry created a campaign of manufactured doubt to protect their financial interests and profits, a web of fossil fuel industry groups, aided and abetted by one of the very groups that resisted anti-smoking laws, are behind this web of climate denial.

A 1998 American Petroleum Institute, or API, memo has become public. I just read it on my computer upstairs. At the time, the American Petroleum Institute consisted of a dozen lobbyists, think tank members, and public relations gurus. Science wasn't on their side in 1998, so the group decided that misleading the public about the reality of climate change—sowing seeds of doubt about whether there was really climate change underway—was the best way to go. The 1998 API memo claimed that “victory,” in their words, would be achieved when “uncertainties” about the science became part of the public's perception.

In the year 2000, influential Republican pollster Frank Luntz prepared a playbook for those who wanted to create doubt in the public's mind about climate change. Mr. Luntz wrote:

Should the public come to believe that the scientific issues are settled, their views about global warming will change accordingly. Therefore, you need to continue to make the lack of scientific certainty a primary issue in the debate.

So what is taking place right now with the effort of the fossil fuel industry is a deliberate campaign to mislead the American public.

Sadly, this web of denial that started in 1998 is alive and well today. Just last year, at an ExxonMobil-sponsored meeting of the notorious American Legislative Exchange Council, the president of the Heartland Institute stated:

There is no scientific consensus on the human role in climate change. There is no need to reduce carbon dioxide emissions and no point in attempting to do so.

This quote is in direct opposition to Earth scientists in one of the world's most highly respected Earth science organizations—the American Geophysical Union, or AGU.

This spring, a group of 254 Earth scientists cited these lies in a letter as one of the many reasons why the American Geophysical Union should decline to accept ExxonMobil's financial sponsorship of their group. The Earth scientists also made clear that ExxonMobil distributed scientifically false and misleading information, are members in or financially support other climate-denying organizations, and donated to climate-denying politicians and past misinformation campaigns.

ExxonMobil is not alone in spending money to influence elections and affect environmental policy. The oil and gas industry pours millions of dollars into election campaigns every year. In the 2012 election cycle, energy and natural resource corporations, their employees, and industry super PACs spent more than \$147 million to make sure the right people were elected in congressional seats, in Senate seats, and in the Presidential campaign. During the current election cycle, they have already spent more than \$101 million, and they will likely contribute millions more in the 4 months remaining. Experts esti-

mate that, in total, candidates, political parties, and interest groups, including those funded by companies such as ExxonMobil, may spend up to \$10 billion on Federal campaigns in 2016—\$10 billion.

A poll conducted by the New York Times last year found that 84 percent of Americans believe money has too much influence in American political campaigns. They are right. Our campaign finance system is a mess. America needs a system to elect its candidates that rewards those with good ideas and principles, not just the person who is the most talented in raising money.

I reintroduced a bill last year called the Fair Elections Now Act. This legislation would establish a voluntary, small-donor public financing system for Senate campaigns. We would finally break the back of Big Money's control over the American political system. The Fair Elections Now Act can't solve all the problems facing us, but the bill would allow us to fight back against deep-pocketed special interests by dramatically changing the way campaigns are funded, encouraging small donors and matches for those small donations.

As we grapple with important issues like climate change, we have to recognize the influence of money in our political system and why one major political party in the world today still denies climate change. Until we embrace campaign finance reform and ensure that politicians do not feel beholden to special interests like the oil and gas industry, climate-denying politicians will continue to prevent us from taking action.

It is unconscionable that some very powerful people put their profits ahead of the future of the planet we live on, but we know it is true. If we don't act on climate change, there is no backup plan.

Let me end on a hopeful note. When Pope Francis came to Washington, DC, last September, he called for action on addressing climate change and global warming. The Pope said:

All is not lost. Human beings, while capable of the worst, are also capable of rising above themselves, choosing again what is good, and making a new start.

Pope Francis is right. Let's not run away from our responsibility in the Senate or in life to our children and our grandchildren. Let's work toward solving the real challenges of climate change with both political parties. It is not too late to make a new start, to do the right thing, and to protect this planet that we call home.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, we all want safety, security, health and well-being for all of our fellow Americans. But it sometimes seems impossible for us to agree on how best to achieve them. So when Congress comes together to find solutions to an urgent crisis facing the country, we should

pause briefly, mark that achievement, and consider how we got there.

That is what I hope will happen this week when the Senate votes on the conference report for S. 524, the Comprehensive Addiction and Recovery Act, or CARA.

CARA addresses the opioid crisis in a comprehensive way, by authorizing almost \$900 million over 5 years for prevention, education, treatment, recovery, and law enforcement efforts. Last week, the House of Representatives passed the report by an astounding margin of 407 to 5.

We have all heard the statistics about the epidemic of addiction to heroin and prescription opioids that is gripping our country. I won't belabor them today. When 129 Americans a day die from drug overdoses, we don't need statistics on a page to tell us about this catastrophe. We only need to listen to our constituents. I hear from Iowans all the time about real-life examples of how this epidemic is hitting home.

A few years ago, I heard the story of Kim Brown, a nurse from Davenport. In 2011, she lost her son Andy Lamp to an accidental heroin overdose. He was only 33. She now speaks out around my State about the need for expanded treatment options for those with substance abuse disorders. She also advocates for increased access to naloxone, an anti-overdose drug that can save lives.

I heard Kim Brown's plea—and the conference report helps fill these and other critical gaps. I urge the entire Senate to demonstrate that it has heard her, and thousands like her, by passing the conference report, and sending it to the President for his signature before we return home.

The Senate's vote this week will be the culmination of a process marked by hard work, bipartisanship, and a commitment to addressing this crisis in an all-encompassing way.

I convened a hearing on attacking the opioid epidemic in the Senate Judiciary Committee in January. The Committee heard from Federal and State officials in the law enforcement and public health communities. We also heard from a courageous young woman who lost her daughter to a heroin overdose and subsequently started a support group to assist those in recovery.

The hearing continued for well over 3 three hours. Senators who aren't even members of the Committee stopped in to listen, and learn. By that time, a bipartisan group of four Senators had already introduced CARA. Soon after the hearing, I sat down with Senators WHITEHOUSE, PORTMAN, KLOBUCHAR, and AYOTTE—two Democrats and two Republicans—to build on their outstanding work. The leadership of those four Senators on this issue has been indispensable.

We agreed on some changes to CARA that facilitated its movement through the Judiciary Committee. In particular, I worked to include my ac-

countability provisions, which help prevent waste, fraud, and abuse of grant funds, and ensure that resources go to those who need them most.

I also helped make sure that a fixed portion of the funds for first responder access to naloxone is set aside for rural areas, like much of Iowa, where access to emergency healthcare can be limited.

And finally, because methamphetamine remains such a problem in Iowa, I made sure that the community-based coalition enhancement grants created by the bill would also be available for communities suffering from high rates of meth abuse, in addition to opioid abuse. In fact, these enhancement grants are intended to supplement grants made to community coalitions under the Drug Free Communities Act of 1997. I am proud to have been the lead sponsor of that legislation in the Senate.

The CARA Grassley substitute, with these changes, passed the Judiciary Committee unanimously by voice vote in February. I then managed the bill on the Senate floor, where it was approved 94 to-1 in March. Tackling important problems in a bipartisan way is important to me. That is why, as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, I have moved eight bills through the Committee, CARA among them, for which the lead sponsor was a member of the Democratic minority. By way of comparison, last Congress the Committee didn't report a single bill for which the lead sponsor was a Republican in the minority. And every one of the 27 bills I have moved through the Committee this Congress has had bipartisan support. That isn't just talking the talk on bipartisanship, it is walking the walk.

After the Senate acted on CARA, the House of Representatives passed its own package of bills by a vote of 400 to 5 in May. And so the task fell to a bicameral, bipartisan committee to develop a conference report that would blend the best of the two approaches together. I led the Senate delegation that negotiated the report, along with Senator ALEXANDER, Chairman of the Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions. We concluded weeks of hard work and negotiations with a conference committee meeting on July 6. I voted for a number of improvements to the report during the meeting, offered by both Republicans and Democrats.

In particular, I was proud to support Senator MURRAY's amendment that will create an Office of Patient Advocacy at the Department of Veterans Affairs to help ensure our veterans receive the care they deserve.

I am also pleased that the CARA conference report includes a bill that I introduced with Senator KLOBUCHAR, the Kingpin Designation Improvement Act. This bill strengthens the ability of the Federal Government to freeze the assets of foreign drug kingpins, who traffic opioids, methamphetamine and

other illegal narcotics into the United States.

There are other parts of CARA that I feel passionately about as well. Many people who abuse prescription drugs get them from friends or relatives. CARA authorizes an expansion of the Federal initiative that allows patients to safely dispose of old or unused medications, so that these drugs don't fall into the hands of young people, potentially leading to addiction. I am proud to have helped start these "take back" programs by working with Senators KLOBUCHAR and CORNYN in 2010 to pass the Secure and Responsible Drug Disposal Act. It has been a highly successful effort. Since 2010, over 2,700 tons of drugs have been collected from medicine cabinets and disposed of safely. Iowa also has a similar "take back" program that is expanding rapidly. Anything we can do to encourage these programs is worthwhile.

CARA also authorizes funds for other valuable programs: those that encourage the use of medication assisted treatment, provide community-based support for those in recovery, and address the unique needs of pregnant and post-partum women who are addicted to opioids.

It is no wonder that the CARA conference report has been met with such widespread praise and support. The Addiction Policy Forum called it a "monumental step forward." Almost 250 advocacy organizations have written to Congress in support of the report, concluding that "this bill is the critical response we need." These organizations include many influential national ones, such as the Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America, the National Criminal Justice Association, and the National District Attorneys Association.

Iowa community organizations are well-represented in that group as well, including the Partnership for a Drug Free Iowa, Kossuth Connections, Siouxland Cares, the Iowa Alliance for Drug Endangered Children, Community Resources United to Stop Heroin of Eastern Iowa—Dubuque Chapter, Quad Cities Harm Reduction, which Kim Brown leads, and many more.

The National Fraternal Order of Police wrote in support of the conference report as well. The FOP explained that:

Law enforcement officers are almost always the first on the scene—even before the paramedics arrive. In these life and death situations, our officers are not looking to make an arrest, but to save a life. Many States and jurisdictions have successfully equipped their officers with [naloxone], trained them to recognize the symptoms of an overdose, and administer it on the scene. We believe that the final conference report on S. 524 will help expand the use of naloxone and give us one more tool to reduce the deaths from this epidemic.

It isn't every day we can say that legislation we pass could help save lives. But this is one of those times. I want to thank the Republican leader for moving this legislation on the floor, and providing the Senate the opportunity to pass it this week.

Indeed, heroin deaths spiked dramatically from 2010 through 2014, more than tripling, from 3,036 to 10,574. But sadly, during this entire time, the Democratic leader didn't make it a priority to move comprehensive, bipartisan legislation on the floor to address this epidemic.

Now, some of my colleagues have expressed concern that the conference report, an authorization bill, doesn't also appropriate money for this epidemic as well. But thankfully, under Republican leadership, the appropriations committees have been doing just that. The current Senate appropriations bills increase funding for this epidemic by 57 percent over fiscal year 2016 enacted levels, and by 115 percent over fiscal year 2015 enacted levels. So funding for this crisis is poised to more than double since Republicans took control of the Senate. As this funding continues to increase, the CARA conference report will be the blueprint for where this money is most effectively spent.

This bill is just the latest example of the productive, bipartisan work we have been doing on the Judiciary Committee this Congress. I want to thank all of the Members for their hard work and for our achievements together.

So I urge my colleagues to vote to send CARA to the President this week. And when we come back in September, let's roll up our sleeves and continue to build on this bipartisan success.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

#### TRAGEDIES IN MICHIGAN AND ACROSS THE COUNTRY

Mr. PETERS. Madam President, I rise with a heavy heart to address devastating tragedies that have shaken communities in Michigan and across this country. Just yesterday, the community of St. Joseph, MI, suffered a tragic shooting that cost the lives of two dedicated public servants and injured several others.

I would like to extend my condolences to the families of bailiffs Joseph Zangaro and Ronald Kienzle, who were fatally shot yesterday in Berrien County, MI. Both Joseph and Ronald had distinguished careers as public safety officers prior to serving as bailiffs in the Berrien County Courthouse.

Joseph Zangaro retired from the Michigan State Police as post commander of the Bridgman Post and had worked for the Berrien County Trial Court for over 10 years.

Ronald Kienzle retired as a sergeant in road patrol with the Benton Charter Police Department in Benton Harbor, MI, and was a veteran of the U.S. Army.

I also want to wish Deputy James Atterbury and Kenya Ellis a speedy recovery for the wounds they received during this attack.

Yesterday's incident illustrates a very important fact. Whether as a member of a local police department, a rapid transit officer, or a court bailiff, public safety officers risk their lives

every day to keep our families and our communities safe. This is a fact we can never forget and a reality that confronts public safety officers and their families every day.

Across Michigan, our hearts have been shattered by senseless violence like this, and I know the grief of my fellow Michiganders because I feel this grief in my own heart as well. Unfortunately, this is not the first tragedy to strike West Michigan this year. We are still reeling from the mass shooting in Kalamazoo in February, where six people were killed and two were critically injured.

We are facing a very difficult time in our country's history. Last week's tragedies further demonstrate this point. Within just 48 hours, we saw two separate incidents where American citizens died at the hands of those who were sworn to protect them. Then, what started out as a peaceful protest in response to those deaths, suddenly morphed into an unrelated and horrific attack on law enforcement—an attack on officers who died to protect the rights of protesters to peacefully protest.

Let me be clear. Something is wrong when a hard-working and beloved cafeteria supervisor is killed during a routine traffic stop. Something is wrong when police officers, honorably serving and protecting their communities, are killed during a peaceful protest. Something is wrong when a salesman and a father of four dies while selling CDs. Something is wrong when a police officer is ambushed and shot while responding to a 911 call for help. Too many precious lives are being lost, not just in Michigan but in States all across our country.

I was heartbroken by the tragic shooting deaths of Philando Castile in Minnesota and Alton Sterling in Louisiana last week, only to wake up horrified on Friday morning to learn of five Dallas police officers, including Michigan native Michael Krol, who were struck down in the line of duty.

We have seen enough violence. Across our countries, our communities are outraged and heartbroken at the number of lives which have been lost. While the events of last week are almost too much to bear, the images from communities like Chicago, Staten Island, Ferguson, and Baltimore have gripped this Nation's attention as well.

We have seen tears of sadness, burning storefronts, and confrontations between police and young people, as well as peaceful protesters marching through the streets. It is clear there is a persistent and troubling problem in our country that is eroding away Americans' faith in our justice system. With each troubling incident, it becomes clear that justice in this country is sometimes neither fair nor equal, and we must act now to address this inequity.

This problem isn't isolated to our African-American communities or to our law enforcement communities. These

injustices undermine the very values our Nation was built upon. It is the responsibility of each and every one of us to acknowledge that too many Americans are needlessly dying, and we must come together to stop them.

More now than ever, it is time for us to unite as a country to encourage understanding and compassion for our fellow Americans. Now is the time for us to walk in another's shoes and acknowledge the experiences that have shaped their views. Now is the time for this body to come together to offer solutions. The American people need us.

It is crystal clear that the relationship between law enforcement and the communities they serve is strained, and an overhaul of our criminal justice system is long overdue. On top of these strained relations, we are continuing to see rising prison populations and unsustainable costs as public budgets remain tight.

We see too many at-risk youths being funneled out of our schools and into our prison systems, continuing a vicious cycle in many of our communities. We see too many people who have served their time only to find that once they get out of prison, they can't find a good job or a stable home.

We need a better understanding of the causes of these concerning trends, and we need to identify solutions that will help ensure we are administering justice in a fair and equitable way for every American—regardless of who they are, where they may live, or their income level. That is why I have introduced legislation with Republican Senators LINDSEY GRAHAM of South Carolina and JOHN CORNYN of Texas to create a National Criminal Justice Commission. The Commission will be made up of experts on law enforcement, victims' rights, civil liberties, and social services who will be charged with undertaking an 18-month review of our criminal justice system from the top to the bottom. It is something that has not been done since 1965—more than 50 years ago during another very difficult time in our Nation's history.

The goal of this Commission is to identify commonsense solutions to the serious issues facing our criminal justice system, promote fairness in our laws, build stronger relationships between law enforcement and our communities, and strengthen faith—basic faith—in our criminal justice system.

The Commission will focus on transparency, issuing recommendations to the President and Congress, and making reports on its findings available to the public and entities within the criminal justice system. It will take a comprehensive approach to reviewing the criminal justice system and will look at numerous issues in light of our current climate.

When President Lyndon Johnson's 1965 Commission last conducted a comprehensive review over 50 years ago, it was the first time police, prosecution, defense, the courts and corrections were all examined as a whole. That

Commission made more than 200 recommendations to improve the criminal justice system, including creating the 9-1-1 emergency system that is so ingrained in our society today.

Our country has changed significantly over the last 50 years, and another top-to-bottom review of our criminal justice system is long overdue. In fact, the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, which was created after the troubling situation in Ferguson, strongly recommended the creation of a national commission to evaluate the entire criminal justice system.

The National Criminal Justice Commission that my legislation creates will shine a light on the whole scope of our criminal justice system, including police and community relations, our grand jury system, the right to counsel in misdemeanor cases, the lack of speedy trials, and the struggles ex-offenders face in finding housing, employment, and support services after leaving prison.

This Commission is one critical piece of a larger puzzle. We must also take swift action on our justice system, such as sentencing reform. The Commission also has the support of a wide range of groups, including the Fraternal Order of Police, the NAACP, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Urban League, and many other law enforcement and civil rights groups.

The National Criminal Justice Commission is vital to understanding the reforms and best practices that we need to reduce crime, help law enforcement do their jobs safely and effectively, protect our communities, and build a justice system that works for every American. These problems are not easy, and there are no quick answers. It is going to require all of us working together to make these vital changes a reality, but together we can achieve the promise of this great country—justice for every American, no matter who you are, where you live, or how much money you may have in your pocket.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

#### CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr. SCHATZ. Madam President, I hate conspiracy theories. I believe most of the suspicious, confusing, frustrating, or unknowable things in the world are the way they are not because there are 12 people in a room wringing their hands trying to figure out how to trick all of us but because the world is complicated, often unfair, sometimes illogical, and we all operate with incomplete information. So even as a climate hawk, I came to the idea of an organized misinformation campaign with real hesitation. I didn't want to be that guy who believes there is an evil empire that lies for a living. But here is the thing: I have studied this, and I have learned that there really is an organized, well-financed disinformation

and misinformation campaign on the subject of climate change. It is straight out of a bad movie about politics, complete with PR guys, dark campaign money, fake scientists, politicians in the mix, and a weakened media. It is like Raymond Tusk actually exists.

I rise today to join my colleagues in combating a pervasive and highly damaging campaign of misinformation, disinformation, and outright lies. For decades, the same hired guns that tried to convince the American people that there was no link between smoking and lung cancer have been following the same playbook on manmade climate change. They want to sow doubt where no doubt exists. Just like the tobacco companies profited from denial, so too have the fossil fuel companies profited by propping up front groups and sham think tanks that try to convince us that the science on climate change isn't settled and that no consensus exists between mainstream scientists, but of course that is not true.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science said:

The science linking human activities to climate change is analogous to the science linking smoking to lung and cardiovascular diseases. Physicians, cardiovascular scientists, public health experts, and others all agree that smoking causes cancer, and this consensus among the health community has convinced most Americans that the health risks from smoking are real. A similar consensus now exists among climate scientists, a consensus that maintains climate change is happening and human activity is the cause.

It is worth pausing here to make two basic points. The first is one I mentioned earlier, and that is that the same techniques which were used to block science and prevent action on tobacco are now being deployed to prevent action on climate. That stands to reason. If you are looking for public relations techniques to essentially mislead the public so you can squeeze additional years and decades of profitability, then you would be wise to use the techniques, methods, and procedures that worked in the past, so that sort of stands to reason. It shocks the conscience, but it shouldn't shock us that this is happening. The really shocking part is this. Of course they would use the same techniques to mislead the public regardless of the issue, but the real shock is that it is literally the same people. It is not the same type of person or the same category of person, it is the same human beings and the same professionals. They are the same PR firms, and they have replicated the machinery of the Tobacco Institute, sharing processes, procedures, personnel, and funding sources. But just as we did against Big Tobacco, we are going to win the war of ideas against Big Oil and Big Coal.

The truth is on our side, but the truth is not guaranteed to come out. We actually have to expose their ecosystem of misinformation to make real progress on climate, and so for a moment I will talk a little bit about the

media, which has played an unfortunate role.

Generally speaking, people in the U.S. media like to get "both sides of the story" just to be fair, which under many circumstances works just fine. After all, the definition of a bad story in a lot of reporters' minds is to be one-sided. What happens when one side of the story is factual and the other side is a house of cards? Many in the media still report it as though, on the one hand, scientists say climate change is real, and on the other hand, some say it is not. To be fair, this has improved over the last year or so, but that was the foundational weakness of the American media—their credulity when reporting on deniers—that the climate denial apparatus took full advantage of.

There are not two sides to every issue. Sometimes there are just facts on one side and bull on the other. We don't argue about the existence of gravity or whether the Earth is round or, thankfully, whether smoking causes lung cancer. We have known since the 19th century that carbon dioxide traps heat much like a greenhouse. We know that burning fossil fuels releases stored carbon into the atmosphere. We have seen the evidence of increasing temperatures and rising sea levels for decades. The correlation between levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere and global temperatures is absolutely undeniable. To deny the reality of manmade climate change in this context requires willful ignorance.

How is this happening? Academics from Yale and Drexel Universities, among others, have researched and exposed the many sources of dark money that are fueling the climate denial machine. My colleagues are speaking today—and spoke yesterday as well—about some of the greatest offenders, and I will focus my remarks on just two. One is a small organization that most people haven't heard of, and another is an organization that I think a lot of people who work in politics have heard of. The first is the Center for Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change, and the other is the Heartland Institute.

The Center for Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change is a family project out of Tempe, AZ, that claims that global warming will be beneficial to humanity. The center does not disclose funding information because they believe doing so would bias the way people perceive their purpose and publications, and that may be the only thing they say that is true.

Transparency is crucial in the world of science because it allows the scientific community and the general public to determine whether there might be a conflict of interest. In this instance, there is a conflict of interest. We know that at the very least, ExxonMobil and Peabody coal have given significant sums of money to the center. When two companies with a



long history of climate denial are paying you to deny the scientific consensus on climate change, it is fair to point out that something smells a little fishy.

Better known than the Center for Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change is the Heartland Institute, which gained national attention after putting up a billboard comparing those who believed in manmade global warming to the Unabomber, Ted Kaczynski. This tasteless stunt rightfully cost Heartland \$825,000 in corporate donations, but Heartland still receives millions of dollars a year from fossil fuel companies and others with a vested interest in continuing the status quo. They still have an outside impact in the national conversation by insinuating that the science on climate change is not settled.

Not surprisingly, Heartland follows the tobacco playbook to a T. Their reliance on dark money means that Heartland's funding is notoriously difficult to track. According to the watchdog group Conservative Transparency, Heartland has received more than \$14 million from the Koch-initiated Donors Trust and Donors Capital groups, which shield donors' identities. We know that ExxonMobil has contributed at least \$675,000 since 1998, and the Union of Concerned Scientists found that 40 percent of those funds were specifically designated for climate change projects. The money from these organizations, among others, allowed Heartland to publish nearly 3,000 documents toward climate change skepticism between 1998 and 2013. Heartland also organizes gatherings of climate skeptics and defends fossil fuel funding experts who continue to deny the reality of the changing climate we are already seeing today. We have seen this movie before.

What is happening this week is historic. We are no longer going to allow these front groups to pose as on-the-level think tanks. We have a moral obligation to not only solve this problem but to also fix our politics. We should all be making decisions about how best to solve this problem.

Let's have this great debate. Let the two major political parties have an argument about the best way to tackle climate change because this isn't just a climate thing at this point, this is an integrity thing.

With that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

(The remarks of Mr. GARDNER pertaining to the submission of S. Res. 526 are printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GARDNER). The Senator from Minnesota.

#### CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr. FRANKEN. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues to expose those who continue to deny the science of climate change and try to deceive the American people. This is important because climate change is an existen-

tial threat to our planet and to future generations. By denying climate science and lobbying against efforts to address climate change, these deniers are subjecting the planet and everybody on it to great risk.

Climate change will have significant adverse impacts on all of our States, including my State of Minnesota. Just look at our agriculture sector, which is responsible for one out of every five jobs in Minnesota. Warmer temperatures and more intensive droughts are going to negatively impact this important rural economic engine. In fact, a recent study estimates that with no adaptation efforts against climate change, Midwest crop production could decrease by more than 60 percent by the end of the century.

Climate change will also impact our waters, and that is important to my State—the Land of 10,000 Lakes—which includes Lake Superior. Lake Superior alone contains about 10 percent of the world's fresh surface water, and it is warming by two degrees per decade. Because of this warming, we are seeing more evaporation and lower water levels in the lake. Plus, rising temperatures allow for more favorable conditions for invasive species and hazardous algal blooms. Warmer temperatures could also have severe consequences for fish like walleye pike and trout that are so important to Minnesota fisheries and ecosystems.

And let's not forget the threat of climate change to our forests. As in our lakes, warmer temperatures elevate the threat of invasive species such as the emerald ash borer and gypsy moth that are rapidly changing the composition of our forests—or the bark beetle in Colorado, the State the Presiding Officer represents. They destroy trees and cost economies and money and jobs.

So we can see that climate change poses a very serious threat to Minnesota and to our country. I believe it is the defining issue of our generation—an issue that demands immediate action. But, unfortunately, there are some groups that have been trying to prevent action. These groups have spent many millions of dollars muddying the water, distorting the science, deceiving the American people, and, ultimately, delaying the response that we desperately need.

Over the last two days, my colleagues have come to the floor to expose this web of denial—the extensive network of groups and individuals who are spreading lies about climate change—and I am here today to expose one of the worst actors of all: the Heritage Foundation.

The Heritage Foundation is a right-wing ideological organization known for advocating for discriminatory social and economic policy—things like attacking voting rights, privatizing Social Security, and favoring tax breaks for the rich to the detriment of the middle class. They are also a mouthpiece for climate denial.

If you go to the Heritage Foundation web site, you will find that it says that climate change is “used too often as a vehicle to advance special interests and politically driven agendas.” That is rich, coming from an ideological organization devoted to promoting a partisan agenda. No one can deny that.

The Heritage Foundation is notorious for trying to undermine the science on climate change. Their favorite claim is that “the only consensus over the threat of climate change that seems to exist these days is that there is no consensus.”

Even as recently as April, a report that the Heritage Foundation issued referred to climate scientists as “a field that is a mere few decades old” and that “no overwhelming consensus exists among climatologists.”

While these statements may grab headlines, they are utterly false.

Climate change science actually dates back to the 1800s—before Henry Ford sold his first car, before Thomas Edison invented the light bulb, and even before the first oil well was drilled in the United States. In 1824, French scientist Joseph Fourier proposed that the atmosphere keeps the Earth warm—what we know today as the greenhouse effect.

In 1859, an Irish scientist, John Tyndall, attributed this warming to several gases, including carbon dioxide. In 1896, a Swedish scientist, Svante Arrhenius published the first calculation of global warming from human emissions of carbon dioxide. In the more than 100 years since, scientists all around the world have studied, debated, and researched different aspects of the issue.

So when staff from the Heritage Foundation, none of whom actually have advanced scientific degrees, write a report that claims climate science is a new field that has little scientific consensus, they are ignoring the nearly 200 years of research—a scientific body of research that has led to 97 percent of climate scientists agreeing that humans are causing global warming.

But every now and then, even the Heritage Foundation admits that climate change is in fact real. But when they admit it, they pretend that climate change isn't a big deal and that it is not worth our time to combat it. In 2010, a senior policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation—with a degree in law, not climate science, mind you—declared that “none of the scary stuff about global warming is true, and what is true about global warming, what the science actually tells us about man's role in changing the climate, is far from terrifying.”

Now all of this science denial and false propaganda might not be such a big deal if climate change wasn't such a serious problem, but when you look at the scope of the problem you quickly realize how the Heritage Foundation is acting in an incredibly and deliberately irresponsible way.

Last year, I traveled to the climate change conference in Paris and met

with a delegation of leaders from Bangladesh, a country that has contributed little to industrial air pollution but is one of the most vulnerable to the negative impacts of climate change. It is estimated that unless we act, rising sea levels will inundate 17 percent of Bangladesh, displacing about 18 million people in this low-lying nation by the end of this century. Even now, rising sea levels are impacting Bangladesh through salt water intrusion, reducing agricultural yields and ruining drinking water supplies. It is already having a profound effect.

We are talking about a very poor country that doesn't have the resources to deal with climate change. Bangladeshis will be uprooted and turned into climate refugees without a home. I would bet these individuals would disagree with the Heritage Foundation that the impacts of climate change are "far from terrifying."

If you think the Syrian refugee crisis is difficult to deal with, just think of the magnitude of what we will see if we do not address climate change. For a lawyer at the Heritage Foundation to make this claim is not only irresponsible but, frankly, dangerous to the welfare of people around the world.

These are just a few examples of the falsehoods that the Heritage Foundation spreads about climate change. If I had the time, I could go on for hours—maybe, even, days—quoting more of those lies. In fact, from 1998 to 2013, the Heritage Foundation published more than 1,600 documents contributing to climate skepticism, and they have published many more since. So I think we can say the Heritage Foundation is deliberate and unwavering in its fraud and deceit.

One might ask: Why would the Heritage Foundation work to deceive the American people in such a way? What do they get out of it?

Well, I will tell you. It is because they are being paid to do so by self-interested fossil fuel companies like ExxonMobil and people with major investments in fossil fuel companies, like the Koch brothers. Perhaps you have heard of them. The Heritage Foundation's work to espouse lies and prevent action on climate change directly benefits the bottom line of the companies and brothers who are funding them. We know this because over the past two decades ExxonMobil donated nearly \$1 million to the Heritage Foundation; and the Koch brothers, the owners of the fossil fuel conglomerate Koch Industries, contributed nearly \$6 million. These companies and brothers are worried that if people knew what their products were doing to the planet, they would stop buying their products or transition to other renewable energy or public policy would drive the markets away from their products. So in order to protect their bottom line, they set out to misinform the public. That is what they do for a living, and Heritage and many other similar organizations, are helping them to spread their false-

hoods. That is what they do at the Heritage Foundation for a living.

The money paid to Heritage goes to supposed experts whose jobs are to release thousands of bogus reports about climate change. These experts are not climate scientists. They are lawyers and economists serving as puppets for the fossil fuel industry. These same so-called experts publish op-eds and do interviews in media outlets around the country—talk radio—helping to spread disinformation or misinformation or what we sometimes call lies. They also brief Congress and serve as trusted authorities for staff in many Republican offices. So it shouldn't surprise us that my Republican colleagues deny climate change when they rely on these experts.

Despite the best efforts of the Koch brothers, the Heritage Foundation, and other deniers, people around the country are not fooled. In Minnesota we are seeing changes to our crops, lakes, and forests. Instead of sticking their heads in the sand, Minnesotans are taking action.

In 2007, under a Republican Governor, my home State established a renewable energy standard to produce 25 percent of our power from renewable sources by 2025. That same year, Minnesota passed an energy efficiency standard to require utilities to become a little more efficient every year. To top things off, Minnesota established an aggressive goal to reduce greenhouse gases 80 percent by 2050. These are the kinds of policies that we need to combat climate change, and these are also the kinds of policies that the Heritage Foundation is fighting tooth and nail to prevent.

It is not just the Minnesota legislature that is taking action. Minnesota businesses also recognize the importance of fighting climate change. Last year I joined Dave MacLennan, the CEO of Cargill, in penning an op-ed in the Minneapolis StarTribune to highlight the threat of climate change to agriculture, especially considering that global population will reach 9 billion by midcentury. As the CEO of a food company focused on agriculture, Dave is concerned about what climate change is going to do to our food supply. He is not alone. We have businesses all over our State that are installing wind turbines and solar panels and manufacturing cutting-edge energy efficiency technologies.

Minnesotans aren't fooled by the Heritage Foundation. On the contrary, to them, climate change represents a Sputnik moment—an opportunity to rise to the challenge and defeat that threat. In response to Sputnik, we ended up not just winning the space race and sending a man to the moon, we did all sorts of good things for the American economy and society.

We did it before, and we can do it again. By rising to the challenge of climate change, we will not just clean our air, but also drive innovation and create jobs, and not only in the clean energy sector.

I have two grandchildren, and I am expecting my third later this year. God willing, they will live through this century and into the next, and in 50 years I don't want my grandson Joe to turn to me and say: Grandpa, you were in the Senate, and you knew about the severity of climate change. Why didn't you do anything to stop it? And also, why are you still alive? You are 115 years old.

I will say it was all investments we made in our age. I want my grandson to know that when we had the opportunity to put the planet on a safer path, we seized the moment.

So let's not allow the Heritage Foundation and all of these different members of this web to slow us down. Let's not let the selfish motivations of shadowy donors with ties to the fossil fuel industry prevent us from making the planet a safer and more habitable place for our children, our grandchildren, and future generations.

It really is time to stand up to ignorance and denial. It is time for all of us on both sides of the aisle to do what is right for future generations.

I thank the Chair, and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

#### ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding rule XXII, at 11 a.m., Wednesday, July 13, the Senate vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the conference report to accompany S. 524. I further ask that following the cloture vote, the Chair lay before the Senate the message to accompany H.R. 636, the FAA bill; that the majority leader or his designee be recognized to make a motion to concur in the House amendments to the Senate amendments; and that the time until 1:45 p.m. be equally divided between the leaders or their designees. I ask that following the use or yielding back of time, the Senate vote on the motion to concur in the House amendments to the Senate amendments with no intervening action or debate and that all time allocated for consideration of H.R. 636 count postcloture on S. 524, if cloture is invoked.

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

Mr. McCONNELL. For the information of all Senators, the cloture vote on the CARA conference report will occur at 11 a.m. tomorrow, with the vote on the FAA bill scheduled at 1:45 p.m. Senators should expect a vote on adoption of the CARA conference report during tomorrow's session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEE). The Senator from Louisiana.

#### ZIKA VIRUS FUNDING

Mr. CASSIDY. Mr. President, I come as a Senator, but actually I come wearing two different hats right now—two more hats aside from being a Senator. One of them is a teacher. I still teach at the LSU Medical School and have for the last 30 years, so I decided to do

a presentation on something wearing my next hat.

In my life as a physician, I have done much work in public health and have learned, by the way, that if you head off illness early, you save a lot of money. You save a lot of money after that. I call it the balloon theory. If you put a balloon up to helium and you squeeze the nozzle, it inflates quickly, but if you pull it off the nozzle, it remains deflated.

Right now, we have something at risk with Zika that will be like that helium balloon—inflating rapidly unless we do that initial thing that pulls the balloon off the helium so that it works.

I am a teacher, so I decided to do something different. If anybody in the audience so chooses, they can put their phone and their QR code reader up to the television or the computer monitor and they can scan this barcode, and they will see the slides we are about to go over. So if you are watching at home and you wish to follow, then you can download these slides, and if you think them important, you can forward these slides to another person. Again, that is my effort as a teacher to try to speak about the spread of Zika.

This is Jose Wesley, born to a Brazilian mother who contracted Zika probably in her first 3 months of pregnancy. When Zika went through the momma's blood when Jose was in her womb, into the amniotic fluid or through the placenta, it entered Jose's body and went to his brain. That virus stayed inside his brain and terribly affected his brain.

Jose was born with microcephaly. You cannot really see from this angle what microcephaly is, but what "microcephaly" means is "small brain." Here is a profile of a child with microcephaly. You can see that—unlike the big head babies normally have—this is a very small head. This is associated with severe neurologic deficits and early death. This is a tragedy and potentially a preventable tragedy.

Again, the teacher in me wants to talk a little bit about Zika. The spread of Zika historically gives us insight as to what we must fear now. Zika was first discovered back in 1951 in Africa, Uganda. Then, at some point in the three decades that followed, it spread quickly to Asia, and then from Asia to Yap Island in 2007, which is in the Pacific. In 2013 and 2014, it went to more Pacific islands. In 2015 and 2016, it entered the Americas. At some point, it began to spread rapidly. This is important because it is now in the Americas threatening Americans.

These are States which have cases of Zika. Here is the U.S. Virgin Islands. Here is Puerto Rico. They have the most, but almost every State is affected. Most folks have contracted it elsewhere and brought it back to their State, but there are some folks who received it sexually. So their partner contracted it, perhaps in Brazil, and came back to Texas or Florida or Lou-

isiana, where I am from, and they contracted it sexually.

Nonetheless, the virus is in the United States. It is particularly a problem in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands. These are American citizens. These Puerto Ricans, if they wish, can board a plane and travel anywhere they wish in the continental United States. That is their right as Americans. Similarly, these folks who are infected in these States can travel anywhere they wish.

Why is that important? Well, theoretically, it is important because these are the areas where the mosquitos that carry the Zika virus live in the United States. So theoretically, wherever these mosquitos are—and Hawaii should be on here someplace—the virus can enter and the virus can be transmitted by the mosquitos to many other Americans.

By the way, though, it is not just that you have to live where the mosquitos are. The first person to die from Zika in the continental United States just died in Utah. She contracted it elsewhere but then died in Utah. So the risk to our country is at least this. I will be perfectly honest. It is particularly a risk for those on the gulf coast because we have the sort of subtropical climate in which Zika flourishes. That is why I am particularly concerned.

But wearing my other hat as a public health doctor, I know we have this moment in time. Either we pull that balloon off so it does not inflate with Zika, damaging our country, creating more Joses here in the United States, or not.

Some of you may have seen the barcode that I held up initially. You may have downloaded that. We will hold up that barcode again if you wish to download these slides, but all of these are on the PowerPoint presentation that you may download should you wish.

Public health emergencies are inevitable. Let's talk about the response to this one. Mr. President, \$600 million that was left over from the Ebola fund has been released to CDC and other agencies to mount a response against Zika. Now, \$600 million was left over, and only one-fifth of it has been spent. So there are still substantial dollars available, but the CDC and other Federal agencies say they need more.

Republicans have supported \$1.2 billion in additional funding to fight Zika. My colleagues on the Democratic side—we have a difference over this. They are opposing this \$1.2 billion to fight Zika because they say the Republican bill discriminates against Planned Parenthood.

Planned Parenthood is not mentioned in the bill, and the way it discriminates—I have been in Washington—in the Senate, at least—for 2 years, and sometimes you have to kind of figure out why people are taking offense at something. Even though Planned Parenthood is not mentioned, the reason they object is because we

specify that the money needs to go to a public agency, one that sees Medicaid patients, the State or territory Federal program that takes care of the uninsured. Planned Parenthood is not a Medicaid provider.

So it is not that they are not mentioned; it is that they are a private entity that, in Puerto Rico, does not accept Medicaid. So we could carve in and say: If you are a private entity, you can also receive these Federal dollars to provide family planning. It just so happens that in Puerto Rico, Planned Parenthood does not.

So Republicans are trying to release \$1.2 billion to pull the balloon off the helium so it does not inflate with all kinds of cases, and one more case of a Jose would be one case too many. But we are caught up in this snafu about Planned Parenthood. It is the craziest thing in the world, but unfortunately it is how Washington, DC, sometimes works.

As a public health physician, I find that incredibly offensive. As a doctor who understands the critical nature of this, I am asking folks on the other side of the aisle to accept that this bill may not be exactly what they want—it is not exactly what I want—but it is something that would give additional resources to the Centers for Disease Control and others to begin to fight the Zika virus before it comes more extensively to our Nation's shores.

We can anticipate that public health emergencies in the future are inevitable. For example, we recently had Ebola. We had the West Nile virus. We have already spoken about Zika. So aside from hoping that my Democratic colleagues will agree to release the \$1.2 billion to fight Zika now, there is also something else I am proposing, but I don't want to sound overly partisan because I am doing this particular bill with my Democrats—with Senator BRIAN SCHATZ from Hawaii. We are putting forward the Public Health Emergency Response and Accountability Act.

I am from Louisiana. We have had hurricanes. Hurricane Katrina is the one that is the most famous. If there is a hurricane or another natural disaster that hits an American State, then FEMA has a budget that is automatically triggered. It does not have to go through this appropriations process. We don't tie it down in discussions of extraneous matters. It is something that immediately comes to bear to bring relief to those affected by natural disasters.

The other thing that is done is that normal Federal contracting processes are waived. So instead of having to get 10 different signatures—which literally might be the case—for someone to travel from Washington, DC, to Louisiana or Kansas or Florida, it is waived and that emergency response coordinator may immediately go. There is oversight, so this is not *carte blanche*, but it is a more effective way

to bring Federal resources, in partnership with local resources, to bring relief to those affected. We bring that flexibility in the use of funds while retaining accountability.

We call this the Public Health Emergency Response and Accountability Act, and we anticipate entering this in very soon. Senator SCHATZ has been wonderful to work with in terms of this aspect of what we are doing.

So there are two issues. The \$1.2 billion that we should release now, that would immediately go—it is not a perfect bill, but we have to prevent more cases of these children who are tragically born with microcephaly, as well as more deaths, like the woman who recently died in Utah. Then, No. 2, we need to have the response and accountability act, which gets rid of this process we struggle through in order to release those funds to bring the relief we need.

Let me summarize by saying this: This is a baby with microcephaly. I think there have been three children born in the United States already—not conceived here but born here—who have microcephaly. This child's life is limited. She will most likely die at an early age, with severe neurological deficits. If you just want to look at it in a dollars-and-cents approach, this child will be a ward of the State for the entirety of her life and will cost the Federal taxpayer millions of dollars.

We have already had these babies born in Puerto Rico, New Jersey, and Hawaii. There are two pregnant women in Illinois who tested positive for Zika, and we had a death in Utah and Puerto Rico—not children but adults. The question is, Will the Senate work to stop this? And again, if you are watching and you wish, you can scan this barcode, you can download this presentation.

Let me finish by saying this. I just said the Senate should work to stop the spread of Zika. You can do something. We are a representative democracy and we respond to you, the people, and if we don't, by golly, you should vote us out. So I am asking you, if you are watching at home and you think there needs to be a response quickly and efficiently and effectively to combat the spread of Zika, you can either barcode this or not, but whatever you do, call your Senator. Ask your Senator—ask her or him—to support efforts to stop the spread of Zika, to release the \$1.2 billion, and to also support the bill Senator SCHATZ and I are putting forward, the Public Health Emergency Response and Accountability Fund.

Ultimately, we answer to you, the people. That is a good thing. I ask you to perhaps use this tool to help us, to encourage us to answer to you, as we should.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr. HEINRICH. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleagues from the Senate

Climate Action Task Force on the floor to bring attention to the well-funded network of organizations that are deliberately misleading the public on climate change. My colleagues have called them the web of denial. We all gathered on the floor yesterday and today to bring attention to these political front groups that are acting as major roadblocks to the actions we must take as a nation and as a global community to address the difficult and disruptive but absolute and unequivocal scientific reality of climate change.

This web of denial is made up of dozens of organizations propped up by dark money. These political front groups for wealthy and self-interested donors like the Koch brothers—you may have heard of them—peddle bogus theories that climate change isn't real or, at the very least, the American public should doubt the overwhelming scientific evidence and fear what might happen if we enact policies that move us toward cleaner energy solutions. These organizations are promoting policies that are completely counterproductive at a time when we urgently need to take decisive action to combat climate change and to protect the health of our children and future generations.

As many of my constituents know well, climate change has already had a very real and costly impact in my home State of New Mexico, as it has across our Nation and around the world. In New Mexico, we are already seeing more extreme and prolonged drought conditions, larger wildfires, shrinking forests, and increased flooding. This is the reality now, not some far-off date in the future, and the longer we wait to act, the more difficult and the more expensive the solutions will be.

That is why the fictitious narratives spun by this web of denial and their organizations are so dangerous and why we, as policymakers, need to stand and refute their lies. We need to disclose who they really are and discredit their campaigns.

I am focusing this evening on the American Legislative Exchange Council, or ALEC. ALEC is an organization made up of State legislators across the Nation, and ALEC claims that nearly one-quarter of our country's State legislators are affiliated with the organization. ALEC calls itself a nonpartisan organization that promotes an exchange of ideas to help create State-based policies that promote economic growth.

Sounds like motherhood and apple pie, doesn't it? But when you take a look at who is behind ALEC's operations and you take a look at the types of policy they are pushing in State capitols across this Nation, you get a sense for their real agenda, and you can tell they are part of the coordinated and well-funded campaign to peddle doubt and skepticism about the settled science of climate change.

ALEC has been described as "a dating service between politicians at the

State level, local elected politicians, and many of America's biggest companies." ALEC writes "model policy"—thousands of cookie cutter, anti-conservation bills that legislators can introduce under their own name, in their own States, in hopes of turning them into law.

Specifically, in the area of energy policy, ALEC pushes a concerted legislative agenda that is in line with the rest of the Koch network to promote climate skepticism and roll back laws that protect clean air and water. ALEC's "model bills" read like they were written by the biggest polluters in our country because they probably were.

There are resolutions condemning the Clean Power Plan, calling for States to withdraw from regional climate initiatives and to reconsider national environmental standards such as rules that reduce ozone pollution—and, I might add, save lives. ALEC also pushes bills that call for repealing renewable fuel standards that are moving our electric grid toward cleaner energy sources.

ALEC has also written model resolutions that call for selling off or turning over public lands, such as our national forests in Western States like New Mexico and across our country. The current ALEC State chair in my home State of New Mexico introduced legislation at the Roundhouse in recent years called the Transfer of Public Land Act, which would call on the Federal Government to turn our public lands over to State management.

The only way Western States like mine could foot the bill for administering America's public lands would be to raise taxes dramatically or—and this is much more likely—sell off large expanses to developers and other private interests. Over time, it would mean public lands that New Mexicans go to every summer to hike and camp and barbecue with their families, the national forests where they go to chase elk and mule deer during hunting season would be closed off behind no trespassing signs.

I have long believed public lands are an equalizer in America, where access to public lands ensure you don't need to be a millionaire to enjoy the great outdoors or to introduce your family, your children to hunting and fishing and hiking. This land-grab idea is just as ludicrous as denying climate change, just as detached from reality, and similarly comes at the expense of our public health and protection of our public lands and resources.

Frankly, you don't have to do a deep-dive investigation to figure out what is going on. The so-called policy experts and leaders that make up ALEC's board of directors are on the record as climate skeptics. ALEC's CEO, Lisa Nelson, said: "I don't know the science on that," when she was asked if CO<sub>2</sub> emissions are the primary driver of climate change. Texas State representative Phil King, the national board

chair for ALEC in 2015, said: “I think the global warming theory is bad science.” And Connecticut State representative John Piscopo, ALEC’s national board chairman in 2013, said: “The public has been hoodwinked. . . . I have serious doubts about whether [climate change] is manmade.”

We all know the reason ALEC’s members and leaders say things like this and promote these kinds of bills. It is because so much of the funding for ALEC’s operations comes from sources other than membership dues. Over 98 percent of ALEC’s revenues comes from corporations and trade groups and corporate foundations. That is how ALEC works, by sewing uninformed seeds of doubt to move the needle at the State and local level toward anti-science, anti-climate action policies that benefit their funders’ bottom line.

ALEC is just one piece of a large web of similar dark money organizations that promote climate skepticism and are dangerous fronts for corporate interests to deliberately mislead the public and influence lawmakers. To see just one other recent example of this in my home State of New Mexico, I would like to take a moment to look at a letter to the editor published last week in the Las Cruces Sun-News by the Environmental Policy Alliance.

This is another one of those web-of-denial political front groups. In the letter to the editor, they claim that conservation and monument designations are really “federal land grabs” and the work of “radical environmental groups” trying to stop economic development. These “radical groups” and “green decoys” are, according to the letter, such dangerous groups as Trout Unlimited, the Theodore Roosevelt Conservation Partnership, the Izaak Walton League, and Backcountry Hunters & Anglers, groups that all stand up for the interests of sportsmen and hunters and anglers—certainly not what most of my constituents would consider radical.

A close look shows who the real decoy is. The Environmental Policy Alliance is funded by the Western Fuels Association, another organization in the web of denial, and it is a pet project of lobbyist Rick Berman, who has also led deceptive public campaigns on behalf of cigarette and alcohol companies and now dirty energy. This organization doesn’t care about the best way to manage our publicly owned lands or preserving the ability of Americans—no matter what their stake in life is, how much money they make—to experience our country’s rich outdoor heritage. Instead, the Environmental Policy Alliance wants to put our public lands up for sale so the corporate elite can develop them for their own use and their own profit.

The Environmental Policy Alliance has published similar letters in dozens of small to mid-sized city newspapers all across our country in recent years—canned letters with no connection to local sentiment.

The reality is, the Organ Mountains-Desert Peaks National Monument in Southern New Mexico, which this group has slandered, serves as a national example of community-driven, landscape-scale conservation. In fact, independent polling shows overwhelming local support for this monument, and I am proud of my close work with the region’s diverse coalition and stakeholders that worked so hard for so many years to make that monument a reality.

Two years into the Organ Mountains-Desert Peaks designation, local businesses in the Las Cruces area are attracting major tourism dollars and economic benefits. The Lonely Planet guidebook has named Southern New Mexico as a top 10 “Best in the U.S.” for 2016 destination, and highlights the national monument as a reason to visit.

The tax revenues of the town of Mesilla have jumped over 20 percent since the monument’s creation, and Las Cruces’ lodgers tax revenues are up since 2015, in part because of new conferences and meetings attracted to the area by the monument.

You can see how out of touch these groups are that want to instead sell off this public land. The organizations that make up this web of denial are promoting dishonest and deceptive campaigns that frankly run directly counter to the public interest.

At a time when we desperately need to move our State and national energy and conservation policies forward, we should be taking the overwhelming and indisputable scientific fact of climate change seriously, and we should make smart and forward-looking investments in the sustainable, low-carbon fuels of the future.

I am convinced advances in energy efficiency and generation and transmission of clean power offer us a roadmap that not only allows us to combat climate change but to do it in a way that will create thousands of new jobs and much needed economic activity in New Mexico and all across our country.

That is the reality, just like climate change. Climate change is not theoretical. It is one of those stubborn facts that doesn’t go away just because we choose to ignore it or if we listen to the company line from self-interested Koch donor networks and organizations like ALEC.

I think it is time to call these “Astroturf” groups out for who they really are and, frankly, who they really answer to. More importantly, it is time to take action on the moral challenge of our time—addressing climate change—so that our children can inherit the future they truly deserve.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PERDUE). The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in speaking out against what I believe is the misleading and dangerous campaign of some in the fossil fuel industry to un-

dermine this Nation’s efforts to combat global climate change.

The science on climate change is beyond rational dispute. Climate change is real. It is a clear and present threat to our planet, and it must be addressed robustly and urgently.

Scientists have proven unequivocally that CO<sub>2</sub> and other greenhouse gases we release into the atmosphere when we burn fossil fuels act to trap heat and form an invisible blanket to warm the planet. Over the last century, the Earth’s average temperature has continued to rise, with 9 of the 10 warmest years on record occurring since the year 2000.

True to form, 2015 was the Earth’s warmest year on record. Rising global temperatures have led to extreme changes in weather events and in our environment. No country is insulated and no State is insulated from the escalating effects of climate change.

In the United States, we are seeing it in this every region of the country, and we are witnessing its effects very dramatically in my State of New Hampshire. Rising temperatures are affecting our tourism, our outdoor recreation, and our agriculture industries. We are experiencing an onset of negative health impacts and increases of insect-borne diseases—Lyme disease is one—all of which can be tied to the effects of climate change.

In the United States and throughout the world, people acknowledge that global warming is an existential threat that requires immediate action to slow its pace and mitigate its effects, even while those climate deniers are still out there, making noise.

According to the Pew Research Center, two-thirds of all Americans acknowledge that climate change is real and that action must be taken to address it. But there are some, an extreme but influential minority, who argue that climate change is a hoax; that it lacks scientific consensus; that the changes we observe are not due to CO<sub>2</sub> and other greenhouse gas emissions, but they are due instead to variations in the sun or cosmic rays; and that policies to limit greenhouse gas emissions will ruin our economy.

Not surprisingly, these climate deniers are not scientists, though they may pretend to be. They are front groups funded by the fossil fuel industry, generally, and the Koch brothers, in particular. These front groups are paid to spin a web of denial wrapped in ideology with the aim of purposely deceiving the public about the dangers of climate change. This is deceitful and it is wrong, and we are here on the floor this afternoon to call out these groups by name so that the public knows what to watch for and there is some transparency about what is being said.

One of those groups is the Competitive Enterprise Institute, or CEI, based in Washington, DC. This group describes itself as “a public policy organization committed to advancing the principles of free enterprise and limited government.” But if we look more

closely, we find that CEI is not an independent organization. It is funded by powerful corporations designed to spread untruths and disinformation on behalf of its corporate sponsors.

In recent years, CEI has taken up the issue of climate change. It has been outspoken in disputing scientific evidence that human-produced greenhouse gas emissions are driving global warming.

Some may recognize CEI not for its work on climate denial but for its prominent role in misleading the public about the scientific evidence linking smoking to lung cancer and heart disease. Legal documents from major tobacco companies exposed the fact that CEI received more than \$800,000 from Philip Morris to launch coordinated media campaigns to attack the Food and Drug Administration's efforts to regulate tobacco.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a series of these documents be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### WRO EFFORTS

Beginning last fall, the assistance of the Washington Legal Foundation, Citizens for a Sound Economy and the Competitiveness Enterprise Institute was sought to define the FDA as an agency out of control and one failing to live up to its Congressional mandate regarding regulation of drugs and medical devices.

Beginning in December, those groups conducted an aggressive media campaign toward those goals, incorporating the issuance of policy papers, conducting symposia, filing petitions with FDA and taking other steps to keep the public and media focus on the agency.

On the legislative front, a group of southern Democrats began negotiating with the White House early this year on behalf of the industry seeking to eliminate any role for the FDA in the regulation of tobacco.

The quid pro quo in these negotiations would be voluntary concessions on the part of the industry on the issue of youth access to cigarettes. Leading the negotiations were Sen. Wendell Ford and Rep. L.F. Payne. After nearly eight months of discussion, the WH rejected the compromise.

Beginning in January, members of Congress—at the urging of several outside groups including Citizens for a Sound Economy—began taking a much closer look at the FDA appropriations request. That scrutiny led to the successful effort to eliminate \$300 million sought by FDA to consolidate its offices in a new federal campus, by any measure a major setback for Kessler.

Meanwhile, Congress also was scrutinizing the regular appropriations and voted to freeze the agency's budget, effectively decreasing the level of funding for next year when adjusted for inflation.

Language was inserted in that legislation to restrict Kessler's authority to assign employees to various projects and a list of questions was submitted to Kessler regarding his investigation into tobacco, including what resources and personnel were being devoted to the effort.

Congress has not been satisfied with his responses to date, raising the issue of whether Kessler has been evasive or even engaged in obstruction of Congress in this area.

Congress also initiated a series of oversight hearings regarding the agency, con-

ducted in the House by Rep. Thomas Bliley and in the Senate by Sen. Nancy Kassebaum. Those hearings focused on whether the FDA was fulfilling its mission and included several demands by Congress for documents and deposition.

At the Senate oversight hearing, former FDA Commissioner Charlie Edwards testified, raising further questions of whether the FDA was acting legally and responsibly in pursuing a course that would lead to tobacco regulation.

As a result of the growing focus on FDA from inside and outside Congress and the groundwork laid through the oversight and investigations committee work, legislation to reform the FDA was proposed earlier this year and is expected to be formally introduced in September. A key provision in the reform legislation will be to restrict FDA's regulatory authority.

The House Agriculture Committee also requested that Kessler supply all documents he was using in consideration of his tobacco regulations. Kessler has resisted, and that effort continues.

In recognition that Kessler ultimately would play some regulatory role regarding tobacco, an aggressive campaign was conducted over the past six months to educate members of Congress and their staffs regarding the issue of regulation.

One result of that campaign was a July 15 press bipartisan press conference led by Reps. L.F. Payne and Richard Burr as a result of media reports that Kessler had sent his regulatory proposal to the White House. Participants circulated Dear Colleague letters throughout Congress and submitted Op-Ed pieces to their hometown newspapers challenging the need for FDA regulation.

Also, as a result of those education efforts, delegations of elected officials met with White House officials in an effort to derail federal intervention in tobacco regulation.

The groundwork that has been laid legislatively has been designed to create a receptive atmosphere in Congress for legislation that will be introduced to eliminate FDA's role in tobacco regulation. The timing and specifics of such legislation are under consideration.

Efforts in Congress also were made to identify unlikely allies—those who generally are more concerned with the politics of regulation rather than the substance—and resulted in meetings with the WH with Sen. Chris Dodd and Rep. Dick Gephardt. Labor also presented opposition to Kessler's role in regulation.

Recognizing that legislators weren't the only point of White House access, a conference of tobacco growers held this summer focused on the ramifications of FDA regulation. Both Sen. Ford and Rep. Payne spoke to growers, and efforts continue to mobilize the agricultural community in opposition to the proposed regulation.

The support of Administration political advisors was enlisted to discuss the ramifications of FDA regulation, and those efforts also continue.

#### STATE ACTIVITIES

Efforts focused primarily on defining the issue of youth smoking as one that properly should be addressed at the state and local level, rather than having FDA intervene with any regulatory scheme.

In all 50 states, the stated goal was to endorse or pass reasonable marketing laws which stop minors from purchasing cigarettes, with a minimum of government interference in the marketing of the cigarettes to adult smokers.

State elected officials also were contacted to intervene with the White House to stress the point that there was no need for FDA

regulation. In addition to the states' rights issues, economic and political arguments were incorporated in the discussions with Administration officials.

Support of the American Legislative Exchange Council—a public/private consortium of conservative state legislators—took a stand against FDA regulation, as did the Southern Legislative Congerence, a group affiliated with the Council of State Governments.

Meetings were held with the Southland Corp., one of the nation's largest cigarette retailers, and with the Food Marketing Institute and National Association of Convenience Stores to brief those groups on potential adverse impacts of FDA regulation and to enlist their opposition.

A working group was formed by the Tobacco Institute to bring together industry representatives and the retail and wholesale trade communities to join together and work toward the common goal of compliance with laws prohibiting sales of tobacco products to minors. Much of the focus centered on employee education regarding underage sales. Covington and Burling also was given the assignment of drafting appropriate state legislation that could be used as a model in state legislatures.

A blueprint was established to enable the company to contact and mobilize legislative and retail association allies to participate in the 90-day comment period once the Kessler regulations were released and to support appropriate Congressional action on the issue.

Third-party spokespeople were identified in each state to address the issues of FDA regulation with local media, and a state elected official in each state has been identified to enlist his or her colleagues in upcoming legislative sessions on youth access issues.

#### INTERNAL ACTIVITIES/MEDIA RELATIONS

Work began last year to formulate a PM program that would address the issue of youth access, with a decision made in December to hold those proposals in abeyance.

Company employees and outside consultants involved in the issue were formally assigned roles as the FDA response team, and efforts began in January to incorporate the various elements into a comprehensive program addressing all conceivable actions that could be taken by the Clinton Administration or the FDA regarding tobacco regulation.

These efforts encompassed both public affairs campaigns and potential legal filings. Press releases, statements, fact sheets, video news releases, background video and other materials necessary to convey the company's position were drafted and taped for each of the options considered.

PM representatives with scientific credentials were assigned the task of meeting with various "think tanks" to discuss the issue of FDA regulation and generate guest editorials and comments to the media.

Those team members who were identified as taking a public role in PM's response were given media/communications training, focusing on the effective delivery of company messages.

In late spring, the proposed youth access program was resurrected and the company subsequently announced Action Against Access, incorporating voluntary and proposed legislative steps to address the issue of youth smoking.

The announcement of AAA was made at a New York press conference and was accompanied by an aggressive media outreach campaign, including the use of VNRs, background video feeds, letters to elected officials and coordination with third-party allies.

In early July, those involved in the FDA working group participated in a simulation geared to measure company response to an announcement by the FDA of full or partial regulation of tobacco.

That exercise envisioned several different actions Kessler could take on tobacco regulation, and measured the company's response to an FDA announcement. Based on the results of that exercise, the action plan was fine-tuned to deal with various options Kessler was believed to have available.

By the time of Kessler's announcement of regulatory intent, the company mobilized to battle the Administration proposal on both the legal and public affairs fronts.

A lawsuit was filed as soon as the FDA notice of intent to regulate was published in the Federal Register, and two hours before President Clinton's afternoon press conference announcing the action, PM held a press conference to announce the lawsuit and register its objections to the FDA action.

By the time Clinton made his announcement, a video news release and background video was fed by way of satellite to television news departments throughout the country, and satellite time was booked to provide those stations an opportunity to interview PM spokespersons for local broadcasts.

With assistance from Burson-Marsteller, PM press kits were sent to all major Washington-area media in anticipation of stories generated by those reporters.

While World Regulatory Affairs was dealing with the public affairs aspects of the FDA announcement, the Washington Relations Office mobilized its plans to reach legislative supporters in Washington and in key southern states to mount criticism of the President's decision.

All materials disseminated to the press also were circulated on Capitol Hill to provide legislators with the PM's position and rationale for filing suit. With information in hand, several southern legislators were able to react and respond quickly to media inquiries.

The PM briefings on Kessler's actions extended to conservative columnists and think tanks, enabling them to provide third-party views of the Administration's action.

Mrs. SHAHEEN. CEI lobbied politicians, conducted symposia, and published policy papers and op-eds with titles such as "Safety Is a Relative Thing for Cars: Why Not for Cigarettes?" CEI's then-policy analyst, Alexander Volokh, even went so far as to describe the act of smoking as a civic duty.

As the documents that we have just submitted for the record detail, CEI's mission was to portray the FDA as "an agency out of control and one failing to live up to its congressional mandate." For a time, CEI was successful. Congress took a closer look at FDA's appropriations requests, and lawmakers slashed agency funding and passed language to restrict FDA's authority to regulate tobacco. In fact, at one oversight hearing, Members of Congress even questioned whether the FDA was acting legally and responsibly in pursuing a course that would lead to tobacco regulation.

If this sounds like *deja vu*, that is because it is. CEI and other front groups are using the same playbook, the same tactics to deny climate change that they used to deny a link between tobacco use and fatal disease. CEI is now

on a new mission to confuse and mislead the public on climate change. It is financing and directing ad hoc groups like the so-called Cooler Heads Coalition, which claims that global warming is a myth and that many scientists are skeptical of climate change. CEI has also produced two television ads that allege that the polar ice caps are thickening, not shrinking, and that CO<sub>2</sub> emissions are good for the environment.

CEI's ads sound more like something that Saturday Night Live might come up with. For instance, this is their tagline about CO<sub>2</sub>:

They call it pollution. We call it life.

Of course, we all know that CO<sub>2</sub> is necessary for plant growth. But what that ad fails to mention is that too much CO<sub>2</sub> in the atmosphere can cause global temperatures to rise, and that there is more of it in the atmosphere today than at any time during the last 420,000 years. So there is more carbon, more CO<sub>2</sub> in the atmosphere than at any time during the last 420,000 years.

Just as in the case of Big Tobacco, one need only to look at who funds CEI to see how they determine their messaging. We have a chart here to show where their funding comes from. I would just point out that this is data all compiled from publicly available records. We see ExxonMobil Foundation. Then we see the Koch family and their foundation. Then we see Philip Morris. So there is significant funding from people who have an agenda about climate change.

My staff has determined that between 1985 and 2015, CEI has received almost \$15 million from rightwing organizations like the Donors Trust and the Dunn's Foundation for the Advancement of Right Thinking. CEI has also received more than \$2 million, as we see here, from ExxonMobil, and more than \$1 million from the Koch foundations and the Koch brothers personally. The strong ties between CEI's message denying climate change and the interests of coal, oil, and gas companies are clear and obvious. So it seems that while CEI has changed its client, it is still in the exact same business of selling lies and selling out the health and the future of ordinary Americans.

Another industry front group I wanted to talk about this afternoon has been exceptionally loud in denying climate change. It is the so-called Energy & Environment Legal Institute, or E&E Legal. E&E Legal has several different aliases—the American Tradition Institute, George Mason Environmental Law Clinic, and Free Market Environmental Law Clinic—but its MO is one and the same. Like CEI, E&E Legal has a core mission of discrediting climate science and dismantling regulations that protect the environment. However, instead of rolling out ad campaigns, E&E Legal has a different approach. Its specialty is harassing individual climate scientists and researchers with the aim of per-

suading the public that human-caused global warming is a scientific fraud. Of course, the group's lawsuits are frivolous and baseless. But this doesn't matter because the entire point of the lawsuits is to disrupt important academic research that may help us anticipate, avoid, or mitigate the impacts of global warming.

Once again, if we look at the funding behind E&E Legal, we understand exactly why this group is attacking climate scientists and their work. E&E Legal does not publicly disclose its donors. We have seen that before. However, bankruptcy proceedings have identified that the group is funded by Arch Coal and Peabody Energy, and that E&E's senior lawyer has received funds directly from Alpha Natural Resources. These are some of the largest coal producers in the United States. It is shameful and dishonorable that these coal companies are funding the harassment and intimidation of scientists. They are putting profits ahead of people, and their disinformation threatens the scientific inquiry and transparency we need in order to make smart climate policy decisions to protect our Earth.

In conclusion, big corporations are using organizations that claim to be independent to spread misleading messages to the American people, knowing that people would be quick to discount these messages if they actually knew they were coming directly from coal companies and from Koch Industries. This campaign of disinformation and propaganda endangers the health, environment, and economic well-being of people in the United States and across the world. That is why Senators who acknowledge the science of climate change, Senators who understand the urgency of action to combat climate change are speaking up this afternoon and for many days to come.

By coming to the floor, we want to expose groups like CEI and E&E Legal for what they are—front groups whose role is to spin a web of denial. By championing clean energy policies, we want to ensure that the United States reduces its dependence on fossil fuels while creating millions of jobs to support our economy in alternative energy and green energy sources.

By supporting our country's leadership in negotiating the international climate agreement concluded last year in Paris, we are doing our part to slow global warming and help poorer nations most affected by it. This is just the beginning. We will continue to come to the floor to advocate for policies to reduce carbon emissions, to strengthen our economy, and to protect our environment.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, today I join many of my colleagues here in encouraging the Senate to continue working on solutions to protect our planet from the growing threats of climate change.

First, I would like to thank Senator SHELDON WHITEHOUSE for his leadership and tireless work on these issues. We both represent the great State of Rhode Island, the Ocean State, and I am lucky to have such a strong partner to work with to improve the health of our oceans and fight sea level rise, beach erosion, and ocean warming and acidification. I am proud to work alongside him as we respond to the serious challenges of climate change. Indeed, he is the leader in this effort in the Senate, throughout my State, and throughout the country. I applaud his commitment to this endeavor and his efforts to organize all of us to come here and to speak out on this growing danger.

We are already shouldering the costs of climate change as Americans, and these costs are increasing. Climate change is driving severe drought and wildfires in the West, larger and more frequent floods in the Midwest, and sea level rise and greater storm damage along our coasts. Vulnerable populations, like children with asthma and the elderly, are suffering from higher levels of smog in our cities and longer and more severe heat waves. Farmers and ranchers are struggling with crop and livestock losses from drought. Increasingly, acidic oceans are harming shellfish populations and threatening fisheries. Communities are struggling to pay for infrastructure damaged by fires, more extreme storms, and coastal erosion.

In the face of this evidence, as my colleagues have all pointed out, there is a systematic and organized effort to discredit, dismiss it, ignore it, but Americans are sensing dramatically the effects in their own lives, and they understand this.

One area I think is important to emphasize is that climate change is not just a local issue or an issue that is associated with domestic policy. It has profound national security ramifications. Indeed, to the military, climate change acts as a threat multiplier, exacerbating threats in already unstable regions of the world. Climate change creates chokepoints for oil distribution lines and exacerbates our dependence on foreign oil to fuel ships, tanks, aircraft, and tactical vehicles.

To protect our national security, we must take action based on scientific evidence presented by our Nation's best climate scientists. Such experts have overwhelmingly warned us that the increasingly warmer temperatures will mean oppressive heat in already hot areas. This translates not only to geopolitical issues, but it translates down to the individual soldier. For our infantry personnel, this means carrying several pounds of additional gear across dry and arid regions. And supplying these troops with fuel and water is becoming a difficult challenge for our military leaders. Warmer temperatures also lead to glacial melt, causing sea level rise and ocean acidification, affecting our seafaring vessels and air-

craft carriers, and increasing the complexity for our Navy.

One of the more interesting moments I had on the Committee on Armed Services was to listen several years ago to an admiral describe to me that transit to the Arctic Ocean will become commonplace in just a few years. To someone who was brought up in the 1950s and 1960s and served in the military in the 1970s, that seemed completely implausible, but that is happening. Yet there are groups that are organized that are trying to make that disappear.

It is not disappearing for our military. They have to cope with it, plan for it, and, indeed, ensure that our security is protected from the ramifications.

In national security, decisions are made by a careful evaluation of risk. Given the preponderance of scientific evidence, it only makes sense that we address the major risks caused by climate change. National security and foreign policy leaders across the political spectrum issued a statement last year urging the highest levels of American government and business to take domestic and international action to fight climate change. These are the national security experts. They are a bipartisan group of Americans who have dedicated their lives to this Nation. They are not a self-interested group of people who are profiting from a certain position. They include former Secretaries of Defense, Chuck Hagel, William Cohen, and Leon Panetta; Secretaries of State Madeleine Albright and George Shultz; National Security Advisors Zbigniew Brzezinski and Robert "Bud" McFarlane; Senators Olympia Snowe, Carl Levin, and Richard Lugar; New Jersey Governor and Chair of the 9/11 Commission Thomas Kean; and retired U.S. Army Chief of Staff, GEN Gordon R. Sullivan. These and many others agree that climate change is a threat to national security and have called for U.S. leadership in the global effort to tackle the urgent and complex problem of climate change. And yet, even these wise and selfless Americans are being dismissed, if you will, by the organized effort to undercut scientific evidence.

We took steps and have taken steps. Last December, in Paris, we took a step forward with an international agreement. More than 150 countries pledged to develop plans to tackle climate change domestically, including countries once reluctant to act, such as China and India. American leadership has been the key to getting these countries on board and agreeing to do their fair share. These countries are also acting because it is in their self-interest to do so—for their own health and for their national security.

It is clear that no country can avoid the impacts of climate change, and no country can meet this challenge alone. As a nation that has contributed more than a quarter of all global carbon pollution, it is our responsibility to lead,

not to deny. As a nation already feeling the effects and costs of climate change, it is also in our national interest to do so. As we have seen time and again, other countries would join us if America leads the way—not by denial but by dedication to pragmatic solutions that can be achieved.

American companies must also do a better job in addressing climate change. It is not enough just for America's government and military to take action; the private sector also needs to step up to the plate. Companies need to be transparent and provide fuller disclosure of the impacts their industries have on our climate and environment and must take full responsibility for their actions. Some companies have improved their sustainability practices and have made strides to inform consumers about their carbon footprint, and more need to join them. In fact, many companies concluded it is in their economic self-interest to do so, not just in the national or public interest to do so.

Information about the risks posed by climate change is also something that is critical to investors, some of whom are demanding greater disclosures. For example, Allianz Global Investors, which is a global diversified active investment management with nearly \$500 billion in assets under manager has specifically called for "achieving better disclosure of the effects of carbon costs on the Oil & Gas companies." This is why I have introduced legislation to enhance climate-related disclosures by publicly-traded companies to ensure that these companies are providing investors with the information necessary to make informed investment decisions.

These companies not only have an obligation, as we all do, to the greater welfare of the country and indeed the world, but they owe a very direct and fiduciary responsibility to their investors. Many of these companies have information—I would suspect at least—that should be disclosed, and we have to ensure that they do this so that the market operates appropriately.

It is not just about broad statements of protecting the climate. It is not just about feeling good. It is about making concrete information available to the public, to investors, to the country as a whole—not to deny, obfuscate, or ignore this information.

I urge my colleagues to support legislation that protects our air, water, natural resources, and environment. The health of our oceans and environment must be preserved for now and for future generations. Indeed, in this effort, I can think of no one who is taking a more forceful and constructive role than my colleague Senator WHITEHOUSE. Again, I salute him.

With that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. PETERS. Mr. President, as ranking member on the Subcommittee on Space, Science and Competitiveness, I



know how important it is for our country to invest in scientific research and to make informed decisions based on those findings.

Sound science has played a critical role in the United States' becoming a leader in fields like space exploration, medical research, advanced manufacturing, and other high-tech industries. So when 97 percent of scientists in a particular field agree on a serious problem, it is wise for our policymakers to listen.

The scientific community is sounding the alarm about the urgent need to address the causes of global climate change. Scientists here in the United States and across the world overwhelmingly agree that the weight of evidence is clear: Global temperatures are rising, dramatic changes in weather and climate have accompanied this warming, and humans are largely responsible due to our emissions of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere.

Military leaders, doctors, economists, and biologists are among the experts warning us about global climate change and the fact that it is major threat to national security, public health, our economy, and our natural resources.

Unfortunately, powerful special interests, led by some organizations and companies in the fossil fuel industry, are deliberately spreading false information about climate change to influence public opinion and to muddle the truth. The strategy to confuse the public about climate change science and delay policy action has many parallels to the strategy used by Big Tobacco to mislead the public about scientific evidence linking smoking to lung cancer and heart disease.

The corporations spreading disinformation on climate change are the very same interests that have the most to gain financially by stopping meaningful action to reduce greenhouse gases, protect our clean air, and address global warming for future generations.

The Koch brothers are a prime example of this fact. Charles and David Koch made their vast fortunes from owning companies that profit from a range of dirty industries. Much of their wealth is funneled into activist groups that produce questionable information and the spin necessary to support their own interests. The web of denial they have created is a threat to sound science-based decisionmaking.

While some big polluters seek to confuse and cloud the judgment of decisionmakers and the public, the American people continue to suffer the consequences of our dependence on fossil fuels. These consequences are not just limited to rising global temperatures. The people of Michigan are paying for the costs of coal and oil pollution in many ways, but I would like to focus on just a couple of them.

A few years ago, three-story, high piles of petroleum coke, or pet coke, lined the banks of the Detroit River in

the open air. Pet coke is essentially the industrial byproduct that is produced during the oil refining process. These particular piles were owned by Koch Carbon, a company controlled by the Koch brothers.

Usually pet coke is shipped off to other countries, where it is burned as fuel, worsening terrible air quality problems in places like China and contributing to global climate change. In this case, the banks of the Detroit River were being treated as a dumping ground to store these mountains of pet coke. The wind would blow the pet coke dust everywhere, including into the homes and lungs of those living in the neighborhoods nearby. It was even documented blowing across the river into Windsor, Ontario.

Not only was the air being contaminated, the pet coke was fouling the Great Lakes, a source of drinking water for nearly 40 million people. When it rained, pollution would run off from the piles into the Detroit River, which is part of the Great Lakes system.

I joined residents in Detroit to call for these pet coke piles to be moved, and only through a community-wide effort were they eventually successful. I have also introduced legislation to study the health and environmental impacts of this pet coke but, unfortunately, this same area of Detroit that has had to deal with mountains of particulate matter blowing into the air already had the distinction of having some of the worst air quality in the Nation.

Research shows that exposure to air pollution at a young age can lead to health problems like asthma, and air pollution can worsen asthma symptoms. Detroit has the highest rated of asthma in young children among the 18 largest cities in the United States. Over 12 percent of Detroit children have asthma; the national rate is around 8 percent.

Most air pollution comes from burning of fossil fuels, and parts of Detroit are dealing with high pollutant levels as a result. I wrote a letter, along with Senator STABENOW, calling for a plan to reduce sulfur dioxide levels in Southwest Detroit and comply with Federal clean air standards. The Michigan Department of Environmental Quality finally just submitted their plan to comply—over a year past the initial deadline.

These examples in Detroit show how protecting clean air and clean water are often environmental justice issues. Those that are most affected by pollution are often from low-income and minority households. Addressing climate change will also improve the air quality of these affected areas.

While these communities bear the brunt of fossil fuel pollution, the Koch brothers and others pour hundreds of millions and even billions of dollars into activities to avoid regulation of their dirty industries. One of the tactics that powerful corporate industries

use is to bankroll numerous front groups to spread misinformation. The idea behind this strategy is to use seemingly independent organizations, such as think tanks, to deliver misleading messages that the public might rightfully dismiss if they had heard them directly from industry.

They have calculated that it is better for business to mislead the American public, rather than acknowledge the scientific evidence and their role in climate change and join the effort to combat this growing threat to our planet. It is a page taken right out of Big Tobacco's playbook. By creating their own scientific studies and policy papers from a network of surrogates, it gives the appearance that there is a legitimate debate over the fundamentals of climate change science.

One example is the Cato Institute. For years, the organization has received funding from fossil fuel interests such as ExxonMobil and the Koch family. At the same time, Cato spreads climate skepticism. Over a span of 15 years, the Cato Institute published 773,000 words and 768 documents expressing climate skepticism.

The web of denial is intended to manufacture doubt among the American public in order to delay action, but the spending efforts by the same corporations also specifically target elected officials and other key decisionmakers to prevent meaningful action on global warming.

The Koch brothers have poured vast sums of money into election ads, lobbying efforts, and campaign donations often funneled through other organizations to hide the source of the funding. As a result, I have heard many climate myths repeated in the Halls of Congress that were carefully crafted by the network of climate denial front groups.

Late last year, the Senate Subcommittee on Space, Science, and Competitiveness held a hearing that was specifically designed to cast doubt on the scientific evidence of climate change. The witness panel was stacked by the majority with prominent climate deniers. As the ranking member, the one witness I was able to invite was RADM David Titley, who, as the U.S. Navy's chief meteorologist, initiated and led the Navy's task force on climate change. At the hearing, Dr. Titley outlined how climate change is a serious threat to national security. Admiral Titley explained that the military makes decisions based on known information and calculations of risk. Often they must act on less than perfect intelligence, but they understand risks and will take action to prevent threats when given the chance. The admiral applied this to the broad agreement among climate scientists, saying that any military commander would take action "in a heartbeat" if there was a consensus among 97 percent of the intelligence community about a particular scenario. In fact, the military has already started taking action

to anticipate vulnerabilities and mitigate the impacts related to climate change.

The brightest, most experienced minds in our U.S. military realize that reliance on fossil fuel leaves our troops and citizens exposed to more risks at home, as well as abroad. Unfortunately, Congress has not been as quick to act. Efforts to pass meaningful legislation to address climate change have been blocked. Existing administrative efforts to reduce admissions or invest in clean energy have also been repeatedly attacked.

We can and must pass legislative solutions to address global climate change. Transitioning away from fossil fuels and investing in renewable energy will create sustainable jobs and good-paying jobs here in the United States. Taking bold action on climate change will strengthen our public health, economy, and national security.

We must wake up and realize that those attempting to mislead and confuse must not be successful. I am confident that we will overcome this web of denial and use peer-reviewed, sound scientific information to guide our decisionmaking in order to create a resilient future for our children and grandchildren.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas.

HONORING OUR ARMED FORCES  
CHIEF PETTY OFFICER ADAM BROWN

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, the Senate will pass legislation renaming Post Office 620 Central Avenue in Hot Springs National Park after CPO Adam Brown.

I have visited that post office many times as a child, as a Congressman, and as a Senator. I can't say there is all that much remarkable about it, but it will be remarkable after this law is passed.

I didn't know Adam Brown, but Adam was about my age. Adam was a great warrior and a hero. Three years ago on Memorial Day in Hot Springs, a gentleman came up to me after I spoke and handed me a book titled "Fearless" by Eric William. It is a New York Times bestseller. It tells the story of Adam Brown. That title captures his spirit. He was fearless, relentless, and also a joyful and Godly man. As a child in Hot Springs, he was the one who always lined up to hit the biggest kid in football. He would jump off a bridge into the local lake and jump out of trucks. Adam was an all-American boy.

During his teenage years, Adam succumbed to addiction. He began to drink, started to use marijuana, became addicted to cocaine, and that led to many crimes. At one point, he had 16 outstanding felonies.

Larry and his mother Janice didn't know what to do, so they told the sheriff where he was, and he was arrested. Adam went to Teen Challenge, a Christian ministry dedicated to helping youth overcome addiction. Through his faith in God, love of his parents, and

the love of his wife Kelly, he was able to fight back his addiction, although he continued to struggle with it.

With the help of a good recruiter and out of a sense of deep and abiding patriotism for his country, Adam cleaned up his life by enlisting in the Navy. He didn't just enlist to do any job, though, he enlisted to be a Navy SEAL. It entails some of the hardest training our military has. Adam, of course, got his golden trident and went on to display the same kind of fearlessness and relentlessness but also the same joyfulness that so many people in Hot Springs and in Arkansas had known.

As anyone who has been in the military knows, there are always some guys in the unit who are downers, looking on the dark side of things, wondering what was going to go wrong next, and Adam was the antidote to that. He always looked on the bright side, always had a sunny outlook, and always had a helpful word for a friend or buddy. He was always ready to help the unit accomplish the mission.

Adam went through multiple deployments as a Navy SEAL, and there was never any quit in him. In 2003, he was injured in a simulation round during a training exercise with a miniature paint ball that the military uses. Somehow it got underneath his eye protection and hit him in the eye, and as a result he lost his eye, but, as he always did, he looked on the bright side. He got a glass eye with an Arkansas Razorback on it, and he would put on a pirate patch and play pirate with his two little kids, Nathan and Savannah. It didn't stop him from continuing to deploy as a Navy SEAL.

He was later involved in a multicar accident while deployed. His hand was crushed and three fingers were severed. The doctors were able to reattach it, but it could no longer be used. Of course, he was eligible to leave the military because of his combat injury, but he didn't do that. He learned to shoot with the other hand and use his other eye when shooting. In fact, he went on to become a member of SEAL Team Six, the most elite element of the Navy SEAL community.

He continued to deploy and fight but also showed deep compassion. In Afghanistan, he noticed that many of the poor, little Afghan children didn't even have shoes on their feet on the darkest, coldest days of winter, so he arranged for a local pastor in his community to send shoes that he could give to them.

On March 17, 2010, Adam was on a mission high up in the mountains in Afghanistan. His unit came under intense enemy fire. Adam helped to save the lives of his fellow SEALs, taking multiple rounds himself, and he ultimately perished as a result of his wounds. Adam received a hero's welcome in Hot Springs, where he rests today.

Adam's story is about faith, redemption, service, and love. When little boys and little girls drive by that post office in Hot Springs in the future, I hope

they ask their parents who Adam Brown was. I hope their parents can tell them his story and inspire them with his example.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to speak, along with a number of my colleagues, about groups that have spun a web of denial and to fight back against the regressive, fallacious, and dangerous rhetoric of climate change deniers. They would disavow the overwhelming evidence of one of our most significant environmental crises. It is not only a quality-of-life challenge, it is a national security crisis in our world today.

As a member of the Armed Services Committee, I know from our military leaders how seriously they take this crisis, which is causing droughts as well as unrest, and the challenges it creates when our military needs to access certain parts of the world. Those consequences are among the national security threats that climate change raises, and deniers do no great service to our national defense.

Connecticut knows firsthand the visible impacts of climate change because we see the mammoth storms that threaten to become the new normal in our world, causing rising tides, destroying homes, literally changing the nature of our shoreline and impacting our quality of life.

No one State can address climate change effectively, and that is why we need the Nation to act together and why climate change denial is so dangerous to our national security, not only in military terms but also in the very real terms of how we conduct our lives in this country. We need a coordinated, comprehensive approach, and yet some groups would have you believe that no action is necessary—none at all. They say that any measures are a waste of time and resources. They say that any measures to stop food supplies from disappearing, forest fires from spreading, and storms from raging are simply unnecessary. They have no evidence to support their claims, but, indeed, they have to distort the evidence that exists even to make those claims.

Just last year, we discovered that Exxon projects into its planning a model that it described for itself as "too murky to warrant action." They planned for themselves but not for the people, including their own customers. They would be ready for climate change but would make sure that no one else could be by adopting a model and making it their business model—or part of it—that implicitly, internally, they felt they could not reveal publicly.

Some groups have adopted more covert efforts to sabotage science. The American Legislative Exchange Council, better known by its acronym

ALEC, denies that its policy denied climate change. ALEC commits to fighting science in the shadows because it has no facts to bring into the sun. Indeed, its proposed bill, the Environmental Literacy Improvement Act—a very innocuous bill—actually seeks to serve as a stamp of approval on teaching climate change denial in science classrooms.

These tactics exist because when groups like ALEC or Americans for Prosperity stand ready to deny the truth, some part of our people will believe it.

One leader of the Americans for Prosperity group, when asked about the science of climate change, responded: “I don’t even want to argue the point. To me, it’s not that important.”

This web of denial has consequences. It delays and distorts common awareness and consciousness about the truth and the need to act.

One of my colleagues compared this web of denial to actions of tobacco companies decades ago denying that smoking and tobacco could cause cancer or heart disease or any of the other serious illnesses that tobacco use causes, in addition to the lifetime addiction to nicotine that inevitably was a consequence to so many people who believed those tobacco companies. That web of denial was similar to this one. The tobacco companies knew the truth. They denied it. These deniers also know the truth. Our purpose in being here today is to make sure the American people know it as well.

Groups like ALEC and Americans for Prosperity may receive support from the economic interests that have a stake in hiding the truth, but ultimately the American people need to know it, they need to act on it, and they need to appreciate the motives and interests of the web of denial that is spun so artfully and relentlessly by these groups and the special interests that underlie them and support them.

I wish to thank my colleagues who have come to the floor today, particularly Senator WHITEHOUSE, who has been so instrumental in organizing this group.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator Arkansas.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate 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.

#### TRIBUTE TO JUDGE TOM EMBERTON

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I wish to pay tribute to a good friend and mentor of mine who is receiving a great honor from his alma mater of Western Kentucky University. Judge

Tom Emberton, former chief judge of the Kentucky Court of Appeals and a man with a long career of renowned service, will be honored as a member of WKU’s Hall of Distinguished Alumni this October. It is the highest award the university can bestow upon an alumnus.

Judge Emberton recalls that his great aunt began the family tradition of attending WKU, and his mother attended also. Tom met his wife at WKU, and their two children and all but one of their grandchildren attended as well.

Tom was an active member of the WKU community during his time on campus. He was named business manager of the College Heights Herald, elected president of his sophomore and junior classes, and president of his fraternity. He temporarily interrupted his studies to serve in the U.S. Air Force, where he was part of the Strategic Air Command under Gen. Curtis LeMay.

After graduation in 1958, Tom began a long history of public service to the people of Kentucky. In 1965, he was elected county attorney. In 1967, he worked on the winning campaign for Louie Nunn for Governor, the first Republican Governor to be elected in the Bluegrass State in 20 years. After the campaign, Governor Nunn asked Tom to serve as his chief administrative aide.

Tom then became the Republican nominee for Governor himself in 1971. I remember the campaign well, as I worked on it for Tom. I had left my position as a legislative aide here in the U.S. Senate for Kentucky Senator Marlow Cook to go back to Kentucky to work for Tom’s campaign because I believed in him and in what he could do for the Commonwealth. Unfortunately, Tom did not win that race, but he certainly emerged from it as a man who had earned admiration and respect around the State. We all knew great things were in store for Tom.

Tom continued to practice law in Barren and Metcalfe counties. Then in the late 1980s, he was appointed by then-Governor Wallace Wilkinson to the Kentucky Court of Appeals. He was reelected to that panel repeatedly and had a long and distinguished career, capped off by being elected chief judge by his fellow judges after several years of service. He held that chief judge slot until his retirement from the bench in 2004.

To this day, Tom is still active in his community with many volunteer and philanthropic activities. He is also an avid reader, and I know one of his favorite places to relax is in his office surrounded by books.

Western Kentucky University has certainly made the right choice in selecting Judge Tom Emberton as a distinguished alumni. My friend Tom is highly deserving of this honor, and I am sure his family is very proud of him and all he has accomplished. I know my U.S. Senate colleagues join me in congratulating Judge Emberton for this recognition and wishing him the very best in his future life endeavors.

Mr. President, area publication the Herald News recently published an article detailing Judge Emberton’s life and career. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Herald News, June 29, 2016]

JUDGE EMBERTON HONORED BY WKU  
(By Shirley Mayrand)

Every couple of years we’re reminded of why we’re so proud of Judge Tom Emberton. In 2014 he received the Jim C. Coleman Community Service Award, and in October he will join WKU’s Hall of Distinguished Alumni during WKU’s 2016 Homecomings Celebration at the Sloan Convention Center. It brings back some fond memories.

“Western has always been a part of my life,” Tom said, “even from a small first grader. My mother went to Western.” His mom finished a year of college and then got a teaching job at a Monroe County school where they lived at the time. Tom recalls how she told him as a first grader he could continue to have fun when he got to Western.

The family moved to Metcalfe County right after World War II ended and Tom graduated from Edmonson High School. He attended one semester at Western before going into the U.S. Air Force where he was part of the Strategic Air Command under General Curtis LeMay. “His mission,” Tom explained, “was that if Russia could get an atomic bomb off in this country, that we could respond to that in 15 minutes.”

In 1955, Tom returned home to resume his education at Western. He credits his great aunt with starting the family tradition of attending WKU. She enrolled in 1909, just three years after it opened. (H.H. Cherry purchased full ownership of the school in 1899 and the Southern Normal School part of the institution became Western Kentucky State Normal School in 1906.)

Tom met his wife, Julia there, their two children attended and all but one of their grandchildren.

Tom believes that his active role at WKU was what earned him the honor of being selected for the Hall of Distinguished Alumni. As a student he was named business manager of the College Heights Herald, elected president of his sophomore and junior classes and president of his fraternity.

Continuing on to the University of Louisville to pursue a law degree, he continued student leadership activities. He was the president of the Delta Theta Phi fraternity and president of the Student Bar Association. “It’s those things that the alumni association looked at to see what you’d done, rather than just walk into class.” Tom got his law degree in 1962 and was elected as county attorney in 1965.

In 1967, Tom was tapped by Louis Nunn to assist in his campaign for governor. When Nunn won the election he asked Tom to move to Frankfort and be his chief administrative aide. At that time a governor could only serve one four-year term. Tom’s own bid for the governorship ended after winning the Republican primary, and he returned to the farm at Cave Ridge to practice law in Barren and Metcalfe counties, where he brought Jim C. Coleman in as a law partner.

Around 1976, Tom opened the Southern Mineral coal mine in Hyden (Lesley County), KY. Coal was very lucrative at the time, but within a few years the bottom dropped out and he returned to law once again.

Over his long, successful career, his greatest satisfaction came while serving as a Kentucky Court of Appeals Judge. He was first