



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 115th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 164

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 2018

No. 36

House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Thursday, March 1, 2018, at 1:30 p.m.

Senate

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 2018

The Senate met at 12:45 p.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. HATCH).

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Almighty God, we praise and thank You for the gift of this wonderful day. Your wondrous works can be seen in the world around us. Even in the storms of life, You keep us steady and fill us with Your peace.

Continue to use our lawmakers for Your glory. Make them people who live to honor Your Name, Lord, give them strong minds, brave hearts, true faith, and ready hands. Make them willing to stand for right though the Heavens fall. Challenge them to become salt and light to their generation, daring more boldly and venturing more widely to ensure that Your will is done on Earth even as it is done in Heaven.

And Lord, we thank You for the life and legacy of Your servant, Evangelist Billy Graham.

We pray in Your great Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The President pro tempore led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. ERNST). Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

GUN SAFETY

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, yesterday, I met with a group of survivors from the Stoneman Douglas High School shooting in Parkland, FL. Two weeks after losing classmates, friends, and teachers, these kids have not given themselves over to grief or cynicism. They organized and resolved to change their country. They went to Tallahassee. They traveled to Washington. They are committed, and they are inspiring.

We just went to the observance of Billy Graham's death in the Capitol Rotunda, and a man of the cloth probably would have said that instead of cursing the darkness, these kids are lighting a candle, which is a beautiful thing to do.

As I was sitting with them, I remembered meeting with the young people who survived the shooting at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando. I remember sitting with parents of the kindergartners and first graders killed at Sandy Hook Elementary. I still ache for them and their parents, parents who had presents stashed under the Christmas tree that were never opened. Photos of those beautiful children still sit on my desk.

All of them—the students of Stoneman Douglas, parents from Newtown, parents of the victims in Orlando, Las Vegas, Columbine, Charleston, and everyday gun violence in cities and towns all across our country—all of them are calling on us to act. The slow-motion massacre of American children must end. The time has come to make meaningful changes to our laws to keep Americans safe from the epidemic of gun violence.

Let me tell you, the students of Stoneman Douglas will not stop until we achieve meaningful change. They know small measures will not get the job done. That is why they told me, every one of them: The Fix NICS bill is not close to enough of what we need to do. Fix NICS has wide support in this Chamber. I am a cosponsor. But it is just the first tiny step that addresses one specific issue. We have a whole host of other issues to address, not one.

It is true that the records of NICS need to be fixed, but it is also true that we need to close the gun show loophole. It is also true that we need to make sure online sales go through background checks so that felons or those adjudicated as mentally ill or spousal abusers can't get guns. Over 90 percent of America agrees with that. But our colleagues on the other side of the aisle are so afraid of the NRA that they can't even embrace universal background checks, which 90 percent of America addresses. Special interest lobbying—the kind of thing President Trump campaigned against, the NRA is doing it. The NRA is doing it.

We need to stop writing bills that address only the last shooting and start

• This “bullet” symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



Printed on recycled paper.

S1257

making laws that prevent the next one. When you have a sick patient, you don't just treat one symptom; you cure the disease. That is what universal background checks will do. Fix NICS would be a good thing to do, but it is a tiny step when we need a giant leap. It can't be the only thing we do. In fact, the only reason it hasn't cleared this Chamber already is that the Republican Senator from Utah objected to it. Such is the vice grip that the ideologues from the gun lobby have on the entire Republican Party. They are so against what America wants. They are so against what rank and file Republicans want. Even on something as limited as Fix NICS, the gun groups find a way to get in the way.

I believe the priority of this Chamber should be to pass universal background checks. That would accomplish what Fix NICS does and a lot more. President Trump has said that he would push "strongly comprehensive background checks" in the wake of Parkland. We Democrats are calling on him today to keep his word. We sent him a letter asking him to support existing legislation, bipartisan legislation, to close the loopholes that allow anyone to purchase a gun at a gun show or on the internet without a background check. These loopholes make no sense. Leaving these loopholes unclosed would be as if we checked someone's ID at the liquor store but not at the bar. That is what you could say about Fix NICS. It would be as if we checked someone's ID at the liquor store but not at the bar. We should have the same checks across the board.

Today, I call on President Trump to come out in support of legislation that would close dangerous loopholes in our background check system. The NRA vehemently opposes that, but I say to President Trump: Show some leadership, buck the NRA. They are way out of touch with the American people, with gun owners, and rank and file Republicans. I say to the President: Show some leadership, buck the NRA, endorse these policies, and you can finally break the gridlock and get something meaningful done.

RUSSIA'S INTERFERENCE WITH AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, there is one other matter. I know my colleagues from North Carolina are waiting, and I salute them for being here in praise of a former member who just passed from their State, Billy Graham.

Yesterday, the commander of the U.S. Cyber Command, ADM Michael Rogers, testified that Putin's efforts to interfere with American democracy have not abated since the 2016 election and likely have intensified. According to several reports, Kremlin-linked bots continue to stoke political divisions in the United States via misinformation on social media. Here is what Admiral Rogers said:

President Putin has clearly come to the conclusion that there's little price to pay and that therefore [he thinks] 'I can continue this activity.' Clearly what we have done hasn't been enough.

He is absolutely right. It is extraordinary, confounding, and dangerous how little the Trump administration is doing about Putin's campaign to undermine our grand democracy. President Trump refused to punish Putin after he took office, despite the consensus view of 17 American intelligence agencies that Putin interfered in our elections. President Trump has still refused to fully implement the package of sanctions passed by this Congress with only five dissenting votes combined in both the House and Senate, two here and three there. Yesterday, when my friend, the Senator from Rhode Island, asked Admiral Rogers, the Director of NSA, if the Trump administration had directed him to counter Russian meddling, he replied: "No, I have not [been directed]."

That is astonishing. A hostile foreign power interferes in our election, continues to interfere with our democracy, is planning to interfere in our next elections, and the President of the United States is hardly lifting a finger. It is as if they were preparing for war and tanks or planes were lining up, and we decided to do nothing. Cyber attacks and manipulation of the news media are other ways that hostile powers attack us.

People have to wonder why President Trump is so soft on Russia, so unwilling to criticize President Putin, and so slow to stand up for America and protect our democracy.

NOMINATION OF MARVIN QUATTLEBAUM

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, finally, one final word on a pending judicial nomination, Marvin Quattlebaum. First, for the benefit of the Senate, I would like to note that the only reason the current nomination is up, the nomination of Quattlebaum is up is because the two Republican Senators from South Carolina refused to return a blue slip for two judges nominated for the same vacancy by President Obama. Their right as the home State Senators to not return a blue slip was respected by the Democratic majority, Chairman LEAHY, in 2013, unlike the Republican majority, which has already ignored the blue slip precedent and confirmed a circuit judge without the approval of both home State Senators. I want my colleagues on the other side to remember that their blue slips were respected during the Obama administration and to think long and hard about continuing to ignore them now that their party is in the White House.

Second, the nomination of Marvin Quattlebaum speaks to the overall lack of diversity in President Trump's selection for the Federal judiciary. Mr. Quattlebaum replaces not one but two scuttled Obama nominees who were Af-

rican American. As of February 14, 83 percent of President Trump's confirmed nominees were male; 92 percent were White. That represents the lowest share of non-White candidates in three decades.

It is long past time that the judiciary starts looking a lot more like the America it represents. Having a diversity of views and experience on the Federal bench is necessary for the equal administration of justice. After years of improvement, the Trump administration, as in so many other areas, is taking a giant step backward—this time, when it comes to the diversity of their nominations. I will be voting no on the Quattlebaum nomination.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

HONORING THE LIFE OF WILLIAM "BILLY" F. GRAHAM, JR.

Mr. BURR. Madam President, I rise with my colleague from North Carolina, my colleagues in the U.S. Senate, and the American people to honor the life of a North Carolinian, Billy Graham—a man whose life has literally reached millions around the globe.

Reverend Graham's grace marker will be inscribed this way: "Preacher of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ."

As the son of a minister myself, I am uniquely aware of the sacrifices and the responsibility that come with this calling. Indeed, this is a calling that Reverend Graham fulfilled honorably and nobly, bringing hope and comfort to millions around the globe. Reverend Graham was someone who was shaped by his roots on a North Carolina dairy farm, who committed his life to Jesus Christ at the age of 15, and who lived the commitment with faithfulness for the next 84 years.

He was married for 64 years to Ruth Bell Graham and was the father of 3 daughters, 2 sons, and now 19 grandchildren. As his casket was laid in honor in the Rotunda, all of a sudden, I realized that one of those grandchildren was a graduate of West Point, one of my nominees, and a soon-to-be lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Army. It was certainly good to see him.

Reverend Graham preached to almost 215 million people in more than 185 countries and territories on 6 continents. He prayed with soldiers on the battlefields of South Korea and Vietnam. He preached in poor villages and at Britain's Windsor Castle, and he provided counsel to every President from Harry Truman to Barack Obama. He also stood up for what was right—denouncing segregation and oppression and preaching jointly with the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., in the 1950s. He lived a life of integrity and of honor.

He spoke words of comfort and hope at the National Cathedral following the September 11 terrorist attacks, reminding America: "God is our refuge

and strength, an ever-present help in trouble."

Reverend Graham will be deeply missed. I send my condolences to his children, his grandchildren, and his numerous great-grandchildren. Yet Graham himself said: "My Home is in heaven, I am just passing through this World." Today, we honor the life that he lived, his faithfulness to the calling, and his impact on millions of individuals around the globe.

If I may take just another moment before my colleague from North Carolina speaks, I will read some remarks that were made by individuals who played important roles in American history.

President Bill Clinton said: "Some were pressuring Graham to segregate his audiences by race but he refused." Clinton remarked: "Graham would cancel the crusade rather than preach to a segregated audience" because everyone deserved the chance to hear God's Word.

President Obama said this in his condolences: "Billy Graham was a humble servant who prayed for so many—and who, with wisdom and grace, gave hope and guidance to generations of Americans" and, I would say, Americans to come.

Lastly, Martin Luther King, Jr., said: "Had it not been for the ministry of my good friend Dr. Billy Graham, my work in the civil rights movement would not have been as successful as it has been."

The country mourns the loss of Dr. Graham, but the country understands the impact of his life—that life as a servant of God, to preach His Word to everyone he could find, and a career of 84 years. He exhausted the opportunities that were given to him and will proudly affect generations that have yet to be born by the work that he did as a disciple of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. TILLIS. Madam President, I thank my friend and colleague, the senior Senator from North Carolina, for his words about Reverend Billy Graham. I will only add a few comments.

At one level, mine are very personal. I was telling someone just yesterday that I have two very distinct memories of times with my father. One of them was of watching Walter Cronkite, and the other one was of watching Billy Graham. I was talking to my mother earlier this week, and she talked about how much my father loved Billy Graham. I remember, vividly, sitting in front of that console TV with my father, watching him as he preached the Word of God.

This week is amazing because I find, when one loses somebody so precious like Reverend Graham, it is a very sad time, but in his case, America's pastor had brought so much joy to everyone's lives that it really is a celebration.

Earlier, Senator BURR and I had had an opportunity to offer our condolences

to the Graham family. What was remarkable was that in the face of every one of them was, maybe, a hint of sorrow but, really, just a fullness of joy in knowing what their father did when he was on this Earth and now what he will do in the Kingdom of Heaven.

I think that today is a day we should all look back and ask ourselves: Could we actually come anywhere close to living the kind of life that this man lived? With his ministering in some 180 countries, with over 200 million people actually attending some of his unbelievable celebrations of the Gospel, and then his touching the lives of hundreds of millions of people—and billions of people like me who were watching on TV—the Graham legacy is something that is going to live on for generations.

I am happy to be a proud Senator from the State in which he was born. In fact, I live only about 20, 30 minutes from where he lived his early years. I look forward to going to the funeral on Friday to celebrate his life, to celebrate his legacy, and to celebrate the many lives that were changed because he had brought the Word of God to them wherever they may have been on this planet.

I thank the Presiding Officer for the opportunity to speak about America's pastor.

To the Graham family, all of them—the sons, the daughters, the children, the grandchildren—God bless you all. Thank you for sharing the gift of your family member with so many people across this great Nation and across this world.

I thank Senator BURR for his kind words. I thank him for his leadership and for moving forward with the resolution that honors Reverend Billy Graham's life and legacy.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. BURR. Madam President, on behalf of Senator TILLIS and me, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S.J. Res. 53, introduced earlier today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the joint resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 53) honoring the life of William "Billy" F. Graham, Jr.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. BURR. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution be considered read a third time and passed, the preamble be passed, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 53) was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

The preamble was passed.

The joint resolution, with its preamble, reads as follows:

S.J. RES. 53

Whereas William "Billy" F. Graham, Jr., was born on November 7, 1918, in Charlotte, North Carolina;

Whereas, in 1939, Reverend Graham was ordained by Peniel Baptist Church in Florida;

Whereas Reverend Graham studied at Florida Bible Institute and graduated from Wheaton College in Wheaton, Illinois, in 1943;

Whereas Reverend Graham married his wife of nearly 64 years, Ruth McCue Bell, in 1943;

Whereas Reverend Graham had 3 daughters, 2 sons, 19 grandchildren, and numerous great-grandchildren;

Whereas, in 1950, Reverend Graham founded the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, which is based in Charlotte, North Carolina;

Whereas Reverend Graham preached to nearly 215,000,000 individuals in more than 185 countries and territories on 6 continents;

Whereas Reverend Graham provided spiritual counsel for every President since Harry Truman;

Whereas Reverend Graham prayed with members of the Armed Forces in combat zones in South Korea and Vietnam;

Whereas Reverend Graham spoke against the communist Soviet Union, saying, "Communism has decided against God, against Christ, against the Bible, and against all religion.";

Whereas Reverend Graham—

(1) fought for racial integration;

(2) invited Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to preach with him in New York City in 1957; and

(3) bailed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., out of jail when Dr. King was arrested for protesting segregation;

Whereas, following the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, Reverend Graham spoke words of hope and comfort to the people of the United States at the Washington National Cathedral;

Whereas Reverend Graham authored 34 books, including the bestselling autobiography, "Just as I Am", which began by discussing his early days on a dairy farm in North Carolina and continued through his career as a preacher and evangelist; and

Whereas Reverend Graham received numerous honors, including—

(1) the North Carolina Award for Public Service;

(2) the Presidential Medal of Freedom;

(3) the Ronald Reagan Freedom Award; and

(4) the Congressional Gold Medal: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress—

(1) extends its sympathies to the family of William "Billy" F. Graham, Jr.; and

(2) honors—

(A) the life and ministry of Reverend Graham; and

(B) the contributions of Reverend Graham to—

(i) the State of North Carolina;

(ii) the United States of America; and

(iii) the moral and religious lives of millions of individuals.

Mr. BURR. I thank the Presiding Officer.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TILLIS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

GUN SAFETY

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I hope we rise to the moment before us and get something done, over the course of the next week or two, to try to make this country safer. I am glad to be joining the President in a few hours to hear more about his thoughts on how we can put the safety of our kids ahead of any political considerations and try to figure out how to make sure that Parkland is the last.

As I have told some of the kids from Parkland who have come into my office, the ripples of grief will never, ever end. Newtown, CT, is a place that has been fundamentally changed. When you lose that many young lives in a short period of time, there is no true recovery. Unfortunately, Parkland will find that as Charleston did, as Orlando did, and as so many did before them.

We need to remember that while the country tends to pay attention to the epidemic of gun violence when there is a mass shooting, this is an epidemic that doesn't take a day off. Yesterday, it is likely that 80 to 90 people died from gunshot wounds. The majority of those were suicides. That is an epidemic in and of itself. A chunk of those were accidental shootings, another chunk of those were gun homicides; but the rate of gun deaths in this country just has no parallel anywhere else in the world. There is not another First World nation that has the rate of gun violence we do. In fact, it is not even close. The rate of gun violence in our country is 20 times higher than the average in the OECD.

We have to remember that when we try to craft a public policy response, it just cannot be about school shootings. One is much more likely to die from an accidental gunshot than in a school shooting. We have to be comprehensive in our approach, which is why the Fix NICS Act just isn't good enough.

I am proud Senator CORNYN and I and many others in this body came together to put forward a piece of legislation that will improve the background check system. It will make sure people who shouldn't buy guns aren't able to buy guns, but it is a modest change. In fact, it is really just about making sure people who are in law enforcement and inside the NICS system comply with existing law. It doesn't actually add any new background checks, it doesn't solve the gun show loophole, and it doesn't solve the internet loophole. So my hope is, we can bring this bill before the Senate, but then we can have a debate on other measures that might enjoy bipartisan support that will do 10 times more than fix NICS to keep this country safe.

Let's talk about expanding background checks to make sure everybody who is buying a gun in a commercial sale has to prove they are not a crimi-

nal and prove they are not seriously mentally ill. Let's talk about the experience that Connecticut and Indiana has had in allowing courts to use protective orders to take away guns from people who are showing evidence of doing harm to the people around them. Let's have a conversation about whether we think it is right for people to be able to walk into schools with a gun equipped with a 30-round or 100-round magazine.

I don't know if any of those measures will get 60 votes, but I think we owe it to the American people to not limit debate, to not shut down debate in the U.S. Senate Chamber.

I know it is probably a scary thing for some Republicans that votes are changing. Many of my Republican colleagues have acknowledged they might be thinking about supporting things today that they might not have supported before. Because minds are changing, it behooves us to make sure we have a full debate on the floor of the U.S. Senate.

I am supportive of the bill that Senator CORNYN and I have worked on. I hope it can become the foundation of a much more comprehensive set of measures that we take a look at in the coming days. I think we have to pay attention to where the American public is on this issue. I understand polls shouldn't dictate all of the decisions we make here. We pay attention to public opinion, we respond to it more often than not, but it doesn't guide every single decision we make because public opinion changes.

On this issue, it has been a slow and steady build, the number of Americans saying the U.S. Congress bears responsibility for the epidemic of mass slaughter in this country because we have not changed a single gun law, except to make them weaker, since Sandy Hook. Remember, the only thing this Congress has done since Sandy Hook is allow hundreds of thousands of seriously mentally ill people to get weapons. That law was passed last year by the President—nothing to restrict guns.

In fact, 97 percent of Americans want us to pass universal background checks. Apple pie isn't as popular as background checks are in this country today. No other public policy we are considering gets a 97-percent approval rating from the American public than universal background checks. Let's listen to that. Let's listen to them.

I encourage Senator MCCONNELL not to limit debate, not to constrain the Senate. Let's use this week and next week to have a set of measures we can debate and have up-or-down votes on, and let's hope, in the meantime, the President fleshes out what he is for and against.

The President tweeted that he is in support of comprehensive background checks. Maybe later today we will find out if that is really true. Comprehensive background checks tend to mean the closing of the loopholes that exist,

but hopefully the President can help lead us to a conclusion that is something much more than Fix NICS. As my colleague from Florida who has lived through the last several mass shootings in his State remarked, Fix NICS is simply not enough to meet this moment. I hope we build upon it in the coming days.

I thank the Presiding Officer.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

MEASURE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR—S. 2464

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I understand there is a bill at the desk that is due for a second reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

The clerk will read the bill by title for the second time.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2464) to improve border security and to provide conditional provision residence to certain long-term residents who entered the United States as children.

Mr. CORNYN. In order to place the bill on the calendar under the provisions of rule XIV, I object to further proceedings.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection having been heard, the bill will be placed on the calendar.

FIX NICS BILL

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, my colleague from Connecticut is here in the room and mentioned the bill we have been working on together, the Fix NICS bill. I want to remind all of us what the motivation was, at least on my part, for introducing this legislation and express my gratitude to the Senator from Connecticut, as well as the Democratic leader Senator SCHUMER, and others who have cosponsored this legislation.

It was just a few short months ago when someone murdered 26 people worshipping in a small church just outside San Antonio in Sutherland Springs. He had purchased these firearms having lied on the background check when they asked him whether he was a convicted felon, whether he was honorably discharged from the military, and whether he had ever committed any domestic violence. He lied.

If he had told the truth, he would have been prohibited from buying those firearms and perhaps—maybe, perhaps—he would have been dissuaded, slowed down, or perhaps would not have committed that terrible atrocity that day when 26 people lost their lives, and 20 more were injured.

We have come to find out that the Air Force, which had convicted him of two of those offenses—domestic violence and the felony—failed to upload the information that was required in the National Instant Criminal Background Check System. If they had, then he would not have gotten away

with lying because the FBI background check system would have revealed the truth.

I can state that I have the utmost confidence that if the Fix NICS law were in effect at the time he was attempting to purchase those firearms, in all likelihood, he would have been prohibited from purchasing those guns, and I would conclude from that, lives would have been saved, and the lives which were changed forever because of the terrible injuries that the other 20 received would not have been changed in such a terrible way.

I told myself at the time that I cannot go to another church service—we went to the church that met in a tent just down the street from the place where the shooting took place a week after the shooting. The pastor and his wife who lost their teenage daughter were there. The wife was distraught, as you can imagine. The pastor summoned a power that is greater than human power to preach that day. It was emotional, it was inspirational, but it was a terrible tragedy. I told myself that day that I never wish to look another family in the face and say we failed to do everything that was in our power to prohibit or to stop something like that from happening again.

Fix NICS, as I think people who are familiar with it understand, basically takes the laws that currently exist and makes sure it is applied so people like this shooter in Sutherland Springs can't lie their way out of it and get access to firearms and ruin people's lives in the process.

I realize it may not be as comprehensive as some people would like. The problem is around here, if you ignore the things you can agree on and just look to fight about things you can't agree on, nothing ever happens—no problems ever get solved. I think a good place to start would be to pass this bipartisan Fix NICS piece of legislation.

I hope our colleagues would consider it. I understand they have a different view on some aspects of guns, but what we had here was a catastrophic failure. We had a systemic failure. The school system failed, the mental health authorities failed, the local law enforcement, the Federal law enforcement failed. Our society failed to provide the tools to identify people who cry out, in essence, on social media like this young man did when he posted on YouTube essentially the threat he actually carried out, which was going to go shoot up a school. When that was referred to the FBI, they didn't follow up on it and nothing ever happened.

Looking back on this particular young man, he was sending signals out on a regular basis that he was a ticking timebomb and people were going to get hurt and potentially die, as they did.

I hope that rather than leave here this week with nothing to show for our efforts, we would at least agree to pass what enjoys broad bipartisan support and to perhaps prevent another shoot-

ing like that which occurred at Sutherland Springs.

The President has made clear, thinking now about the Las Vegas shooting, that he believes bump stocks ought to be regulated by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. I agree with that. So those are two things we could do, perhaps, that might save lives in the future, but to just say it is not enough, we ought to do more, and to fail to do what is within our grasp, which we can agree to, to me, seems like a bizarre way of doing business, and I think it is an abdication of our responsibility.

I don't want to see another family who has lost a loved one as a result of one of these mass shootings that might be prevented by some action we might take on Fix NICS or the bump stock issue, for example.

There may be other things we need to do. We have done some things, such as trying to address the mental health challenges that people like Adam Lanza's mother had. Adam Lanza, the Sandy Hook shooter, was obviously mentally ill, but he wouldn't accept the treatment his doctor prescribed.

What we did last December—during the Obama administration—passed something called the 21st Century Cures Act, which included a bill I sponsored called the Mental Health and Safe Communities Act, which encouraged the use of assisted outpatient treatment. For example, if Adam Lanza's mother couldn't handle her son—he wouldn't take his medication or comply with doctor's orders—she could go to a civil court and essentially get a court order requiring him to comply with his doctor's orders and to take his medication.

Again, I am not suggesting that any one of these in isolation is a panacea, but there are things we can do step-by-step, bit-by-bit, to reduce the likelihood that these terrible mass shootings occur in the future.

TAX REFORM

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, on another note, we heard some great news yesterday, in terms of our economy. Consumer confidence has jumped to a 17-year high. Optimism continues to surge as employers and payroll services across the country continue to implement the reforms to our Tax Code that we passed last December in the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act.

What is more, the Treasury Department has now released the new withholding tables that went into effect earlier this month and reflect the changes passed as part of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act.

I got a call from someone close to me. I will leave it at that—I don't want to embarrass her—who said she opened her paycheck, and she had \$240 more in her paycheck than she had in the previous month as a result of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act. She didn't regard this as crumbs; she thought it would make a positive difference in her life.

I think many Americans are having the same experience, seeing an increase in their take-home pay even in the month of February. As I said, for some, it is several hundred dollars extra each pay period, which is money that can be saved for a rainy day or invested for their retirement or future, or it could be used to pay for their child's education or to put new tires on their car. A married couple with two children, making about \$75,000 a year, will see an estimated tax cut of approximately \$2,000.

That is just on the individual side. What we are seeing across the country is greater than just what is happening to single families and households, though. It is good to see at the micro level or the personal level, so to speak, what the impact is, but we also have to see the bigger picture in terms of our economy, the jobs created, the investment opportunities, and the way to grow our economy, and the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act has had a profound impact on that.

So far, at least 417 companies have announced new investments, pay raises, bonuses, and charitable contributions. They have added new employee training and increased contributions to pensions and 401(k) retirement accounts. According to the White House, more than 4.4 million workers have been positively affected. It is no wonder the tax law is becoming more and more popular as people have learned more about it. Even the New York Times has had to agree that the public is learning to love the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act because of the positive impact on hard-working American lives.

I see the wide-ranging effect of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act in my State. Thanks to a competitive tax system, for example, Fort Worth-based companies like American Airlines paid large bonuses to their employees. AT&T, which is headquartered in the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex, paid \$1,000 to more than 200,000 men and women across the country who work for that company. Just as important, AT&T announced \$1 billion in capital investments, which could create as many as 7,000 jobs.

Texas also proves that the effects of tax reform are more than just a one-time-only impact. Waste Management, based in Houston, has already paid bonuses to drivers and landfill workers, but its CEO emphasized in an interview that the company will continue to spend money on its people beyond 2018. ExxonMobil, headquartered in Las Colinas in the Dallas area, will expand oil production in West Texas. Oncor, one of the largest investor-owned utilities in the State, will issue future refunds to customers on their utility bills. And Walmart, which is the largest employer in Texas, increased starting wages, expanded parental leave, and offered financial assistance to employees who choose to adopt.

It is not just the big players, though; small businesses are doing the same

thing. In Corpus Christi recently, I visited with the owners of Groomer's Seafood, who plan to expand distribution facilities serving thousands of restaurants statewide. American Bank in Corpus Christi is projecting that it can lend an additional \$120 million as a result of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act. That is money it can lend to small businesses to grow or start a new business. In San Antonio, my hometown, Cox Manufacturing will move up construction of a new 8,000-square-foot plant. In Amarillo, up in the Panhandle of Texas, Happy State Bank made news to go with its name, which is higher hourly pay. In Lumberton, TX, the women running an engineering company called Leak Sealers paid tax savings forward to employees, calling on other businesses to do the same.

Our colleagues here in Washington who voted against the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act made a big mistake. I think they are beginning to realize that now, as the good news is rolling in. They have mostly kept quiet in terms of the criticism they lodged against the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act as we were debating it because they can't deny the facts, and they can't deny what is happening all across America—more take-home pay, more jobs, more money being invested and coming back home from overseas, and its generally being a very positive piece of legislation.

Some have said—like Ms. PELOSI—that the tax cuts we passed just help job creators and give crumbs to others, but that is not true. Individuals will benefit from lower rates across the board. They will see an increase in the standard deduction and the child tax credit too.

One overlooked part of the law will help bring investments and jobs to distressed communities, creating opportunity zones in every State. That is something our colleague Senator SCOTT championed and made sure was part of the bill.

So, Mr. President, amidst our pain, anguish, and the horror of terrible incidents like that which occurred in Parkland, FL, there is good news to be found, but it is hard to focus on the good news when our constituents are looking at us and asking what we are going to do to make sure that the next potential mass shooting is prevented and that we have done everything in our power to try to stop it. I am not sure we will be able to stop all of them, but we can stop some of them. We can make sure that incidents like that which occurred in Sutherland Springs, TX—that somebody who is already illegally disqualified from purchasing a firearm doesn't get their hands on one.

Well, we know what we have to do, and what I am asking all of our colleagues to do—including the Democratic leader, Senator SCHUMER, who is a cosponsor of Fix NICS, along with the Republican majority leader—let's do this. Let's pass this bill. We could do it in one day, give people an opportunity to debate it and vote on it. If we

keep looking for the perfect and make sure that the perfect is somehow the enemy of the good, we will end up with nothing. But we can't end up with nothing. America deserves something that will make a difference. The people in Parkland, FL, and in Sutherland Springs, TX, deserve something better, and I believe that Fix NICS is the best place to start.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

REPUBLICAN TAX BILL

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, we heard a whole lot about the tax bill the Republicans passed, and it basically works like this: We borrow \$1.5 trillion from our children and we give that money to the richest Americans. And then when there is a little bit of help for middle-class workers—and I mean a little—we say: Well, that is really cool.

I like that we are doing a little for the middle class, but I don't like the fact that for every dime to help a middle-class worker, we gave away a dollar to the richest Americans. In other words, America has been robbed in the biggest bank heist ever, and then it was justified by distributing a modest amount to our workers. Even then, they included a provision that will drive up the premiums for healthcare by more than 10 percent next year, on top of whatever rises are driven by the drug companies. So whatever modest gain there is for the middle class is wiped out by more expensive healthcare in America.

So we hear these big, sophisticated arguments: Oh, well, a worker here or there got a bonus. A worker here or there got their wages increased. But they don't tell you that they gave \$1 trillion to the richest Americans. Why not? Why not be honest about the whole entire scope of this tax rip-off, borrowing from our children to enrich the richest Americans?

As one House Member said, here is what this is all about: This is about the fact that my rich donors won't vote for me and won't support me in the next election unless I vote to give them all this money.

That is what happened here, and it is not OK because we see the consequences. We have a budget that attacks the foundations for families to thrive. It takes a trillion dollars out of healthcare. Well, that trillion dollars went to the richest Americans. Then the President gets to the budget and takes a trillion dollars out of healthcare, takes money out of affordable housing. Housing is a very important foundation for families to thrive. So it attacks healthcare and housing, and then it attacks public education.

Quite frankly, because all those resources were taken off the table that could have been invested in infrastructure and jobs in America, it also undermines the concept of a living-wage job, which is the principle that nobody who

works full time in America should live in poverty in America.

The majority has conducted the biggest bank heist in history, and they come to the floor and defend this time and time again without sharing the honest facts with the American people, as I have just shared them with you.

THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, let's turn to another attack on workers. Our entire Constitution had a theme, had a mission statement, and that mission statement was "we the people," government of, by, and for the people. My colleagues might be surprised to discover that the Constitution didn't say "we the privileged; we the wealthy; we the well-connected; we the powerful" because they bring bill after bill to the floor of the Senate that is exactly government of, by, and for the wealthy and the well-connected.

Now we see that the Supreme Court is getting in on the act in this effort to undermine the ability of workers to organize, to get a fair share of the wealth that they create.

Former President Jimmy Carter once said:

Every advance in this half-century—Social Security, civil rights, Medicare, aid to education, one after another—came with the support and leadership of American labor.

Well, he was absolutely right. I would also add a few more things to the list, such as 8-hour workdays, the 40-hour workweek, overtime pay, the minimum wage, family and sick leave, health and safety working standards. When workers have organized, they have fought for better conditions for every American—better pay, better safety, better and fair working conditions—and America is a better nation because of it. It is a much better nation because of the men and women of the labor movement who have fought tirelessly to ensure that our country lives up to that "we the people" vision statement. Thanks to their work, an honest day's work means an honest day's pay for millions of Americans. But that is exactly what the Supreme Court is poised to undo. All the powerful and the privileged—they want even more squeezed out of the workers, so they have spent decades really demonizing and attacking the ability of workers to organize.

During the three decades after World War II, workers got a fair share of the wealth they were creating. Their wages went up as productivity went up, and it turned out that this is good for business as well because workers who have paychecks are able to buy products, and then the companies can sell more. The companies do well when people get paid fairly, but that concept is about to be undermined in a massive way with an attack on what are called fair share fees.

When workers organize and bargain for better benefits, there is a cost of developing that organization and conducting those negotiations, and every

worker who benefits chips in a share under fair share fees. Everyone wins, so everyone contributes.

This is not about contributing to political activity. It is not about contributing funds that are distributed to causes. This is simply the cost of the negotiating process. For this foundation to be able to negotiate successfully, people have to share in that effort.

The heart of the right to organize has been absolutely embodied in law for well over half a century in a case called *Abood v. Detroit Board of Education*. Collective bargaining among workers doesn't work if you create a strategy for workers to freeloader; that is, to get all the benefits without putting in any of the effort.

I am reminded of a story that I read as a very young child just learning to read. It was about the barnyard. It was about some member of the community baking bread and asking for help from all the other animals—would they help with this aspect or that aspect of making the bread. They all said: No, we are not interested in helping. At the end, when the bread was baked, all the animals in the barnyard wanted their share. They wanted a share of it without having contributed a thing.

That system is what the Supreme Court is trying to foist on America, undermining the fundamental right to organize and allowing freeloaders to essentially create a situation where you can't afford to represent the group. Well, that undermines the success of our workers to get a fair share of the wealth they create. It undermines their ability to negotiate for a safer workplace.

Again, this is not about political activity; this is simply about the function of representing a group in negotiations with the owner.

That is the case in Illinois, where Mark Janus works as a specialist for the Department of Healthcare and Family Services. He works under a contract negotiated between the State of Illinois and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, or AFSCME. He is not a member of the union. He is not required to be a member of the union. But Mark Janus says: I want all the benefits that are produced by the union organizing and negotiating on my behalf, but I don't want to have to share any of the costs.

Everyone knows that if people are given a permission slip to not share in the cost of organizing, the ability to organize is undermined. It is a fundamental part of it: You negotiate together; you benefit together. He is challenging that portion of the contract.

The powerful and privileged titans of industry have been waging a decades-long campaign against the workers of America. They are excited about this. Don't worry, the Koch brothers are in control. Well, we have certainly seen their control here in the Senate. This

certainly bears on the case right before us. They invested vast sums in 2014, and they supported and pushed campaigns in Arkansas, Louisiana, North Carolina, Iowa, Colorado, and Alaska, and they turned those seats in favor of folks who supported the Koch brothers. They took a majority of this body.

What happened in 2016? Well, there was a vacant Supreme Court seat. We have all taken a pledge to support the Constitution. We have an advice and consent responsibility. But the majority leader came down here and said: We are not going to do our responsibility of advice and consent on any nominee from President Obama—none. It doesn't matter who the nominee is; we are not going to do this. Why? Because the Koch brothers said: Don't allow a debate or a vote on a nominee from President Obama.

The majority leader said that this was justified because it was an election year. Let's look at American history. Fifteen times in an election year, there has been a vacancy on the Supreme Court. All 15 times previous to 2016, the Senate debated and the Senate voted.

There were Members of my colleague's team across the aisle who thought we should honor that responsibility of advice and consent. You can vote somebody down or you can vote somebody up, but we should have the debate and we should have the vote. As soon as they said one word about how there should be a debate or there should be a vote, they got their chain yanked. In one case, the Koch brothers said they would immediately put in millions of dollars against their primary opponent.

That is why the Koch brothers are known as the puppet masters of this body right here in which I stand right now. When they say "jump," the majority says "how high?" That certainly came to fruition in 2016 when they refused to exercise their constitutional responsibility to debate and vote on a nominee for the Supreme Court. That was done so that the empty seat would be passed on to the next President. That is the first time in U.S. history a Supreme Court seat has been stolen and passed on to the next President—the only time.

Well, what does that result in? That results in a Supreme Court that now has been selected where we know four people stand on one side of the issue and four stand on the other side. Then you have, essentially, an illegitimate process for the ninth Justice—a Justice who by every indication is willing to join the other four in attacking the foundation of the right to organize in our Nation. That right to organize was envisioned in the Constitution, in the "we the people" Constitution, not "we the powerful," not "we the privileged," not "we the wealthy," and not "we the well-connected."

Mr. Janus is being represented and funded by the National Right to Work Foundation. Let's call it the right to freeloader because that is what it is. You

don't contribute your share, but you get all the benefits.

It reminds me a little bit of the conversation about citizenship in America. People talk about the rights of citizenship and their responsibilities of citizenship too. There are responsibilities of being part of a group when you bargain for wages. That means paying your fair share. So it is their share. It is the heart of the ability to organize versus the position orchestrated by the Koch brothers to assault the ability to organize in this country so that workers can get a fair share of the wealth they work to create.

We have seen these right-to-freeload bills pass with the influence of the titans across this country in State after State. Here is what we know. In those States that protect the constitutional vision of the right to organize, workers earn over \$5,000 a year more than in other States. In the right-to-freeload States, workers earn a lot less. And that is apparently why the owners of the companies love that action so much—because they can squeeze more out of the workers. The right-to-freeload States have higher poverty. They have higher infant mortality. They have higher workplace deaths than other States. They support public schools less than other States.

It is a mistake to have a Court assembled through an illegitimate process of stealing a Supreme Court seat proceed to gut the constitutional right to organize and assault the workers of this Nation just to put more zeros on the bank account statements of the millionaires and billionaires and titans and wealthy and powerful Americans.

Let's have a remedial course in this Chamber about what our Nation and our Constitution are all about. It is not about coming here and getting elected by the wealthiest Americans to serve the wealthiest Americans; it is about coming here to form laws that serve "we the people." Thomas Jefferson made this point again and again. He said that if you concentrate power in the few, you will get power from the few, you will get power from the powerful—you will get decisions from the powerful. You will never get the will of the people if you concentrate power. He called on every voter to have an equal voice—not just a vote but an equal voice.

So let's remember Jefferson. Let's remember that our Forefathers put together this document so that we wouldn't have government by the few and the powerful, such as they have in Europe, but this would be different here in the United States of America, where we would try to forge laws that gave all families the opportunity to thrive.

We can see the impact that the reversal of this principle has had. We spent half of last year on a healthcare bill or versions of a healthcare bill designed to rip healthcare from 22 to 30 million Americans, depending on the version. Then we spent the other part of the year on a tax bill designed to borrow

\$1.5 trillion from our children and deliver the vast amount of the benefits to the wealthiest of Americans. That is government for and by the powerful. Let's return to government for and by the people.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

REMEMBERING BILLY GRAHAM

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. President, I want to spend a few minutes talking about your fellow North Carolinian, Billy Graham. It is very appropriate that you are in the Chair as I do this—and some of my colleagues are going to follow—as we honor the life and legacy of Billy Graham.

He was sometimes called America's Preacher, and sometimes called America's Pastor, but he went to Heaven last week. And what a 99 years he had while he was here.

He lies in honor today. You and I were over there earlier today in the Rotunda of the Capitol. Only three private citizens prior to today have been granted that honor: civil rights champion Rosa Parks in 2005 and two U.S. Capitol police officers who died in the line of duty in 1998, Officer Jacob Chestnut, Jr., and Detective John Gibson.

Somebody observed this morning while we were in the Rotunda of the Capitol that he is surrounded there by friends he made during his life. President Eisenhower, President Ford, President Reagan, Dr. Martin Luther King all are memorialized with statues and a bust in the Capitol. So Billy Graham is right at home today with people he made friends with during his life, gave advice to during his life, but never really saw as uniquely his ministry. His ministry was for people everywhere.

I might mention that President Truman—and I stand right here behind one of the desks he used when he was a Senator from Missouri. He was the first President that Billy Graham met with, in 1950. President Truman, like lots of us midwesterners, closely held with his faith. When Billy Graham, at the end of their meeting, said "Can we pray?" President Truman said "I guess it wouldn't hurt anything." That was the first opportunity Billy Graham had to pray with the many Presidents he prayed with and, I am sure, prayed for after that.

Billy Graham's mom and dad were dairy farmers like mine. He was born in Charlotte, NC. President Trump said this morning that there was a prayer meeting in 1934 on the Graham farm. Billy Graham's father made the place available to have a prayer meeting. The focus of that prayer group of leaders from the Charlotte, NC, area was to pray that God would send a leader who would take the Gospel around the world. Probably nobody at that prayer group had any sense how close they were to somebody who was just about to begin the process to do that.

That was the year Billy Graham became a Christian. From that point on,

he would say: "My one purpose in life is to help people find a personal relationship with God, which, I believe, comes through knowing Christ." That is the end of a quote on his view. For so many times and in so many different ways, that was a simple statement that defined his life.

Five years after that, in 1939, he was ordained and became a pastor. He was pastoring at a church in Illinois while he went to college at Wheaton College. His Wheaton College education was important, but I am sure he would say that the best thing that happened there was that he met his wife, Ruth Bell. They were married for 64 years. It was a partnership. As one person went all over the world, the other person raised their five children and took care of things at home and on rare occasions was able to go with him. Her mom and dad were missionaries. This was clearly a committed life that she understood.

All five of their children were in the Rotunda of the Capitol today and in their own way, in each case, have pursued the work their parents thought was so important.

Reverend Graham didn't just preach the Gospel from inside the four walls of the church; in fact, I think it was a rare occasion when he preached in a church as opposed to the places that he preached all over the world.

In 1949, he spoke to 350,000 people over 8 weeks in Los Angeles. He began to call those efforts crusades, and eventually over 200 million people would hear the message from him directly, in person. Millions more would hear the message from television, print, and movies.

By the way, I read recently that Billy Graham—a young, handsome guy—was offered a movie contract not too long after that 1949 Los Angeles crusade. He said that was not his job and that he wouldn't do it for \$1 million a day. His work was clearly understood by him.

He shared Christianity with more people directly than any other person in the history of the world.

He led his first crusade in St. Louis, MO, in our State, in 1953. He returned in 1973 for another St. Louis crusade and to celebrate his 55th birthday. The Post-Dispatch reported that the revival's opening night had 20,000 people, and 4,000 people were in the choir most of the nights at that revival in St. Louis.

He made several trips to Kansas City. In 1967, the Heart of America crusade in Kansas City drew 364,000 people. The then-mayor of Kansas City, Ilus Davis, made Reverend Graham an honorary citizen and gave him a key to the city. He returned to Kansas City, MO, many times doing that work.

In 1959, he came to my hometown of Springfield, MO. I was pleased to read just recently that he said that the Ozarks reminded him of his native North Carolina.

In 1982, he spoke to a crowd at Evangel University—and this was inside—of 2,200 people.

For seven decades, Billy Graham brought the Gospel to nearly 215 million people. Despite his widespread recognition, he was always known for his humility. Whether speaking with a person on the street or the President, his main purpose was for them to share his sense of the importance of knowing his Lord, Jesus Christ. He had a message of grace, not justice; that God could forgive anything, God would forgive anything; and that nobody gets to Heaven based on their works, they get to Heaven based on their understanding of the grace of God.

He defended civil rights for African Americans. He insisted from the early 1950s on—actually, from the beginning of his crusades—that they would be integrated. He was a friend of Dr. Martin Luther King's. In 1957, he invited Dr. King to speak at one of his revival meetings. He later bailed Dr. King out of jail. Dr. King said: "Had it not been for the ministry of my good friend Dr. Billy Graham, my work in the civil rights movement would not have been as successful as it has been."

Reverend Graham spoke about critical issues. His faith inspired him to build bridges for decades. He was included in the Gallup organization's 10 most admired men in the world 61 times—more than anyone else in the history of that poll. He led a remarkable, faith-filled life. He touched many lives.

I ask unanimous consent that the February 23 Wall Street Journal article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 23, 2018]

HOW BILLY GRAHAM CHANGED MY LIFE

(By George W. Bush)

Billy Graham was, with C.S. Lewis, one of the 20th century's most influential figures in evangelicalism. I never had the honor of meeting Lewis, but I did know Billy, who died last week at 99. He changed my life.

I first met him on my grandmother's porch in Kennebunkport, Maine, in 1985. In her 80s, she was frail but sharp. They sat together and Billy held her hand while talking about the Bible. Later she described it as one of the most peaceful days of her life.

Soon after, I had my own personal encounter with Billy. As I wrote in "Decision Points," he asked me to go for a walk with him around Walker's Point. I was captivated by him. He had a powerful presence, full of kindness and grace, and a keen mind. He asked about my life in Texas. I talked to him about Laura and our little girls.

Then I mentioned something I'd been thinking about for a while—that reading the Bible might help make me a better person. He told me about one of the Bible's most fundamental lessons: One should strive to be better, but we're all sinners who earn God's love not through our good deeds, but through His grace. It was a profound concept, one I did not fully grasp that day. But Billy had planted a seed. His thoughtful explanation made the soil less hard, the brambles less thick.

Shortly after we got back to Texas, a package from Billy arrived. It was a copy of the

Living Bible. He had inscribed it and included a reference to Philipians 1:6: "And I am certain that God, who began the good work within you, will continue his work until it is finally finished on the day when Christ Jesus returns."

God's work within me began in earnest with Billy's outreach. His care and his teachings were the real beginning of my faith walk—and the start of the end of my drinking. I couldn't have given up alcohol on my own. But in 1986, at 40, I finally found the strength to quit. That strength came from love I had felt from my earliest days and from faith I didn't fully discover until my later years.

I was also fortunate to witness Billy's remarkable capacity to minister to everyone he met. When I was governor of Texas, I sat behind Billy at one of his crusades in San Antonio. His powerful message of God's love moved people to tears and motivated hundreds to come forward to commit themselves to Christ. I remember thinking about all the crusades Billy had led over the years around the world, and his capacity to open up hearts to Jesus. This good man was truly a shepherd of the Lord.

Perhaps his most meaningful service came on Sept. 14, 2001. After the 9/11 attacks, I asked Billy to lead the ecumenical service at Washington National Cathedral. It was no easy task. America was on bended knee—frightened, angry, uncertain. As only Billy Graham could, he helped us feel God's arms wrapped around our mourning country.

"We come together today," he began, "to affirm our conviction that God cares for us, whatever our ethnic, religious or political background may be. The Bible says that he is 'the God of all comfort, who comforts us in all our troubles.'" God comforted a nation that day through a very special servant.

In a difficult moment, Billy reminded me—and us all—where we can find strength. And he helped us start to heal by offering three lessons: the mystery and reality of evil, our need for each other, and hope for the present and future. "As a Christian," Graham said at the 9/11 service, "I have hope, not just for this life, but for heaven and the life to come."

A final story: One night while dad was away on a trip during his presidency, mother and I had dinner at the White House. Eventually we got to talking about religion and who gets to go to heaven. I made the point that the New Testament says clearly that to get to heaven, one must believe in Christ. Mother asked about the devout who don't believe in Jesus but do God's work by serving others. She then took advantage of one of the benefits of being first lady. She picked up the phone and asked the White House operator to call Reverend Graham.

It wasn't long before his reassuring Southern voice was on the line. He told us, as I recall, "Barbara and George, I believe what is written in the New Testament. But don't play God. He decides who goes to heaven, not you." Any doctrinal certitude gave way to a calm trust that God had this figured out better than I did.

Those of us who were blessed to know Billy Graham benefited from his deep convictions and personal example, his wisdom and humility, his grace and purity of heart. We knew that his life was a gift from the Almighty. And I rejoice that he is now in the company of God, whom he loved so much and served so well.

Mr. BLUNT. In that article, George W. Bush talked about the impact Billy Graham had on his life. My favorite line from that article talked about when George W. Bush's father was President, and his father was gone, and

he and his mother Barbara were having dinner at the White House. They began to argue a little bit about what it took to get to Heaven. So Mrs. Bush just decided, well, we will call Billy Graham and ask him what it takes to get to Heaven. If anybody would know, Billy Graham would know. According to President Bush, here is what Billy Graham said to them:

Barbara and George, I believe what is written in the New Testament. But don't play God. He decides who goes to heaven, not you.

We spend a lot of time arguing about lots of things, but a grace-filled life, a life built on the fundamental principles of the Gospel, is a life that we have benefited from and we uniquely recognize today. I am glad to be here with my colleagues on the floor as we talk about this great life and the impact it had.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COTTON). The Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I also want to join my colleague from Missouri, Senator BLUNT, and others today to pay tribute to the life of Billy Graham.

Last week we lost a man of great faith. At the end of the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus gives his disciples the Great Commission, where he says: "Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you."

If any one man may be said to have fulfilled that charge, it is Billy Graham. Over a ministry that spanned more than 60 years, Billy Graham truly made disciples of all nations, preaching the Gospel in the United States and around the world.

In the days since his death, many have remembered Billy Graham as a spiritual adviser to several Presidents, which he was, but neither his association with Presidents nor the famous of this world ever distracted him from his primary purpose, which was making sure that the Good News of Christ reached everyone. From China, to South Africa, to Russia, to Australia, to his home State of North Carolina and his countless appearances on television, video, and the internet, Billy Graham labored tirelessly for the Gospel. I think it is fair to say that no one in our lifetime has lived a life of greater impact for the cause of Christ.

I remember, as a young child growing up in my home State of South Dakota, when the crusades would come on—my parents and I would turn them on—you would have Billy Graham, George Beverly Shea, Cliff Barrows, and the message of hope, grace, and redemption that came across so clearly. It impacted so many people, not only here in the United States but all around the world.

It was great to hear Michael W. Smith today singing that great song, "Just As I Am," that was always sung at the end of every Billy Graham crusade as an invitation for people to come to know the Lord whom he knew.

My wife Kimberley and I am were privileged to sing in the choir for Billy Graham's 1986 crusade here in Washington, DC. It was an experience that neither of us will ever forget. He reminded everyone that ultimately, there is one thing that matters in life, and that is serving Christ.

In the days since his death, many people have repeated one of Billy Graham's quotes where he paraphrased the American evangelist Dwight L. Moody. I think it sums up Billy Graham's message pretty effectively. It said:

Someday you will read or hear that Billy Graham is dead. Don't you believe a word of it. I shall be more alive than I am now. I will just change my address. I will have gone into the presence of God.

I remember in that 1986 crusade, there was a story that was written—presumably in the Washington Post—in which he was interviewed. I am paraphrasing, but I remember that a question was asked about what he wanted to be remembered for, what he wanted his epitaph to be when he died, and he said "that I preached the Gospel of Christ. That I had opportunities to do other things, but that I never deviated." Mr. President, he never deviated.

Billy Graham has departed this life, and we mourn him, but I am confident that right now he is rejoicing in the presence of the Lord.

In the Book of Acts, it talks about King David, and it says that he served God's purpose for his generation. I think it can be said that Billy Graham truly did serve God's purpose for his generation. Many generations of Americans and many generations of people all over the world have been so impacted by his life and his very consequential ministry.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. ISAKSON. Mr. President, today America and the world have lost a great man in Billy Graham. As Senator THUNE said in his own remarks quoting Billy Graham, don't grieve for Billy Graham—he has not gone anywhere except to be at the right hand of his Father Almighty at home in Heaven. He has left us, but he is in Heaven.

For his entire life, 99 years, he witnessed on behalf of that place called Heaven and his Father to try to take his message around the world and to people around the world.

I spend a lot of time working with young people, and when I do, many times I work with them in my church. I taught Sunday school for 30 years. That is a hard challenge sometimes, trying to figure out what it is you are going to do to get through to people, especially young people, but I learned from Billy Graham that the best way to teach people about God is to witness for God. Billy Graham was the pre-eminent witness for faith, if there ever were one.

We all could turn on the TV tonight and find a televangelist who, for a \$25

donation, will send you a Bible and a cross and tell you that you are saved. That is not true. You may be saved from him, but you haven't been saved with Jesus.

Billy Graham lived the kind of life that teaches all of us that we should respect and understand and honor what Jesus Christ stands for and what Christianity means, and we should live our lives as an example to others of what it is like to be a Christian.

In the sadness of the loss of Billy Graham, I am reminded of the Book of Thessalonians and Paul's letter to the Thessalonians, where in two of the shortest verses in the Bible, he says:

Rejoice evermore. Pray without ceasing.

In terms of Billy Graham's life, I think we are in that period of time right now. We should rejoice for the great service that he gave to all of us, the great messages he brought in his crusades around the world, and we should pray without ceasing that the world will continue to be blessed by God and by great people like Billy Graham and those who would follow him and, in our small way, if we will do the witnessing we need to do to see to it that we are disciples of that faith and for Jesus Christ.

For me, coming to the floor today, I have an important task, because witnessing and evangelism is about other people taking the message for other folks.

TRIBUTE TO HENRY HOLLEY

Mr. ISAKSON. Mr. President, back in my home State of Georgia, in my neighborhood in east Cobb County, there is a man by the name of Henry Holley. In my few minutes left, I want to honor Henry Holley because he is an interesting individual.

Although there is no such thing as a former marine, he was a U.S. marine for 22 years. He met Dr. Graham at a crusade. He volunteered to help him in his off-duty time and so impressed Dr. Graham that Billy Graham asked him to join his crusades.

He said: I can't do it right now. I have 2 more years in my commitment.

Billy Graham said: If you come to me at the end of those 2 years, I will put you on my team.

Forty-eight years ago, Henry Holley joined the team of Billy Graham. He became his Asian representative. In fact, today Henry Holley is the last of the original Billy Graham team who is left alive on this Earth. Henry is 90 years old, living in east Cobb County, and witnessing every single day all that he learned from Billy Graham and what Billy Graham's crusades meant to him.

They set up crusades in Rio de Janeiro, Seoul, South Korea, and all over the world. Henry Holley has been in and out of North Korea more than anybody in this country. He goes there with Samaritan's Purse to help people who are oppressed, taking to them the

message of Jesus Christ, working and doing everything he can to improve the plight of those people who are oppressed and depressed by a rogue regime.

Henry Holley is one of the finest people I have ever known. I know when Dr. Graham passed away, Henry was not sad but happy because he has always talked about knowing that ultimately Billy Graham's place in Heaven would be his just reward. Henry could not wait until he could join Billy Graham there so they could be together at the end.

So I know Henry is probably watching, or if he isn't watching, somebody will tell him about my mentioning his name. I am doing it to honor Henry but also to honor Billy Graham, because the one-on-one passing of the Word from me to someone else, from Henry Holley to someone else, from Dr. Graham to someone else, is the way Christianity was built over the decades and over the years and will continue to be preserved in the years to come.

So as we honor in the U.S. Senate and in the United States of America a great man, a great leader, a man of God, and a servant of God, I am just so thankful I had the opportunity to be in this Chamber on the day we honored Billy Graham and his life. I am so happy I had the ability and the opportunity to know his servant, Henry Holley, and be one of those along the way whom Henry helped to live a more responsible and loving life.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

REMEMBERING BILLY GRAHAM

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. President, it was an exceptionally moving service in the Rotunda today. For a man to be able to lie in honor in the Rotunda, for the Nation to pause for a moment, and for the leadership of the House and Senate, on both sides of the aisle, and the President of the United States to all stop and for a moment look at a wooden casket, simple as it was, and remember the legacy of a man who gave his life telling people that Jesus loves you, it is a remarkable day. It is not a common day in the U.S. Senate, in the House, to break in the middle of the day to be able to go to the Rotunda and just contemplate this simple fact: There is a God whom you can know who loves you.

It is interesting to think back on some of the legacy of Dr. Graham. He had been to Oklahoma many times. In 2003, I had the opportunity to be the chair for the Youth Night of that mission. It was a moving night, and there were a lot of people there, as there were at all of his events. That night, there were thousands and thousands of teenagers there, and Dr. Graham unpacked a message about Solomon, a person who had everything. He challenged them—for this person who had everything—but he always came back

to say all of these things were vanity, and, really, at the end, it is knowing God that is going to matter.

He even challenged people of power. In that message that night in Oklahoma City, he said:

People like power and prestige. Solomon had more power than any man in his generation. No nation dared to defy him. But he looked upon all his mighty military power and said that even power brings no sense of fulfillment, or joy, or peace.

The Bible talks about another power—the kind of power that helps when the crisis comes. 2Timothy 1:7: “God did not give us a spirit of timidity, but a spirit of power, of love and of self-discipline.”

And then he said this:

Jesus Christ said, “All authority in Heaven and on Earth has been given to me.”

Then he quoted Paul's words: “For I am not ashamed of the Gospel, for it is the power of God to salvation.”

That night, many students responded to that simple invitation to be able to know a God who doesn't give you power, but He is power.

If you asked most Oklahomans, though, what was the moment they remember most about Dr. Graham coming to Oklahoma, they would say it was in 1995 after the Federal Building was destroyed by a domestic terrorism event. Dr. Graham was there the Sunday after that tragic attack on Oklahoma and on the Nation. He gave a message to Oklahoma City, to Oklahomans, and to the Nation, and he laid out a sense of hope. Toward the end of his sermon he said this:

This event also reminds us of the brevity and uncertainty of life. It reminds us that we never know when we're going to be taken. I doubt that even one of those who went to that building to work, or to go to the children's place, ever dreamed that it was their last day on earth. That is why we each need to face our own spiritual need and commit ourselves to God.

It's ironic that this terrible event took place just three days after the churches of this city were filled with people celebrating Easter. Just one week ago today. And throughout the world, the Eastern Orthodox churches celebrate Easter on this day. And Easter always brings hope to all of us. For the Christian, the Cross tells us that God understands our suffering, for He took upon Himself at the Cross all our sins and all of our failures and all of our sufferings. And our Lord on that Cross asked the question: “Why? My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?” And he received his answer. He knew: To redeem the world. To save you and me from our sins. To give us assurance that if we died we're going to heaven. He was saying from the Cross, “I love you!” And I know the heartaches and sorrows and the pain that you feel.

Easter points us beyond the tragedy of the Cross to the hope of the empty tomb. It tells us that there is hope for eternal life, that Christ has conquered death. And it also tells us that God has triumphed over evil and death and hell. This is our hope, and it can be your hope as well.

Dr. Graham ended his conversation by saying: “My prayer for you today is that you will feel the loving arms of God wrapped around you and will know in your heart that He will never forsake you, as you trust Him.”

This was a significant day for Oklahomans to begin the healing process together.

It is quite remarkable to have America's pastor be laid to rest. Dr. Graham would assure all of us that the same hope he experienced, that he shared with as many people as he possibly could, was not unique to North Carolina. It wasn't unique to his family. It wasn't even unique to America. It was God's great affection for all people. The offer of that love that could turn around a heart like his, could turn around the heart of a nation, and it could turn around the heart of all people.

It is a good day to remember. It is a rare moment for us to be able to stop and pause in the way we have today. I think it is a significant message that should not be forgotten.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

REPUBLICAN TAX BILL

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, for the elite, the powerful and the well connected, the Republican tax law has turned out to be manna from Washington. The benefits of the tax law are about as one-sided as it gets, and middle-class Americans come up on the losing end.

It sure is one-sided when the price of admission for any middle-class tax relief is an investor handout big enough to pave Wall Street in gold. Democrats pushed for a tax cut that was centered on the middle class, but Republicans turned their one-sided wish list into law.

It sure is one-sided to have a massive tax handout to multinational corporations, a lower top rate for the fortunate few, and a massive tax cut in the estate tax that touches only the wealthiest, while working families get handed only temporary relief.

Those are the policies that are the essence of the Republican tax law. Yet the American people hear over and over again that the benefit of the proposals are going to work their way to the middle class and that those folks will get bulging wage increases.

So I would like to start by getting a few facts straight. First, just a few hours ago, corporations crossed the \$200 billion mark in stock buybacks this year. These stock-buyback bonanzas drive up the value of investment portfolios for CEOs and high fliers, and they are now coming in at a rate 30 times greater—30 times greater—than worker bonuses. They are on pace to double the amount from the first quarter of last year.

Now, there was a whole lot of happy talk about this Republican tax bill last winter, but I don't remember—and I sat through a lot of markups in the Finance Committee and debates on this floor—I didn't hear anybody say there ought to be a stock buyback stimulus act.

The wealthiest 10 percent of earners own 84 percent of all of the stock held by Americans. So when it comes to these buybacks, a huge majority of families are on the outside looking in. All the moms and dads who balance the rent, the groceries, and the cost of gas and electricity don't get much of anything out of a corporate handout that gets swallowed up by these buyback bonanzas for big-time investors.

Second, when you talk about tax cuts producing massive stock buybacks, you are talking about sending huge amounts of cash overseas directly into the pockets of wealthy investors. That is because more than one-third of all U.S. corporate stock is owned by investors outside of the country. So under the Republican tax law, American taxpayers are on the hook, borrowing billions and billions of dollars to make wealthy foreigners even wealthier.

We heard a whole lot about how working families were going to get lifted up in Portland and in Topeka and in San Antonio, but the reality is, the folks who are getting enriched are in Beijing and Moscow and Panama City.

Finally, you don't have to take my word for it that these corporate windfalls overwhelmingly benefit those at the top. Fourteen years ago, the Federal Government gave corporations what is known as a repatriation holiday—a big tax break to bring back cash from overseas. What the American people heard back then sounds pretty familiar today. Corporations were going to invest in workers and equipment, and the money would trickle down to the middle class. That didn't work out either. More than 90 percent of the corporate cash windfall went to goodies for investors and CEOs. Once again, very, very one-sided.

Not even two decades later, the American people are still being fed the line about how their one-sided tax plans are going to deliver bulging paychecks to the middle class.

A few weeks ago, Treasury Secretary Mnuchin came to the Finance Committee. He was asked who really benefits when the Republican tax bill shows all of this cash on multinationals. He said: "Even if there are share buybacks . . . that capital is recycled back into the economy. It just doesn't sit in banks, it goes back into the economy." That sounds an awful lot like trying to put a new spin on the failed theory of trickle-down economics.

In my view, middle-class families are sick and tired of being told to wait for the benefits to somehow trickle down to them. From the get-go, our message on taxes was that if Senators were interested in real middle-class tax relief, we would be at the head of the line to work on it. I have been involved in a bipartisan bill. On this side, we were ready to go for a bipartisan approach focusing on the middle class. Instead, Republicans moved at breakneck speed to pass a one-sided bill that would fatten the accounts of the wealthy, the powerful, and CEOs around the world.

It is time for the Treasury Secretary to stop peddling the old huckster's line that somehow all of this is going to work out for the middle class if they would just wait long enough. That is not going to work because this bill was never about middle-class folks. We see it in the numbers. We see it in the fact that what the middle class gets is temporary, but now we know, while middle-class families keep waiting for the promises to come true, these stock buyback bonanzas, these investor windfalls are just going to keep rolling on in.

NOMINATION OF RUSSELL VOUGHT

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, Mr. Russell Vought is nominated to be the Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget. My view is, he has radically misguided budget priorities. He has long opposed bipartisan compromise. I am especially concerned about his well-documented history of inflammatory rhetoric. If confirmed, he would be the point person in charge of the President's budget. He is on record supporting an extreme fiscal strategy—one that would really threaten the full faith and credit of the country by engaging in debt ceiling brinkmanship, but I also oppose Mr. Vought's nomination because of his extreme vote on the budget and refusal to reach across party lines.

So we have an obligation to look at his extreme views, especially his vitriolic comments he has made, and to consider them among the recent examples of individuals who made similar comments and were deemed unfit for service.

Carl Higbie, a Trump surrogate during the 2016 campaign, was appointed as chief of external affairs at the Corporation for National and Community Service. He resigned from his taxpayer-funded post in shame after his history of hateful, bigoted rhetoric was brought to light. That history included saying he didn't like Muslims because he hated their religious ideology and even flatly admitted he was proud to be a racist if it meant being against Muslims.

Rev. Jamie Johnson was appointed last April to lead the Center for Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships. He, too, resigned in disgrace after media reports drew scrutiny to his use of racist rhetoric. During a 2008 interview, he said that African Americans had "turned America's major cities into slums because of laziness, drug use, and sexual promiscuity." He also said extremist terrorist groups were representative of all people of the Muslim faith.

For a person taking a job intended to promote partnerships, it was certainly important to call his job performance into question.

William Bradford was appointed to lead the Energy Department's Office of Indian Energy in 2017. He resigned after the media drew attention to comments

he made calling for the military to target Muslim women and children and equating American colleges to “Jihadi training camps.”

None of these individuals resigned because of their religion. In the United States—and I feel this so deeply—every person is free to practice the religion of their choosing and hold any and all beliefs. The reason these three individuals resigned from their positions was because their intolerant comments cast serious doubt on whether they were capable of working on behalf of all Americans.

That brings me to Mr. Vought's nomination. He has a long history of using inflammatory rhetoric to demonize his political opponents, and he just seems to abhor compromise. He has said that if Republicans fail “to beat back the forces of the left,” then “we will lose our country to tyranny.” Addressing a group of conservative activists in 2014, he said: “The left increasingly elects ideological storm troopers to Congress.” After he was nominated, the American Civil Liberties Union criticized his nomination because he had previously claimed that Muslims had a “deficient theology” and flatly stated that all Muslims “stand condemned.”

When I met with Mr. Vought, I asked him to clarify his inflammatory rhetoric. I always think it is important to give somebody a chance to break from the past, and I hoped to hear a softer approach. He chose to stand by what he said. In fact, he doubled down.

So I will close with this. In my view, nothing should have changed in the time since Mr. Higby, Reverend Johnson, and Mr. Bradford resigned in shame. This incendiary, vitriolic rhetoric is disqualifying.

One of the first requirements of nominees for public office is to respect Americans from all walks of life. This is true when you are talking about a position like the OMB Deputy Director which holds enormous influence over the Federal budget. Mr. Vought has a clear, documented record of disrespecting and demonizing those who think differently than he does, and I consider that disqualifying.

This administration may tolerate those who spew vile rhetoric, and maybe they believe it is right to reward them with powerful roles in government, but the Senate does not have an obligation to let the standards of decency and tolerance degrade in this manner.

For this reason, I oppose the Vought nomination.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

RUSSIAN FINANCIAL INFLUENCE

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I come to the floor to give the first of several speeches on Russia's hybrid warfare operations against the West. Today, I want to highlight one aspect of this ongoing destabilization effort: the Kremlin's malign financial influence.

It is clear we need a whole-of-government approach and a comprehensive strategy to counter Russian aggression. A particular focus should be devoted to reducing secrecy in our financial system. It is a simple fact: Bad actors need money to conduct their activities. Yet our current financial system's opaqueness serves the interests of malevolent forces.

Greater transparency will make it harder for the Kremlin and its cronies to exert malign financial influence on our shores. The lack of transparency in our system is problematic for our banks here at home. The global nature of our financial system means that foreign actors can take advantage of our institutions for their own gain, which has implications for our national security.

I have looked at this issue through the lens of my work as ranking member of the Armed Services Committee, as well as my service on the Banking Committee and the Select Committee on Intelligence. Money laundering and other financial crimes are among the tools deployed by Russia as part of the Kremlin's larger influence campaign, which has been used against the United States and our allies and partners to advance the strategic and political goals of Russia. These activities are being used as weapons which threaten U.S. national security.

The Kremlin's use of malign financial influence is subtle and is part of a larger, coordinated operation of hybrid aggression by the Kremlin using a broad spectrum of military and non-military tools at its disposal. Russia recognizes that, for now, its military capabilities are limited relative to the United States and NATO, and it will seek to avoid a direct military conflict with the West. Instead, Russia deploys tactics that leverage its strengths and exploit our systematic vulnerabilities.

As laid out in the Russian National Security Strategy of 2015, the Kremlin's approach to conflict includes weaponizing tools and resources from across government and society. The Russian strategy states: “Interrelated political, military, military-technical, diplomatic, economic, informational, and other measures are being developed and implemented in order to ensure strategic deterrence and the prevention of armed conflicts.”

This describes what may be called a Russian “hybrid” approach to confrontation below the threshold of direct armed conflict, a method that has been developing and escalating since the earliest days of Putin's rise to power in Russia. The main tenets of the Kremlin's hybrid operations are: information operation with cyber tools—which people commonly think of as hacking—propaganda and disinformation, manipulation of social media, and malign influence, which can be deployed through political or financial channels.

As a nation, we are beginning to unpack what happened in the 2016 Presi-

dential election with respect to certain aspects of Russian hybrid operations. For example, we are learning how the Russians combined hacking operations with the release of information timed for maximum political damage. We have also learned more about Russia's manipulation of social media with Kremlin-linked cyber armies. But we have yet to understand the depths of how the Kremlin has used money as a weapon and how it has harmed our national security and our democracy. For this aspect of its hybrid arsenal, Russia is using money as a tool of warfare to exploit the vulnerabilities of our democratic institutions to its advantage.

The Russian system of corrupt financial influence rests on Putin's domestic power structure. The Putin regime is fundamentally a kleptocracy, which is a system where corrupt leaders use their power to exploit their country's people and natural resources in order to extend their personal wealth and personal power. Putin has systemically fostered kleptocratic conditions by exploiting state funds and resources to reward a group of close associates, commonly referred to as oligarchs. Many of these associates have a personal connection to Putin and have gained their positions of power or fortune due to their relationship with him. Often these political and personal relationships were forged in childhood, early adulthood, or during Putin's days in the KGB and the St. Petersburg government.

In exchange for wealth, privilege, and often impunity, this group of Putin's cronies are readily deployed to act on behalf of Kremlin interests. As Russian scholar and journalist Joshua Yaffa detailed, “Oligarchs finance the ‘black ledger,’ . . . money that does not go through the budget but is needed by the state, to finance elections and support local political figures, for example.” Funds leave the state budget as procurement orders, and come back as off the books cash, to be spent however the Kremlin sees fit.”

Russia's kleptocratic system reinforces Putin's power in several ways. First, he controls who profits from state coffers, making the recipients of state largess indebted to him. Second, he can outsource projects of financial influence, which provides him with access to private wealth streams and gives him plausible deniability if the projects have a nefarious aspect. Finally, this system allows Putin to ensnare oligarchs who may have enriched themselves through a corrupt deal or committed crimes that were state-sanctioned.

Not only has Putin been able to use corruption to protect his power base at home, but he has then exported his kleptocratic system as part of his arsenal of hybrid warfare. The Kremlin has studied the gaps in Western society and leverages the oligarchs' wealth through the system of power Putin created, to buy our influence, distort our markets, and warp our democratic institutions.

As the Center for Strategic and International Studies report, “The Kremlin Playbook,” notes, “Corruption is the lubricant on which this system operates, concentrating the exploitation of the state resources to further Russia’s networks of influence.” A by-product of this malign financial influence is the use of ill-gotten gains to further fuel the cycle of corruption and fund other aspects of the Kremlin’s hybrid aggression.

As I mentioned, Putin and his inner circle often deploy these financial influence tactics through an oligarch. These intermediaries are not officially affiliated with the government and appear to operate independently, which makes them harder to detect and gives the Kremlin plausible deniability.

In conventional warfare, the tools of war are implements of physical destruction, but under Putin’s tactics of financial malign influence the tools are the same as any large-scale criminal organization: offshore tax havens and banking centers, shell companies, money laundering, with the addition of Russian majority-owned state banks.

Russian malign financial influence and the proceeds from this activity are harming our national security and corrupting our democratic institutions. As described in “The Kremlin Playbook,” “The mechanisms of Russian influence are designed to thrive in Western democracies because they use Western rules and institutions and exploit their systematic weaknesses.”

And these tactics appear to be updated versions of similar tools used against us in the past. As Russian expert Brian Whitmore wrote, “In many ways, Russian corruption is the new Soviet communism. The Kremlin’s black cash is the new red menace.”

He further described this threat as “a web of opaque front corporations, murky energy deals and complex money laundering schemes which ensnare foreign elites and form a ready-made Kremlin lobby.”

Let’s think about that for a second. The Kremlin is buying off foreigners to do its bidding within its own societies. And the way they are buying influence is obscured through exploiting Western banking laws and international financial systems. We have no way of knowing whom this money is going to or what it is buying. Russia is using our blind spot to advance their political and strategic goals and, in the process, corrupt and warp our institutions from within.

Let’s take a look at how they are doing it. One way the Kremlin is asserting malign financial influence is through personal relationships, established by oligarchs or through other Kremlin-linked business executives. As Vice President Biden and former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Michael Carpenter warned in a recent article in *Foreign Affairs*, this arrangement “gives the Kremlin enormous leverage over wealthy Russians who do business in the West and over Western

companies that do business in Russia. Moscow can ask (or pressure) such businesspeople and companies to help finance its subversion of political processes elsewhere.”

One oligarch who used this method is Oleg Deripaska. Deripaska has been a close Putin ally for decades. Deripaska is transparent about how his wealth was deployed as a tool for the Kremlin, stating:

If the state says we need to give it up, we’ll give it up. I don’t separate myself from the state. I have no other interests.

He served as the benefactor for a variety of political activities that advanced Kremlin interests. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, this financial backing included paying Paul Manafort, who later became Trump’s campaign manager, \$10 million a year to advance Kremlin interests in Ukraine, Georgia, and Montenegro. Investigations from NBC News and the *New York Times* found that Deripaska fronted Manafort an estimated \$60 million for other business ventures and loans, moving the funds through shell companies in Cypress and the Cayman Islands.

A second way these influence activities can be deployed is through Russian majority state-owned banks. These banks do not function like the ones we deal with every day. In fact, these banks often don’t care about making profits at all. Instead, they are using money as a weapon of influence, to advance the Russian state or enrich people who may ultimately advance the Kremlin’s aims.

An example is the Vnesheconombank, commonly known as VEB. The U.S. Treasury Department described VEB as a “payment agent for the Russian government.” This bank is essentially controlled by Putin’s inner circle as the President picks the chairman and the Prime Minister sits on its supervisory board. Foreign Policy journalist Elias Groll deemed the bank “a precision-guided diplomatic weapon.” As such, VEB has taken on a range of projects with one common goal—to advance Kremlin interests. VEB financed a large share of the \$50 billion Sochi Olympics, attempted to shore up the troubled Ukrainian steel industry, and underwrote the losses of key Putin cronies whose financial interests were hurt by U.S. and EU sanctions.

VEB is under sanctions for its role in financing Kremlin aggression against Crimea and eastern Ukraine. VEB garnered headlines because it was used as a cover for a spying ring with efforts to recruit people such as Carter Page, who later became a Trump campaign associate. According to the Department of Justice, conversations recorded between these Russian spies reveal that they saw tactics of financial influence as a way to gain Page’s cooperation. In addition, VEB Chairman Sergey Gorkov, a close Putin ally, met with Jared Kushner in December 2016, while VEB remained under sanctions. While the Trump administration said that

the meeting was in Kushner’s capacity as an incoming government official, a spokesman for Putin said that it was for business reasons. This bank is losing billions of dollars funding projects of political and strategic value to the Kremlin, bailing out oligarchs and being used as cover for spies. These activities don’t match with those of a “normal bank.”

Another tool of Russian financial influence is offshore banking centers or tax havens, which refers to financial institutions in a place that is different from where the depositor lives. Usually this is done for the financial and legal advantages the location provides, including secrecy and little or no taxation. The Russians have used these centers to facilitate the movement of money out of Russia. Once money finds a home in an offshore banking center, it can be relabeled as “foreign” and then can move back to Russia or to a third destination with the origin and ownership of the funds obscured.

The Panama Papers—a leak of over 11 million files from one of the world’s largest offshore law firms—showed that between 2007 and 2013, nearly \$2 billion had been funneled through offshore accounts to those in Putin’s inner circle. Top centers for Russian offshore banking include Cyprus, the Bahamas, the British Virgin Islands, Switzerland, and Bermuda. Russian experts, Michael Weiss and Peter Pomerantsev, noted: “These destinations, prized for their secrecy laws and tax havens, often make cameos whenever Russian corruption scandals are exposed in the international press.”

Cyprus became a particularly important haven for the Kremlin after the United States and the European Union issued sanctions against Russia for its aggression in Crimea and eastern Ukraine. Cyprus provided a haven for Russian oligarchs and others from Putin’s inner circle to keep their money safe from sanctions and served as a launching point for the money to be used to finance further malign influence activities.

Often the Kremlin and Kremlin-linked actors utilize offshore tax havens and shell companies together. Shell companies are legal entities that generally have no physical assets or operations and may be used solely to hold property rights or financial assets. Russia has exploited these shell companies as a tool to obscure true ownership, fund shady deals, launder ill-gotten gains, and further the cycle of corruption.

One Kremlin-linked money laundering operation, commonly referred to as the laundromat, moved an estimated \$20 billion out of Russia through Eastern Europe and then to banks around the world. The Russian journalists who uncovered the scheme found that the beneficiaries were Russian business executives who had state contracts with Russian Government or government-owned entities worth the equivalent of hundreds of millions of U.S. dollars.

The money was laundered by 21 shell companies based in the United Kingdom, Cypress, and New Zealand.

While it is easy to dismiss this as a problem that occurs in other countries rather than our own, Kremlin and Kremlin-linked actors are also exploiting our own laws in the United States to deploy these tools of financial influence. They are taking advantage of laws that do not require disclosure of who really owns a company or whose money is really funding these entities. They are taking advantage of the secrecy permitted in our system to continue their corrupt practices and intertwine their money into our systems.

As Acting Deputy Assistant Attorney General Day testified at a recent Banking Committee hearing, “the pervasive use of front companies, shell companies, nominees and other means to conceal the beneficial owners of assets is one of the great loopholes” in the anti-money laundering regime of the United States. Similarly, the 2015 Treasury Department’s National Money Laundering Risk Assessment estimates that \$300 billion is generated annually in illicit proceeds of the United States and cites shell companies as a means to move these funds into our domestic banking system.

The global, interconnected nature of our financial system has also been manipulated by Kremlin-linked actors to hold or move illicit funds and launder their ill-gotten gains across the West. In one prime example, Deutsche Bank was revealed to be helping Russian clients illegally launder \$10 billion between 2011 and 2015 in a mirror-trading scheme in which rubles were surreptitiously converted into dollars. This scheme would begin with Deutsche Bank’s Moscow branch buying Russian stocks in rubles. Shortly after, sometimes on the same day, a related party would sell the same Russian stock in the same quantity and at the same price through Deutsche Bank’s London office, but in dollars.

The New York State Department of Financial Services found that the parties doing the buying or selling were closely related to both sides such as through common ownership and that none of the trades demonstrated any legitimate economic rationale. The New York State Department of Financial Services concluded: “By converting rubles into dollars through security trades that had no discernible purpose, the scheme was a means for bad actors within a financial institution to achieve improper ends while evading compliance with applicable laws.” Deutsche Bank paid \$425 million to New York State in fines and an additional \$204 million to U.K. regulators for this money laundering scheme.

Kremlin-linked actors have also used real estate to launder illicit Russian funds in the United States and elsewhere. Often the purchase of real estate is done through an intermediary, which both obscures the true ownership of the property and hides the ori-

gin of the funds. These purchases are often all-cash deals, which is particularly problematic to trace and cut banks out of the process, which removes a crucial layer of oversight. Indeed, FinCEN, the Treasury Department’s Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, called out all-cash real estate deals in August of 2017 as an area of particular concern due to its lack of anti-money laundering protections.

One recent example of using all-cash real estate as a means to launder funds is the case of the Russian firm Prevezon. Prevezon is a firm owned by Denis Katsyv, the son of the former Kremlin Transportation Minister and a key Putin ally. Prevezon was charged by the Justice Department in connection with laundering the proceeds of an elaborate \$230 million tax refund fraud scheme, including buying real estate in Manhattan with some of the profits from this scheme.

As described, these tactics of financial influence, part of the Kremlin’s hybrid arsenal, have a corrupting and destabilizing effect on our democracies. Beyond the tactic itself, which is deployed to advance Kremlin aims, the ill-gotten gains created from these tactics continue to serve to concentrate Putin’s hold on power and fund other aspects of Russian hybrid warfare operations.

Profits gained from tactics of financial influence have underwritten the following malign activities: raising private militias to fight in Ukraine and Syria; assisting Russian military intelligence with conducting signals intelligence operations and other specialized technology and training against the United States in the 2016 election; funding troll operations that manipulate social media platforms in information operations against us and our allies; paying construction costs for a bridge between Crimea and the Russian mainland, which, once completed, will help the Kremlin to solidify its illegal annexation of Crimea.

The common link through all of these tools is secrecy. Putin and his kleptocratic system thrives on secrecy and on hybrid operations that blur the lines between legitimate economic activity and corruption, and between conflict and cooperation.

We need to take a serious look at how our government is organized to counter Kremlin hybrid operations in their totality. But one thing is for certain; we need to reduce secrecy in our banking system, which leaves us more vulnerable to the manipulation of our free market system by the Kremlin and Kremlin-linked actors.

We are getting a reputation around the world as a place to go if you want to hide money. This is contrary to both American values and the traditional role of the United States as the enforcer of international norms.

Starting in May of this year, many financial institutions will have to collect and verify the identity of the beneficial owners of companies at the time

of an account opening as a result of Treasury’s customer due diligence rule. While this is a start, we need to go further and pierce the veil of secrecy that has shrouded our system. We heard testimony in the Banking Committee on ways to improve U.S. disclosure requirements, including requiring disclosure of all beneficial owners, regardless of ownership stake.

I applaud those who have already been thinking about this issue. This includes recommendations, put out earlier this month by the Center for American Progress, that call for concrete reforms, including curbing abuses of shell companies, increasing FinCEN’s budget, and amending portions of the Bank Secrecy Act and Money Laundering Control Act in a way that would provide greater transparency and regulation regarding the sale of real estate.

There are also legislative fixes that have been proposed in the Senate. I appreciate that my colleagues Senators WHITEHOUSE, FEINSTEIN, and GRASSLEY have introduced legislation, the True Incorporation Transparency for Law Enforcement Act. I also recognize my colleagues Senators WYDEN and RUBIO for introducing the Corporate Transparency Act in the Senate. I know similar efforts have been made in the House of Representatives.

I intend to take a close look at these legislative proposals but the key, in my opinion, is making sure that we are able to trace these shell companies back to who is specifically benefiting and directing them; that is, any serious effort to determine ownership must stop only when a specific individual or individuals have been identified. Too often we take one step and find another shell company and stop right there. That doesn’t lead us to anyone. We have to find the individuals who are benefiting from and directing these activities.

The use of these shell companies, as I have said repeatedly throughout my comments, has a real effect on our national security. As the Special Counsel indictment against what is commonly called the “troll factory” shows, close Putin ally Yevgeny Prigozhin was funding an organization conducting what it called “information warfare against the United States.” Prigozhin used 14 affiliated shell companies to fund this operation as a way to hide the true source of funds. Without the full investigatory power and subpoena power of the Special Counsel’s office, we probably would not have uncovered the true ownership behind this operation. The Kremlin designs it that way, and we can’t let them keep getting away with it.

Part and parcel with exposing beneficial ownership would be to stand up an interagency task force led by FinCEN to follow the flow of illicit Russian money into the United States. This task force should leverage the intelligence community, the State Department, and other relevant government agencies to take a comprehensive

approach to uncovering where the money is going and how these ill-gotten gains are being spent. Remaining passive and waiting, is not going to deter, disrupt, and finally defeat these deliberate Russian efforts to undermine our basic institutions.

I will continue to work with my colleagues on the Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee, the Armed Services Committee, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and others to ensure that our national security apparatus has the requisite authorities.

What we need now is initiative by the administration to fully resource and to direct a comprehensive approach to detect, disrupt, and prevent this Russian interference. We need to put the appropriate resources against this threat. The heart of our democracy—our election process—was attacked by the Russians. As we learned yesterday from Admiral Rogers of Cyber Command, it is under attack as we speak today, and we can expect the attacks against the 2018 election cycle to increase with both frequency, boldness, and, unfortunately, effectiveness if we remain passive—indeed, paralyzed—as we are today. We have to recognize that the money that is being generated through these malign financial activities is being used not only to enrich Putin and his cronies but is being used to attack the United States very effectively. Putin has exploited our own laws that favor financial secrecy and has used clandestine tactics to his advantage at a relatively inexpensive cost.

Increasing, for example, resources to FinCEN in the Treasury Department or standing up and funding a task force, as I described, and devoting the necessary resources to tracing shell companies back to the people responsible would be a small fraction of what it would cost to use conventional forces to deter Russian aggression. Indeed, deploying a combat team to the Baltics is more expensive, I would suspect, than setting up a team of experts here in Washington that will go after these funding streams, and without the money, they cannot conduct their operations.

Mr. President, we often hear the expression “follow the money” as a way to identify the cause of a problem, and that is true here. Today, we know that our democracy and many others are under attack by the Government of Russia. Responding to this reality will require a comprehensive strategy to counter Russian asymmetric and hybrid tactics. However, as I laid out, an immediate step we can take is a concerted effort to bring greater transparency to our financial system. If we fail to do so, we will continue to have that very secrecy used against our national security interests and the interests of all of our allies.

Now is the time to act. We are being attacked. To sit back and absorb the punches will lead only to defeat, not to a final victory over our adversaries.

I yield the floor.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. YOUNG). Morning business is closed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

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

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Russell Vought, of Virginia, to be Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

TRIBUTE TO SALLY-ANN ROBERTS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, it is very hard, as the Presiding Officer knows, to become an icon in television news as station owners change, as demographics change, and as on-air personalities change. The “Guinness Book of World Records” actually tracks the longest serving television news broadcaster. In case one is curious, the current record holder is a broadcasting legend named Don Alhart, who has been delivering the news in Rochester, NY, for 51 years. I am happy for Mr. Alhart, but Sally-Ann Roberts could have taken that title from him had she not decided it was time to pass the baton.

After 41 years at WWL-TV Channel 4, in the great city of New Orleans, Sally-Ann Roberts is embarking on a new chapter in her life. She is retiring today. If anybody is worthy of icon status, it is Sally-Ann, and she is absolutely humble about it. If you talk to her about her career, she will probably turn the conversation around to you. If you insist on talking about her career, she will always give credit to her parents for instilling such a strong work ethic and a love for the Lord in their children.

Ms. Roberts came to WWL-TV from Laurel, MS. She was working as the weekend anchor in that small, wonderful town. She didn't even work every weekend; she worked every other weekend. Talent, though, does not stay hidden in America. A WWL-TV journalist by the name of Angela Hill, an icon in her own right, stopped near Laurel for the night. She turned on the television, saw Sally-Ann, and immediately told her news director to hire Sally-Ann. Angela recognized intelligence and talent when she saw it. Very shortly thereafter, Ms. Sally-Ann Roberts had the city hall beat in New Orleans, and the rest, they say, is history.

For the past 26 years, Sally-Ann has anchored the morning show on WWL-TV Channel 4 in New Orleans. She is as much a part of the morning routine in

New Orleans as eggs and beignets. Part of the reason people feel so comfortable with Sally-Ann is her positive attitude and pleasing personality. During cooking segments, she has been known to sneak bites of the crispiest bacon. During stories about neglected children—stories that would break anyone's heart—she would often tell us that she was shedding light on the need for foster parents, always trying to be positive.

The Presiding Officer probably knows Ms. Sally-Ann Roberts's little sister. Her name happens to be Ms. Robin Roberts. Robin is an anchor on “Good Morning America.” A few years ago, Robin was diagnosed with a very rare blood disorder. A bone marrow transplant saved Robin Roberts's life. Sally-Ann Roberts provided that lifesaving bone marrow. Here is a typical story about Sally-Ann. She went through the bone marrow collection process on a Tuesday and a Wednesday. By Thursday, she was dressed to the nines and doing a national interview to emphasize how quick the recovery time is. She wanted to educate America about bone marrow donation.

Let me say again that Sally-Ann Roberts is an icon, and I don't use that word lightly. If she had wanted, she would have probably been anchoring the evening news before a national audience, but she loved and still loves New Orleans, and that was where she chose to remain.

She has had an extraordinary career as a broadcast journalist. I know she is excited about what comes next. I suspect she will spend some time with her grandchildren. I suspect she will continue writing books and also driving home the importance of bone marrow donation. Sally-Ann, I know, will not just put her feet up and sit. Audience members like me are grateful she devoted such a lengthy chapter of her life to Louisiana and to our great city of New Orleans.

God bless you, Sally-Ann Roberts. Thank you for giving so much to our community and to our State.

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

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

TAX REFORM

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, I have been coming to the floor to talk about the many ways the tax relief law has helped people all across America.

Last week, there were even more examples. One thing we saw was the “Economic Report of the President” that came out last Wednesday. This is a report from the top economists at the White House. According to the report, the tax relief law that we have passed and signed into law is going to raise

the average wages for working families across this country by over \$4,000 in the long run. That is a huge raise. This report said that more than 4 million workers are also getting one-time cash bonuses and other benefits. These one-time cash bonuses mean a great deal to American families. It says that so far, over \$2 billion in cash bonuses have been given.

Today in Wyoming, we heard another great report that Taco John's—an establishment at which I frequently ate lunch when I was in the Wyoming Legislature, as did so many members of the Wyoming Legislature. They are providing bonuses for employees. That is another case in point. The reason they say they are doing it is the tax relief tax cut benefits that people all across the country are receiving as a result of the tax law we passed.

If you remember, a lot of Democrats predicted gloom and doom if we were to pass this piece of legislation. NANCY PELOSI actually said it was Armageddon. She said it was the end of the world. Well, with all of these workers getting bigger paychecks and more take-home pay, Democrats have now started to panic. NANCY PELOSI said all the benefits people are getting under the tax law are "crumbs." That is what she called them, but that is not what people across the State of Wyoming are calling them.

I received a note the other day from a man who said he heard all the rhetoric from NANCY PELOSI and the Democrats. He said: "Here is what the crumbs mean to a fellow working in Casper, Wyoming." He said that the first thing he noticed was that his take-home pay was higher in his latest paycheck. He figures that the tax cut works out to about a 2-percent raise for him. He and his wife decided to put that money straight into his retirement savings plan and invest it. He figures that over time, as those investments grow, it could add up to an extra \$97,000 by the time he is ready to retire. He said: "A few crumbs over time really do matter."

There was a second part of his story about what the Republican tax relief means for him and his family, and that is the bonus. Because of the tax cuts, his employer gave him a bonus of \$1,500. He said: "I plan to enjoy the summer just a little bit more with this surprise income." He said he is investing the tax cut in his retirement, and he is investing the bonus in creating additional memories with his family today. He said that it means they are going to take an extra camping trip to Yellowstone this summer. They will enjoy "a few more cookouts with families and friends this summer to savor the memories that this tax reform is providing."

That is what it means for people across the country—memories, family activities, vacation, and a better retirement—all of those things because of the tax law and tax relief passed for the American people. They are going to

do things they like doing, everything from going on vacation to going out for ice cream.

Tax reform has been very good for people in Casper, WY. It is good for his family. He wrote to tell me about it. It is good for the local businesses that he will be supporting, where he will be spending his money, traveling around the State, going on vacation, camping trips, cookouts, and making memories. They are not crumbs.

I don't know why Democrats who voted against the tax cuts even came to Washington in the first place. I do know that Republicans came here with a purpose—a purpose to give families more opportunities to invest in their futures like this man is doing.

There was another new survey that came out last week. They talked with heads of companies across America, and they talked about the confidence index that we are seeing nationwide. That is because of the tax relief law. The survey found that 89 percent of these business leaders are confident in the U.S. economy's prospects this year. It is at an alltime high.

Look at 2016—the last year of the Obama administration—and 2017 and 2018. That is an enormous jump from the 39 percent that business leaders were feeling in terms of confidence back in 2016. It is even bigger than last year, when 80 percent said they were confident. The reason for the jump is simple. When we look at what has changed since 2016, there were a couple of very big things.

First is the way that Republicans have been cutting back on Washington's burdensome, punishing, and destructive regulations. It is going to save Americans a lot of money and a lot of time.

The second thing that happened is that Republicans in Congress passed the tax relief law. That is why millions of Americans are getting a pay raise. That is why Americans are more confident about our economy. The business leaders are right. They should be confident about the state of America's economy because Republicans are just getting started.

Our economy should have been growing much more quickly ever since the recession ended almost 9 years ago, but it didn't during the last administration because the politics and the policies of the Democrats in Washington held our economy back. Now we have Republican policies, and the economy is much stronger. America's economy grew by just 1.8 percent in 2016. That is tepid growth compared to what we expect and what we are used to. Last year, it grew by 2.5 percent. We added 2.2 million jobs in 2017. Confidence is soaring.

Democrats don't want to hear about it. They don't want to talk about it. They don't want to hear from their constituents who are getting a raise and getting more money in their paychecks. They consider it crumbs. They almost appear to be rooting for the

economy to stall. Some may want the economy to look more like it did when they were in charge.

The American people are going to look at what the Democrats did and realize that what the Republicans did made a huge difference in their lives. People are going to look at the fact that every Democrat in the Senate voted against the tax cuts. Then people are going to look at what Republicans have done and what it means for people's take-home pay. That is why Republicans are here. It is what we promised to do. That is what we are going to continue to do.

ENERGY INFRASTRUCTURE

Mr. President, I would like to speak about energy infrastructure. President Trump has shown that he intends to be a champion for upgrading our country's aging highways, bridges, and water infrastructure. As chairman of the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works, I will be working with President Trump to modernize our infrastructure. This includes working to upgrade America's energy infrastructure, things such as electric transmission lines and natural gas pipelines. These facilities need to be repaired and modernized, and we need to build new facilities as well.

Often, these investments can be made without any taxpayer funding. People get the benefit of new jobs, economic growth, and the affordable and reliable energy that these projects supply. It is good for everybody, including the taxpayers. We just need to make sure the government doesn't get in the way.

Recently, there was an important reminder of the need for energy infrastructure development. It was that blast of cold weather and heavy snow that hit the Northeast part of the country earlier this year. Normally, natural gas accounts for about 48 percent of the power generated in New England. During this big winter storm in January, gas accounted for only 16 percent. That is because there aren't enough natural gas pipelines in the region to deliver all of the gas they needed for heating and for power. This shouldn't happen in America, where we are the No. 1 natural gas producer in the world.

To meet the demand in New England, powerplants and utilities have had to take the drastic step of importing liquefied natural gas from Russia. Can you imagine such a thing? This is a tanker, and it carried gas from a Russian company called Yamal LNG—liquefied natural gas. The gas came from a facility in Siberia, and they were taking it right into the Boston Harbor last month. This is the location of the Boston Tea Party, and we are bringing in Russian LNG.

You might think that local leaders in the region would want to avoid importing gas from our adversaries, like Russia. You might think they would want more American pipelines to power our communities. That is not what is happening in the Northeast part of this

country. Instead, leaders in that region have been vocal opponents of new pipelines. They blocked the pipelines.

People who have been vocal opponents of the new pipelines include some of the Democrats who represent that part of the country right here in the Senate. They refused to allow responsible and safe energy development to give people in the Northeast the natural gas the families and businesses need. These Democrats claim they are protecting the environment. That is simply not true.

There was a headline in the Boston Globe a couple of weeks ago. The headline was "Our Russian pipeline, and its ugly toll." That was in the Boston Globe. The article pointed out that Russia actually has much lower standards than the United States when it comes to protecting the environment. Democrats are just playing the old game of "not in my backyard." We see the same thing so often when it comes to energy infrastructure projects.

We should be looking for ways to make energy as clean as we can, as fast as we can, without raising costs for American families. When it comes to actually producing the energy, Democrats put up roadblocks to keep it from happening.

If we are going to build America's infrastructure, we need to streamline the process, and we need to start cutting the redtape. We need to build faster, better, cheaper, and smarter. It is true for roads and bridges and also true for our energy infrastructure.

Let me conclude by telling you that this article in the Boston Globe called on leaders in the Northeast to stop prioritizing short-term political gains at the expense of energy security and the environment. I urge my colleagues in the Senate to do the same. We should be talking about not just energy security and energy independence and not being dependent on foreign sources of energy from our enemies but focus on American energy, U.S. energy, and American jobs. We certainly shouldn't put America in a position of being dependent on Russia or others to heat our homes and power our economy. We should all support responsible energy infrastructure development so American communities can run on American energy.

Thank you, Mr. President.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Wyoming for his remarks on American energy and American energy independence, particularly the work we have done in Wyoming and Colorado. When you think about the opportunities we have to free up markets for Colorado and Wyoming produced oil or gas, it is truly remarkable.

The Senator and I also share the great work that takes place at F.E. Warren Air Force Base. F.E. Warren Air Force Base has a significant role to

play in the nuclear triad, with facilities in both Colorado and Wyoming. That is obviously something very important to our national security.

One of the other things I think is important to bring to this conversation that the Senator from Wyoming talked about is the national security component that energy can play and the important role that it has. We can export our energy not just to the Midwest or to the eastern parts of this country, but we can take that gas produced in Wyoming and Colorado and export it to Asia and Europe, to countries that want American energy, that desire American energy resources, not energy resources from tyrants and dictators like Russia and other places we see around the globe.

This is an opportunity for us to really show, and I commend my colleague for his leadership on energy.

MODERNIZING THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. President, I have come to the floor today to talk primarily about the work Secretary Zinke has done in the Department of Interior and to thank him for taking a bold approach to modernizing the Department of the Interior. I commend him for taking this approach.

The Secretary knows that 93 percent of all Federal land is located in the western part of the United States. This map shows the Federal lands around our country. If you look at the eastern seaboard, you can see a lot of patches of white, with a few patches of red in Virginia, West Virginia, the George Washington National Forest, the Shenandoah National Park. In Florida, you can see the Everglades National Park, the Great Smoky Mountains, but you can see the predominant shade of the western part of this country is red. Red signifies all the areas that are owned by the Federal Government.

Look at the State of Nevada. Almost the entire State of Nevada is owned by the Federal Government—is public land. Look at the State of Colorado. It is public land owned by the Federal Government.

Nationwide, the Bureau of Land Management is responsible for managing approximately 700 million acres of Federal mineral estate located underground and all of the Federal land management agencies' holdings. So it is not just land that is held by the Bureau of Land Management in Colorado, in fact, they hold even more when it comes to our mineral holdings.

The BLM is also responsible for administering 245 million acres of Federal surface lands. As this map points out, nearly all of it in this country is in the 11 western-most States and Alaska.

Historically, local BLM field offices have been diligent and effective managers of the public land for multiple use, as they are charged to do under the Federal Land Policy and Management Act.

In fact, when I meet with county commissioners and others in the West,

they all talk about the good relationship they have with their field offices and the good decisions they are able to reach with those field offices.

Although, unfortunately, in recent years, directives and management coming from the BLM headquarters in Washington, DC—a long ways away from these publicly held lands out West, the 200-plus million acres of Federal land held by the BLM thousands of miles away from Washington, DC—have favored deep-pocketed, radical special interests over field office decisions and the opinions of those who live near and who actually use this land.

Whether it is the withdrawal of mineral leasing or the reduction of grazing permits, the concept of multiple use—something that was fundamental to the founding of our public land agencies—has fallen out of favor with the Bureau of Land Management.

When you don't live in the communities that are among and surrounded by these lands, it is easy to make these decisions that close off energy development or close off recreational opportunities or close out cattle ranching because the consequences are felt out West, 1,000-plus miles away from the decision makers in the Potomac.

The BLM Headquarters Relocation Act is legislation I have introduced to fix this problem.

I was pleased to see within its budget request that the Department of the Interior is planning a modernization of their organization and infrastructure for the next 100 years. At the very top of this modernization plan should be relocating the BLM headquarters out West. Move it out of Washington and put it exactly in the middle of these lands.

Grand Junction, CO, the Western Slope of Colorado, is a beautiful place, a great city that can accommodate an agency headquarters and has the benefit of a populous that is intimately familiar with public land management policy and decision making. It makes perfect sense. It has a great airport, interstate access, a county with well over half of its land held by public land agencies. It is a community surrounded by public land. It is a community that is surrounded by people who are affected by those public land decisions. Doesn't it make more sense to have those decisions coming from the lands that they are regulating than from the beltway of Washington?

This proposal has strong bipartisan support—Republicans and Democrats who agree. Let's put the decision makers into places where those decisions are felt first and foremost. Making this agency more accountable to the people who have to deal with its management decisions by putting its headquarters among the land managers would be a huge start and a great recognition that we can modernize this agency and this Department for the next 100 years.

Thank you, Mr. President.

I look forward to working with my colleagues on this critical piece of legislation, and I look forward to working with Secretary Zinke and the Department of the Interior to achieve this goal.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GARDNER). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for up to 3 minutes as in morning business.

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

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR TIP PROPOSAL

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, earlier today I talked to a server who worked in a restaurant in Northeast Ohio, in Trumbull County, north of Youngstown, and she is concerned, as I am, about a proposal from the U.S. Department of Labor that pretty much legalizes wage theft.

We know, in this country right now, servers, or tipped workers, can be the person who pushes the wheelchair in the airport. I spoke to somebody the other day who drove one of those airport carts in the Cleveland airport. She makes \$5 an hour because she is supposed to rely on tips to get up to the minimum wage, but she doesn't always get tips, or a server who works in a restaurant, in a diner in Garfield Heights or in Chillicothe, OH, and makes sometimes only \$2.10 an hour and relies on tips. That is enough of a problem—that companies that employ tipped workers can pay such low wages—but that is compounded by this rule that comes out of the White House and the Department of Labor that really is tantamount to wage theft. The rule simply says the tips you put on the table at a Denny's or at a Bob Evans, the management—the employer—can take those tips and distribute them however he or she wants to other workers in the restaurant.

Now, plenty of waitresses and plenty of waiters and servers give out some of their tips, distribute them to the bartender or others, and that is their choice, but for the employer to be able to take the tips from a worker, from a server, and decide whom to give it to in the back office or in the kitchen—someone they are not paying enough to anyway; to make up for that—or for the employer to just take the money and put it in their pockets, under this rule coming out of the Department of Labor—this is the Secretary of Labor and a government that is supposed to represent workers, supposed to advocate for labor. This administration has turned that upside down, where the Secretary of Labor is advocating for employers and basically legalizing wage theft—taking that money from tipped workers who work so hard.

We know how hard everybody at a diner works. They are not making a lot of money. They rely on those tips. We are going to say—the U.S. Government, the Department of Labor, the President of the United States—is going to say: Oh, it is all right to take some of these tip dollars and put them in my pocket as the employer. Give it to the workers in the kitchen whom the company underpays because they are going to supplement their underpaid wages with tips. It is mean-spirited, it is legitimatizing wage theft, and we have no business doing it. There are 24 of us who have sent a letter to Secretary of Labor Acosta condemning his decision.

First of all, they did a study and found that this would take literally billions of dollars from the pockets of workers. They buried that study. We are saying, at least let that study out. Let people comment. Almost \$6 billion in tips every single year will be lost because of this decision. It is a really bad idea. It is mean-spirited, and it frankly legalizes wage theft. It should be defeated.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEE). Under the previous order, all postcloture time is expired.

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Vought nomination?

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Arizona (Mr. MCCAIN) and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. ROUNDS).

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 49, nays 49, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 40 Ex.]

YEAS—49

Alexander	Fischer	Paul
Barrasso	Flake	Perdue
Blunt	Gardner	Portman
Boozman	Graham	Risch
Burr	Grassley	Roberts
Capito	Hatch	Rubio
Cassidy	Heller	Sasse
Cochran	Hoeven	Scott
Collins	Inhofe	Shelby
Corker	Isakson	Sullivan
Cornyn	Johnson	Thune
Cotton	Kennedy	Tillis
Crapo	Lankford	Toomey
Cruz	Lee	Wicker
Daines	McConnell	Young
Enzi	Moran	
Ernst	Murkowski	

NAYS—49

Baldwin	Donnelly	Kaine
Bennet	Duckworth	King
Blumenthal	Durbin	Klobuchar
Booker	Feinstein	Leahy
Brown	Gillibrand	Manchin
Cantwell	Harris	Markey
Cardin	Hassan	McCaskill
Carper	Heinrich	Menendez
Cassey	Heitkamp	Merkley
Coons	Hirono	Murphy
Cortez Masto	Jones	Murray

Nelson	Shaheen	Warner
Peters	Smith	Warren
Reed	Stabenow	Whitehouse
Sanders	Tester	Wyden
Schatz	Udall	
Schumer	Van Hollen	

NOT VOTING—2

McCain Rounds

The VICE PRESIDENT. On this vote, the yeas are 49, the nays are 49. The Senate being equally divided, the Vice President votes in the affirmative, and the nomination is confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEE). Under the previous order, the motion to reconsider is considered made and laid upon the table and the President will be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

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 senior assistant legislative 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 nomination of A. Marvin Quattlebaum, Jr., of South Carolina, to be United States District Judge for the District of South Carolina.

Mitch McConnell, Thom Tillis, John Cornyn, John Kennedy, Richard Burr, Mike Lee, David Perdue, Steve Daines, James Lankford, Pat Roberts, Johnny Isakson, Jeff Flake, Lindsey Graham, Patrick J. Toomey, Marco Rubio, Tom Cotton, James E. Risch.

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 nomination of A. Marvin Quattlebaum, Jr., of South Carolina, to be United States District Judge for the District of South Carolina, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Arizona (Mr. MCCAIN) and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. ROUNDS).

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

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 69, nays 29, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 41 Ex.]

YEAS—69

Alexander	Coons	Flake
Baldwin	Corker	Gardner
Barrasso	Cornyn	Graham
Bennet	Cortez Masto	Grassley
Blunt	Cotton	Hassan
Boozman	Crapo	Hatch
Burr	Cruz	Heitkamp
Capito	Daines	Heller
Carper	Donnelly	Hoeven
Cassidy	Enzi	Inhofe
Cochran	Ernst	Isakson
Collins	Fischer	Johnson

Jones	Murkowski	Shaheen
Kaine	Nelson	Shelby
Kennedy	Paul	Sullivan
King	Perdue	Tester
Lankford	Portman	Thune
Leahy	Reed	Tillis
Lee	Risch	Toomey
Manchin	Roberts	Warner
McCaskill	Rubio	Whitehouse
McConnell	Sasse	Wicker
Moran	Scott	Young

NAYS—29

Blumenthal	Harris	Sanders
Booker	Heinrich	Schatz
Brown	Hirono	Schumer
Cantwell	Klobuchar	Smith
Cardin	Markey	Stabenow
Casey	Menendez	Udall
Duckworth	Merkley	Van Hollen
Durbin	Murphy	Warren
Feinstein	Murray	Wyden
Gillibrand	Peters	

NOT VOTING—2

McCain Rounds

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 69, the nays are 29.

The motion is agreed to.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of A. Marvin Quattlebaum, Jr., of South Carolina, to be United States District Judge for the District of South Carolina.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business.

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

GUN VIOLENCE

Mr. CASEY. Mr. President, I rise this afternoon—and I know I will be joined by a number of my colleagues on the floor—to talk about gun violence and to talk about what happened most recently and tragically in the State of Florida. I hope we can cover a number of aspects of this challenge, but I wanted to start with the victims who were killed at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School on February 14. I will make reference to the individuals more specifically a little later, but we are remembering them today. We are thinking of their families and certainly thinking as well of the surviving students.

We are praying for the families, the victims, and the survivors. I can't imagine what these families are dealing with right now just days after this tragedy. There are a lot of ways to express grief, a lot of ways to somehow articulate the loss. I can't do it adequately, so I will turn to, in this case, a songwriter, recording artist Bruce Springsteen. We all know a good bit of his music, but years ago, after 9/11, he wrote the lyrics to a song which was entitled, "You're Missing." Of course, it has application for those who have loved and lost, especially in this instance, so tragically.

Bruce Springsteen's words go, in part, like this, and the refrain of the song is "You're missing." At one point he says:

You're missing when I shut out the lights
You're missing, when I close my eyes
You're missing, when I see the sun rise

He is giving us a sense of the loss—all day, every day, all night, every night—for that family member. He was speaking and reflecting upon the losses of 9/11, but anyone who has lost a loved one, especially this way—in this case, victims of murder in the school—must be thinking the same about what is missing in their lives and who is missing in their life, whether it is a son, a daughter, or another loved one.

Gun violence in our country is all too common. It is almost hard to comprehend how common it has become, and unfortunately it is all too common not just for our country but especially for the younger generation. I will not provide lines of demarcation, but a lot of young people have known little else in their young lives but reading about or seeing on television stories about gun violence or being in the midst of an act of gun violence. At least hundreds of Americans have been in schools that have been the site of gun violence in the last 20 years or so.

What we ought to do here is, in addition to giving speeches and pointing out where we should go—that is helpful, I guess, but the most important thing the Senate can do is to debate and vote. It would be ideal if we would debate one bill and then vote on it, then have another debate on another bill and vote on that, and do that again and again and see where we end up. I think most people here would be willing to do that even if we knew the result, even if you could prove to us that this particular measure will not pass or this one will be close or that one might pass. Whatever the circumstance, we should debate this issue. This institution is supposed to be all about open debate on the issues of the day. That is what I think that not only young people across the country but people of all ages are expecting of us. They expect us to debate and vote and keep trying to pass a measure that might reduce or maybe even substantially reduce the likelihood of further gun violence in schools and all other kinds of places in our society.

Of course, we are thinking particularly about schools, where students should have a reasonable but sometimes cannot be sure of a reasonable expectation of security. I can't imagine this as a student. In all the years I was in school, we never even thought about this as a reality in our lives. People my age probably never thought about it for 1 minute. People who grew up in the 1960s or 1970s or 1980s never thought about this. It is only in the last generation or so that students have had to worry about and think about and unfortunately, for some, experience this kind of violence.

I was a teacher for 1 year. I was a volunteer in North Philadelphia in a fifth grade classroom. I only taught for a year and knew I would only be teaching for a year of volunteer work, but I

never thought about this. I can't imagine what I would do even if I had some training in law enforcement. Even if I had some training in how to handle a weapon, I can't imagine having to defend a classroom against this kind of killer with a high-powered weapon, where he can shoot bullets, one after another, into a classroom. I can't even imagine, and most people can't imagine.

Schools are supposed to be places of teaching, of learning, of friendship, of competition, and of engagement with all kinds of activities in a school. Of course, schools are supposed to be places of growth, where young people start high school or grade school—high school for 4 years, grade school for longer—come through that, and grow into the kind of person their families hope they will be. Schools should not be places of fear and trepidation and uncertainty about what might happen in that school. This is not a common thought that students in years past had, that they would go to school and not be safe, that they would go to school and potentially not come home.

What has been heartening and inspiring in the aftermath of this tragedy is what young people have done in Parkland in the State of Florida and, frankly, throughout the country. The other day, one of my colleagues said something that made a lot of sense. My colleague made the statement that the Senate is not where the focus of attention is. This Senator said that the focus of attention is on these young people. They are leading. In this case, Congress might have to follow, but we should follow them. They are leading on this. They are showing us the way. Young people are charting a new course on this issue, and they are not going away. They are going to be voting for 50 more years or longer. They are not going away, and this issue won't go away. They are leading us, and we should follow them. They and their families expect us to act. That means debating and voting. It doesn't just mean giving speeches or expressing condolence.

Many of us were moved and inspired by their leadership, and we continue to be so inspired. Many of us were moved to tears and outpourings of emotion on all of these tragedies. I will never forget what I was thinking and responding to when it came to the Newtown massacre at Sandy Hook Elementary School. That, for me, was a seminal moment in my life in the Senate. That tragedy informed how I would vote going forward. That tragedy moved me to take a different approach to these issues and, frankly, to vote a different way.

Starting in 2012 and 2013, in the aftermath of that tragedy, the one question I had to ask myself at the time—and I think we are still asking ourselves tragedy after tragedy—is there no action Congress can take that will substantially reduce the likelihood of gun violence in a school? Is there no action

that the most powerful country in the history of the human race can take to reduce this likelihood? If our answer is no, then I guess that is the way some will vote, and they will move on to other issues. I don't think many Americans believe that. I think most Americans believe there are actions we can take. It won't be one bill or one amendment or one vote, but there are a series of steps we can take over time, and it will take too much time, but we have to start now to consider, debate, and vote on a number of measures.

I want to turn to my colleagues in just a moment.

In the time after the Sandy Hook Elementary tragedy, I was, as many of us were, reading about these young children and the horror in that classroom. I happened to tear out a newspaper page from the Wall Street Journal. These were printed in all kinds of newspapers across the country. You can't see it from a distance, but it is a yellowed copy of that page. It is from the Wall Street Journal dated December 17, 2012, page A6. The inscription above it is "Shattered Lives." It has pictures of the students and pictures of their teachers and others in the school as well. They were all victims of gun violence. I won't go through the stories, but these are powerful stories of their lives. We have to ask ourselves, in the aftermath of that kind of a tragedy—just like the most recent tragedy—are we going to celebrate their lives and tell the world how much they contributed to the life of America but then in the same breath say: But we have to move on to another issue. I don't think that is an American approach. I don't think that is the approach of a great nation, of a great people.

When we are at our best, we tackle problems. We know it will take a long time. We know it will take a number of votes and a number of actions. But we have to begin. I think we should begin.

In this instance, I am not going to go through all the names or all the names from every tragedy, of course, but let me read just the first names of the victims in Parkland. I know the senior Senator from Florida, because of his concern for these victims and their families and his knowledge of his home State, will go into even more detail. I will read the first names. As we are reading them, we should think about what we can do, what we should do as a people, or should we just do what has been done too many other times and move on?

Alyssa, Scott, Martin, Nicholas, Aaron, Jaime, Chris, Luke, Cara, Gina, Joaquin, Alaina, Meadow, Helena, Alex, Carmen, and Peter—17 individuals who are missing in the lives of their family, missing what their classmates are experiencing every day; missing from the lives of those classmates, sometimes their best friends. As the songwriter says, those 17 are missing when they shut out the lights. They are missing when they close their

eyes at night. And they are missing when they see the sunrise.

We have an obligation. We are dutybound as an institution but maybe more importantly, as a people, to take action. The time is now—maybe not to finish action, but the time is now to take action.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, as the Senator from Pennsylvania is leaving, those are the people whose names he just read. That is why I am here to tell you that teachers, students, and staff at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School returned to school for the first time since that shooting 2 weeks ago. Some were ready. Some who returned were scared. Some didn't go back; they are going to a different school.

What happened at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School 2 weeks ago should never happen anywhere in this country, ever, ever, never again.

Look at those faces so full of promise. Here is the coach. He saved some of the kids' lives. He jumped in front of them. This is another adult who tried to save lives. Here is another adult who tried to save lives. It shouldn't happen in a school. It shouldn't happen at a nightclub, like Pulse. It shouldn't happen in an airport or a church or an outdoor concert. It shouldn't happen.

So why does it happen? Why does this keep happening over and over again? Well, I am going to tell you why. It is because of us. It is because all 100 Members of this Senate and all 435 Members down the hallway in the House of Representatives—it is our refusal to act. It is our failure to convince one another that there are some things that should be done regardless of party politics or polls or what the special interests want. They ought to be done simply because they are the right things to do.

What about a commonsense approach, like a background check every time somebody buys a gun? What about a comprehensive or universal background check that would expand if there is a restraining order? How about if there is a mental problem other than just an adjudicated mental order? How about the terrorist watch list? If you are on that list, you can't get on an airplane because you are suspected to be a terrorist. Why should they be able to buy a gun? How about if you had been on the terrorist watch list and are no longer? That would have caught the shooter in Orlando because Omar Mateen had been on the terrorist watch list and was no longer when he walked in and bought that Sig Sauer MCX and mowed down 49 people.

It is our refusal to act. It is our failure to convince one another that there are some things that should be done. If you take the commonsense approach of requiring a background check, that is the right thing to do. Banning the military-style assault rifles, that is the right thing to do.

People get confused. There is a difference between a semiautomatic rifle and an assault rifle. Ever since I was a little boy, I had a .22 semiautomatic rifle with a clip. That is not an assault weapon. Even a bullet coming from a handgun—as one of the trauma surgeons who tended to some of the victims in Broward County points out—that handgun bullet will go in and come out through a victim the same size as it went in. If it goes through an organ such as the liver, they can save that person. That is in contrast to an assault rifle weapon—a bullet that has three times the speed of a handgun bullet and that has three times the energy when it hits the victim. So if it goes into an organ such as the liver, it doesn't go through like a handgun bullet. It pulverizes the liver, and when it comes out on the other side of the body, it is as big as an orange. That is what an assault rifle is. Listen to the trauma surgeons. They will tell you.

We could take up commonsense legislation right now and enact these simple, commonsense measures to make our communities safer and help prevent another mass tragedy, but unfortunately I think it is going to be very difficult. For weeks now, even in the face of parents, students, and teachers across this country calling for action, we have done nothing. We have seen an entire community turn its grief and its outrage into a massive call for change, and we have done nothing.

Across this country we have seen gun owners destroy their own assault weapons. We have seen major corporations distance themselves from groups like the NRA and their discounts. Just today, we heard announced that private companies such as Dick's Sporting Goods are taking it upon themselves to stop selling these weapons of war. They are not going to sell AR-15s anymore. They are not going to do it because they were told to, because Congress passed a law, but because it was the right thing to do.

So if Congress fails to act now, when will we act? If these brave, young students who lost their fellow students and faculty aren't enough to break through the gridlock in Congress, what is it going to take? If this tragedy doesn't spur us to action, lead us to change, what will? When will enough finally be enough?

I say to my colleagues, the time to act is now. Let's not let what happened at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High fade into memory like so many other tragedies. Let's take this tragedy and make it a pivotal moment in our Nation's history. Let's not have to go through these massacres again. Let's let this be the last one.

Let's come together as a Senate and do what needs to be done. Let's do what so many before us have been unable to do—let's take action. Let's let this massacre be the last massacre.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, I appreciate the senior Senator from Florida, and the grief he represents through his State, coming to the floor and speaking about the lives which were lost and the clarion call for us to act.

I come to the floor today because 2 weeks ago, once again, a weapon of mass murder was used to commit mass murder in an American school, and, once again, our hearts are heavy with a grief that has become too routine.

Once again, the gun lobbyists say we are powerless to do anything about it, but this time it feels different. That is because the students of Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School have started a movement to turn “once again” into “never again.”

Unfortunately, too many of my colleagues act as if mass shootings are inevitable, when, in reality, they are preventable. The American people are sick and tired of it. That is why they have been so inspired by these students from Parkland.

I saw it with my own eyes last Sunday. A few of these Marjory Stoneman Douglas survivors came to visit New Jersey, and my constituents came out in droves to support them. Together with the Jewish Federation of Greater MetroWest and Moms Demand Action, we rallied well over 2,000 people in support of their “Never Again” movement.

What is remarkably refreshing about these students is, they are not yet jaded by the ways of Washington. They have spent their lives practicing active shooter drills. They have grown up being told that mass shootings are just a fact of life, but they know they deserve better.

After being thrust into a tragedy, they have turned their mourning into a movement. By speaking out, the students of Parkland have pricked the conscience of this country, and the American people are answering their call to action.

We see it at rallies across the country calling for tougher, smarter, commonsense gun safety laws. We see it in students across America organizing the March for Our Lives, and we see it in corporate America.

Companies such as United Airlines have already parted ways with the NRA. Retailers such as Dick’s Sporting Goods have announced they will take AR-15s off their shelves and stop selling guns to teenagers.

As Americans take action, the question is whether Congress will do the same. Far too many of my colleagues still fear a backlash from the NRA. That is why, after Las Vegas, they refused to ban the bump stocks that make mass shootings more deadly. That is why, after Sandy Hook, they refused to pass tougher background checks. That is why, after Orlando, they refused to even consider my own bill to ban the sale of high-capacity magazines. High-capacity magazines are designed for one thing and one thing only—high-capacity killing. They are the grim hallmark of mass

shootings in America, linking Parkland to Newtown, and Las Vegas to San Bernardino, and Aurora to Orlando.

Certainly, I have been encouraged to hear some of my colleagues say they may consider supporting limits on magazine sizes now. I have a legislation here I introduced months ago to do just that. The Keep America Safe Act is narrowly focused. It doesn’t infringe on anyone’s right to bear arms. I challenge all of my colleagues to sign on. However, in my view, we must do more than ban high-capacity magazines.

I, for one, voted for the assault weapons ban of 1994, when I was in the House of Representatives, and I am a cosponsor of the bill to reinstate it today. These weapons have no place in civilian society. They are not designed for self-defense. They are modeled after weapons our soldiers use on the battlefield, but if we are going to get anywhere, we must stop letting the NRA set the agenda in Washington.

It is amazing to me that some of my colleagues are effectively holding gun safety legislation hostage until they can pass their NRA-backed concealed carry bill.

I spent a lot of time hearing from my colleagues, particularly on the other side of the aisle, talk about State rights—State rights. Well, apparently, New Jersey’s right to enforce our own gun laws doesn’t count when it comes to State rights.

Our State has some of the toughest gun laws in the country, and it is no coincidence that we have the sixth lowest rate of gun deaths in the Nation. We want to keep it that way, but this bill, hot off the NRA’s wish list, would let concealed carry permit holders from States with looser standards bring their weapons to New Jersey.

At the end of the day, the NRA has 5 or 6 million members. We are a nation of 320-plus million people. While millions of responsible gun owners believe in the Second Amendment, poll after poll tells us they also believe in universal background checks and commonsense gun laws.

It is time we call out those who spout the same old NRA talking points, such as “Guns don’t kill people, people kill people.” Well, that is why we don’t run background checks on guns; we run them on people.

The NRA would have us believe that all we need to do is to have comprehensive background checks, when in reality what we need are universal background checks. This means requiring background checks for all private sales, transfers, and online sales on the internet. Why should you be able to buy, with a click of the mouse, a significant weapon without ever going through a background check?

Likewise, they say it is time for teachers to be armed and our schools to be “hardened.” Well, I haven’t met many teachers who want to be charged with assessing threats and taking lives in front of their own students. Let’s be

serious. Arming teachers wouldn’t stop the next Las Vegas. Only we can do that by passing sensible and reasonable gun safety measures that limit the sale of deadly weapons and keeping guns out of the wrong hands.

After running for their lives on February 14, the students of Marjory Stoneman Douglas will march for their lives on March 24. It is inspiring to see that despite all the dysfunction in Washington, young Americans still believe in their power to make change.

How tragic would it be if we in Congress proved them wrong and, once again, let business as usual in Washington prevent us from taking action to save lives? For my part, that is not going to happen.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TILLIS). The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. BOOKER. Mr. President, I appreciate the remarks of my senior Senator from New Jersey. His passion and his commitment to this issue, not just after this mass shooting, has been consistent in fighting for commonsense gun safety for years, and I am grateful for his leadership as my senior Senator.

It has now been 2 weeks since a gunman took the lives of 17 children, teachers, and school administrators in Parkland, FL. In the days and weeks since, we have seen young people from that community lead a movement for change that is growing in our country, standing up to special interests, standing up to the small minority of folks who seem to want to let the status quo continue, standing up to the NRA and the gun industry and making clear the fierce urgency of now, of this moment, of this day. These young people are showing what true courage is. They are showing it at a time of great grief, of great pain in their lives.

I know what they are fighting for. It is not a fringe issue. I know what they are fighting for. It is not representative of some small minority; they are fighting for the majority of Americans who agree with them, the majority of Americans who want commonsense gun safety in America. Those folks who own guns and those who don’t want background checks for all gun buyers, including those between private dealers and gun shows.

The majority of Americans don’t want people who are suspected terrorists to be able to go to a gun show and go to a private seller and drive off with a trunkful of weapons. The majority of Americans know that we should be keeping people with a history of domestic violence from getting their hands on a gun. The majority of Americans want to choke the pipeline of illegal guns that are flooding American communities from sea to shining sea, from the Great Lakes to the gulf coast.

The overwhelming majority of Americans know that we can do more to prevent gun violence. Sure, we can’t stop everyone, but we can do things that will reduce the violence, reduce the

number of deaths, and save lives. These are commonsense things that the majority of Americans—gun owners, non-gun owners, Republicans and Democrats—a majority of Americans support these policies that are proven.

For example, we know it is true that in States like Connecticut, when they instituted commonsense background checks, they saw firearm homicides drop by 40 percent. And we know that States that implement laws blocking perpetrators of domestic violence from getting guns see a significant reduction—upward of 10 percent—in homicides by people's intimate partners.

We know that between 2009 and 2013, States that have required background checks on handguns saw 35 percent fewer gun deaths per capita than States that didn't.

This is fact. We know that commonsense gun safety, supported by over 80 percent of gun owners and over 90 percent of Americans, will save lives.

Dr. King once said—and I am paraphrasing here—that morality can't be legislated, but behavior can be regulated; that the law can't make someone love me, but it stop them from lynching me; that the law can't change the heart, but it can restrain the heartless.

We know we have the power to make the change.

This is no panacea. These ideas will not solve all of the problems, but they can make a difference, and they can save lives.

The time to act is right now. To not act is to be complicit in the continued levels of violence in our communities.

Every day that passes with no action—every single day we see, on average, 96 Americans in this country killed by a gun, including children. Every day that we do not act in this body, dozens and dozens of our American fellow citizens are dying due to gun violence, much of it preventable. Too many families in this country, too many fellow Americans know the pain and the grief and the agony of what we see in the faces of the children from Parkland.

Gun violence isn't just manifested in uniquely horrifying mass shootings in our schools and in our churches and in our movie theaters; it is a pervasive, everyday public health epidemic. It is an everyday reality for Americans across the country. It is an everyday reality for women in America. Fifty women every single month are shot to death by intimate partners in this country, making the United States the most dangerous country in the developed world when it comes to gun violence against women. We know that over half of all women killed by an intimate partner are killed with a gun. We know that when a gun is involved in a situation of domestic violence, a woman is five times more likely to be killed. We can do something to lower this kind of carnage.

Gun violence is an everyday reality for children and for young people in this country. On an average day in

America, 7 children and teens will be killed with a gun, and 40 more children will be shot and survive, often being crippled or severely wounded, often costing American taxpayers millions of dollars for their healthcare. We can lower this rate of carnage.

Gun violence is an everyday reality for people living in cities, like where I live. In the last year there was a shooting on my block. We know that for Black Americans living in a city or urban area in this country, they are almost 500 times more likely to be killed by gun violence than they are by terrorism. This is an urgent problem. It is an everyday problem. This is pressing on us every single day to act, and every day that we don't, our inaction will cost lives.

Since the tragedy in Parkland, in New Jersey alone we have seen children, young people, the elderly, women, Black and White Americans killed by gun violence. I have a stack of examples of this right here—news reports of the violence in my State.

One week ago, it was a 10-year-old boy. Yovanni Banos-Merino was killed with a gun, and his mother was wounded in Asbury Park, NJ.

The day before that, on February 20, an elderly man killed his wife—domestic violence. He killed her with a gun and then took his own life, a suicide.

Just 6 days ago, a teenager in my city of Newark, NJ, Ishmail Anthony, was killed with a gun.

Every single day we do not act, dozens and dozens of Americans are killed.

Look at this chart. We can't even read the font. Look at these American citizens—young people, old people, Black people, White people, men, women, Republicans, Democrats.

Look at this chart. We know that right now, in the past 2 weeks since the tragedy, according to the Gun Violence Archive, which compiled this list from news reports, 477 Americans have been killed with a gun—in the past 2 weeks alone, 477 American citizens.

This government was formed with a purpose. It says clearly in our founding documents “for the common defence.” In 2 weeks, there were 477 people who we did not defend—477 people whom we could have done more to save. Again, 477 people, 2 weeks since Parkland, and we have a nation that speaks to the purpose of ensuring life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They lost their lives.

We may not have the power to stop all gun violence, but gun owners and non-gun owners, Republicans and Democrats, and our Nation as a whole agree, with a chorus of consent, that we should do things like commonsense background checks. Our inaction, our unwillingness to do the will of the people is costly, not just to the integrity of this body, but it is costly in the most grievous of ways every day. Every day, dozens die; in 2 weeks, 477.

We must do better. We can do better. With the help of God almighty, we will.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Ms. HASSAN. Mr. President, I wish to thank my colleagues for their words on this difficult, challenging topic.

On this day 2 weeks ago, the Parkland, FL, community “took 17 bullets to the heart” as Cameron, a junior at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School, so devastatingly put it.

Over the past years, the epidemic of gun violence has touched every aspect of American life, from schools and churches to concerts and night clubs and movie theaters, in homes and in the workplace. After each of these tragedies, we say enough is enough, yet time and again Congress fails to take action, and the discussion fades until this deadly cycle once again repeats itself. But we cannot allow this vicious cycle to continue.

Like many Americans, I have been inspired and touched by the bravery of the students of Stoneman Douglas and by their determination to create from this tragedy a legacy of positive change. They are looking to us to help ensure that they are the last students who suffer through a mass shooting. They will hold us accountable, as they should.

I have been inspired by students like Sam, who said that he doesn't feel safe in his own country and powerfully asked at the White House: “How did we not stop this after Columbine? After Sandy Hook?”

And Emma, who has been calling out elected officials for the excuses they make for putting the priorities of the gun lobby ahead of the safety and well-being of their constituents. Emma and her classmates rightly have called these excuses BS.

We must actually listen to these students, and we must act to protect them and all of our children.

People across New Hampshire own guns for hunting, sport, and protection. New Hampshire has a long tradition of responsible gun ownership that I respect and that I am committed to upholding. But I also know that the people in New Hampshire do not want dangerous weapons in the wrong hands. It is our job to keep our citizens safe, and we owe it to the students and survivors who are speaking out, to those whom we have lost to tragic violence, and to their families and loved ones to come together and make our communities safer.

The level of gun violence in America is a public health crisis that is unique to our Nation, and like all public health challenges, there are actions we can take to mitigate harm and save lives. We can put in place responsible, commonsense policies that will do just that.

To start, we know that the shooter in Parkland displayed warning signs that, if properly heeded and addressed, may have prevented the incident, the massacre. But when law enforcement was called because of these warning signs,

it is not clear that they had tools that would have allowed them to confiscate the shooter's weapons. So one of the things we must do is ensure that every State has what are known as red flag laws—laws which allow courts to issue time-limited restraining orders to restrict access to firearms when there is evidence that an individual is planning to harm themselves or others.

It is also long past time that we improve our background check system to close loopholes and ensure that people who are already legally barred from owning guns cannot easily access them—a step that we know is supported by the vast majority of Americans.

Studies have shown the correlation between gun violence and people with a history of domestic violence. We must close loopholes that enable domestic abusers to access guns.

Additionally, for too long, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention have been barred from conducting public health research on gun violence. We must change that.

Finally, from banning the use of bump stocks to raising the purchasing age of semiautomatic weapons to 21, we must look at responsible steps to reduce access to deadly weapons of war that fire at high rates and inflict massive harm.

No one gun safety measure is perfect, and no gun safety measure will stop every act of gun violence, but that should not stop us from taking action. After all, we take public health measures all the time that don't prevent all diseases but vastly reduce the incidence of them.

In a country with a government of, by, and for the people, it is simply an outrage to suggest that there is nothing the people who govern themselves can do to ensure that their gun safety laws evolve as firearm technology creates weapons of increasing lethality. I also refuse to accept the notion that we cannot pass any law to address gun safety because it is too hard or the challenges are too insurmountable. That has not stopped our Nation before, and it shouldn't now.

Students in Parkland and young people across the country are speaking out and making clear that they don't want to live this way. They don't want the horror that they experienced to be inflicted on more of their peers. These young voices are speaking up and sparking a conversation that has been absent or has been pushed to the wayside for far too long. It is up to us to meet them in this moment.

The purpose of self-government is to make sure that we all do, in fact, feel safe and valued and that we each have a chance to build a life for ourselves. Let's take action to give all of our citizens those opportunities and keep our people safe from senseless acts of gun violence.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate resume legislative session for 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.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, like all great cities, Chicago is a city of neighborhoods, and one of its most storied neighborhoods is an enclave on the South Side. It is called Bronzeville. Bronzeville was born a century ago, during the first wave of the Great Migration, when tens of thousands of African Americans left the oppression of Jim Crow laws and lynching in the Deep South and headed north, to Chicago, in search of industrial jobs. By 1920, Bronzeville was home to so many African-American-owned businesses that it took on a prestigious new moniker: "Black Metropolis."

Among the famous African Americans who called Bronzeville home were Ida B. Wells, journalist, civil rights activist, and cofounder of the NAACP; Bessie Coleman, the first African-American woman pilot; and Rube Foster, founder of the Negro National Baseball League, the league that gave America such greats as Josh Gibson, Cool Papa Bell, and the legendary Satchel Paige.

Black History Month, which America celebrates each February, also has its roots in Bronzeville. It began as a modest proposal, but it seemed revolutionary at the time. In 1926, the distinguished historian and journalist Carter G. Woodson launched America's first Negro History Week.

Carter Woodson, the "father of Black history," had earned his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Chicago in 1908. He had gone on to become only the second African American ever—after W.E.B. DuBois—to earn a doctorate from Harvard University. Years of studying history convinced Carter Woodson that the contributions of African Americans were, in his words, "overlooked, ignored, and even suppressed by the writers of history textbooks and the teachers who use them." The result, he believed, was an incomplete and inaccurate account of history that perpetuated racial inequality and stunted the dreams of many African Americans. So Carter Woodson made it his life's mission to fill in the missing chapters in America's history books. He returned to Chicago often, almost always staying in Bronzeville at the Wabash YMCA, the first African-American Y in the United States.

In 1915 in Chicago, he and four other African-American historians founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, later renamed the "Association for the Study of African American Life and History." In 1916,

the association began publishing *The Journal of Negro History*, "particularly targeted those responsible for the education of black children."

Woodson chose the second week in February to mark Negro History Week—to commemorate the birthdays of the great abolitionist Frederick Douglass and the "Great Emancipator" Abraham Lincoln.

In the 1970s, Negro History Week became Black History Month.

As we near the end of this year's Black History Month, I want to tell you about an amazing woman from the Chicago area who is making history today by helping to free women and children from modern-day slavery. Her name is Marian Hatcher, and she follows in the footsteps of two earlier "she-ros" of American history: Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman.

Sojourner Truth was born in upstate New York in 1797, three decades before that State abolished slavery. She was separated from her family at 9, and she was bought and sold four times before escaping to freedom with her infant daughter in 1826.

She began her life as a free woman working first as an itinerant preacher. She later became an outspoken advocate for abolition, civil rights, and women's rights. When the Civil War broke out, Sojourner Truth urged young men to join the Union cause and organized supplies for Black troops. For her efforts, she was invited to meet President Lincoln in the White House in 1864.

After the war, Sojourner Truth moved to Washington, DC to work with the Freedmen's Bureau, helping freed slaves find jobs and build new lives. In the mid-1860s—90 years before the Montgomery bus boycott—a Washington streetcar conductor tried violently to block her from riding his car. Sojourner Truth insisted that he be arrested and tried.

Harriet Tubman was born in Maryland to enslaved parents around 1820—the youngest of nine children. She escaped to freedom in the North in 1949 and became one of the most famous and fearless "conductors" on the Underground Railroad. She risked her life repeatedly to return to the South and lead hundreds of slaves, including her own parents, to freedom.

Harriet Tubman risked her life again during the Civil War to work as a Union Army cook and nurse—and later as an armed scout and spy. Many called her Moses for her fierce courage in leading others out of bondage.

Marian Hatcher is a sort of modern-day Moses. Like Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman, she knows the pain and despair that comes from being bought and sold like a commodity. For 2 years, she was trafficked for sex by a violent pimp. And like Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman, Marian Hatcher escaped her bondage, and she has dedicated her life to helping other trafficked persons regain their freedom and dignity.

Let me tell you about this incredible woman. Marian Hatcher grew up in a home with loving, supportive parents. She earned a finance degree from Loyola University. She was married and had five children. But Marian also had painful secrets, including a history of childhood sexual abuse, untreated depression, and a husband—a former Vice Lords gang member—who beat her.

Marian started smoking crack to ease her pain. When she could no longer stand the beatings from her husband, she left her family and survived for 2 years by working as a prostitute. Her pimp gave her crack so she wouldn't return to her family. On Mother's Day, he gave her extra crack because she grieved so deeply for the children she had left behind.

During those 2 years on the street, Marian was beaten and raped more times than she can count. She was in and out of jail repeatedly. As she says, "I tried to smoke enough crack to bust my heart, but God would not let me die. He had another plan for me."

That plan began to unfold in 2004, when Marian was arrested again—this time for violating probation on a drug charge. She expected to be treated like a criminal. Instead, in the Cook County jail, Marian Hatcher found the compassion and care she needed to begin to heal from her trauma and rebuild her life.

The Cook County Women's Rehabilitative Alternative Probation, WRAP, Drug Court—one of the Nation's most successful drug courts—took a chance on Marian. A judge there sentenced Marian to a jail-based, therapeutic treatment designed specifically for women struggling with trauma and substance abuse. When Marian was released 18 months later, she began working as a volunteer with that same program. She was so good that the Cook County Sheriffs Office hired her to work full time at the jail. She has never left.

Fourteen years later, Marian Hatcher has been promoted five times. She is now coordinator of the Cook County Sheriffs Office pioneering efforts to combat human trafficking, and she is one of America's leading experts on how to help victims of sex trafficking to escape that life and heal from the trauma. On behalf of her boss, Cook County sheriff Tom Dart, she has recruited a network of more than 100 law enforcement agencies, including the FBI, as well as research and nonprofits groups, to work together to reduce the demand for sex trafficking and prostitution.

Like Sojourner Truth, she is also an ordained minister.

Her work has won acclaim and respect. Marian Hatcher received a Presidential Achievement Award from President Barack Obama. Oprah has told her story. She has spoken on human trafficking at the United Nations and participated in President Jimmy Carter's summit to end trafficking globally. And just before

Christmas, the Governor of Illinois granted Marian Hatcher clemency for offenses in her old life—official recognition of her tireless work to break the chains of bondage for others.

I have introduced a bill to expand the availability of trauma-informed care for survivors of gun violence and other forms of trauma and toxic stress. Marian Hatcher's remarkable redemption is proof that such care can help to heal shattered lives and help break the cycle of recidivism that too often results from untreated childhood trauma.

Like Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman, Marian Hatcher struggles with chronic, painful health conditions as the result of the beatings and abuse she endured. She also lives with multiple sclerosis and fibromyalgia, and she is a cancer survivor. There are days when every step she takes hurts. But she never stops working to end the modern-day slavery that is sex trafficking. I respect her greatly and am proud to tell her story during this Black History month.

BUDGET SCOREKEEPING REPORT

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I wish to submit to the Senate the budget scorekeeping report for February 2018. The report compares current-law levels of spending and revenues with the amounts the Senate agreed to in the budget resolution for fiscal year 2018, H. Con. Res. 71. This information is necessary for the Senate Budget Committee to determine whether budget points of order lie against pending legislation. The Republican staff of the Senate Budget Committee and the Congressional Budget Office, CBO, prepared this report pursuant to section 308(b) of the Congressional Budget Act, CBA.

The enforceable levels included in this report reflect all of the numerical adjustments made to the resolution since its passage. The information contained in this report captures legislative activity from the passage of the budget resolution through February 26, 2018.

Republican Budget Committee staff prepared tables 1-4 of this report.

Table 1 gives the amount by which each Senate authorizing committee exceeds or is below its allocation for budget authority and outlays under the most recently adopted budget resolution. This information is used for enforcing committee allocations pursuant to section 302 of the CBA. For this reporting period, 11 of the 16 authorizing committees are in compliance with their allocations. As previously reported, the Senate Veterans' Affairs, Energy and Natural Resources, and Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committees remain in breach of their allocations. Since my last report on January 18, 2018, both the Finance and Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Committees have increased spending beyond allowable levels. Through the enactment of both the

fourth continuing resolution, H.R. 195, P.L. 115-120, and the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2018, BBA18, H.R. 1892, P.L. 115-123, which contained packages of healthcare extenders, the Finance Committee breached its allocation by \$76.9 billion in budget authority and \$7.8 billion in outlays over 10 years. Enactment of the BBA18 also produced the Agriculture Committee breach. That law changed the treatment of seed cotton, dairy, and livestock under Federal farm programs, increasing both budget authority and outlays by \$1.2 billion over the 2018-2027 period.

Table 2 gives the amount by which the Senate Committee on Appropriations is below or exceeds the statutory spending limits. This information is used to determine points of order related to the spending caps found in section 312 and section 314 of the CBA. While no full-year appropriations bills have been enacted for fiscal year 2018, subcommittees are charged with permanent and advanced appropriations that first become available in that year and any full-year standalone provisions included in continuing resolutions. This table reflects one change from my January report. The continuing resolution portion of the BBA18 included full-year authority for the Secretary of Energy to draw down and sell oil from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, reducing budget authority and outlays by \$315 million in 2018.

The budget resolution contains two points of order limiting the use of changes in mandatory programs in appropriations bills, CHIMPS. Tables 3 and 4 show compliance with fiscal year 2018 limits for overall CHIMPS and the Crime Victims Fund CHIMP, respectively. This information is used for determining points of order under sections 4102 and 4103 of H. Con. Res. 71, respectively. Notably, there have not been any full-year bills enacted thus far for fiscal year 2018 that include CHIMPS.

In addition to the tables provided by Budget Committee Republican staff, I am submitting CBO tables, which I will use to enforce budget totals approved by the Congress.

CBO provided a spending and revenue report for fiscal year 2018, which helps enforce aggregate spending levels in budget resolutions under CBA section 311. In its report, CBO annualizes the temporary effects of the latest continuing resolution, which provides funding through March 23, 2018. For the enforcement of budgetary aggregates, the Budget Committee excludes this temporary funding. As such, the committee views current-law levels as being \$814.6 billion and \$463.7 billion below budget resolution levels for budget authority and outlays, respectively. Details on fiscal year 2018 levels can be found in CBO's second table.

Current-law revenues continue to be in excess of the levels assumed by the budget resolution. On-budget revenue levels currently exceed assumed levels by \$3.5 billion in fiscal year 2018, \$41.9

billion over the fiscal year 2018–2022 period, and \$98.4 billion over the fiscal year 2018–2027 period. Since my last filing both the fourth continuing resolution and BBA18 contained provisions that reduced revenues compared with current law. The fourth continuing resolution included \$25.4 billion in on-budget revenue loss over 10 years related to delays in several health-related taxes. The BBA18 contained an \$11.6 billion revenue loss largely as a consequence of a package of tax extenders. This BBA18 figure omits \$1.8 billion in revenue increases attributable to language related to Federal Reserve Surplus Funds, which are required to be omitted under current scorekeeping rules.

Social Security outlay levels are consistent with the budget resolution's figures for all enforceable periods. Social Security revenues, however, are \$446 million below levels assumed for fiscal year 2018, \$1.9 billion greater over the next 5 years, and \$28.8 billion greater than assumed over the next 10 years. These revenue effects are attributable to the tax provisions from the fourth continuing resolution, BBA18, and the tax reconciliation bill enacted in December 2017.

CBO's report also provides information needed to enforce the Senate pay-as-you-go, PAYGO, rule. The Senate's PAYGO scorecard currently shows deficit reduction of \$24 million in fiscal year 2018, \$14 million over the fiscal year 2017–2022, and \$13 million over fiscal year 2017–2027 periods. For fiscal year 2018, legislation has been enacted that would reduce outlays by \$24 million. Over the fiscal year 2017–2022 period, legislation has been enacted that CBO estimates will decrease outlays by \$13 million and increase revenues by \$1 million. Over the fiscal year 2017–2027 period, legislation has been enacted that CBO estimates will decrease outlays by \$11 million and increase revenues by \$2 million. Notably absent from these amounts are the direct spending and revenue effects from the fourth continuing resolution and BBA18. This is due to provisions in those measures that mandated the exclusion of those budgetary effects both from the Senate and statutory PAYGO scorecards. The Senate's PAYGO rule is enforced by section 4106 of H. Con. Res. 71.

Also included in this submission is a table tracking the Senate's budget enforcement activity on the floor since Congress adopted the budget resolution. No points of order have been raised on the floor since my last filing.

All years in the accompanying tables are fiscal years.

I ask unanimous consent that the accompanying tables be printed in the RECORD.

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

TABLE 1.—SENATE AUTHORIZING COMMITTEES—ENACTED DIRECT SPENDING ABOVE (+) OR BELOW (–) BUDGET RESOLUTIONS

	[In millions of dollars]		
	2018	2018–2022	2018–2027
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry			
Budget Authority	47	629	1,163
Outlays	47	711	1,249
Armed Services			
Budget Authority	–33	–102	–76
Outlays	–24	–15	–16
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Commerce, Science, and Transportation			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Energy and Natural Resources			
Budget Authority	0	2	5
Outlays	0	2	5
Environment and Public Works			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Finance			
Budget Authority	21,966	69,462	76,896
Outlays	5,206	14,002	7,822
Foreign Relations			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Judiciary			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions			
Budget Authority	705	–46	–46
Outlays	205	318	–39
Rules and Administration			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Intelligence			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Veterans' Affairs			
Budget Authority	2,100	2,100	2,100
Outlays	1,050	2,100	2,100
Indian Affairs			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Small Business			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Total			
Budget Authority	24,785	72,045	80,042
Outlays	6,484	17,118	11,121

TABLE 2.—SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE—ENACTED REGULAR DISCRETIONARY APPROPRIATIONS¹

	[Budget authority, in millions of dollars]	
	2018	
	Security ²	Nonsecurity ²
Statutory Discretionary Limits	549,057	515,749
Amount Provided by Senate Appropriations Subcommittee		
Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies	0	9
Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies	0	0
Defense	46	0
Energy and Water Development	0	–315
Financial Services and General Government	0	0
Homeland Security	0	9
Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies	0	0
Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies	0	24,698
Legislative Branch	0	0
Military Construction and Veterans Affairs, and Related Agencies	0	63,878
State Foreign Operations, and Related Programs	0	0
Transportation and Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies	0	4,400
Current Level Total	46	92,679
Total Enacted Above (+) or Below (–) Statutory Limits	–549,011	–423,070

¹ This table excludes spending pursuant to adjustments to the discretionary spending limits. These adjustments are allowed for certain purposes in section 251(b)(2) of BBEDCA.

² Security spending is defined as spending in the National Defense budget function (050) and nonsecurity spending is defined as all other spending.

TABLE 3.—SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE—ENACTED CHANGES IN MANDATORY SPENDING PROGRAMS (CHIMPS)

[Budget authority, millions of dollars]	
	2018
CHIMPS Limit for Fiscal Year 2017	17,000
Senate Appropriations Subcommittees	
Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies	0
Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies	0
Defense	0
Energy and Water Development	0
Financial Services and General Government	0
Homeland Security	0
Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies	0
Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies	0
Legislative Branch	0
Military Construction and Veterans Affairs, and Related Agencies	0
State Foreign Operations, and Related Programs	0
Transportation and Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies	0
Current Level Total	0
Total CHIMPS Above (+) or Below (–) Budget Resolution	–17,000

TABLE 4.—SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE—ENACTED CHANGES IN MANDATORY SPENDING PROGRAM (CHIMP) TO THE CRIME VICTIMS FUND

[Budget authority, millions of dollars]	
	2018
Crime Victims Fund (CVF) CHIMP Limit for Fiscal Year 2018	11,224
Senate Appropriations Subcommittees	
Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies	0
Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies	0
Defense	0
Energy and Water Development	0
Financial Services and General Government	0
Homeland Security	0
Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies	0
Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies	0
Legislative Branch	0
Military Construction and Veterans Affairs, and Related Agencies	0
State Foreign Operations, and Related Programs	0
Transportation and Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies	0
Current Level Total	0
Total CVF CHIMP Above (+) or Below (–) Budget Resolution	–11,224

U.S. CONGRESS,
CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,
Washington, DC, February 28, 2018.

Hon. MIKE ENZI,
Chairman, Committee on the Budget,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The enclosed report shows the effects of Congressional action on the fiscal year 2018 budget and is current through February 26, 2018. This report is submitted under section 308(b) and in aid of section 311 of the Congressional Budget Act, as amended.

The estimates of budget authority, outlays, and revenues are consistent with the technical and economic assumptions of H. Con. Res. 71, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2018.

Since our last letter dated January 18, 2018, the Congress has cleared and the President has signed the following legislation that has significant effects on budget authority, outlays, and revenues in fiscal year 2018:

An Act making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2018, and for other purposes (Public Law 115–120); and

Bipartisan Budget Act of 2018 (Public Law 115–123).

Sincerely,

KEITH HALL,
Director.

Enclosure.

TABLE 1.—SENATE CURRENT LEVEL REPORT FOR SPENDING AND REVENUES FOR FISCAL YEAR 2018, AS OF FEBRUARY 26, 2018

[In billions of dollars]

	Budget Resolution	Current Level	Current Level Over/Under (–) Resolution
On-Budget			
Budget Authority	3,169.6	3,440.5	271.0
Outlays	3,112.6	3,276.6	164.0
Revenues	2,497.1	2,500.7	3.5

TABLE 1.—SENATE CURRENT LEVEL REPORT FOR SPENDING AND REVENUES FOR FISCAL YEAR 2018, AS OF FEBRUARY 26, 2018—Continued

[In billions of dollars]

	Budget Resolution	Current Level	Current Level Over/Under (–) Resolution
Off-Budget			
Social Security Outlays ^a	849.6	849.6	0.0
Social Security Revenues	873.3	872.9	–0.4

SOURCE: Congressional Budget Office.

^aExcludes administrative expenses paid from the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund and the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Fund of the Social Security Administration, which are off-budget, but are appropriated annually.

TABLE 2.—SUPPORTING DETAIL FOR THE SENATE CURRENT LEVEL REPORT FOR ON-BUDGET SPENDING AND REVENUES FOR FISCAL YEAR 2018, AS OF FEBRUARY 26, 2018

[In millions of dollars]

	Budget Authority	Outlays	Revenues
Previously Enacted ^{a b}			
Revenues	n.a.	n.a.	2,658,139
Permanents and other spending legislation	2,106,043	2,004,065	n.a.
Appropriation legislation		513,307	n.a.
Offsetting receipts	–866,685	–866,685	n.a.
Total, Previously Enacted	1,239,358	1,650,687	2,658,139
Enacted Legislation			
National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2018 (P.L. 115–91)	–33	–24	0
Department of Defense Missile Defeat and Defense Enhancements Appropriations Act, 2018 (P.L. 115–96, Division B)	4,686	803	0
CHIP and Public Health Funding Extension Act (P.L. 115–96, Division C)	705	205	0
An act to amend the Homeland Security Act of 2002 . . . and for other purposes (P.L. 115–96, Division D)	2,100	1,050	0
An act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II and V of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2018 (P.L. 115–97)	–8,600	–8,600	–143,800
An act making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2018, and for other purposes (P.L. 115–120, Divisions C and D)	14,509	1,203	–1,263
Bipartisan Budget Act of 2018 (P.L. 115–123, Divisions A and C–G) ^{b c}	7,504	4,050	–12,424
Further Additional Supplemental Appropriations for Disaster Relief Requirements Act, 2018 (P.L. 115–123, Division B, Subdivision 1)	84,436	11,185	0
Further Extension of Continuing Appropriations Act, 2018, P.L. 115–123, Division B, Subdivision 3)	–315	–315	0
Total, Enacted Legislation	104,992	9,557	–157,487
Continuing Resolution			
Further Extension of Continuing Appropriations Act, 2018 (P.L. 115–123, Division B, Subdivision 3) ^{c d}	1,085,570	627,733	0
Entitlements and Mandatories			
Budget resolution estimates of appropriated entitlements and other mandatory programs	1,010,879	988,931	0
Total Current Level ^{b c}	3,440,536	3,276,645	2,500,652
Total Senate Resolution ^f	3,169,583	3,112,609	2,497,139
Current Level Over Senate Resolution	270,953	164,036	3,513
Current Level Under Senate Resolution	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Memorandum			
Revenues, 2018–2027			
Senate Current Level	n.a.	n.a.	31,094,337
Senate Resolution	n.a.	n.a.	30,995,967
Current Level Over Senate Resolution	n.a.	n.a.	98,370
Current Level Under Senate Resolution	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: Congressional Budget Office.

Notes: n.a. = not applicable; P.L. = Public Law.

^aIncludes the budgetary effects of the following acts that affect budget authority, outlays, or revenues and were cleared by the Congress during the 1st session of the 115th Congress, but before the adoption of H. Con. Res. 71, the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2018: the VA Choice and Quality Employment Act of 2017 (P.L. 115–46); the Harry W. Colmery Veterans Educational Assistance Act of 2017 (P.L. 115–48); a joint resolution compact relating to the establishment of the Washington Metrorail Safety Commission (P.L. 115–54); the Continuing Appropriations Act, 2018 and Supplemental Appropriations for Disaster Relief Requirements Act, 2017 (P.L. 115–56); the Emergency Aid to American Survivors of Hurricanes Irma and Jose Overseas Act (P.L. 115–57); the Department of Veterans Affairs Expiring Authorities Act of 2017 (P.L. 115–62); the Disaster Tax Relief and Airport and Airway Extension Act of 2017 (P.L. 115–63); the Hurricanes Harvey, Irma, and Maria Education Relief Act of 2017 (P.L. 115–64); and the Additional Supplemental Appropriations for Disaster Relief Requirements Act, 2017 (P.L. 115–72).

^bEmergency funding that was not designated as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of the Deficit Control Act does not count for certain budgetary enforcement purposes. These amounts, which are not included in the current level totals, are as follows:

	Budget Authority	Outlays	Revenues
Disaster Tax Relief and Airport and Airway Extension Act of 2017 (P.L. 115–63)	263	263	0
Bipartisan Budget Act of 2018 (P.L. 115–123)	2,217	1,469	–509
Total	2,480	1,732	–509

^cThe Bipartisan Budget Act of 2018 (P.L. 115–123) contains seven divisions: Division A, Subdivision 2 of Division B, and Divisions C–F contain authorizing legislation, of which the budgetary effects of Subdivision 2 of Division B were designated as being for emergency requirements. Subdivisions 1 and 3 of Division B contain appropriations legislation. Subdivision 1 provided supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2018 for disaster relief and designated those amounts as being for emergency requirements; Subdivision 3 provided continuing appropriations until March 23, 2018, while Section 158 provided authority, for the duration of fiscal year 2018, for the Secretary of Energy to draw down and sell crude oil from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. Division G of P.L. 115–123 provided for the budgetary treatment of Divisions A–F.

^dPursuant to sections 1001–1004 of the 21st Century Cures Act (P.L. 114–255), certain funding provided to the Department of Health and Human Services—in particular the Food and Drug Administration and the National Institutes of Health—in 2017 through 2026 shall not count for the purposes of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (Deficit Control Act) or the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 (Congressional Budget Act). The amounts shown in this report do not include \$866 million in budget authority and \$706 million in estimated outlays from such amounts.

^eFor purposes of enforcing section 311 of the Congressional Budget Act in the Senate, the resolution, as approved by the Senate, does not include budget authority, outlays, or revenues for off-budget amounts. As a result, current level does not include these items.

^fPeriodically, the Senate Committee on the Budget revises the budgetary levels in H. Con. Res. 71, pursuant to various provisions of the resolution. The total for the Initial Senate Resolution shown below excludes \$47,660 million in budget authority, \$22,467 million in outlays, and \$150,003 million in revenues assumed in H. Con. Res. 71 for discretionary spending not constrained by the budgetary caps established by the Budget Control Act of 2011 (P.L. 112–25) and subsequently amended, including spending that qualifies for adjustments pursuant to section 4205 of H. Con. Res. 71.

	Budget Authority	Outlays	Revenues
Initial Senate Resolution	3,089,061	3,109,221	2,640,939
Revisions:			
Pursuant to section 311 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 and section 3003 of H. Con. Res. 71	–8,600	–8,600	–143,800
Pursuant to sections 311 and 314(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974	4,686	803	0
Pursuant to sections 311 and 314(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974	84,436	11,185	0
Revised Senate Resolution	3,169,583	3,112,609	2,497,139

TABLE 3.—SUMMARY OF THE SENATE PAY-AS-YOU-GO SCORECARD FOR THE 115TH CONGRESS, AS OF FEBRUARY 26, 2018

[In millions of dollars]

	2018	2017–2022	2017–2027
Beginning Balance ^a	0	0	0
Enacted Legislation: ^{b c d}			
Protecting Patient Access to Emergency Medications Act of 2017 (H.R. 304, P.L. 115–83)	*	*	*
TSP Modernization Act of 2017 (H.R. 3031, P.L. 115–84)	*	*	*

TABLE 3.—SUMMARY OF THE SENATE PAY-AS-YOU-GO SCORECARD FOR THE 115TH CONGRESS, AS OF FEBRUARY 26, 2018—Continued

[In millions of dollars]

	2018	2017–2022	2017–2027
FITARA Enhancement Act of 2017 (H.R. 3243, P.L. 115–88)	*	*	*
National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2018 (H.R. 2810, P.L. 115–91)	–24	–16	–21
Department of State Authorities Act, Fiscal Year 2017, Improvements Act (S. 371, P.L. 115–94)	*	*	*
An Act to amend the Homeland Security Act of 2002 to require the Secretary of Homeland Security to issue Department of Homeland Security-wide guidance and develop training programs as part of the Department of Homeland Security Blue Campaign, and for other purposes (H.R. 1370, P.L. 115–96) ^a	*	*	1
An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to titles II and V of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2018 (H.R. 1, P.L. 115–97) ^f	*	n.a.	n.a.
To amend the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area Improvement Act to provide access to certain vehicles serving residents of municipalities adjacent to the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation (H.R. 560, P.L. 115–101)	*	*	*
400 Years of African-American History Commission Act (H.R. 1242, P.L. 115–102)	*	*	*
Western Oregon Tribal Fairness Act (H.R. 1306, P.L. 115–103)	*	2	5
Rapid DNA Act of 2017 (S. 139, P.L. 115–118)	*	*	*
An Act making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2018, and for other purposes (H.R. 195, P.L. 115–120)	*	*	1
To authorize the President to award the Medal of Honor to John L. Canley for acts of valor during the Vietnam War while a member of the Marine Corps (H.R. 4641, P.L. 115–122)	*	*	1
Bipartisan Budget Act of 2018 ^{g,h} (H.R. 1892, P.L. 115–123)	*	*	1
Protecting Young Victims from Sexual Abuse and Safe Sport Authorization Act of 2017 (S. 534, P.L. 115–126)	*	*	*
Kari's Law Act of 2017 (S. 582, P.L. 115–127)	*	*	*
Current Balance	–24	–14	–13
Changes to Revenues	2018	2017–2022	2017–2027
Changes to Outlays	0	1	2
	–24	–13	–11

Source: Congressional Budget Office.

Notes: P.L. = Public Law. * = between –\$500,000 and \$500,000.

^a On October 26, 2017, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on the Budget reset the Senate's Pay-As-You-Go (PAYGO) Scorecard to zero for all fiscal years.^b The amounts shown represent the estimated effect of the public laws on the deficit.^c Excludes off-budget amounts.^d Excludes amounts designated as emergency requirements.^e Pursuant to Division E of P.L. 115–96, the budgetary effects of Divisions C and D are excluded from the Senate's PAYGO Scorecard.^f Section 3003 of H. Con. Res. 71, the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2018, granted the Chairman of the Senate Budget Committee the authority to revise balances on the Senate PAYGO ledger to fully incorporate the budgetary effects of P.L. 115–97. The Chairman exercised this authority with a filing in the Congressional Record on December 19, 2017.^g Pursuant to section 70101(b) of Division G, the budgetary effects of Division A, Subdivision 2 of Division B, and Divisions C through F are excluded from the Senate's PAYGO Scorecard.^h Pursuant to section 232(b) of H. Con. Res. 290 (106th Congress), the Concurrent Budget Resolution for Fiscal Year 2001, the scoring effects related to the Federal Reserve Surplus Funds are excluded from the Senate's PAYGO Scorecard.

ENFORCEMENT REPORT OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 115TH CONGRESS

Vote	Date	Measure	Violation	Motion to Waiver ¹	Result
294	December 1, 2017	S. Amdt. 1720 to S. Amdt. 1618 to H.R. 1—created a point of order against legislation that cuts Social Security, Medicare, or Medicaid benefits.	313(b)(1)(A)—Byrd violation ²	Sen. Sanders (I-VT)	46–54, Not Waived
295	December 1, 2017	S. Amdt. 1854 to S. Amdt. 1618 to H.R. 1—amended the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to increase the Child Tax Credit.	302(f)—Exceeds a committee's 302(a) allocation ³ .	Sen. Brown (D-OH)	48–52, Not Waived
296	December 1, 2017	S. Amdt. 1850 to S. Amdt. 1618 to H.R. 1—increased the refundability of the child tax credit.	302(f)—Exceeds a committee's 302(a) allocation ⁴ .	Sen. Rubio (R-FL)	29–71, Not Waived
299	December 2, 2017	S. Amdt. 1846 to S. Amdt. 1618 to H.R. 1—provided for middle class tax relief.	4105—Unknown Budgetary Effects ⁵	Sen. Kaine (D-VA)	34–65, Not Waived
301	December 2, 2017	S. Amdt. 1717 to S. Amdt. 1618 to H.R. 1—struck title II	302(f)—Exceeds a committee's 302(a) allocation ⁶ .	Sen. Cantwell (D-WA)	48–52, Not Waived
322	December 20, 2017	H.R. 1—provided for reconciliation pursuant to titles II and V of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2018.	313(b)(1)—Byrd Rule violations ⁷	Sen. Enzi (R-WY)	51–48, Not Waived
324	December 21, 2017	H.R. 1370—continuing resolution	306—Budget Committee Jurisdiction ⁸	Sen. Collins (R-ME)	91–8, Waived

¹ All motions to waive were offered pursuant to section 904 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974.² Senator Enzi raised a 313(b)(1)(A) point of order against the Sanders amendment because the amendment did not produce a change in outlays or a change in revenues and was extraneous to the reconciliation instruction.³ Senator Enzi raised a 302(f) point of order as S. Amdt. 1854 would cause the underlying legislation to exceed the Finance Committee's section 302(a) allocation of new budget authority or outlays.⁴ Senator Wyden raised a 302(f) point of order as S. Amdt. 1850 would cause the underlying legislation to exceed the Finance Committee's section 302(a) allocation of new budget authority or outlays.⁵ Senator Toomey raised this point of order because the budgetary effects of the Kaine amendment were unknown at the time of consideration.⁶ Senator Murkowski raised a 302(f) point of order because the Cantwell amendment, if adopted, would have caused the Energy and Natural Resources Committee to exceed its section 302(a) allocation of budget authority or outlays.⁷ Senator Sanders raised a 313(b)(1)(A) point of order against section 11000(a), and 313(b)(1)(D) points of order against page 75, line 17 through page 76, line 9 and against the phrase "tuition-paying" as it appeared on page 309, line 12, and page 309, lines 14 through 15.⁸ Senator Paul raised a section 306 point of order in relation to the statutory pay-go scorecard.HONORING FIRST LIEUTENANT
CLAYSON R. CULLEN

Mr. DONNELLY. Mr. President, today, I wish to recognize and honor the extraordinary service and sacrifice of U.S. Army 1LT Clayton R. Cullen of Bicknell, IN. Dedication to his country, loyalty to his fellow servicemembers, and a deep love for his family and faith defined Clay's life.

Clay graduated from North Knox High School in 2011. During his time at North Knox, Clay excelled both in the classroom and on the soccer field. Clay was a member of the National Honor Society and served as student body president. He was also recognized as the most valuable player on the school's varsity soccer team, and a two-time Academic All-State player. Following graduation, Clay attended Indiana University, where he earned a bachelor's degree in history. Clay went on to join the Indiana University ROTC program, from which he graduated as a commissioned officer in 2015. He was described as "the kind of guy who would always open his arms to you," according to Shawn Stachula, the execu-

utive officer of IU Army ROTC and fellow classmate. A dedicated friend, student, and leader, Clay was resilient, kind, caring, and a mentor to his peers. After graduation, he was a pilot with the rank of first lieutenant in the U.S. Army.

In the Army, he was a member of the 4th Combat Aviation Brigade, 4th Infantry Division in Fort Carson, CO. There he distinguished himself as a selfless soldier who always put the mission, his country, and fellow servicemembers before himself. For his service, he earned several commendations, including the Army Achievement Medal, National Defense Service Medal, and Army Service Ribbon.

On Saturday, January 20, 2018, Clay and Warrant Officer Kevin Burke, of California, tragically passed away when the AH64E Apache helicopter they were piloting crashed at the National Training Center in Fort Irwin, CA. Unit Commander COL Scott Gallaway said that Clay "left an indelible mark on the entire Iron Eagle team" and that the lessons he taught his fellow servicemembers would resonate for years to come.

Clay was a devoted patriot, son, and brother, who loved soccer, golf, kickball, reading, traveling, history, and trying new foods. Above all, he was a genuine and caring friend. Clay loved music and enjoyed attending concerts with friends, including Dave Matthews Band, Jimmy Buffett, and Zac Brown Band. Clay was selfless, brave, and passionate. He dedicated his life to serving others, whether it was through a mission trip to Sri Lanka or protecting his fellow Americans.

Clay helped bring happiness to those he encountered and loved sharing his faith with others. He is survived and will be deeply missed by his parents, Robert and Julie Cullen; brother, Ian Cullen and Ian's wife, Katie; grandmother, Kathleen Curry Pack; aunt, Kay Mengedoht, along with numerous aunts, uncles, cousins, friends, and his U.S. Army family.

As Clay's brother said, "He didn't want to be a hero. He just wanted to be Clay. Not 'thank you for your service' Clay. Not 'you're so brave' Clay. Just Clay. For all these reasons and so many more, he is a hero." Clay set an

example for others and will be remembered for his dedication and love for his country.

Let us emulate the shining example this brave man set for us and honor his commitment to serving his fellow citizens. May God welcome Clay home and give comfort to his family and friends.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

REMEMBERING TILLIE FAY WALKER

• Ms. HEITKAMP. Mr. President, on February 2, 2018, Tillie Fay Walker, 88, passed away in Bismarck, ND. Tillie was an enrolled member of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Nation, born on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation on July 11, 1928, and was a member of the Alkali Lodge Clan.

Tillie was a fierce champion for the rights of her tribe and a passionate advocate for the dignity of all American Indians, particularly women. Her energy and intellect were used to progress positive change, mentor future Native leaders, and push government institutions to acknowledge and address the serious problems facing Indian Country. During a period when many thought a Native woman attending college was a foolish idea, she was that much more driven to receive her degree. At times when Tribes and Federal officials were at odds, Tillie brought elders and officials together to improve Federal policy positions on tribal sovereignty and land rights.

Her work on the national level caught the attention of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as he began to organize for the Poor People's Campaign. Tillie served as one of the key Native organizers for the campaign and recruited Tribal members and leaders from across the country to participate in the marches, sit-ins, and testimonies. She also gave fiery and memorable testimony to the Interior Secretary and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs during the campaign. Through these decades of work on the national scene, Tillie influenced the very direction of activism and Federal Indian policy. She considered the implementation of Indian preference hiring for the Indian Health Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to be her biggest professional accomplishment.

Above all, Tillie was a lifelong keeper of cherished Mandan and Hidatsa history, practices, and language, and many tribal traditions now live on in younger generations due to Tillie's careful stewardship. Her legacy of Native pride and community activism survives on Fort Berthold and in those who work to improve the lives of Native Americans across the country. My deepest sympathies are with her family and many friends.●

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 12:47 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by

Mr. Novotny, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1865. An act to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to clarify that section 230 of such Act does not prohibit the enforcement against providers and users of interactive computer services of Federal and State criminal and civil law relating to sexual exploitation of children or sex trafficking, and for other purposes.

H.R. 4296. An act to place requirements on operational risk capital requirements for banking organizations established by an appropriate Federal banking agency.

H.R. 5078. An act to amend the Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act of 1974 to modify requirements related to mortgage disclosures, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House agreed to the following concurrent resolution, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H. Con. Res. 106. Concurrent resolution authorizing the use of Emancipation Hall for a ceremony to present the Congressional Gold Medal collectively to the members of the Office of Strategic Services.

MEASURES REFERRED

The following bills were read the first and the second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

H.R. 4296. An act to place requirements on operational risk capital requirements for banking organizations established by an appropriate Federal banking agency; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

H.R. 5078. An act to amend the Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act of 1974 to modify requirements related to mortgage disclosures, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bill was read the second time, and placed on the calendar:

S. 2464. A bill to improve border security and to provide conditional provision residence to certain long-term residents who entered the United States as children.

MEASURES READ THE FIRST TIME

The following bill was read the first time:

H.R. 1865. An act to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to clarify that section 230 of such Act does not prohibit the enforcement against providers and users of interactive computer services of Federal and State criminal and civil law relating to sexual exploitation of children or sex trafficking, and for other purposes.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, and were referred as indicated:

EC-4425. A communication from the Acting Administrator of the Specialty Crops Program, Agricultural Marketing Service, De-

partment of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Marketing Order Regulating the Handling of Spearmint Oil Produced in the Far West; Revision of the Salable Quantity and Allotment Percentage for Class 3 (Native) Spearmint Oil for the 2017-2018 Marketing Year" (Docket No. AMS-SC-16-0107; SC17-985-1A FR) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-4426. A communication from the Acting Administrator of the Specialty Crops Program, Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Fees for Official Inspection and Official Weighing Services under the United States Grain Standards Act (USGSA)" received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-4427. A communication from the Acting Administrator of the Specialty Crops Program, Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Pears Grown in Oregon and Washington; Increased Continuing Assessment Rate for Processed Pears" (Docket No. AMS-SC-17-0045; SC17-927-1 FR) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-4428. A communication from the Acting Administrator of the Specialty Crops Program, Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendments to Regulations Under the Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act (PACA); Growers' Trust Protection Eligibility and Clarification of 'Written Notification'" (Docket No. AMS-FV-15-0045) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-4429. A communication from the Acting Administrator of the Specialty Crops Program, Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Onions Grown in South Texas; Increased Assessment Rate" (Docket No. AMS-SC-17-0040; SC17-959-1 FR) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-4430. A communication from the Acting Administrator of the Specialty Crops Program, Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Watermelon Research and Promotion Plan; Redistricting and Importer Representation" (Docket No. AMS-SC-16-0097; FR) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 27, 2018; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-4431. A communication from the Acting Administrator of the Specialty Crops Program, Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Decrease of Continuing Assessment Rate for Apricots Grown in Designated Counties in Washington" (Docket No. AMS-SC-17-0033; SC17-922-1 FR) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 27, 2018; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-4432. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division,

Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Methyl Bromide; Pesticide Tolerances for Emergency Exemptions” (FRL No. 9971-19) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 27, 2018; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-4433. A communication from the Secretary, Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Investment Company Liquidity Risk Management Programs; Commission Guidance for In-Kind ETFs” (RIN3235-AM26) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 26, 2018; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-4434. A communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a six-month periodic report on the national emergency with respect to Iran as declared in Executive Order 12957 of March 15, 1995; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-4435. A communication from the Chair of the Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Board’s semiannual Monetary Policy Report to Congress; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-4436. A communication from the Secretary, Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Commission Statement and Guidance on Public Company Cybersecurity Disclosures” (Release Nos. 33-10459; 34-82746) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-4437. A communication from the Chair of the Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Board’s semiannual Monetary Policy Report to Congress; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-4438. A communication from the Regulations Specialist, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Subsistence Management Regulations for Public Lands in Alaska—2017-18 and 2018-19 Subsistence Taking of Fish Regulations” (RIN1018-BA76) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-4439. A communication from the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Special Regulations, Areas of the National Park System, Rocky Mountains National Park; Bicycling” (RIN1024-AE31) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 27, 2018; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-4440. A communication from the Wildlife Biologist, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Migratory Bird Hunting; Migratory Bird Hunting Regulations on Certain Federal Indian Reservations and Ceded Lands for the 2017-18 Season” (RIN1018-BB40) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4441. A communication from the Chief of the Branch of Recovery and State Grants, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Endangered and

Threatened Wildlife and Plants; Removing *Oenothera avita* ssp. *eurekensis* from the Federal List of Endangered and Threatened Plants, and Reclassification of *Swallenia alexandreae* from Endangered to Threatened” (RIN1018-AW04) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4442. A communication from the Enforcement Specialist, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Civil Penalties; 2018 Inflation Adjustments for Civil Monetary Penalties” (RIN1018-BC05) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4443. A communication from the Chief of the Branch of Foreign Species, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Endangered and Threatened Wildlife and Plants; Taxonomical Update for Orangutan” (RIN1018-BC54) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4444. A communication from the Acting Branch Chief of the Species Assessment Team, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Endangered and Threatened Wildlife and Plants; Endangered Species Status for Black Warrior Waterdog and Designation of Critical Habitat” (RIN1018-BA78, RIN1018-BA79) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4445. A communication from the Manager of the Species Assessment Team, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Endangered and Threatened Wildlife and Plants; Endangered Species Status for Texas Hornshell” (RIN1018-BB34) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4446. A communication from the Chief of the Branch of Recovery and States Grants, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Endangered and Threatened Wildlife and Plants; Removing the Eastern Puma (=Cougar) from the Federal List of Endangered and Threatened Wildlife” (RIN1018-AY05) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4447. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Air Plan Approval; Illinois; Redesignation of the Illinois Portion of the St. Louis-St. Charles-Farmington, Missouri-Illinois Area to Attainment of the 2008 Ozone Standard” (FRL No. 9974-86-Region 5) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 27, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4448. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; Maryland;

2011 Base Year Inventory for the 2008 8-Hour Ozone National Ambient Air Quality Standard for the Maryland Portion of the Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City Nonattainment Area” (FRL No. 9974-98-Region 4) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 27, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4449. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; Texas; Approval of Texas Motor Vehicle Rule Revisions” (FRL No. 9974-51-Region 6) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 27, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4450. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Approval of California Air Plan Revisions, Northern Sierra Air Quality Management District” (FRL No. 9974-67-Region 9) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 27, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4451. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Approval of Section 112(l) Authority for Hazardous Air Pollutants; Perchloroethylene Air Emission Standards for Dry Cleaning Facilities; State of Vermont” (FRL No. 9972-97-Region 1) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 27, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4452. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Determination to Defer Sanctions; Bay Area Air Quality Management District” (FRL No. 9974-97-Region 9) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 27, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4453. A communication from the Acting Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled “Computation of Annual Liability Insurance (Including Self-Insurance), No-Fault Insurance, and Workers’ Compensation Settlement Recovery Threshold”; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-4454. A communication from the Chief of the Trade and Commercial Regulations Branch, Bureau of Customs and Border Protection, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Extension of Import Restrictions Imposed on Certain Archaeological Material from Belize” (RIN1515-AE37) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-4455. A communication from the Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to Data Mining Activity in the Department of State for calendar year 2017; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-4456. A communication from the Director of Regulations and Policy Management Staff, Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled “Human Subject Protection; Acceptance of Data From Clinical Investigations for Medical Devices” (RIN0910-AG48) (Docket No. FDA-2013-N-0080) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on

February 26, 2018; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-4457. A communication from the Assistant General Counsel for Regulatory Services, Office of Postsecondary Education, Department of Education, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Student Assistance General Provisions, Federal Perkins Loan Program, Federal Family Education Loan Program, William D. Ford Federal Direct Loan Program, and Teacher Education Assistance for College and Higher Education Grant Program" (RIN1840-AD28) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 27, 2018; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-4458. A communication from the Secretary of Education, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Secretary's Final Supplemental Priorities and Definitions for Discretionary Grant Programs" (RIN1894-AA09) received in the Office of the President pro tempore of the Senate; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-4459. A communication from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Department of the Treasury 2017 Annual Privacy, Data Mining, and 803 Reports"; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-4460. A communication from the Secretary of Energy, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Department's Fiscal Year 2017 Federal Information Security Management Act (FISMA) and Privacy Management Report; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-4461. A communication from the Acting Director, Office of Personnel Management, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Federal Student Loan Repayment Program Calendar Year 2016"; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-4462. A communication from the Executive Secretary, Office of Personnel Management, transmitting, pursuant to law, three (3) reports relative to vacancies in the Office of Personnel Management, received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 27, 2018; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-4463. A communication from the Solicitor General, Department of Justice, a report relative to a case pending before the United States District Court for the District of New Jersey (NJ Work Environment Council v. State Emergency Response Commission); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EC-4464. A communication from the Administrator, Small Business Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Uniform Resource Locator (URL) for the Administration's Strategic Plan for fiscal years 2018 - 2022; to the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

EC-4465. A communication from the Regulation Policy Development Coordinator, Office of Regulation Policy and Management, Department of Veterans Affairs, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Revise and Streamline VA Acquisition Regulation to Adhere to Federal Acquisition Regulation Principles (VAAR Case 2014-V002)" (RIN2900-AP82) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

EC-4466. A communication from the Deputy Assistant Administrator for Regulatory Programs, Office of Protected Resources, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "List of Fisheries for 2018" (RIN0648-BG72) re-

ceived in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 26, 2018; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-4467. A communication from the Assistant General Counsel for Regulatory Affairs, Consumer Product Safety Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Prohibition of Children's Toys and Child Care articles Containing Specified Phthalates: Revision of Determinations Regarding Certain Plastics" ((16 CFR Parts 1308) (Docket No. CPSC-2016-0017)) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-4468. A communication from the Assistant General Counsel for Regulatory Affairs, Consumer Product Safety Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "CPSC Acceptance of Third Party Laboratories: Revision to the Notice of Requirements for Prohibitions of Children's Toys and Child Care Articles Containing Specified Phthalates" ((16 CFR Parts 1112) (Docket No. CPSC-2017-0043)) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 23, 2018; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-4469. A communication from the Deputy Bureau Chief, Public Safety and Homeland Security Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Wireless Emergency Alerts; Amendments to Part 11 of the Commission's Rules Regarding the Emergency Alert System" ((PS Docket No. 15-91 and PS Docket No. 15-94) (FCC 18-4)) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 27, 2018; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following executive reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. THUNE for the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

*Rohit Chopra, of New York, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the unexpired term of seven years from September 26, 2012.

*Noah Joshua Phillips, of Maryland, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the term of seven years from September 26, 2016.

*Joseph Simons, of Virginia, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the term of seven years from September 26, 2017.

*Christine S. Wilson, of Virginia, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the unexpired term of seven years from September 26, 2011.

*Christine S. Wilson, of Virginia, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the term of seven years from September 26, 2018.

By Mr. JOHNSON for the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

*Michael K. Atkinson, of Maryland, to be Inspector General of the Intelligence Community, Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

*Nomination was reported with recommendation that it be confirmed subject to the nominee's commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first

and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. SCOTT (for himself and Mr. BOOKER):

S. 2465. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to reauthorize a sickle cell disease prevention and treatment demonstration program and to provide for sickle cell disease research, surveillance, prevention, and treatment; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. HATCH (for himself and Mr. LEAHY):

S. 2466. A bill to encourage and facilitate international participation in the performing arts and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Ms. HARRIS (for herself, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. NELSON, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Ms. WARREN, Mr. Kaine, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. COONS, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. DURBIN, Ms. SMITH, and Mr. BROWN):

S. 2467. A bill to direct the Joint Committee on the Library to obtain a statue of Shirley Chisholm for placement in the United States Capitol; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Ms. HIRONO (for herself, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. COONS, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. MENENDEZ, and Ms. HARRIS):

S. 2468. A bill to provide access to counsel for unaccompanied alien children; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWN:

S. 2469. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to enhance efforts to address antibiotic resistance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. FLAKE (for himself and Mrs. FEINSTEIN):

S. 2470. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the purchase of certain firearms by individuals under 21 years of age, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHATZ (for himself, Mr. LEE, and Mr. LEAHY):

S. 2471. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to improve the compassionate release process of the Bureau of Prisons, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NELSON (for himself, Ms. COLLINS, and Mr. CARPER):

S. 2472. A bill to reauthorize the Coastal Management Act of 1972, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. CASSIDY:

S. 2473. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to require the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to furnish organ transplant care to veterans at non-Department of Veterans Affairs facilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Ms. WARREN (for herself and Mr. DAINES):

S. 2474. A bill to increase portability of and access to retirement savings, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. FLAKE (for himself, Mr. HEINRICH, and Ms. CORTEZ MASTO):

S. 2475. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the illegal modification of firearms, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Ms. SMITH:

S. 2476. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to ensure that valid

generic drugs may enter the market; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. BURR (for himself, Mr. TILLIS, Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. CARPER, Mr. CASSIDY, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. CORKER, Mr. CORNYN, Mr. COTTON, Mr. CRUZ, Mr. DONNELLY, Mr. ENZI, Mrs. FISCHER, Mr. GARDNER, Mr. GRAHAM, Ms. HEITKAMP, Mr. HOEVEN, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. ISAKSON, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LANKFORD, Mr. MANCHIN, Mrs. MCCASKILL, Mr. MCCONNELL, Mr. NELSON, Mr. PAUL, Mr. PERDUE, Mr. PORTMAN, Mr. THUNE, Mr. TOOMEY, Mr. WICKER, Mr. DAINES, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. BARRASSO, Mr. WARNER, Mr. ROBERTS, Mrs. ERNST, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. HELLER, Mr. RUBIO, Mr. MORAN, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. HATCH, and Mr. SASSE):

S.J. Res. 53. A joint resolution honoring the life of William "Billy" F. Graham, Jr.; considered and passed.

By Mr. SANDERS (for himself, Mr. LEE, and Mr. MURPHY):

S.J. Res. 54. A joint resolution to direct the removal of United States Armed Forces from hostilities in the Republic of Yemen that have not been authorized by Congress; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Ms. KLOBUCHAR (for herself and Ms. SMITH):

S. Res. 417. A resolution congratulating the Minnesotans who competed on Team USA at the 2018 Olympic Winter Games in PyeongChang, South Korea; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. CASEY (for himself, Mrs. CAPITO, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. COONS, Mr. ISAKSON, and Mr. MANCHIN):

S. Res. 418. A resolution expressing support for the designation of March 21, 2018 as "National Rosie the Riveter Day"; considered and agreed to.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 292

At the request of Mr. REED, the names of the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MERKLEY), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. DONNELLY), the Senator from California (Mrs. FEINSTEIN), the Senator from New York (Mr. SCHUMER), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. BENNET), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. LEAHY), the Senator from Virginia (Mr. Kaine), the Senator from Minnesota (Ms. SMITH), the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. TILLIS) and the Senator from Nevada (Ms. CORTEZ MASTO) were added as cosponsors of S. 292, a bill to maximize discovery, and accelerate development and availability, of promising childhood cancer treatments, and for other purposes.

S. 378

At the request of Mr. BARRASSO, the name of the Senator from Georgia (Mr. PERDUE) was added as a cosponsor of S. 378, a bill to amend titles 5 and 28, United States Code, to require the maintenance of databases on awards of

fees and other expenses to prevailing parties in certain administrative proceedings and court cases to which the United States is a party, and for other purposes.

S. 503

At the request of Mr. WYDEN, the name of the Senator from New Hampshire (Mrs. SHAHEEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 503, a bill to require the Secretary of Agriculture to make publicly available certain regulatory records relating to the administration of the Animal Welfare Act and the Horse Protection Act, to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide for the use of an alternative depreciation system for taxpayers violating rules under the Animal Welfare Act and the Horse Protection Act, and for other purposes.

S. 898

At the request of Ms. KLOBUCHAR, the name of the Senator from Iowa (Mrs. ERNST) was added as a cosponsor of S. 898, a bill to provide incentives to physicians to practice in rural and medically underserved communities, and for other purposes.

S. 1091

At the request of Ms. COLLINS, the names of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. YOUNG) and the Senator from Alaska (Ms. MURKOWSKI) were added as cosponsors of S. 1091, a bill to establish a Federal Task Force to Support Grandparents Raising Grandchildren.

S. 1158

At the request of Mr. CARDIN, the name of the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. REED) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1158, a bill to help prevent acts of genocide and other atrocity crimes, which threaten national and international security, by enhancing United States Government capacities to prevent, mitigate, and respond to such crises.

S. 2009

At the request of Mr. MURPHY, the name of the Senator from Minnesota (Ms. SMITH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2009, a bill to require a background check for every firearm sale.

S. 2135

At the request of Mr. CORNYN, the names of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. YOUNG), the Senator from Virginia (Mr. WARNER), the Senator from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN) and the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM) were added as cosponsors of S. 2135, a bill to enforce current law regarding the National Instant Criminal Background Check System.

S. 2236

At the request of Mrs. GILLIBRAND, the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. CASEY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2236, a bill to require covered discrimination and covered harassment awareness and prevention training for Members, officers, employees, interns, fellows, and detailees of Congress within 30 days of employment and annually thereafter, to require a

biennial climate survey of Congress, to amend the enforcement process under the Office of Congressional Workplace Rights for covered discrimination and covered harassment complaints, and for other purposes.

S. 2289

At the request of Ms. WARREN, the name of the Senator from New Hampshire (Mrs. SHAHEEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2289, a bill to create an Office of Cybersecurity at the Federal Trade Commission for supervision of data security at consumer reporting agencies, to require the promulgation of regulations establishing standards for effective cybersecurity at consumer reporting agencies, to impose penalties on credit reporting agencies for cybersecurity breaches that put sensitive consumer data at risk, and for other purposes.

S. 2324

At the request of Mr. HELLER, the name of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2324, a bill to amend the Investment Company Act of 1940 to change certain requirements relating to the capital structure of business development companies, to direct the Securities and Exchange Commission to revise certain rules relating to business development companies, and for other purposes.

S. 2334

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the names of the Senator from Georgia (Mr. PERDUE) and the Senator from Virginia (Mr. Kaine) were added as cosponsors of S. 2334, a bill to amend title 17, United States Code, to provide clarity with respect to, and to modernize, the licensing system for musical works under section 115 of that title, to ensure fairness in the establishment of certain rates and fees under sections 114 and 115 of that title, and for other purposes.

S. 2343

At the request of Mr. WICKER, the names of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. GARDNER) and the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. HOEVEN) were added as cosponsors of S. 2343, a bill to require the Federal Communications Commission to establish a task force for meeting the connectivity and technology needs of precision agriculture in the United States.

S. 2393

At the request of Mr. COONS, the name of the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. WHITEHOUSE) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2393, a bill to amend title 17, United States Code, to provide Federal protection to the digital audio transmission of a sound recording fixed before February 15, 1972, and for other purposes.

S. 2398

At the request of Mr. HOEVEN, the names of the Senator from Montana (Mr. DAINES) and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. PERDUE) were added as cosponsors of S. 2398, a bill to amend title 31, United States Code, to provide that

activities relating to the training and readiness of the reserve components of the Armed Forces during a lapse in appropriations shall constitute voluntary services that may be accepted by the United States.

S. 2403

At the request of Mr. DONNELLY, the name of the Senator from Texas (Mr. CORNYN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2403, a bill to modify a provision relating to adjustments of certain State apportionments for Federal highway programs, and for other purposes.

S. 2421

At the request of Mrs. FISCHER, the names of the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. LANKFORD) and the Senator from Indiana (Mr. YOUNG) were added as cosponsors of S. 2421, a bill to amend the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980 to provide an exemption from certain notice requirements and penalties for releases of hazardous substances from animal waste at farms.

S. 2430

At the request of Mr. COONS, the name of the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. HOEVEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2430, a bill to provide a permanent appropriation of funds for the payment of death gratuities and related benefits for survivors of deceased members of the uniformed services in event of any period of lapsed appropriations.

S. 2455

At the request of Mr. BROWN, the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. CASEY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2455, a bill to encourage United States-Ukraine cybersecurity cooperation and require a report regarding such cooperation, and for other purposes.

S. 2456

At the request of Mr. PORTMAN, the names of the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. MANCHIN) and the Senator from Ohio (Mr. BROWN) were added as cosponsors of S. 2456, a bill to reauthorize and expand the Comprehensive Adiction and Recovery Act of 2016.

S.J. RES. 46

At the request of Mr. DAINES, the names of the Senator from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT) and the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. COTTON) were added as cosponsors of S.J. Res. 46, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States authorizing the Congress to prohibit the physical desecration of the flag of the United States.

S. RES. 404

At the request of Mr. ALEXANDER, the name of the Senator from New Hampshire (Ms. HASSAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 404, a resolution recognizing the coordinated struggle of workers on the 50th anniversary of the 1968 Memphis sanitation workers strike to voice their grievances and reach a collective agreement for rights in the workplace.

S. RES. 407

At the request of Mr. COONS, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. MARKEY) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 407, a resolution recognizing the critical work of human rights defenders in promoting human rights, the rule of law, democracy, and good governance.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. SCOTT (for himself and Mr. BOOKER):

S. 2465. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to reauthorize a sickle cell disease prevention and treatment demonstration program and to provide for sickle cell disease research, surveillance, prevention, and treatment; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, as we close out Black History Month this week, I wanted to recognize a few people and initiatives that we are really excited about.

Yesterday, I joined Congressman MARK WALKER, Chairman of the Republican Study Committee in the House, to host our Second Annual Historically Black Colleges and Universities Fly In.

We hosted Presidents and Administrators from HBCUs throughout the country, including four from my home State of South Carolina—South Carolina State University, Claflin University, Allen University and Benedict College.

We were able to host some great panels on ensuring curricula are matched with the needs of the workforce, how to best encourage entrepreneurship among students, and what steps we are taking at the Federal level to help our HBCUs provide an invaluable education for students for generations to come.

Representatives from the HBCUs heard from Google, McDonalds, Starbucks, Bank of America the Morehouse College Entrepreneurship Center, John Deere, Wal-Mart, the Center for Entrepreneurship & Economic Development, and the Koch Foundation. I also want to thank my friends Senator LANKFORD and Congresswoman TERRI SEWELL for joining us on our member panel.

For decades, HBCUs provided Americans of color with educational opportunities they would not have otherwise had. For generations, they have given low-income students an education they could not otherwise afford.

We have stood by them with the restoration of year-round Pell Grants, a top legislative priority from last year's fly-in, which benefits more than one million students.

I joined a bipartisan group of members of Congress, including Representative ALMA ADAMS, to ensure an increase in the Department of Defense's HBCU and PMI grant program, boosting funding for this important collaboration to \$40M.

And earlier this month, we saw the Environmental Protection Agency renew its partnership with Bowie State University to provide professional experiences and advanced resources to Bowie State students.

We will continue to stand with our HBCUs, and help ensure they are providing the opportunities sought by so many people of color and low-income families from across the Nation.

I also want to talk about legislation my friend Senator BOOKER and I introduced today to help combat Sickle Cell Disease.

Our Sickle Cell Disease Research, Surveillance, Prevention and Treatment Act will do exactly what the title suggests . . . aid in fighting sickle cell through research, surveillance, prevention and treatment.

Currently, we don't really know exactly how many people have Sickle Cell Disease. There's no real surveillance and reporting in place at the Federal level, and only a handful of states have a reporting process.

To best battle Sickle Cell, we have to know the universe of what we're fighting against. So, our bill establishes the National Sickle Cell Disease Research, Surveillance, Prevention, and Treatment program to collect data on the demographics and prevalence of Sickle Cell as well as identify and evaluate strategies for prevention and treatment.

We're also reauthorizing the Sickle Cell Disease Treatment Demonstration Program (SDTDP) for four years, making some smart reforms and expanding support services for kids and young adults making the transition to adult care.

If you've ever met someone with Sickle Cell Disease, you know the pain they go through. You see how hard it is on their families to watch them suffer.

The Medical University of South Carolina has put so much effort into finding a cure, and over the past few years I've gotten to know some of the patients. Their perseverance is amazing.

We have taken some great steps forward, but we have to keep that momentum going. I want to thank Senator BOOKER again for joining me in this effort, and I look forward to our colleagues supporting the Sickle Cell Disease Research, Surveillance, Prevention and Treatment Act.

Mr. President, Black History Month allows us to not only study and learn from our past, but to see where we can go in the future. Our Nation has made amazing progress in the past 50 years.

Without a doubt, there are still challenges ahead of us, and by remembering the strength of folks like Dr. Martin Luther King, the Friendship Nine, Cleveland Sellers, and so many other civil rights heroes, I am heartened that despite those challenges, we will continue to make progress.

By Mr. HATCH (for himself and Mr. LEAHY):

S. 2466. A bill to encourage and facilitate international participation in the performing arts and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, Vermont has a rich history of supporting vibrant arts in communities throughout our State and across the world. Local and foreign visiting artists alike make invaluable social and economic contributions to our communities. Today our complex, overloaded, and outdated immigration system often prevents foreign artists from coming to the United States and engaging in international cultural exchange.

That is why I am reintroducing the bipartisan Arts Require Timely Service, ARTS, Act with Senator ORRIN HATCH. Our bill would assist nonprofit arts organizations in obtaining visas for foreign artists by ensuring enforcement of current statutory requirements. The O visa is available to individual foreign artists, while the P visa is available to groups of foreign artists. The Immigration and Nationality Act currently requires that O visa and P visa petitions be processed within 14 days. However, artists and nonprofit arts organizations routinely confront lengthy and uncertain wait times in the adjudication process. Many nonprofit arts organizations are unable to afford the exorbitant filing fee necessary for expedited processing of petitions.

The ARTS Act would require USCIS to provide premium processing services, without a fee, if an O visa or P visa is not adjudicated within the statutorily required 14-day timeframe and if the petition is filed by or on behalf of a nonprofit organization.

The many problems plaguing our immigration system demand responsible reforms. This bill is just one small piece. As we look ahead to comprehensive immigration reform, I hope that Congress will consider commonsense legislation like this that will help create permanent solutions. Foreign visiting artists provide an important public service and support our international diplomacy. It is time we start working to create results that can best help our communities as a whole.

By Mr. FLAKE (for himself and Mrs. FEINSTEIN):

S. 2470. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the purchase of certain firearms by individuals under 21 years of age, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about the introduction of the "Age 21 Act" by Senator FLAKE and myself.

Two weeks ago, at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, our Nation experienced yet another horrific mass shooting that has shocked the conscience of us all.

The shooter—a 19-year old former student of the high school—used an

AR-15 military-style assault rifle that he legally purchased at a gun store, to kill former classmates and educators. Along with 14 wounded, 17 beautiful lives were lost in this horrific attack. Many of them were children and young adults. Their whole lives were ahead of them.

The overwhelming agony so many victims and their loved ones are experiencing is all too familiar to gun violence victims and survivors all across America. This palpable agony and grief has emboldened students from Parkland and all across this Nation to speak out about gun violence and demand that we as lawmakers act. I am deeply inspired by the courage of these young people, and I hope my colleagues will join me in working with them.

The bill that Senator FLAKE and I are introducing is straightforward and simple—it raises the minimum age to purchase a military-style assault rifle and high capacity ammunition magazines to age 21. In so doing, this legislation closes the loophole in current law that allows teenagers to legally walk into a gun store and buy an AR-15. It further prohibits private individuals from selling or transferring AR-15s to teenagers under the age of 21. In this way, it brings the minimum age requirements for buying handguns and military-style assault weapons into parity.

It makes perfectly clear that in America, if a person is not old enough to buy a handgun—or, for that matter, old enough to buy a beer—they should not be able to purchase a military-style assault weapon. In my view, this bill is one small step in the right direction. It was developed following the attack in Parkland that had students asking "why was this teenager able to legally walk into a gun store and buy an AR-15?" In fact, one student named Samuel Zeif, who lost his best friend in the shooting, asked President Trump why a young person in America "can still go in a store and buy a weapon of war?"

So we worked in the spirit of bipartisanship to let Samuel, and these students, know that as lawmakers we hear them. And we will work together to make sure that they feel safe in their schools and in their neighborhoods.

So I'm proud of this bipartisan piece of legislation and would urge that this body take it up and pass it immediately. However, I would be remiss not to mention that so much more remains to be done. Already this Congress, I have introduced legislation to ban bump stocks and assault weapons from our streets. I've also introduced legislation that would provide states with a legal framework for courts to issue gun violence restraining orders to prevent dangerous individuals from accessing firearms. Additionally, nearly 100 percent of Americans support legislation that would require universal background checks on all gun sales, something that ordinary Americans are shocked is not already the law.

I ask my colleagues to work with us on these common-sense, broadly sup-

ported proposals. I strongly believe that lives are at stake. We can't continue to watch our children get slaughtered.

Martin Luther King, Jr. once said that "we are confronted with the fierce urgency of now. In this unfolding conundrum of life and history there is such a thing as being too late" and "we must move past indecision to action."

Today, as students and communities all across our nation cry out for stronger gun laws, this message continues to ring true. Now is the time for us to act, and to show the American people that we can come together when they are looking for leadership.

I yield the floor.

By Mr. BURR (for himself, Mr. TILLIS, Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. CARPER, Mr. CASIDY, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. CORKER, Mr. CORNYN, Mr. COTTON, Mr. CRUZ, Mr. DONNELLY, Mr. ENZI, Mrs. FISCHER, Mr. GARDNER, Mr. GRAHAM, Ms. HEITKAMP, Mr. HOEVEN, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. ISAKSON, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LANKFORD, Mr. MANCHIN, Mrs. MCCASKILL, Mr. MCCONNELL, Mr. NELSON, Mr. PAUL, Mr. PERDUE, Mr. PORTMAN, Mr. THUNE, Mr. TOOMEY, Mr. WICKER, Mr. DAINES, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. BARASSO, Mr. WARNER, Mr. ROBERTS, Mrs. ERNST, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. HELLER, Mr. RUBIO, Mr. MORAN, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. HATCH, and Mr. SASSE):

S.J. Res. 53. A joint resolution honoring the life of William "Billy" F. Graham, Jr.; considered and passed.

S.J. RES. 53

Whereas William "Billy" F. Graham, Jr., was born on November 7, 1918, in Charlotte, North Carolina;

Whereas, in 1939, Reverend Graham was ordained by Peniel Baptist Church in Florida;

Whereas Reverend Graham studied at Florida Bible Institute and graduated from Wheaton College in Wheaton, Illinois, in 1943;

Whereas Reverend Graham married his wife of nearly 64 years, Ruth McCue Bell, in 1943;

Whereas Reverend Graham had 3 daughters, 2 sons, 19 grandchildren, and numerous great-grandchildren;

Whereas, in 1950, Reverend Graham founded the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, which is based in Charlotte, North Carolina;

Whereas Reverend Graham preached to nearly 215,000,000 individuals in more than 185 countries and territories on 6 continents;

Whereas Reverend Graham provided spiritual counsel for every President since Harry Truman;

Whereas Reverend Graham prayed with members of the Armed Forces in combat zones in South Korea and Vietnam;

Whereas Reverend Graham spoke against the communist Soviet Union, saying, "Communism has decided against God, against Christ, against the Bible, and against all religion.";

Whereas Reverend Graham—

(1) fought for racial integration;

(2) invited Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to preach with him in New York City in 1957; and

(3) bailed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., out of jail when Dr. King was arrested for protesting segregation;

Whereas, following the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, Reverend Graham spoke words of hope and comfort to the people of the United States at the Washington National Cathedral;

Whereas Reverend Graham authored 34 books, including the bestselling autobiography, "Just as I Am", which began by discussing his early days on a dairy farm in North Carolina and continued through his career as a preacher and evangelist; and

Whereas Reverend Graham received numerous honors, including—

(1) the North Carolina Award for Public Service;

(2) the Presidential Medal of Freedom;

(3) the Ronald Reagan Freedom Award; and

(4) the Congressional Gold Medal: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress—

(1) extends its sympathies to the family of William "Billy" F. Graham, Jr.; and

(2) honors—

(A) the life and ministry of Reverend Graham; and

(B) the contributions of Reverend Graham to—

(i) the State of North Carolina;

(ii) the United States of America; and

(iii) the moral and religious lives of millions of individuals.

SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

SENATE RESOLUTION 417—CONGRATULATING THE MINNESOTANS WHO COMPETED ON TEAM USA AT THE 2018 OLYMPIC WINTER GAMES IN PYEONGCHANG, SOUTH KOREA

Ms. KLOBUCHAR (for herself and Ms. SMITH) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation:

S. RES. 417

Whereas, of the 243 athletes on the 2018 United States Olympic Team (referred to in this preamble as "Team USA"), 23 have ties to the State of Minnesota, making it the third-most represented State on Team USA;

Whereas, if the State of Minnesota had competed in the 2018 Olympic Winter Games as a country, that State would be tied for twelfth place in the number of gold medals won;

Whereas Minnesota has a long tradition of winter sports and has produced some of the most talented winter Olympians in the world;

Whereas Jessie Diggins of Afton, Minnesota, won a gold medal in the cross-country skiing team sprint and was chosen by the members of Team USA as the United States flagbearer for the Olympic closing ceremony;

Whereas the gold medal won by Jessie Diggins is the first gold medal for the United States in Olympic cross-country skiing;

Whereas the women's Olympic hockey team beat Canada and won the first Olympic gold medal for the team since 1998;

Whereas the following 8 members of the women's Olympic hockey team have ties to Minnesota: Hannah Brandt, Dani Cameranesi, Amanda Kessel, Gigi Marvin, Sidney Morin, Kelly Pannek, Maddie Rooney, and Lee Stecklein;

Whereas the men's curling team defeated Sweden to win the first gold medal for Team USA in curling;

Whereas the following 4 members of the men's curling team have ties to Minnesota: John Shuster, Tyler George, John Landsteiner, and Joe Polo;

Whereas Lindsey Vonn, born in St. Paul, Minnesota, and a member of the Buck Hill Ski Team, won a bronze medal in downhill skiing;

Whereas the following members of Team USA also have ties to Minnesota: Will Borgen, Cory Christensen, Rosie Frankowski, Aileen Geving, Annie Hart, Leif Nordgren, Tabitha Peterson, Ryan Stoa, and David Chodounsky; and

Whereas Minnesota stands united in respect and support for the athletes on Team USA: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) congratulates the Minnesotans who competed on the United States Olympic Team at the 2018 Olympic Winter Games in PyeongChang, South Korea; and

(2) commends the dedication and perseverance of all of the athletes on the 2018 United States Olympic Team.

SENATE RESOLUTION 418—EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE DESIGNATION OF MARCH 21, 2018 AS "NATIONAL ROSIE THE RIVETER DAY"

Mr. CASEY (for himself, Mrs. CAPITO, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. COONS, Mr. ISAKSON, and Mr. MANCHIN) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 418

Whereas National Rosie the Riveter Day is a collective national effort to raise awareness of the 16,000,000 women who worked during World War II;

Whereas the people of the United States have chosen to honor women workers who contributed from the home front during World War II;

Whereas those women left their homes to work or volunteer full-time in factories, farms, shipyards, airplane factories, banks, and other institutions in support of the Armed Forces overseas;

Whereas those women worked with the United Service Organizations and the American Red Cross, drove trucks, riveted airplane parts, collected critical materials, rolled bandages, and served on rationing boards;

Whereas it is fitting and proper to recognize and preserve the history and legacy of working women, including volunteer women, during World War II to promote cooperation and fellowship among those women and their descendants;

Whereas those women and their descendants wish to further the advancement of patriotic ideas, excellence in the workplace, and loyalty to the United States; and

Whereas March 21, 2018, during Women's History Month, is an appropriate day to designate as "National Rosie the Riveter Day": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) supports the designation of March 21, 2018 as "National Rosie the Riveter Day"; and

(2) acknowledges the important role played by women during World War II.

AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I have 5 requests for committees to meet

during today's session of the Senate. They have the approval of the Majority and Minority leaders.

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

COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

The Committee on Environment and Public Works is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, February, 28, 2018, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing entitled "Oversight: FBI Headquarters Consolidation Project."

COMMITTEE ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR AND PENSIONS

The Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, February, 28, 2018, at 9:45 a.m., to conduct a hearing.

COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

The Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, February, 28, 2018, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing on pending legislation and the following nomination: Michael K. Atkinson, of Maryland, to be Inspector General of the Intelligence Community, Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS

The Committee on Veterans' Affairs is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, February, 28, 2018, at 10 a.m., to conduct a joint hearing with the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON WATER AND POWER

The Subcommittee on Water and Power of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, February, 28, 2018 at 11 a.m. to conduct a hearing.

PRIVILEGES OF THE FLOOR

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my intern Jonah Harris be granted privileges of the floor for the remainder of the day.

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

TAIWAN TRAVEL ACT

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 310, H.R. 535.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 535) to encourage visits between the United States and Taiwan at all levels, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be

considered read a third time and passed and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

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

The bill (H.R. 535) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

TARGETED REWARDS FOR THE GLOBAL ERADICATION OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 311, H.R. 1625.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 1625) to amend the Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956 to include severe forms of trafficking in persons within the definition of transnational organized crime for purposes of the rewards program of the Department of State, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations, with an amendment to strike all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLES.

This Act may be cited as the "Targeted Rewards for the Global Eradication of Human Trafficking" or the "TARGET Act".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS; SENSE OF CONGRESS.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

(1) Trafficking in persons is a major transnational crime, as recognized by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7101 et seq.; division A of Public Law 106-386).

(2) Trafficking in persons is increasingly perpetrated by organized, sophisticated criminal enterprises.

(3) Combating trafficking in persons requires a global approach to identifying and apprehending the world's worst human trafficking rings.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that the Department of State's rewards program is a powerful tool in combating sophisticated international crime and that the Department of State and Federal law enforcement should work in concert to offer rewards that target human traffickers who prey on the most vulnerable people around the world.

SEC. 3. REWARDS FOR JUSTICE.

Section 36(k)(5) of the State Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956 (22 U.S.C. 2708(k)(5)) is amended—

(1) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking "means";

(2) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) and (B) as clauses (i) and (ii), respectively, and moving such clauses, as redesignated, 2 ems to the right;

(3) by inserting before clause (i), as redesignated, the following:

"(A) means—";

(4) in clause (ii), as redesignated, by striking the period at the end and inserting "; and"; and

(5) by adding at the end following:

"(B) includes severe forms of trafficking in persons (as defined in section 103 of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102)) involving at least 1 jurisdiction outside of the United States."

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the com-

mittee-reported amendment be agreed to, the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time and passed, and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

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

The committee-reported amendment in the nature of a substitute was agreed to.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

The bill (H.R. 1625), as amended, was passed.

AUTHORIZING USE OF EMANCIPATION HALL

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H. Con. Res. 106, which was received from the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the concurrent resolution by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 106) authorizing the use of Emancipation Hall for a ceremony to present the Congressional Gold Medal collectively to the members of the Office of Strategic Services.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. McCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution be agreed to and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 106) was agreed to.

RECOGNIZING THE COORDINATED STRUGGLE OF WORKERS ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1968 MEMPHIS SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE TO REACH A COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT ON WORKPLACE RIGHTS

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions be discharged from further consideration of and the Senate now proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 404.

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

The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 404) recognizing the coordinated struggle of workers on the 50th anniversary of the 1968 Memphis sanitation workers strike to voice their grievances and reach a collective agreement for rights in the workplace.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I rise today to celebrate Black History Month, when we declare that Black History is American history, and that our Nation is a better, fairer, and more perfect union thanks to the Black Americans who helped forge it.

Fifty years ago, in 1968, a crowd of 25,000 people gathered outside Bishop Charles Mason Temple in Memphis, TN. They congregated there in support of the city's 1,300 Black sanitation workers—men who were being underpaid and subjected to abusive and unsafe working conditions—all of whom had been protesting those conditions, day after day, for months. The sanitation workers had organized, unionized, and exercised their right to peaceful protest; yet the mayor of Memphis refused to heed their calls for justice and change.

So they gathered there, alongside thousands of supporters, outside a church in Memphis, waiting for someone to tell them—to show them—their path forward.

One man spoke to the crowd, saying, "You are reminding not only Memphis, but the nation, that it is a crime for people to live in this rich nation and receive starvation wages." He went on, "You are here tonight to demand that Memphis do something about the conditions our brothers face, as they work day in and day out for the well-being of the total community. You are here to demand that Memphis will see the poor." The speaker encouraged the sanitation workers to continue their fight and vowed to stand by them. He showed them their path forward.

The speaker who addressed the crowd that day was the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. His voice boomed from behind the podium to the crowd—and to all Americans—about the intersection of racial and economic equality. Dr. King argued that fair pay and basic dignity and safety in the workplace should be extended to all people, regardless of their race or profession.

Dr. King addressed the crowd on March 18, 1968. On April 3, 1968, Dr. King addressed another crowd at Mason Temple, declaring, "I've been to the mountain top" and continuing, "Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the Promised Land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people, will get to the Promised Land!"

Dr. King was assassinated the next day. Four days later, 42,000 people marched to honor Dr. King and support the strike, which was resolved 2 weeks after Dr. King's death when the Memphis City Council voted to recognize the sanitation workers' union. Finally, after months of turmoil and violence, the sanitation workers were promised the higher wages and more equitable treatment they deserved. On April 29,

2011, the Memphis sanitation workers were inducted into the Department of Labor's Labor Hall of Honor.

Senator ALEXANDER has introduced a resolution—S. Res. 404—to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Memphis sanitation workers' strike, and I am honored to be an original cosponsor of the measure.

Every February, we celebrate Black History Month because stories like this one are too often lost or overlooked. Every child in America learns about the greatness of our country: the democratic principles that birthed us; our victories in battle throughout two World Wars; the American ingenuity that led to the invention of the automobile, the plane, the personal computer. But how often do our children learn about the difficult and dark periods of our history, wherein Thomas Jefferson's proclamation that "all men are created equal" was reserved only for those with White skin? How often do they learn about the sacrifices of those who demanded that we actually live up to the ideals on which we were founded? How often do they learn that greatness, equality, and justice has always come with a price in this country—and that price has often been paid disproportionately by men and women of color?

Black History Month is a solemn reminder of these truths. This month is a reminder of what the Black community has long understood—that, in the words of Frederick Douglass, "if there is no struggle, there is no progress." And it is a reminder that we all have a responsibility, to our country and to each other, to be part of the struggle, and through it, part of the progress.

We must rise to honor that struggle. Doing so begins with celebrating the Americans who shouldered its burden, and Frederick Douglass is, in fact, a tremendous example.

Frederick Douglass was born in Maryland around 1818. He learned to read and write in Baltimore before escaping slavery. Despite unknowable hardship and systemic discrimination, he went on to become one of the most influential writers, orators, and abolitionists of his time. Though Douglass fiercely and vocally opposed slavery, he would want us to remember that he stood for the rights of all Americans regardless of race, color, religion, gender, or national origin. These views—revolutionary for the time—earned him increasing prominence, leading to 1872, when Victoria Woodhull chose him as her Vice Presidential nominee. Frederick Douglass was the first Black American ever to hold such a title.

We also celebrate Harriet Tubman who, with sheer grit and courage, not only escaped slavery, but dedicated her life to saving countless men, women, and children from it. "I had reasoned this out in my mind, there was one of two things I had a right to: liberty or death," she famously said. "If I could not have one, I would have the other."

As one of the Underground Railroad's most effective conductors, Harriet

Tubman was given the nickname "Moses" for how dogged and devoted she was to shepherding her people to safety. Tubman went on to become a Union spy during the Civil War and an iconic suffragist thereafter.

We celebrate scientists and inventors like Baltimore's own Benjamin Banneker, a self-taught mathematician and astronomer, and author of several groundbreaking almanacs; or Dr. Shirley Jackson, whose discoveries in the field of theoretical physics paved the way for the invention of the touch-tone telephone, solar panel cells, and fiber-optic cable; or Marie Van Brittan Brown, a nurse by profession, who invented the first home security system; or George Carruthers, a member of the National Inventors Hall of Fame, who invented the ultraviolet camera, allowing scientists at the National Aeronautics & Space Administration, NASA, to observe more of the universe, forever changing our perception and understanding of it.

We also celebrate the countless men and women whose names and heroism will never grace the history books, such as the Memphis sanitation workers. Throughout the American Revolution and the Civil War, from Reconstruction to today, for every civil rights leader or scientist we can name, there have been thousands we could not name.

In our eagerness to validate the importance of this month, let us not reduce Black history to stories about individuals—as important as they are—and forget the broader truth, that the Black community, as a whole, deserves to have its collective story told, not just this month, but every month. Let our history books reflect the experiences of all those who suffered discrimination in silence, who endured civil rights abuses without recognition, who sat in and stood up to oppression without accolade.

Such individuals would be the first to tell us that there is a lot of work left to do. Systemic prejudice is a specter that haunts us still today through practices like racial profiling. I have introduced a bill, S. 411—the End Racial and Religious Profiling Act—which would eliminate this harmful practice and offer resources for more police training, mandate greater accountability, and provide legal recourse for Americans who have been unduly profiled; yet this bill remains in the Judiciary Committee, with no hearing held on it so far, while too many African Americans and other people of color continue to be unjustly targeted.

The Voting Rights Act, which safeguarded every citizen's fundamental right to vote, was upended by the Supreme Court's decision in 2013's *Shelby v. Holder*. It is up to Congress to remedy that decision with a new, updated law, and it is up to the people of this country to hold this body accountable for passing it. For my part, I will do everything in my power to make that a greater priority.

Fifty years after the Memphis sanitation workers' strike, the Southern Poverty Law Center, SPLC, has released a deeply troubling report, "Teaching Hard History: American Slavery," which traces today's persistent racial tensions to the failure of our schools to teach students properly about the great stain of slavery in America. According to the SPLC, "Schools are not adequately teaching the history of American slavery, educators are not sufficiently prepared to teach it, textbooks do not have enough material about it, and—as a result—students lack a basic knowledge of the important role it played in shaping the United States and the impact it continues to have on race relations in America."

So, yes, we still have much work to do, even 155 years after the Emancipation Proclamation and 50 years after the Memphis sanitation workers' strike; yet Dr. King believed in us. Despite all of our faults and shortcomings and all the hardship Dr. King witnessed and endured, he believed in this country. We should, too. This Black History Month, we vow not to let him—or the countless others whose names we will never know—down. We will march forward together, united, just as those sanitation workers and their supporters did 50 years ago, compelled by a shared desire to see justice "roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream," as the Prophet Amos put it, Amos 5:24. We will pause to reflect on the legacy of the civil rights hero who showed us all the path forward, the man who pointed all Americans in the direction of the Promised Land. It is up to us to reach it.

Mr. McCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 404) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in the RECORD of February 13, 2018, under "Submitted Resolutions.")

HONORING THE DEDICATION AND COURAGE OF THE BUFFALO SOLDIERS

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate Armed Services Committee be discharged from further consideration of S. Res. 409 and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

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

The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 409) honoring the dedication and courage of the Buffalo Soldiers.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. McCONNELL. I further ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 409) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in the RECORD of February 15, 2018, under "Submitted Resolutions.")

EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE DESIGNATION OF MARCH 21, 2018 AS "NATIONAL ROSIE THE RIVETER DAY"

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of S. Res. 418, submitted earlier today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 418) expressing support for the designation of March 21, 2018 as "National Rosie the Riveter Day."

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. McCONNELL. I further ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 418) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

MEASURE READ THE FIRST TIME—H.R. 1865

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I understand that there is a bill at the desk, and I ask for its first reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The leader is correct.

The clerk will read the bill by title for the first time.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 1865) to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to clarify that section 230 of such Act does not prohibit the enforcement against providers and users of interactive computer services of Federal and State criminal and civil law relating to sexual exploitation of children or sex trafficking, and for other purposes.

Mr. McCONNELL. I now ask for a second reading and, in order to place the bill on the calendar under the provisions of rule XIV, I object to my own request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection having been heard, the bill will be read for the second time on the next legislative day.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, notwithstanding rule XXII, I ask unanimous consent that at 11:45 a.m. on Thursday, March 1, the Senate vote on confirmation of the Quattlebaum nomination, and that if confirmed, the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table and the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action. I further ask that following disposition of the Quattlebaum nomination, the Senate vote on the Scholer and Self cloture motions, and that following the cloture vote on the Self nomination, the time until 1:30 p.m. be equally divided prior to the cloture vote on the Doughty nomination. I further ask that if cloture is invoked on any of the nominations, the postcloture time be yielded back, the confirmation votes, in the order invoked, occur at 5:30 p.m. on Monday, March 5, and that if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made

and laid upon the table and the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

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

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, to sum it up, for the information of all Senators, the Senate will conduct three rollcall votes at 11:45 a.m. tomorrow and a fourth vote at 1:30 p.m. This will be the last vote of the week, and Senators should plan to return for three votes at 5:30 p.m. on Monday.

ORDERS FOR THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 2018

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 10 a.m., Thursday, March 1; further, that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and morning business be closed. Finally, I ask that following leader remarks, the Senate proceed to executive session and resume consideration of the Quattlebaum nomination under the previous order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it stand adjourned under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 6:46 p.m., adjourned until Thursday, March 1, 2018, at 10 a.m.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate February 28, 2018:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RUSSELL VOUGHT, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

SENATE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Title IV of Senate Resolution 4, agreed to by the Senate of February 4, 1977, calls for establishment of a system for a computerized schedule of all meetings and hearings of Senate committees, subcommittees, joint committees, and committees of conference. This title requires all such committees to notify the Office of the Senate Daily Digest—designated by the Rules Committee—of the time, place and purpose of the meetings, when scheduled and any cancellations or changes in the meetings as they occur.

As an additional procedure along with the computerization of this information, the Office of the Senate Daily Digest will prepare this information for printing in the Extensions of Remarks section of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on Monday and Wednesday of each week.

Meetings scheduled for Thursday, March 1, 2018 may be found in the Daily Digest of today's RECORD.

MEETINGS SCHEDULED

MARCH 6

9:30 a.m.

Committee on Armed Services

To hold hearings to examine worldwide threats; with the possibility of a closed session in SVC-217, following the open session.

SH-216

10 a.m.

Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

To hold hearings to examine the nomination of James Reilly, of Colorado, to be Director of the United States Geological Survey, Department of the Interior.

SD-366

Committee on Finance

To hold hearings to examine protecting e-commerce consumers from counterfeits.

SD-215

2 p.m.

Committee on Veterans' Affairs

To hold a joint hearing with the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs to examine the legislative presentation of multiple veterans service organizations.

SD-G50

2:30 p.m.

Committee on Armed Services

Subcommittee on SeaPower

To hold hearings to examine Navy and Marine Corps aviation programs in review of the Defense Authorization Request for fiscal year 2019 and the Future Years Defense Program.

SR-232A

MARCH 7

Time to be announced

Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions

Business meeting to consider the nominations of John F. Ring, of the District of Columbia, to be a Member of the National Labor Relations Board, Frank T. Brogan, of Pennsylvania, to be Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education, and Mark Schneider, of the District of Columbia, to be Director of the Institute of Education Science, both of the Department of Education, Marco M. Rajkovich, Jr., of Kentucky, to be a Member of the Federal Mine Safety and Health Review Commission, and other pending nominations.

TBA

9:30 a.m.

Special Committee on Aging

To hold hearings to examine stopping senior scams.

SD-562

10 a.m.

Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs

To continue a business meeting to consider H.R. 2825, to amend the Homeland Security Act of 2002 to make certain improvements in the laws administered by the Secretary of Homeland Security.

SD-342

Committee on the Judiciary

To hold hearings to examine the nominations of John B. Nalbandian, of Kentucky, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Sixth Circuit, Kari A. Dooley, to be United States District Judge for the District of Connecticut, Dominic W. Lanza, to be United States District Judge for the District of Arizona, Jill Aiko Otake, to be United States District Judge for the District of Hawaii, and Joseph H. Hunt, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice.

SD-226

10:30 a.m.

Committee on the Budget

To hold hearings to examine Department of Defense audit and business operations reform at the Pentagon.

SD-608

2 p.m.

Joint Economic Committee

To hold hearings to examine the Economic Report of the President.

SH-216

2:30 p.m.

Committee on Foreign Relations

To hold hearings to examine the nomination of Joseph E. Macmanus, of New York, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Colombia, Department of State.

SD-419

Committee on the Judiciary

Subcommittee on Oversight, Agency Action, Federal Rights and Federal Courts

To hold hearings to examine small business bankruptcy, focusing on assessing the system.

SD-226

MARCH 8

9:30 a.m.

Committee on Armed Services

To hold hearings to examine United States European Command in review of the Defense Authorization Request for fiscal year 2019 and the Future Years Defense Program.

SD-G50

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

Daily Digest

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages S1257–S1293

Measures Introduced: Twelve bills and four resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 2465–2476, S.J. Res. 53–54, and S. Res. 417–418. **Pages S1286–87**

Measures Passed:

Honoring the Life of Billy Graham: Senate passed S.J. Res. 53, honoring the life of William “Billy” F. Graham, Jr. **Page S1259**

Taiwan Travel Act: Senate passed H.R. 535, to encourage visits between the United States and Taiwan at all levels. **Pages S1290–91**

TARGET Act: Senate passed H.R. 1625, to amend the State Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956 to include severe forms of trafficking in persons within the definition of transnational organized crime for purposes of the rewards program of the Department of State, after agreeing to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute. **Page S1291**

Authorizing the Use of Emancipation Hall: Senate agreed to H. Con. Res. 106, authorizing the use of Emancipation Hall for a ceremony to present the Congressional Gold Medal collectively to the members of the Office of Strategic Services. **Page S1291**

Memphis Sanitation Workers Strike 50th Anniversary: Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions was discharged from further consideration of S. Res. 404, recognizing the coordinated struggle of workers on the 50th anniversary of the 1968 Memphis sanitation workers strike to voice their grievances and reach a collective agreement for rights in the workplace, and the resolution was then agreed to. **Pages S1291–92**

Honoring the Buffalo Soldiers: Committee on Armed Services was discharged from further consideration of S. Res. 409, honoring the dedication and courage of the Buffalo Soldiers, and the resolution was then agreed to. **Pages S1292–93**

National Rosie the Riveter Day: Senate agreed to S. Res. 418, expressing support for the designation of March 21, 2018 as “National Rosie the Riveter Day”. **Page S1293**

Quattlebaum Nomination—Agreement: Senate resumed consideration of the nomination of A. Marvin Quattlebaum, Jr., to be United States District Judge for the District of South Carolina. **Page S1293**

During consideration of this nomination today, Senate also took the following action:

By 69 yeas to 29 nays (Vote No. 41), Senate agreed to the motion to close further debate on the nomination. **Pages S1274–75**

A unanimous-consent agreement was reached providing that notwithstanding Rule XXII, at 11:45 a.m., on Thursday, March 1, 2018, Senate vote on confirmation of the nomination of A. Marvin Quattlebaum, Jr.; that following disposition of the nomination of A. Marvin Quattlebaum, Jr., Senate vote on the motions to invoke cloture on the nominations of Karen Gren Scholer, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Texas, and Tilman Eugene Self III, to be United States District Judge for the Middle District of Georgia, and that following the vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the nomination of Tilman Eugene Self III, the time until 1:30 p.m. be equally divided prior to the vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the nomination of Terry A. Doughty, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Louisiana; and that if cloture is invoked on any of the nominations, the post-cloture time be yielded back, and the votes on confirmation of the nominations, in the order invoked, occur at 5:30 p.m., on Monday, March 5, 2018. **Page S1293**

A unanimous-consent agreement was reached providing for further consideration of the nomination of A. Marvin Quattlebaum, Jr., post-cloture, at approximately 10 a.m., on Thursday, March 1, 2018. **Page S1293**

Nomination Confirmed: Senate confirmed the following nomination:

By 50 yeas to 49 nays, Vice President voting yea (Vote No. EX. 40), Russell Vought, of Virginia, to be Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget. **Pages S1274, S1293**

Messages from the House: **Page S1284**

Measures Referred: **Page S1284**

Measures Placed on the Calendar:**Pages S1260, S1284****Measures Read the First Time: Pages S1284, S1293****Executive Communications: Pages S1284–86****Executive Reports of Committees: Page S1286****Additional Cosponsors: Pages S1287–88****Statements on Introduced Bills/Resolutions: Pages S1288–90****Additional Statements: Page S1284****Authorities for Committees to Meet: Page S1290****Privileges of the Floor: Page S1290****Record Votes:** Two record votes were taken today. (Total—41) **Pages S1274, S1274–75**

Adjournment: Senate convened at 12:45 p.m. and adjourned at 6:46 p.m., until 10 a.m. on Thursday, March 1, 2018. (For Senate's program, see the remarks of the Majority Leader in today's Record on page S1293.)

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

BUSINESS MEETING

Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation: Committee ordered favorably reported the following business items:

S. 1520, to expand recreational fishing opportunities through enhanced marine fishery conservation and management, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute; and

The nominations of Joseph Simons, of Virginia, Noah Joshua Phillips, of Maryland, Christine S. Wilson, of Virginia, and Rohit Chopra, of New York, each to be a Federal Trade Commissioner.

WATER AND POWER LEGISLATION

Committee on Energy and Natural Resources: Subcommittee on Water and Power concluded a hearing to examine S. 1142 and H.R. 2457, bills to extend the deadline for commencement of construction of certain hydroelectric projects, S. 1556, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to use designated funding to pay for construction of authorized rural water projects, S. 2074, to establish a procedure for the conveyance of certain Federal property around the

Jamestown Reservoir in the State of North Dakota, S. 2166, to maintain annual base funding for the Upper Colorado and San Juan fish recovery programs through fiscal year 2023, to require a report on the implementation of those programs, and H.R. 2786, to amend the Federal Power Act with respect to the criteria and process to qualify as a qualifying conduit hydropower facility, after receiving testimony from Alan Mikkelsen, Senior Advisor to the Secretary of the Interior for Water and Western Resource Issues.

FBI HEADQUARTERS CONSOLIDATION PROJECT

Committee on Environment and Public Works: Committee concluded an oversight hearing to examine the Federal Bureau of Investigation headquarters consolidation project, after receiving testimony from Richard L. Haley II, Assistant Director, Finance, Facilities and Real Property Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice; and Daniel Mathews, Commissioner, Public Buildings Service, General Services Administration.

BUSINESS MEETING

Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs: Committee ordered favorably reported the nomination of Michael K. Atkinson, of Maryland, to be Inspector General of the Intelligence Community, Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

Committee recessed subject to the call.

BUSINESS MEETING

Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions: Committee ordered favorably reported the following business items:

S. 2434, to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to reauthorize user fee programs relating to new animal drugs and generic new animal drugs, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute;

S. 292, to maximize discovery, and accelerate development and availability, of promising childhood cancer treatments, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute;

S. 2278, to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide grants to improve health care in rural areas, with an amendment; and

S. 1091, to establish a Federal Task Force to Support Grandparents Raising Grandchildren, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

House of Representatives

Chamber Action

The House was not in session today. The House is scheduled to meet in a Pro Forma session at 1:30 p.m. on Thursday, March 1, 2018.

Committee Meetings

COMBATING THE OPIOID CRISIS: HELPING COMMUNITIES BALANCE ENFORCEMENT AND PATIENT SAFETY

Committee on Energy and Commerce: Subcommittee on Health, hearing entitled “Combating the Opioid Crisis: Helping Communities Balance Enforcement and Patient Safety”. Testimony was heard from Susan Gibson, Deputy Assistant Attorney, Diversion Control Division, Drug Enforcement Administration; Frank Fowler, Chief of Police, Syracuse Police Department; Richard Nance, Director, Utah County Department of Drug and Alcohol Prevention and Treatment; and public witnesses.

ZIMBABWE AFTER MUGABE

Committee on Foreign Affairs: Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations held a hearing entitled “Zimbabwe After Mugabe”. Testimony was heard from public witnesses.

LEGISLATIVE MEASURES

Committee on Natural Resources: Subcommittee on Federal Lands held a hearing on H.R. 1992, the “Camp Nelson Heritage Park Study Act”; H.R. 3008, the “George W. Bush Childhood Home Study Act”; H.R. 4731, to extend the retained use estate for the Caneel Bay resort in St. John, United States Virgin Islands, and for other purposes; and H.R. 5005, to direct the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a special resource study to determine the suitability and feasibility of establishing the birthplace of James Weldon Johnson in Jacksonville, Florida, as a unit of the National Park System. Testimony was heard from Representatives Barr, Conaway, Plaskett, and Lawson of Florida; and public witnesses.

Joint Meetings

THE AMERICAN LEGION LEGISLATIVE PRESENTATION

Committee on Veterans’ Affairs: Senate Committee on Veterans’ Affairs concluded a joint hearing with the House Committee on Veterans’ Affairs to examine the legislative presentation of The American Legion,

after receiving testimony from Denise H. Rohan, The American Legion, Verona, Wisconsin.

BORIS NEMTSOV

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Commission concluded a hearing to examine seeking justice for and securing the legacy of Boris Nemtsov, after receiving testimony from Vladimir V. Karas-Murza, Boris Nemtsov Foundation for Freedom; Zhanna Nemtsova; and Vadim Prokhorov.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS FOR THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 2018

(Committee meetings are open unless otherwise indicated)

Senate

Committee on Armed Services: to hold hearings to examine the nominations of Lieutenant General Paul M. Nakasone, USA, to be general and Director, National Security Agency/Chief, Central Security Service/Commander, United States Cyber Command, Department of Defense, and Brent K. Park, of Tennessee, to be Deputy Administrator for Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation, National Nuclear Security Administration, and Anne Marie White, of Michigan, to be an Assistant Secretary (Environmental Management), both of the Department of Energy, 9:30 a.m., SD–G50.

Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs: to hold hearings to examine the Semiannual Monetary Policy Report to the Congress, 10 a.m., SD–538.

Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation: to hold hearings to examine implementation of positive train control, 10:15 a.m., SR–253.

Committee on Energy and Natural Resources: to hold an oversight hearing to examine private sector and government challenges and opportunities to promote the cyber security and resiliency of our nation’s critical energy infrastructure, 10 a.m., SD–366.

Committee on Environment and Public Works: to hold hearings to examine the Administration’s framework for rebuilding infrastructure in America, 10 a.m., SD–406.

Committee on Foreign Relations: to hold hearings to examine the nominations of Robert Frank Pence, of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Finland, and Trevor D. Traina, of California, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Austria, both of the Department of State, and Judy Lynn Shelton, of Virginia, to be United States Director of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 10 a.m., SD–419.

Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions: to hold hearings to examine the nomination of John F. Ring, of the District of Columbia, to be a Member of the National Labor Relations Board, 10 a.m., SD–430.

Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs: Subcommittee on Regulatory Affairs and Federal Management, to hold hearings to examine the role of Federal managers in hiring, 10 a.m., SD-342.

Committee on the Judiciary: business meeting to consider the nominations of Joel M. Carson III, of New Mexico, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Tenth Circuit, Colm F. Connolly, and Maryellen Noreika, both to be a United States District Judge for the District of Delaware, William F. Jung, to be United States District Judge for the Middle District of Florida, Ryan T. Holte, of Ohio, to be a Judge of the United States Court of Federal Claims, Jonathan F. Mitchell, of Washington, to be Chairman of the Administrative Conference of the United States, and Billy J. Williams, to be United States Attor-

ney for the District of Oregon, Mark S. James, to be United States Marshal for the Western District of Missouri, Daniel C. Mosteller, to be United States Marshal for the District of South Dakota, and Jesse Seroyer, Jr., to be United States Marshal for the Middle District of Alabama, all of the Department of Justice, 10 a.m., SD-226.

Select Committee on Intelligence: closed business meeting to consider pending intelligence matters; to be immediately followed by a closed briefing regarding certain intelligence matters, 2 p.m., SH-219.

House

No hearings are scheduled.

Next Meeting of the SENATE

10 a.m., Thursday, March 1

Next Meeting of the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1:30 p.m., Thursday, March 1

Senate Chamber

Program for Thursday: Senate will continue consideration of the nomination of A. Marvin Quattlebaum, Jr., to be United States District Judge for the District of South Carolina, post-cloture, and vote on confirmation of the nomination at 11:45 a.m.

Following disposition of the nomination of A. Marvin Quattlebaum, Jr., Senate will vote on the motions to invoke cloture on the nominations of Karen Gren Scholer, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Texas, and Tilman Eugene Self III, to be United States District Judge for the Middle District of Georgia.

At 1:30 p.m., Senate will vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the nomination of Terry A. Doughty, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Louisiana.

House Chamber

Program for Thursday: House will meet in Pro Forma session at 1:30 p.m.



Congressional Record

printed pursuant to directions of the Joint Committee on Printing as authorized by appropriate provisions of Title 44, United States Code, and published for each day that one or both Houses are in session, excepting very infrequent instances when two or more unusually small consecutive issues are printed one time. ¶Public access to the *Congressional Record* is available online through the U.S. Government Publishing Office, at www.govinfo.gov, free of charge to the user. The information is updated online each day the *Congressional Record* is published. For more information, contact the GPO Customer Contact Center, U.S. Government Publishing Office. Phone 202-512-1800, or 866-512-1800 (toll-free). E-Mail, contactcenter@gpo.gov. ¶To place an order for any of these products, visit the U.S. Government Online Bookstore at: bookstore.gpo.gov. Mail orders to: Superintendent of Documents, P.O. Box 979050, St. Louis, MO 63197-9000, or phone orders to 866-512-1800 (toll-free), 202-512-1800 (D.C. area), or fax to 202-512-2104. Remit check or money order, made payable to the Superintendent of Documents, or use VISA, MasterCard, Discover, American Express, or GPO Deposit Account. ¶Following each session of Congress, the daily *Congressional Record* is revised, printed, permanently bound and sold by the Superintendent of Documents in individual parts or by sets. ¶With the exception of copyrighted articles, there are no restrictions on the republication of material from the *Congressional Record*.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Superintendent of Documents, *Congressional Record*, U.S. Government Publishing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, along with the entire mailing label from the last issue received.