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Senate

The Senate met at 12 noon and was called to order by the Honorable John Cornyn, a Senator from the State of Texas.

PRAYER

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

Let us pray.

Eternal Father, strong to save, we put our trust in You. Continue to be our shelter in the time of storm. Guide our lawmakers. Keep ever before them the vision of a better world that is yet to be. May the words of their mouths and the meditations of their hearts be pleasing to You, O Lord, our strength and our Redeemer.

Lord, give our Senators pure intentions, a steadfast regard for Your glory, and a faith that will not shrink, though pressed by many challenges.

We pray, in Your mighty Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Presiding Officer 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.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President protempore (Mr. HATCH).

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, December 21, 2018.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable John Cornyn, a Senator from the State of Texas, to perform the duties of the Chair.

ORRIN G. HATCH, President pro tempore.

Mr. CORNYN thereupon assumed the Chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will be in a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

(Thereupon, Mr. KENNEDY assumed the chair.)

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, the events of the past week should concern every American. This may have been the most chaotic week of what is undoubtedly the most chaotic Presidency ever in the history of the United States.

The stock market is in a tumult and in decline. The Secretary of Defense, one of the only pairs of steady hands in our government, is resigning from the administration in protest. The United States is pulling out of Syria and likely Afghanistan, abandoning our coalitions, allies, and the Kurds, and surrendering the field to Putin, Iran, Hezbollah, ISIS, the Taliban, and Bashar al-Assad.

The positions of Defense Secretary, of Attorney General, of Ambassador to the United Nations, of Interior Secretary, and even of Chief of Staff to the President are all in flux.

The institutions of our government lack steady and experienced leadership. With all of these departures, it is about to get even more unsteady. The President is making decisions without counsel, without preparation, and even without communication between relevant Departments and relevant Agencies. All of this turmoil is causing chaos in the markets, chaos abroad, and it is making the United States less prosperous and less secure. To top it all off, President Trump has thrown a temper tantrum and now has us careening toward a Trump shutdown over Christmas.

In a short time, the Senate will take part in a pointless exercise to demonstrate to our House colleagues and the President what everyone here already knows: There are not the votes in the Senate for an expensive, taxpayer-funded border wall.

President Trump, you will not get your wall. Abandon your shutdown strategy. You are not getting the wall today, next week, or on January 3 when Democrats take control of the House.

Just 2 days ago, the Senate came together to support a proposal by Leader McConnell—unanimously, every Democrat, every Republican—to extend government funding through February without partisan demands. What it would accomplish would be that the government would not shut down, the fights we are having would be postponed to a later day, and millions of Americans would not be hurt this Christmas week.

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



Let me repeat that. The Senate—every Democrat and every Republican—has already unanimously supported a clean extension of government funding.

Democrats supported the measure because we do not want to see the government shut down. We have no demands other than that. We had every indication that the President would sign the legislation—as did our friends the Republicans on the other side of the aisle in the Senate—but yesterday President Trump, hounded by the radical voices of the hard right, threw another temper tantrum, and here we are once again, on the brink of what the President has spent months saying he wanted—a Trump shutdown.

The President will try to do his best to blame Democrats, but it is flatly absurd. President Trump called for a shutdown no fewer than 25 times. In our meeting with the Oval Office, President Trump said: "If we don't get what we want . . . I will shut down the government. . . I am proud to shut it down. So I will take the mantle. . . . I'm not going to blame you." Those are President Trump's words, and nothing he says or does today can undo that.

No Democrat has called for shutting down the government. We are all working to avoid it. The President seems to relish it. He seems to feel he will throw a bone to his base—his base probably being less than one-quarter of America.

President Trump, you cannot erase months of video of your saying that you wanted a shutdown and that you wanted the responsibility and blame for a shutdown. President Trump, you own the shutdown. You said so in your own words.

President Trump may get his wish, unfortunately, but it doesn't have to be this way. Democrats have offered two alternatives, and Republicans-Leader McConnell has offered one. Democrats have offered to pass the six bipartisan appropriations bills, plus a 1-year continuing resolution for Homeland Security. We have also offered a 1-year continuing resolution for all the remaining bills. Republicans have offered to pass a short-term continuing resolution through early February. Each one of those proposals would pass the House and pass the Senate. Each one of those proposals contains \$1.3 billion of real border security, not a wall. There is no wall in those proposals. Democrats support real border security, not a. wa.11.

By the way, that is in addition to the \$1.3 billion in border security Congress allocated last year, the vast majority of which the Trump administration has not yet spent. They are asking for loads of more money. They haven't even spent last year's money. It is clearly a political gambit by President Trump to appease his never-happy base.

On the other hand, a Trump shutdown would result in zero dollars for the Department of Homeland Security over the Christmas holiday.

There are several ways for President Trump and congressional Republicans to avoid a shutdown over Christmas—I mentioned three—but there is only one way we will have a Trump shutdown: If President Trump clings to his position for an unnecessary, ineffective, tax-payer-funded border wall that he promised Mexico would pay for.

I yield the floor.

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

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

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, yesterday the House passed an amended version of the continuing resolution to sustain government funding and sent it here for our consideration. In addition to giving the entire Federal Government the necessary resources to operate into the new year, this legislation also provides much needed investments in disaster relief for hard-hit communities and in our national security, particularly the integrity of our borders.

In my view, this legislation would be quite uncontroversial in a more normal political moment—in a moment when both parties put the obvious national interest ahead of any personal spite for the President.

I support the additional border security and disaster aid that the House added to the bill, and I am proud to vote for it. It is not a radical concept that the American people's government should be able to control the people and the goods that flow into our country. It is not a radical concept that physical barriers play an important role in achieving security—unless there is a caucus of lawmakers who go to bed at night with their front doors wide open that I am not aware of. What is radical, what is way out of the mainstream, is this absurd premise of the open-borders far left that achieving basic stability and law enforcement on our southern border is somehow in itself without compassion or discriminatory or immoral.

Fairness and compassion don't mean enforcing only some of our laws halfheartedly; fairness and compassion mean that we fulfill our governing duties for the American people. If we continue to throw up our hands and tolerate a status quo that is allowing too many drugs and dangerous criminals to travel freely into our land, then this Federal Government is not doing its duty.

The facts are clear on this. The need for greater security on our southern border is not some partisan invention; it is an empirical fact, and the need is only growing. Apprehensions along the border have nearly doubled in the past year. The men and women of the Border Patrol are encountering greater numbers of gang members and individuals with criminal histories, more family units, more seizures of cocaine and fentanyl.

This is a real crisis. The implications for American communities, for vulnerable children, and for Border Patrol units that are already stretched thin are very real.

There is no bright line of principle that sets this request for border funding apart from similar requests that many Democrats have supported in the past. A lot of them have supported this in the past. There is no sharp distinction between the proposal my friends across the aisle have decided to oppose today and proposals they have been happy to endorse in the past. All that has really changed are the political winds way over on the far left. That is what has changed.

So let's not end this year the way we began it—with another shutdown over the issue of illegal immigration. Remember this back in January? It was all because the Democrats were unwilling to support commonsense measures to address it. Let's advance this legislation. Let's pass it. Let's finish our work for this year. Let's secure our country.

CHILD PROTECTION IMPROVE-MENTS ACT OF 2017—MOTION TO PROCEED

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate the House message to accompany H.R. 695, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient sec-

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 Utah (Mr. HATCH), the Senator from Nevada (Mr. HELLER), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. ISAKSON), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. KYL), and the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. PAUL).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from California (Mrs. Feinstein) is necessarily absent.

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 47, nays 47, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 274 Leg.]

YEAS—47

Alexander	Corker	Fischer
Barrasso	Cornyn	Flake
Blunt	Cotton	Gardner
Boozman	Crapo	Graham
Burr	Cruz	Grassley
Capito	Daines	Hoeven
Cassidy	Enzi	Hyde-Smith
Collins	Ernst	Inhofe

Johnson Jones Kennedy Lankford Lee McConnell Moran	Perdue Portman Risch Roberts Rounds Rubio Sasse	Shelby Sullivan Thune Tillis Toomey Wicker
Moran Murkowski	Sasse Scott	Young

NAYS-47

Baldwin Hassan Peters Bennet Heinrich Reed Blumenthal Heitkamp Sanders Booker Hirono Schatz Brown Kaine Schumer Cantwell King Shaheen Cardin Klobuchar Smith Leahy Carper Stabenow Manchin Casey Tester Coons Markev Udall McCaskill Cortez Masto Van Hollen Menendez Donnelly Duckworth Merklev Warren Durhin Murphy Whitehouse Gillibrand Murray Wyden Harris Nelson

NOT VOTING-6

Feinstein Heller Kyl Hatch Isakson Paul

(Mr. BOOZMAN assumed the chair.) (Mrs. CAPITO assumed the chair.) (Ms. MURKOWSKI assumed the chair.)

The VICE PRESIDENT. On this vote, the yeas are 47, the nays are 47. The Senate being equally divided, the Vice President votes in the affirmative, and the motion is agreed to.

CHILD PROTECTION IMPROVEMENTS ACT OF 2017

The Chair lays before the Senate the following message from the House:

Resolved, That the House agree to the amendment of the Senate to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 695), entitled "An Act to amend the National Child Protection Act of 1993 to establish a national criminal history background check system and criminal history review program for certain individuals who, related to their employment, have access to children, the elderly, or individuals with disabilities, and for other purposes.", with an amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The majority leader.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. Vice President and colleagues, here where we are. It is now clear there are enough votes to proceed to the pending legislation on government funding, disaster relief, and border security.

Within the Republican conference, there is strong support for the President's reasonable request for more resources to tackle the urgent situation at our southern border. Republicans support the House-passed bill, which includes additional border security funding. We are also, however, eager to complete the remaining appropriations bills that the Senate has already passed.

However, obviously, since any eventual solution requires 60 votes here in the Senate, it has been clear from the beginning that two things are necessary: support from enough Senate Democrats to pass the proposal at 60 and a Presidential signature.

As a result, the Senate has voted to proceed to legislation before us in order to preserve maximum flexibility for a productive conversation to continue between the White House and our Democratic colleagues. I hope Senate Democrats will work with the White House on an agreement that can pass both Houses of Congress and receive the President's signature.

Colleagues, when an agreement is reached, it will receive a vote here on the Senate floor.

MOTION TO CONCUR

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to concur in the House amendment to the Senate amendment to the House amendment to the Senate amendment to H.R. 695.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The motion is pending.

The Democratic leader.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, as we said to President Trump a week ago, his wall does not have 60 votes here in the Senate, let alone 50 votes. That much is now clear.

The Democrats have offered three proposals to keep the government open, including a proposal offered by Leader McConnell that passed the Senate unanimously only a few days ago. We are willing to continue discussions on those proposals with the leader, the President, the Speaker of the House, and the leader of the House. All five are necessary to get something done.

I yield the floor.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. CORKER. Mr. President, I thank the two leaders for what they have done today.

Even though I know some people who are tuning in may not understand what just happened, the understanding that has been reached—and I thank Senator FLAKE and Senator JONES and others—is that we are not voting on anything else in this Chamber relative to this issue until a global agreement has been reached between the President and these two leaders and the leader of the House. There will not be test votes, and there is not going to be a tabling vote. The Vice President has been over here with his members, negotiating already.

What this does, I think, is to push this ahead to a negotiation that will yield a result, and we will do the best we can to keep from shutting down the government, or if it does shut down, it will shut down very briefly.

I thank the two leaders for agreeing to go forward in this manner. It allows us to move forward in a positive way, yet keeps the negotiations alive. Only a bill can pass this Chamber now that has all of their agreement.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. FLAKE. Mr. President, I thank the two leaders of this agreement, the Senator from Tennessee, the Senator from Alabama—Mr. JONES—and others who have worked to ensure that the next vote we will have in this Chamber

will be on an agreement as Senator CORKER said—not a test vote, not a cloture vote.

What I wanted to do with not proceeding is to demonstrate that not all Republicans would be for the House bill either. There is no path forward for the House bill. The only path forward is to a bill that has an agreement between the President and both Houses of Congress. The next time we vote, it will be on the agreement. It will not be another test vote.

I yield the floor.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following my remarks, the Senator from Delaware, Mr. Coons, be recognized.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, I thank Senator Corker, Senator Flake, and the leaders, Senator McConnell and Senator Schumer, for their discussions. I thank the Vice President for his presence here today.

In my own view, government shutdowns ought not to be a part of budget negotiations any more than chemical weapons should be a part of warfare. We were elected to make the government run for taxpayers, not to shut it down. My hope is that this will put us on a path toward a result and will recognize the President's desire for increased border security, which we support and many Democrats support, and we can finish our appropriations process.

What I would like to do now is to say a few words about what was described in a very famous movie in which Jimmy Stewart played, "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," as democracy's finest show—the right to talk your head off in the legislative filibuster. Lest someone says, "Well, Senator Alexander, you just announced you are not going to run for reelection in 2 years, so you are going to change your tune," I am not changing my tune.

The remarks I made in 2011 at the Heritage Foundation about the tradition of the legislative filibuster—perhaps the best known part of the U.S. Senate—can be found at https://www.alexander.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/speechesfloorstatements?ID=23BE8F64-7708-4E5D-86AD-F1F8C7EE6F30.

You can also find Senator SUSAN COLLINS' letter regarding the legislative filibuster on April 7, 2017, at https://www.collins.senate.gov/newsroom/senators-collins-coons-lead-effort-preserve-60-vote-threshold-legislation.

I would like to tell a story, Mr. Vice President.

In 1978, a young Utah Senator came here. He was conservative. He didn't know what he could not do, so he took on the Democratic establishment on its most important issue. Orrin Hatch was the Senator. He is our longest serving Republican Senator, and he is

retiring this year. What he decided to do was to challenge the Democratic leadership that wanted to pass organized labor's major objective of the time. It was something that would have changed the relationship between employers and employees for years to come.

Now, at that time in 1978, there was a Democratic President, Jimmy Carter. There were 62 Democrat Senators—more than enough to pass a bill. There were 292 House Members. So, if ORRIN HATCH had not been new and young and if he had known more about what he had been doing, he probably wouldn't have even tried this, but he did try it. He won. He offered 1,200 amendments.

He won. He offered 1,200 amendments. Senator Byrd, who was the distinguished majority leader of the Senate, tried six times to cut off debate—we call that cloture here in the Senate—and he didn't get 60 votes. Six different times, he tried to cut that off. The end result was that the minority view—the Republican view at that time—prevailed against a Democratic President, a Democratic House, and a Democratic Senate. That happened before.

It happened in the 1960s. Everett Dirksen was the Republican leader of the U.S. Senate, sitting right over there. He had even fewer Republican Senators. When ORRIN HATCH did his work in 1978, there were 38 Republican Senators, and Dirksen had fewer than that. Lyndon Johnson and George Meany and the American labor movement decided that they wanted, in effect, to make it illegal for any State to have a right-to-work law. That is what they wanted to do, and they thought they could do it except that the legislative filibuster was in place. At that time, it took 67 votes. Everett Dirksen toured the country, and he was able to defeat a measure that was supported by overwhelming Democratic majorities.

Now, why do I tell those stories? It is because the shoe is on the other foot right now. The Republicans are in charge.

We hear many people, including the President say: Get rid of the filibuster. Get rid of the legislative majority. Let's do it our way.

We should not do that. We have never done that in the U.S. Senate. The Senate has always been different.

One Senator said to me a few minutes ago that it is the whole reason he came to the Senate from the House. It was so that every time the majority got an idea, it wouldn't be like a freight train running through the Senate. One of the major purposes of the legislative filibuster is to protect the minority in this country.

A young Frenchman wandered through America in the 1830s. His name was Alexis de Tocqueville. He wrote a book, entitled "Democracy in America," that is, maybe, the best book on democracy in America that has ever been written. It was very perceptive. He said that he saw, looking ahead, two potential problems for the American democracy. One, he said, was Rus-

sia. That was prescient. The other, he said, was the tyranny of the majority. Alexis de Tocqueville said in the 1830s that one of the great problems for our country might be the tyranny of the majority, and it is the U.S. Senate that is a bulwark to prevent the tyranny of the majority in the American democracy. It has been from the beginning, and it is today.

Now, some of our Republican friends and conservative friends and sometimes our Presidents say: Well, let's get rid of it. We might think about the fact that we Republicans, we conservatives, are usually the ones in the minority. We are usually the ones needing protection. Since World War II—nearly 70 years—Democrats have had complete control of the U.S. Governmentthey have had the Senate, they have had the House, they have had the Presidency-for 22 years, and Republicans have had it for 8 years. Democrats have had control 22 years, and we, 8 years. So democracy's finest hour—the right to talk your head off, the opportunity for extended debate—has benefited our side, Democrats could say, more than their side. So why should we be the ones who are trying to change it? In fact, we weren't.

In 1995, after the big Republican sweep—you know, we have these. One of us is in charge, and then the people get tired of us, and they put the other ones in charge. So in 1995, after the big Republican sweep, Republicans were in charge of the Senate, and a Democratic Senator said: Let's get rid of the legislative filibuster—at least change it. Every single Republican, even while the Republicans were completely in charge of the Senate, voted no.

The essence of the Senate is the right to extended debate, the right to talk our heads off, America's finest hour, and then we will vote when we think we are ready to stop debate. It used to be 67: now it is 60.

For a long time, there wasn't any limit on it; it just went on forever. President Wilson got mad about it a century ago, and so the Senate said: OK, we will debate until 67 of us think we should stop. Then we changed that, and now it is 60.

Some of the most eloquent defenses of the legislative filibuster came from the late Senator Byrd. I remember hearing his last speech he made in the Rules Committee where he said that the legislative filibuster is the necessary fence against the excesses of the popular will, the excesses of the Executive. It was the necessary fence, he said, and we should keep it.

This fractured Nation needs a consensus-building institution, and requiring 60 votes to pass major legislation is the discipline that forces us to come together.

I saw the Senator from Washington, Mrs. Murray, on the floor a little earlier. We worked on the legislation to fix No Child Left Behind. That wasn't easy to do. Everybody has an opinion about kindergarten through the 12th grade. We are all experts on education. Yet we worked and we worked and we worked, and finally we probably got 85 votes for that. You know what. We made some big changes, but people accepted it. It is a lasting solution. Teachers at 100,000 public schools don't have to worry about our zigging and zagging and changing Federal education policy for the next several years because we talked about it until we came to a conclusion about it and accepted it.

An example of the other way to do it is ObamaCare. Eight years ago, Democrats had the majority, so all the Democrats voted for it, and all the Republicans voted against it. What has happened? We have been trying to repeal it ever since it passed. It is just a constant state of agitation and a stalemate of debate.

The tradition has been different for nominations, and sometimes people get confused about that. The legislative filibuster is one thing; nominations are another thing. Until recently, they have always been decided by a majority vote. Now, they could have been decided by 60 votes, but they weren't—at least ever since a century ago.

I am not interested at this time in assigning blame to Democrats or to Republicans for what has happened on nominations, but the fact is that even though a Senator could have required 60 votes, there never has been a Cabinet member who was required to be confirmed by more than 51 votes. There never has been a Federal district judge who had to get 60 votes to be confirmed, and there never had been a Supreme Court Justice, with the exception of Justice Fortas.

I see the majority leader, and I would be glad to suspend.

Mr. McCONNELL. I expect my friend from Tennessee is going to make this point in a moment, but if ever there were a stressful moment for the tradition that even though it was possible to filibuster the Executive Calendar, it was not done, would my friend agree that it would have to be the Clarence Thomas nomination for the Supreme Court?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Madam President, I would agree with that. And we could get into a lively dispute among us about who shot John and who scratched whose back and whose fault it all is, whether the Democrats, who in 2003 began for the first time to require 60 votes for circuit judges, or the Republicans, who stopped a couple of President Obama's judges, are at fault. The fact is, I believe—I know for a fact that most of us believe we should keep the legislative filibuster.

How do I know that? Because Senator COLLINS, who is presiding at the moment, and Senator COONS, who will speak following my remarks, offered into the RECORD on April 7, 2017, a letter from 29 Republicans and 32 Democrats that said: We are mindful of the unique role the Senate plays in the legislative process. We are steadfastly

committed to ensuring this great American institution continues to serve as the world's greatest deliberative body. Therefore, we are asking you to join us in opposing any effort to curtail the existing rights and prerogatives of Senators to engage in full, robust, and extended debate as we consider legislation before this body in the future.

That is 61 Senators on record about the legislative filibuster. So one reason the legislative filibuster is going to stay is because there are not the votes to change it.

As I come to a conclusion, let me offer a better reason not to change it and a reason why we should change it if we consider it in the right way. We have rules in this body. In order to change a standing rule of the Senate, it takes at least 60 votes to get cloture. It has been proposed—and both sides have before—to use what we call the nuclear option, which is a parliamentary maneuver that allows the Senate to change a rule without getting 60 votes.

This is a country that prizes the rule of law. I have heard President Trump say that. I have heard President Obama say that. I have heard most of us say that. I would ask, if we don't follow our own rules, why would we expect the American people to follow the rules we write? We are the main rule-writing organization in the United States of America. We ought to follow our own rules.

When we didn't and used the so-called nuclear option in 2013, a Democratic Senator who is greatly respected, Senator Levin, said that "a Senate in which a majority can always change the rules is a Senate without any rules." A Senate in which the majority can always change the rules without following the rules is like a football game where the home team can say: If you gain 9 yards, that is a first down; or if they make a three-point shot and they need four, they count it as four. That is not the rule of law.

I make these remarks—and I hope the Senator from Delaware is still here and willing to stay-I make these remarks just to remind the country and to remind the Members of the Senate that 61 of us have already signed a letter saying that the legislative filibuster—the right to extended debate, the opportunity to talk your head off in defense of what you want, the ability of this body to function as a bulwark against the tyranny of the majority and, in this fractured country, as an institution that can produce a consensus that is lasting and accepted by most people—is the most valuable part of this body, and we ought not to trifle with it whether we are in the majority or in the minority, and we ought to make that clear.

If we ever do decide we want to talk about it and change it, we should follow the rules. We have rules. It takes at least 60 votes to change a standing rule.

I want to put a stop to this talk about breaking the rules to change the rules of the Senate. I will not vote to turn the Senate into a rule-breaking institution, and I hope that if that opportunity ever arises, my colleagues will vote the same way, as 61 of them did in the letter Senator COLLINS and Senator COONS signed.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. COLLINS). The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. COONS. Madam President, the remarks just concluded by my friend and colleague from Tennessee help make it clear why many of us do not look forward to his departure at the end of the upcoming Congress to the better vales of retirement. We are so grateful for the balance and the measured leadership of the Senator from Tennessee. He reminds us of the best of our history and what it is that the Senate has stood for and the role that we play in our constitutional order. I will simply briefly thank him for his remarks.

I thank the Presiding Officer for her hard work to make sure this letter was presented to the leaders of both caucuses with 61 signatures. We frankly could have gotten more, but in the press of the work of that day, April 7, 2017, we thought it important to get on the record, in signature, individual Senators saying that we are committed to not change the rules of the Senate on the Senate filibuster rules regarding legislation. I am committed to never voting to change the legislative filibuster.

I will simply conclude by saying to my friend, my colleague from Tennessee, that I think there is important work for us to do here to strengthen our role. A number of the retiring Members gave floor speeches in recent days where they talked about the ways in which this body—we do not listen to each other enough, we do not debate each other enough, and we do not work across the aisle enough. If we are to play the role the Founders intended, we must do more of that, not less.

The agreement just reached here that will allow us to negotiate in good faith towards a resolution of the impending shutdown—the fiscal standoff between the White House, the House, and the Senate—is exactly the kind of example I would like to point to where Members listen to each other and work out the kind of resolution that allows us to skip dozens of intervening test votes and move right to the resolution.

This body has a critical role to play. As my friend and colleague from Tennessee pointed out, rule of law is at the very foundation of our constitutional Republic. We are at a moment in our history where many question the stability of our commitment to the rule of law. Nobody will play a more important role in reassuring our markets, our communities, our society, and the world that democracy—the deliberative, respectful resolution of disputes, not through violence but through de-

bate and through votes by the elected representatives of our people—is the best system for the governance of societies on Earth. No better proof of that can be given than by this body conducting itself in the sort of disciplined, reasonable, appropriate way that the rules of the Senate allow for. Thus, I will not vote and I will suggest that the signature of the Presiding Officer also reinforces that she and many others here, on a bipartisan basis, will not vote to take the rash step of changing the rules of the Senate to turn us into the House and to remove the last bulwark, as my friend and colleague said, that ensures that we have the right to talk our heads off whenever we might so choose.

I yield to my friend and colleague, the Senator from Alabama.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama is recognized.

Mr. JONES. Madam President, let me also thank my colleagues from Tennessee and Delaware.

I will tell you I wasn't here when that letter circulated; however, if you want to do an addendum, you have my permission to add my name to that letter because it is that important. I appreciate so much your comments.

I have been here almost 1 year now. What I have seen is, it is often so easy, in our polarized political climate we have, that when issues we have faced like today come up, people go to their corners and it is the proverbial line in the sand and everybody wants to talk at each other and not to each other.

So I appreciate very much Leader MCCONNELL and Leader SCHUMER, who worked with my colleagues Senator FLAKE and Senator CORKER in trying to make sure a motion to proceed is simply a motion to proceed to talk, to have those dialogues, so we can go about the business of government as we leave for the holidays at some point.

I believe what has happened here late this afternoon is an important step, and it is especially an important step going into the next Congress to tell folks who are coming in and those of us who are coming back that we want to make sure we were put here to get something done, not just retreat to our corners.

I thank everyone who was involved late this afternoon trying to make sure this agreement was reached. I am anxious for our leaders to proceed so we can go about the business of running this United States and that we can go into these holidays with the assurance we will come back to do things for the American people.

I vield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Madam President, when I conclude my comments, I am going to ask consent that I can allow Senator VAN HOLLEN to speak, and then I will speak after him for the purposes of a unanimous consent request.

There is no such thing as a good shutdown. I certainly was encouraged

to hear the progress we made about half an hour ago, when the majority leader and the Democratic leader talked about discussions that are taking place. We hope that later this evening we will have an agreement that can pass the Senate and the House and be signed by the President.

I want to make this clear. Any government shutdown is unacceptable. It costs the taxpayers money. It inconveniences the public, and it is certainly not fair to our Federal workforce. This particular shutdown would affect 800,000 of our employees, our Federal workforce. About half would be asked to work but would not get a paycheck, and about half would be furloughed without compensation.

I am very proud and Senator VAN HOLLEN is very proud of the Federal workforce that live in the State of Maryland, but my colleagues should recognize that 85 percent of the Federal employees live and work outside of the Washington, DC, area. This affects each one of our States and people who are working in each one of our States.

I also wish to point out that over 30 percent of the Federal workforce are veterans who have already served our country in uniform and are now serving their country as public servants in the Federal workforce.

Let me tell you what they are in for and the reason why we are going to be asking a unanimous consent request. Without legislation being enacted, the individuals who are going to be required to work will have to work without getting paid, and then when government restarts, they can get a paycheck for the work they have done. Those who are on furlough would never receive any funds, even though it was not their fault or responsibility that they couldn't work. Those who have leave time would lose that leave time as a result of the government shutdown.

The legislation for which we are going to ask consent in a few minutes would make it clear to these Federal workers that as soon as we can after a shutdown—again, I hope there is not a shutdown, but if we have a shutdown, as soon as the shutdown ends—the next available time, our Federal workforce would receive their compensation. So they know that at least they are going to get their salary when the government reopens and that anxiety can be removed, because right now they don't know if they are going to be able to get their compensation when the government shutdown ends. They recognize that we will do the fair way with their leave time so they don't lose their leave time.

When we have opened government in the past, when we have had shutdowns, as part of the reopening process, we have included this type of legislation. We don't know how long the shutdown would be, if we have a shutdown, which I hope we don't have, but it would be in all of our interests to tell our Federal workforce that we hope there is no

shutdown, but if there is, they will be paid at the first available time when the government reopens. That is the purpose of this legislation. I am pleased we have been able to clear it on both sides. I wish to first yield through the Chair to my colleague from Maryland.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland is recognized.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Madam President, I want to thank my colleague from Maryland, Senator CARDIN, for his leadership on this issue, among many others, and start by agreeing with him that, first and foremost, we should avoid a government shutdown. That is exactly what this Senate did on a bipartisan basis just a few days ago. We passed an agreement. None of us loved it, but we all recognized that it was a better alternative than shutting down the government. That, of course, went over to the House, and we know what happened to it there. I hope we will continue to work together to avoid a government shutdown.

The proposal that Senator CARDIN and I are putting forward is very simple. Federal employees should not be punished by the shutdown. They have nothing to do with the dysfunction that would cause a government shutdown, and they should not be the ones who have to bear the burden and the penalty of something totally beyond their control—a government shutdown. That is what this is about.

As Senator CARDIN indicated, often after shutdowns are over, the Congress and the White House do the right thing, and we provide retroactive compensation to Federal employees, but it is not guaranteed. It always could be changed. It might not happen. What we are trying to do is to make sure that as Federal employees watch the spectacle here on Capitol Hill and they are thinking about joining their families for Christmas or other things over the holidays, they don't have to have the uncertainty, if there is a government shutdown, about whether or not they are going to get a paycheck to pay all of the bills that will stack up over that period of time. Let's provide confidence and certainty upfront that Federal emplovees don't have to pay the penalty for dysfunction in Washington. That is what this bill does.

I want to stress that if we go into a shutdown, Federal employees—both those who are still working during the shutdown, as well as those who are furloughed—go without paychecks. They have bills to pay. They have mortgages. They have rent. They have all sort of costs that will pile up. No matter what, they will bear a burden from the dysfunction in a government shutdown, along with many other people in the country who will see a disruption of Federal Government operations. They will still bear an unfair burden.

I also want to thank our Republican colleagues for agreeing with this in a unanimous consent request. What we are doing today is to say to people, to hard-working Federal employees: Rest assured that after that difficult period goes by, if there is a shutdown, you will be assured and you will have the certainty that you are going to be able to get your pay and make those payments to make sure that you don't fall further behind.

It is the least we can do at this moment. Let's hope we don't have to use this provision that we are passing in the Senate today, but it is an important insurance policy, an important security blanket as the hours tick by and we are not sure whether or not we will have an agreement by midnight this evening.

I want to thank our colleagues, and I want to yield back to the senior Senator from Maryland for the purposes of making the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland is recognized.

MR. CARDIN. Madam President, I want to thank Senator VAN HOLLEN for his leadership on this issue and on so many issues that affect our Federal workforce. He has been a true champion. I want to underscore two points he made. One, the majority of our workforce depends on their paycheck in order to meet their monthly and weekly needs. If they do not get their paycheck on time, they run a real risk of being in default on meeting their family needs—whether it is a mortgage payment, food, or utility bills. They are at risk. They are at risk even though they will get a paycheck later. I just want to underscore the inconvenience and the danger.
A recent poll by AFGE indicated that

A recent poll by AFGE indicated that 78 percent of their members have been impacted in this way during a government shutdown. So this is a large percentage of our Federal workforce.

The second thing I want to emphasize from Senator VAN HOLLEN's comments is the fact that we don't want to see a shutdown. Quite frankly, I would like to see appropriations bills done and not a CR, not a continuing resolution.

We did get some of the appropriations bills done on time; that is, October 1 for the fiscal year. But, unfortunately, 9 of the 15 Federal Departments and dozens of Agencies did not have an appropriations bill passed by October 1 and are in danger of running out of funds at midnight tonight. That is why it is important that, at least, we pass a continuing resolution in order to keep those Agencies functioning. It includes the Department of Commerce, NASA, the National Park Service, the Forest Service, the Department of Transportation, HUD, IRS staff-and I could mention many, many others.

So the purpose of the unanimous consent request that I will be making is to tell our Federal workforce that we are going to continue to fight to keep government functioning. We hope we can get it done in the next 5 hours, but if for any reason we miss that deadline and we have a government shutdown, by this action we are telling you that when we have appropriations restored,

you will be compensated during this period of time.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEE FAIR TREATMENT ACT OF 2017

Mr. CARDIN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 290, S. 2274.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The legislative clerk:

A bill (S. 2274) to provide for the compensation of Federal employees affected by lapses in appropriations.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. CARDIN. Madam President, I further 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 with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered. The bill (S. 2274) was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed as follows:

S. 2274

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Federal Employee Fair Treatment Act of 2017".

SEC. 2. COMPENSATION FOR FEDERAL EMPLOY-EES AFFECTED BY A LAPSE IN AP-PROPRIATIONS.

Section 1341 of title 31, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(1), by striking "An officer" and inserting "Except as specified in this subchapter or any other provision of law, an officer"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

"(c)(1) In this subsection—

"(A) the term 'covered lapse in appropriations' means any lapse in appropriations that begins on or after December 22, 2017; and

"(B) the term 'excepted employee' means an excepted employee or an employee performing emergency work, as such terms are defined by the Office of Personnel Management

"(2) Each Federal employee furloughed as a result of a covered lapse in appropriations shall be paid for the period of the lapse in appropriations, and each excepted employee who is required to perform work during a covered lapse in appropriations shall be paid for such work, at the employee's standard rate of pay, at the earliest date possible after the lapse in appropriations ends, regardless of scheduled pay dates.

"(3) During a covered lapse in appropriations, each excepted employee who is required to perform work shall be entitled to use leave under chapter 63 of title 5, or any other applicable law governing the use of leave by the excepted employee, for which compensation shall be paid at the earliest date possible after the lapse in appropriations ends, regardless of scheduled pay dates."

Mr. CARDIN. I yield the floor to Mr. VAN HOLLEN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Madam President, I thank my colleague from Maryland and the body and now urge the House of Representatives to take this

up immediately. This has now passed the U.S. Senate, and they now have an opportunity to pass this over in the House, and I would urge them to do it this evening or as soon as possible so that we can provide certainty and confidence to hard-working Federal employees.

Again, we want to avoid a shutdown, but we need to provide an insurance policy in the event that it does shut down.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. ERNST). Without objection, it is so ordered.

DIRECTING THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE TO MAKE A CORRECTION IN THE ENROLLMENT OF THE BILL S. 3628

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H. Con. Res. 148, 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. 148) directing the Secretary of the Senate to make a correction in the enrollment of the bill S. 3628.

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

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, 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. 148) was agreed to.

Mr. McCONNELL. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. DAINES. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate be in a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

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

GUATEMALA

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, like many Members of Congress who have

long supported efforts to help build an independent judiciary and reduce public corruption and impunity in Guatemala, I have observed a pattern of alarming actions by President Morales's administration and his allies in Guatemala's Congress to thwart these efforts.

In the latest development, earlier this week, the Guatemalan Ministry of Foreign Affairs withdrew the diplomatic immunity of 11 investigators and other personnel of the International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala, CICIG, and ordered them to leave the country. This followed an announcement by the Minister of Interior of the removal of another 15 high-ranking police officials from their posts.

Over the years, the United States has invested many tens of millions of dollars to support the national police, the attorney general's office, and CICIG. These actions by the Morales's administration directly undermine those investments and indicate that it cannot be trusted to keep its word and is not serious about upholding the rule of law

Working jointly with the Attorney General's Office, CICIG has investigated cases of public corruption and other serious crimes. It has helped to strengthen the investigative capabilities of the attorney general's office and the police and promoted key criminal justice reforms. For this reason, CICIG, its commissioner, and the former attorney general have been the target of acts of intimidation and a smear campaign orchestrated by the Morales's administration and its allies in the military and the media. These actions by the government threaten CICIG's independence and its ability to function effectively. According to information I have received, the professionals whose diplomatic immunity and visas were revoked include investigators and lawyers involved in some of the most sensitive cases related to alleged corruption and illicit campaign financing by top government officials.

Other actions by Guatemalan authorities are equally disturbing. Since assuming office in January 2018, Minister of Interior Enrique Degenhart has, on multiple occasions, removed or relocated senior national police officers and detectives. Most of these officers had many years of experience in criminal investigations, counternarcotics, and other specialized areas. Most were trained by the United States. Even worse, the Minister has reportedly appointed police officials with alleged links to the military and promoted officers without transparent, merit-based processes, undermining efforts to build a professional, transparent, and accountable police force. This threatens our ability to continue working with the police, which has in the past been infiltrated by organized crime, to combat narcotics trafficking. laundering, and transnational criminal activity.

In 2009, working with key Guatemalan law enforcement agencies, CICIG helped establish a wiretapping unit within the Attorney General's Office. Prior to that, wiretaps were illegal. The unit, which has been supported by the United States, has been instrumental in helping the Attorney General investigate and dismantle complex criminal networks. Reportedly, among the officers recently removed by Minister Degenhart was the director of the wiretapping unit.

If we have learned anything over many years of trying to assist the countries of Central America build the institutions of government necessary to effectively combat corruption and impunity, it is that without partners who care at least as much about these issues as we do it is a fruitless exercise and a waste of U.S. taxpayers' money.

What is happening today in Guatemala is a repeat of what we have observed many times before. New government officials take office, they profess their commitment to democratic ideals, the rule of law, and judicial independence, and then, when their own misdeeds become the focus of criminal investigations, they show their true colors.

They ignore rulings by the country's highest courts. They seek to replace magistrates who cannot be intimidated, with cronies who will shield them from the law. They expel international prosecutors on grounds of "sovereignty." They threaten those whose job it is to apply the law. They try to intimidate their political opponents. It is the same sad story.

I recently met Constitutional Court Magistrate Gloria Patria Porras Escobar, an experienced and internationally respected jurist and former prosecutor known for her independence and courage. She, like others who have honored their professions, is an example of what Guatemala needs; yet she is being vilified by those who seek to subvert the institutions of justice.

The people of Guatemala deserve better. They have demanded an end to corruption, an end to impunity, and an end to public officials who care more about enriching and protecting themselves than they do about addressing the needs of their people. The Guatemalan people overwhelming support the attorney general's office and CICIG, which have, for the first time in the country's history, shown that public officials who abuse their authority are not above the law.

President Morales's administration has less than a year left in office. Let us hope that he quickly reverses course because the path he is on will jeopardize further U.S. support for his government's participation in the Alliance for Prosperity. Otherwise, we will have no choice but to wait for a government in Guatemala that has the integrity to be a credible partner of the United States.

(At the request of Mr. Schumer, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.)

GOVERNMENT FUNDING

• Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Madam President, I rise today regarding President Trump's reversal of his commitment to support a short-term government funding bill and defer further spending negotiations until February.

The Senate voted late Wednesday night on bipartisan legislation to avoid a government shutdown right before Christmas. I supported that legislation, and my position has not changed. I do not support President Trump's wall proposal, and I do not believe the President should shut down the government over it.

Senate Majority Leader MITCH MCCONNELL scheduled a vote on a straightforward, 7-week continuing resolution because the White House committed to him that President Trump would sign it into law. The Senate voted on that legislation with the understanding that the President would sign it and defer any further debate over his wall until February.

President Trump's reversal of his commitment to sign the continuing resolution has now placed the Federal Government on the brink of a shutdown.

Everyone knows that Trump's border wall proposal cannot get the 60 votes it needs in order to pass the Senate. That is an inescapable fact that the President needs to finally accept.

I cannot support the version of the short-term continuing resolution that the House passed last night. The \$5.7 billion in wall funding added by House Republicans is accompanied by no meaningful justification from the White House. Earlier this year, President Trump requested \$1.6 billion in wall funding. That was the amount requested in the President's official budget submitted to Congress. That was the amount that would be provided under the spending bill approved by the Senate Appropriations Committee. Now, however, the President says he needs \$5 billion.

The House version of the short-term continuing resolution also contains almost \$8 billion in disaster funding that would help victims of this year's devastating wildfires, which I would support. However, this disaster funding is not necessary now as when Federal disaster assistance accounts retain sufficient balances for the purposes of immediate recovery needs.

Unfortunately, due to the timing of the vote and difficulties incurred in returning to Washington, DC, I was unable to cast my vote in person. This statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is intended to make clear that, if present, I would have voted no.

Thank you.

■

REMEMBERING PRESIDENT GEORGE H.W. BUSH

Mr. CARDIN. Madam President, I was honored to attend the ceremonies in the Capitol Rotunda and at Wash-

ington National Cathedral for former President George H.W. Bush. I first met President Bush when he was Vice President and I was the speaker of the Maryland House of Delegates. He visited Annapolis, and I presented him with a Maryland tie. He immediately took off his tie, which he gave to me, and put on the Maryland tie, which he wore with pride. He had a keen eye for detail, for the little things. I had a book on a shelf in my office which was still in the shrink-wrap packaging. He sent me a note—one of his thousands of famous personal notes—gently ribbing me, writing, "It's good to see you are keeping up on your reading."

I thing George H.W. Bush may have been the most qualified person ever elected President, starting all the way back to his high school years at Phillips Academy Andover, where he was president of the senior class, secretary of the student council, a member of the editorial board of the school newspaper, and captain of the varsity baseball and soccer teams. He was one of the voungest aviators in the Navy at the beginning of World War II and was barely 20 when his Grumman TBM Avenger was hit by flak during an attack on Japanese installations on Chichijima. He calmly delivered his payload, scoring several hits, before flying as far away from the island as he could in a plane with its engines on fire. He bailed out and ended up in an inflatable raft for four hours before being rescued by the submarine USS Finback. He flew 58 combat missions, for which he received the Distinguished Flying Cross, three Air Medals, and the Presidential Unit Citation awarded to the USS San Jacinto.

After his military service, he went to Yale University, graduating with a bachelor of arts degree in economics in 21/2 years. He was president of his fraternity, captain of the Yale varsity baseball team, and elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He could have stayed back east in Connecticut, where his father Prescott would be elected to the U.S. Senate in a special election in 1952, but George Bush moved to Texas with his wife Barbara and their young son George W. Bush, where he cofounded Zapata Petroleum Corporation. He was a successful businessman when he ran for the U.S. Senate in 1964, losing to the Democratic incumbent, Ralph Yarborough. Two years later, however, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, and he won reelection in 1968. The Seventh District was conservative, but George Bush voted for the Civil Rights Act of 1968 and the Fair Housing Act, and he supported birth control and a women's right to choose.

In 1970, then-President Richard Nixon prevailed on George Bush to run for the U.S. Senate again. He did, but he lost again, this time to Lloyd Bentsen. President Nixon nominated him to serve as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and the Senate confirmed the nomination unanimously. He served with distinction for 2 years. In 1973, he

became chairman of the Republican National Committee and survived Watergate with his reputation and integrity intact. President Gerald Ford appointed Bush to be chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in the People's Republic of China. During the time he held this position, he was instrumental in improving U.S.-China relations.

From January of 1976 to January of 1977, George Bush was Director of Central Intelligence and incoming President Jimmy Carter considered keeping Bush in the post. He left the Central Intelligence Agency and became a parttime professor at Rice University's Jones School of Business and a director at the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations.

In 1980. George Bush ran for the Republican nomination for President, ultimately yielding to Ronald Reagan, who then chose Bush as his running mate. George Bush served as Vice President for 8 years and then, in 1988. became the first incumbent Vice President to be elected President in 152 vears.

George Bush brought all of these qualifications and experiences to the Oval Office. Now, he only served one term; he was defeated in his bid for reelection in 1992. But many commentators have noted that he may be the most successful one-term President in U.S. history. Indeed, his accomplishments in 4 years compare favorably with the accomplishments of many two-term Presidents. I think the key here is that he knew how to reach across the aisle and forge bipartisan compromises. I would like to highlight four.

The first is the Acid Rain Program that was included in the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990. The Acid Rain Program established a cap-and-trade regime to cut sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides emissions. Cap-and-trade was originally a Republican idea to harness market forces for environmental protection. Environmental groups and Democrats were wary, initially, of the authorizations to emit SO₂ and NO_X, known as allowances. They worried that a "property right" in polluting was being established, but the program exceeded everyone's expectation and is one of the most successful environmental programs in history. When George W. Bush was President, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, EPA, determined that the program has had a benefit-to-cost ratio of 40-1. Our technical knowledge of the best ways to structure cap-and-trade programs has grown exponentially since 1990; sadly, the political will has atrophied. Even though Republicans were the first to promote cap-andtrade, they have essentially abandoned the idea now, but President Bush saw the potential, and the enormous progress we have made in combatting acid rain is part of his environmental legacy that will endure.

The second accomplishment is the Americans with Disabilities Act, ADA,

which our retiring colleague, Senator HATCH, championed with then-Senator Tom Harken from Iowa. President Bush signed ADA into law in 1990, and it became known as the Emancipation Proclamation for people with disabilities. ADA literally changed the landscape of America by requiring buildings and transportation to be wheelchair accessible, and it required workplace accommodations for people with disabilities. Nearly 30 years after President Bush signed ADA into law, the improvements the ADA has made enjoy an 83 percent approval rating from the American public. Making life, education, and work more accessible to people with disabilities isn't just good for them; it is good for all of us as we benefit from the fuller contributions they are now able to make to society.

The third accomplishment, I am sure, was difficult for President Bush, and it cost him Republican support in his bid to win reelection in 1992: the 1990 budget deal he negotiated with Congress. At the 1988 Republican National Convention, he famously said, "Read my lips: no new taxes." While he was a Texan by choice, he never lost the pragmatism characteristic οf New Englanders. As a recession began to fuel a rise in budget deficits, he realized that he needed to work with a Congress controlled by Democrats and come up with a budget deal, stating "it is clear to me that both the size of the deficit problem and the need for a package that can be enacted require all of the following: entitlement and mandatory program reform, tax revenue increases, growth incentives, discretionary spending reductions, orderly reductions in defense expenditures, and budget process reform." He understood that such a comprehensive framework is the only way to reduce the deficit. Unfortunately, the Trump administration and congressional Republicans still cling to the discredited notion of "supply-side" economics, which President Bush famously called "voodoo economics," and our budget situation has become more and more precarious. I doubt President Trump is capable of displaying President Bush's pragmatism, deal-making ability, and willingness to sacrifice personal popularity for the greater good.

His fourth accomplishment fell within his "wheelhouse": foreign policy and personal diplomacy. He prudently, successfully navigated the fall of the Berlin Wall, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. He showed remarkable but characteristic restraint when the Berlin Wall came down, and many historians credit that restraint with preventing a backlash from hardliners in Eastern Europe. Likewise, the relationship he carefully cultivated with Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev, including negotiating the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, START, helped end the Cold War not with a bang, but with a whimper.

Prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union, when Hussein invaded Kuwait December should be the happiest

in 1990, President Bush carefully assembled a coalition that consisted of our traditional allies but also the Soviet Union and, even more crucially, other Arab nations to drive him out. He went to Congress and received authorization for the use of military force when it became clear that international diplomacy would not succeed in dislodging Hussein. "Operation Desert Storm" was well-planned and well-executed and succeeded in liberating Kuwait in less than 2 months. While many people have argued that President Bush should have extended the war to remove Hussein from power, he made it clear from the start that was never his objective. He presciently argued that pursuing Hussein into Iraq would destabilize the region and lead to a lengthy military conflict. President Bush optimistically spoke of a "New World Order" characterized by an era of historic cooperation between nations. He helped to bring such order into existence. It seemed durable at the time. Now, we realize that it needs more careful attention and nurturing than we, perhaps, previously thought necessary.

All of these accomplishments and more cemented George H.W. Bush's legacy. They alone would be impressive, but what became clear in the outpouring of respect and affection that followed his death is the acknowledgment of what a genuinely decent person he was. He was a humble and selfdeprecating man. He respected our important institutions, and he respected people, including his opponents. He was deeply religious. He embraced the principle of noblesse oblige: to whom much is given, much more shall be required in return. As a result, he lived his life as a servant. He was committed to his country and to his beloved wife Barbara and his family, and to his friends. It seems he had an inexhaustible desire and capacity for making new friends from all walks of life, including former political adversaries such as the man who defeated him in the 1992 election, Bill Clinton. When President Bush spoke of his desire to see a "kinder, gentler America,"—one illumined by a thousand points of light, he was sin-

Since President Bush has died, many commentators have said that he represented a bygone era. I certainly hope not. If we are to continue succeeding as a nation, his fundamental decency, pragmatism, kindness, bravery, selfsacrifice, persistence, and optimism shine a bright light on the path we should strive to follow. If we wish to honor President Bush, we should reflect on his character and temperament and other sterling qualities and seek to emulate them. He was a great man. Perhaps even more important, he was a good man.

TRIBUTE TO DEPARTING SENATORS

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Madam President,

month of the year, as we await Christmas and the New Year, but in the even numbered years, it is bittersweet as we say goodbye to colleagues who will not be returning in the next Congress. While the body often seems to be polarized and contentious to the public that knows us only from media appearances, the fact is that partnership and alliances across the aisle are part of the fabric of the body, and friendships of unlikely allies abound. This is not to say that we don't disagree on issues; we very much do. But we strive for these disagreements never to erode our collegiality.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank those with whom I have been proud to serve, Mr. HATCH, our President Pro Tempore, Mr. CORKER, Mr. FLAKE, and Mr. HELLER on my side of the aisle for their distinguished service. To my friend, Mr. KYL, it has been a pleasure to serve with you again. On the Democrat side of the aisle, Mr. DONNELLY, Ms. McCaskill, Mr. Nel-SON, and especially my dear friend, Ms. HEITKAMP, the Senator from North Dakota. Each of these individuals cares deeply for the Nation, for the States they have represented so ably, and for the Senate.

TRIBUTE TO ORRIN HATCH

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Madam President, I pay tribute to my friend, the Senator from Utah, President pro tempore of the Senate, who is retiring after 41 years of service. Senator HATCH is known as a Senator's Senator. He has had more legislation signed into law than any other living Member of this body, and he has chaired the Finance, Judiciary, and Labor and Human Resources Committees with great distinction. Today we call that Labor and Human Resources Committee the HELP Committee.

We all recall the friendship Mr. HATCH had with the late Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY. This relationship was responsible for some of the most impactful legislation of our time. The State Children's Health Insurance Program, the Americans with Disabilities Act, and the Ryan White Act, to name a few, and when Senator KENNEDY suffered from life's difficulties, Senator HATCH was there to support him as a friend.

On June 28, 2017, Senator HATCH published a very important column in TIME Magazine, entitled, "I am recommitting myself to civility." Written in the wake of the attempted massacre of colleagues who were practicing for the annual congressional softball game, a racially motivated stabbing in Portland, and dueling political rallies in Berkeley that turned violent, Senator HATCH observed, "Civility is the indispensable political norm."

I would like to quote a few sentences from Mr. HATCH's column because they bear repeating, now more than ever.

"Civility—it is the public virtue that has greased the wheels of our democracy since its inception. Without it, little separates us from the cruelty and chaos of rule by force.

For decades, civility has acted as the levee protecting our society from its own worst impulses. But that levee now shows signs of strain as political passions spill over into open violence."

If our Nation paid greater heed to Mr. HATCH's wisdom, horrors like the Pittsburgh synagogue shooting might well have been avoided.

ORRIN, you have been a steady hand in troubled times. While you may have chosen to retire from this body, your work is hardly done, and I hope that your retirement does not mark a retreat from your commitment to keep our Nation and your colleagues on a steady course.

You are indeed a Senator's Senator and a true patriot.

TRIBUTE TO BOB CORKER

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Madam President, people often forget that each of us comes to the Senate having done other significant things in life. Mr. CORKER, the Senator from Tennessee, came here with a series of experiences that greatly informed his work in the Senate, as well as the work of his colleagues.

Mr. Corker was a success in business long before he entered politics, and he brought the lessons of that success into public service. He was the deeply respected mayor of Chattanooga, TN. Mayors are perhaps the most accountable elected officials in the Nation. They are a pragmatic results-oriented stock. They live in the communities that they govern, so there is no place to hide, and they are forced to defend their records because the electorate knows what they have done and haven't. No room for spin when you are a mayor.

Bob then brought the lessons of both of these careers to the U.S. Senate where he is known as a no-nonsense Senator who cuts through the bluster and focuses on the facts. On difficult problems, whether it was the Iran nuclear agreement or working to save the American automobile industry from near collapse, he brought discipline to our deliberations.

I would like to say a few words about Bob's work as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has historically held a preeminent role in the formulation and execution of U.S. foreign policy. Chairman CORKER approached the position with all of the grace and diplomacy appropriate to the office.

As the Senate's representative to the executive in foreign policy, he ably represented our interests. He asked the questions that were on so many of our minds and then he returned to the Senate to explain the administration's thinking. He calmed many of our anxieties about the turbulent world in which we live. I like to think that is because Mr. Corker is a thoughtful, methodical, and calm thinker. His calm, steady leadership as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee these past several years will be greatly missed.

TRIBUTE TO HEIDI HEITKAMP

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Madam President, Heidi Heitkamp and I share much in common. Although we sit on different sides of the aisle, we represent resource States, we represent significant populations of Native Americans, and we are each fiercely independent women who have tended to vote our conscience over party on the toughest issues of our time. We are also the best of friends off the court. So it will come as no surprise to those who know us that I am heartbroken that my friend will not be returning to serve alongside me in the next Congress.

Our collaborations over the past 6 years have been very productive. We partnered on creating the Alyce Spotted Bear and Walter Soboleff Commission on Native Children, a body named for respected Elders from each of our States. The commission has been stood up and is now operating. I am hopeful that the commission will conclude its work with recommendations that we can adopt into law. The adoption of those recommendations will be a fitting legacy for my friend, the Senator from North Dakota.

Senator Heitkamp and I have also collaborated on Savanna's Act, which is the first piece of legislation to specifically address the epidemic of missing and murdered Native women and girls in America. This cause is so very important to my friend, as it is to me, but I would like to share a story about my friend that is so telling about her commitment and her character.

On the Wednesday, following our return from the election day and Veterans Day recess, I had a news conference scheduled with the Urban Indian Health Institute. That news conference was called to discuss the results of a new report on the epidemic of missing and murdered Native women and girls in urban American cities. It was important to me that my friend be present at that news conference because it was about an issue that she championed during her time in the Senate, and it would have been excusable if my friend had bowed out, having just fought and lost a difficult reelection bid.

But my friend didn't bow out. She stepped up, and she pledged to the advocates present that, even though she will no longer be a Senator come January, she would be moving over to their side come January. She pledged to remain an advocate for this cause that is most important to her. She will continue to do great and good things. Her work is not done.

To HeIDI, you have done good in the U.S. Senate. We thank you.

TRIBUTE TO IAN JANNETTA

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Madam President, I wish to recognize an excellent

former member of my staff, Ian Jannetta, who is leaving Capitol Hill after 8 years of service. Having worked for his home State Senator Casey of Pennsylvania, on the Joint Economic Committee, as part of my team in both the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, and finally with Senator Heitkamp of North Dakota, Ian has many friends on Capitol Hill and will be missed.

During his time in my office, Ian never hesitated to roll up his sleeves and get the job done. He worked tirelessly on issues ranging from providing equal rights for all people, protecting our environment and the Chesapeake Bay, to building an economy that works for all Americans. His strong communications skills, coupled with his kindness, calm presence, and sense of humor, served my team and the people of Maryland well for over 4 years.

As Ian tackles his next project at the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, he continues his commitment to public service, a proud tradition set by his mother Heather and his father David, who both started their careers in the U.S. Air Force and continued their service in State government. I know he will make a tremendous impact. I join his many colleagues, friends, and family to wish him well, and I look forward to hearing about the extraordinary work he does next.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

REMEMBERING BOB DELLWO

• Mr. DAINES. Madam President, today I have the honor of recognizing Bob Dellwo of Choteau, MT, for his over 94 years of service to his community, country, and family.

Bob was born in Conrad on August 1, 1924. After his family moved to Choteau, Bob grew up and attended Teton High School, where he was a member of the football team. From 1942–1946, Bob volunteered to serve in WWII. While serving in the Navy, most of his time was spent as a radio man on a dive bomber, where he twice earned the Distinguished Flying Cross.

In January of 1946, Bob married his sweetheart Helen. The two were married for over 55 years. Together, they had four children they raised in Choteau and Helena. As owners of various small businesses throughout the years, they were well known and active in their communities.

Bob took immense pride in his 22 grandchildren and great-grandchildren and rightfully so. In fact, his granddaughter Liz holds a special spot in the DAINES office, having worked on Team DAINES for many years. A kind and lighthearted spirit, Bob enjoyed being with his family more than anything, and that is how he chose to spend his time.

Bob leaves behind a legacy of friendship, family, faith, and community. His dedication and service to others throughout his life will have a lasting impact for generations to come. I join his family, friends, and community in mourning his death, but we take comfort in knowing he is in a better place now with the love of his life, Helen.●

TRIBUTE TO THE USS MONTANA COMMITTEE

• Mr. DAINES. Madam, today, I wish to honor the men and women of the USS Montana Committee and their notable contributions to our State and our Nation in 2018.

The USS Montana Committee is a group of volunteers from Montana who have dedicated themselves to promoting awareness and fostering support for the future commissioning of the USS Montana and all those who will sail aboard her in defense of our Nation. A Virginia Class nuclear fast-attack submarine, the USS Montana will protect carrier and expeditionary strike groups, hunt and destroy enemy ships, and conduct strategic national security missions around the globe. We wait with great anticipation as her 2020 commissioning quickly approaches.

Montana has a proud heritage of military service. Some 3,500 Active-Duty servicemembers currently serve at Malmstrom Air Force Base in Great Falls, and another 4,500 citizen-soldiers serve in the National Guard and Reserve at various locations across the State. Montana also proudly boasts the highest percentage of veterans per capita in the contiguous United States. Beyond the borders of our landlocked home, more than 2,200 U.S. Navy sailors currently call Montana home, adding 134 new Montanans to their ranks in the past 12 months.

Once she is commissioned, the USS *Montana* will be the second U.S. Navy warship to bear our State's namesake. The first, an armored cruiser, AC 13, was commissioned 1908 and served with distinction in World War I. In fact, her keel was laid 112 years ago this week on December 15, 1906. The bell from that ship is currently on display in the lobby of the University of Montana's Adams Center. It has a legacy of its own, playing a prominent role in one of the oldest college football rivalries in the nation.

2018 has proven to be a banner year for the USS Montana, her crew, and her network of volunteers in Montana. In May, we celebrated the laying of her keel, a proud naval tradition and one of the most significant milestones in the ship's construction prior to delivery. The celebration incorporated a number of Montana themes and traditions, including a Native Blackfeet blessing by Mariah Gladstone of Kalispell. We were also introduced to her command leadership team: commanding officer, CDR Michael Delaney; executive officer, LCDR Jeffrey Kahn; and chief of the boat, SCPO Michael Dassau. We even got a look at the ship's preliminary emblem, which incorporates strong symbolism of the State, the submarine force, and the naval service. The ship also enjoyed prominent recognition on the cover of the 2018 Montana Voter Information Pamphlet distributed statewide in preparation for the midterm elections.

The USS Montana Committee was proudly represented and facilitated these key events by raising awareness and funding across the state. Over the course of the year, the committee held events in Butte, Missoula, Helena, Columbia Falls, Kalispell, Billings, Colstrip, Lewistown, Miles City, Sidney, Great Falls, and Glasgow. In September, the committee facilitated a statewide tour with the commanding officer, with stops in Billings, Helena, Great Falls, and Missoula. These efforts have made great strides in fostering a strong and enduring relationship between the State of Montana and the U.S. Navy.

In recognition of these and other notable accomplishments, I ask that the following names who have volunteered for the USS Montana Committee be entered into the RECORD.

The Founding Members and other voting members of the Steering Group: Craig Anderson of Billings, Duane Ankney of Colstrip, Doug Averill of Bigfork, Leo Berry of Helena, Mike Halligan of Missoula, Bill Leininger of Bigfork, Brian Lipscomb of Polson, Greg MacDonald of Billings, Marilyn Olson of Lewistown, Sarah Swanson Partridge of Glasgow, Curtis Pohl of Butte, Gary Purdy of Columbia Falls, Marisa Robertson of Havre, Bonnie of Plentywood, Steven Simon Stahlberg of Kalispell, Monty Wallis of Billings, Bill Whitsitt of Bigfork, and Darren Wilkins of Bozeman.

Honorary Members: the Honorable Marc Racicot, Former Governor of Montana, the Honorable Stan Stevens, Former Governor of Montana, and RADM George E. Voelker, USN (Ret.), First operational commander, USS Helena, SSN 725.

Committee Members: Kelly Addy of Bigfork, Wade & Gee Gee Allred of Bigfork, Chase Anderson of Laurel, Chris Aymes of Kalispell, Liz Bangerter of Helena, David & Dana Bennett of Missoula, Calvin Beringer of Kalispell, Dennis Berklund of Bigfork, Richard & Marilou Berklund of Formerly of Shepherd, Carol Bishop of Huson, David Blade of Helena, Rex Boller of Lakeside, Col. Frank Borman of Billings, Lane & Rachel Bos of Bozeman, Donald C. Bost of Lewistown, Michael Bower of Billings, Jennifer Brien of Formerly of Kalispell.

Katie Brien of Formerly of Kalispell, Bob & Sue Brown of Whitefish, Thomas & Gayle Butler of Deer Lodge, John & Cynthia Cannon of Bigfork, Charles Carroll of Billings, Bill & Valerie Caton of Laurel, Nick Chiechi of St. Marie, Doug & Cindy Coats of Kila, Beth Cohen of Billings, Stuart & Anita Cole of Bigfork, Mayor Wilmot Collins of Helena, Stuart & Anita Cole of Bigfork, Wayne Connell of Great Falls,

Tamara & Joseph Crismore of Libby, Ron & Shelly Davis of Butte, Paul Dragu of Havre, Timothy Dralle of Helena, Dan Eastman of Polson, Dan Ellison of Helena, John Emeigh of Butte.

Victoria Emmons of Missoula, Scott Fisher of Columbia Falls, Aaron & Jessica Flint of Billings, Attorney General Tim & Karen Fox of Clancy, Christopher Gartrell of Formerly of Manhattan and Bozeman, Raymond G. Gavlak The 3rd of Stevensville, Greg & Susan Gianforte of Bozeman, Mark Gilbertson of Formerly of Kalispell, Maury Graham of Glasgow, Ray Godfrey of Bigfork, Gary & Peach Graeff of Bigfork, Jack Griffith of Lakeside, Chris & Francine Hagar of Bigfork, Dave & Karen Helmrick of Troy, Jason & Jamie Hildenstab of Helena, Joe & Julia Hill of Formerly of Ennis, Kristen Inbody of Great Falls, James Irwin of Sweetgrass.

Keith Johnson of Twin Bridges, Kristin Jacobson of Missoula. Tate Jones of Missoula, Max Kalafat of Formerly of Great Falls, Cari Kent of Great Falls, David & Tamara Kiehl of Bigfork. Roger Knoell of Butte, Jay Lamb of Formerly of Billings, Michael Lawson of Butte, Mark & Analyn Lee of Bigfork, Terry Lodmell of Malta, Dale & Kathy Longfellow of Hobson, Lori & David Lynch of Billings, Dan & Mary Carol Marcus of Bigfork, James Mariska of Billings, Grant Mayer of Helena, James McGimpsey of Helena, Pete Mckinley of Helena, Ron & Jessie Merwin of Polson, Cody Miles of Havre.

Steve & Lee Miller of Dayton, Todd Morgan of Missoula, Bob & Penni Nance of Billings, Jack Neergaard of Bozeman, Wayne Newton of Rollins, Robert Nieuwenhuyse of Havre, Bob & Kim Nystuen of Lakeside, Tom O'Connor of Bozeman, Jody Olson of Havre, John & Marilyn Olson of Sidney, Carlene A. & Darrell W. Orr of Libby, Kevin Oster of Miles City, Jon Ottenbacher of Miles City, Robbi Perry of Kalispell, Gwenna Peters of Billings, Carla Peterson of Billings, Bob Pfouts of Huson.

Jim & Annie Porter of Belt, Chuck & Linda Ream of Bigfork, VDM (Ret) Rodney Rempt of Big Sky, David & Kathy Roberts of Kalispell, Paul Robitaille of Bozeman, Char Ross of Great Falls, Peggy Salitros of Formerly of Colstrip, Mike Schauf of Missoula, Harlan & Judith Schwan of Kalispell, Peter Scott of Bozeman, David Semrau of Kalispell, Jim & Jean Senst of Great Falls, Gayle Shanahan of Helena, Troy Shockley of Helena, Lee Shubert of Helena, John Sisson of Colstrip, Howard & Angie Skjervem of Helena, Brad & Cindy Skramstad of Kalispell.

Steve & Cheri Sloan of Kalispell, Bernie & Thedra Slogotski of Bigfork, Jim Smith of Helena, Tom & Irene Snyder of Bigfork, Arnold Sonsteng of Formerly of Billings and Wolf Point, Leigh Haislip Spencer of Great Falls, Ernie & Anna Steiner of Bigfork, Larry Strizich of Great Falls, Peter Sullivan

of Helena, Tom & Toot Sward of Bigfork, Amber Swindler of Glasgow, Rolf Tandberg of Missoula, MG (Ret) Paul & Muffin Vallely of Bigfork, Craig Wagner of Bigfork, Melville (Mel) Walters, III of Stevensville, Chris Walthall of Bigfork.

Aaron Ward of Townsend, Kirk & Angelina Waren of Butte, Arthur Wayne of Missoula, James Wegener of Kalispell, Monte Weisser of Kalispell, Beau & Holly Wielkoszewski of Bigfork, Bernie Windauer of Kalispell, Barry & Pixie Wirth of Lindbergh, Lake, Chip & Barb Youlden of Billings, Grant & Mary Zerbe of Frazer, and Ryan & Lola Zinke of Whitefish.

TRIBUTE TO FRANK BORMAN

• Mr. TESTER. Madame President, today I wish to honor a Montanan and an astronaut who, 50 years ago, set off on a journey that took him further from home than any man had been before.

On December 21, 1968, Commander Frank Borman, and his crew Jim Lovell and Bill Anders, sat atop a Saturn V rocket and were blasted into space, destined to become the first men to orbit the moon and return safely back to Earth.

Apollo 8 flew a dangerous mission at a perilous time for both the space program and our Nation which, much like today, was struggling to heal itself after a year of discord and division.

In late December, those differences were put aside as 1 billion souls turned their eyes towards the cosmos and watched as grainy images of the lunar surface were transmitted back to Earth. The magnitude of the moment was undeniable: When we work together, humanity is capable of greatness.

That was Commander Borman's last time in space. He now lives in Billings; he and his wife Susan have called Montana home for the past 20 years.

As we remember Commander Borman's history-making flight, we must also remember the sense of optimism and pride that it inspired and strive to find it once again.

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

At 12:03 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mrs. Cole, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

H.R. 767. An act to establish the Stop, Observe, Ask, and Respond to Health and Wellness Training pilot program to address human trafficking in the health care system.

H.R. 1162. An act to direct the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to carry out a pilot program to provide access to magnetic EEG/EKG-guided resonance therapy to veterans.

H.R. 3383. An act to designate the flood control project in Sedgwick County, Kansas, commonly known as the Wichita-Valley Center Flood Control Project, as the "M.S. 'Mitch' Mitchell Floodway".

H.R. 4227. An act to require the Secretary of Homeland Security to examine what ac-

tions the Department of Homeland Security is undertaking to combat the threat of vehicular terrorism, and for other purposes.

H.R. 4819. An act to promote inclusive economic growth through conservation and biodiversity programs that facilitate transboundary cooperation, improve natural resource management, and build local capacity to protect and preserve threatened wildlife species in the greater Okavango River Basin of southern Africa.

H.R. 5075. An act to encourage, enhance, and integrate Ashanti Alert plans throughout the United States, and for other purposes.

H.R. 5509. An act to direct the National Science Foundation to provide grants for research about STEM education approaches and the STEM-related workforce, and for other purposes.

H.R. 5787. An act to amend the Coastal Barrier Resources Act to give effect to more accurate maps of units of the John H. Chafee Coastal Barrier Resources System that were produced by digital mapping of such units, and for other purposes.

H.R. 5923. An act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to exchange certain public lands in Ouachita National Forest, and for other purposes.

H.R. 6348. An act to adjust the real estate appraisal thresholds under the section 504 program to bring them into line with the thresholds used by the Federal banking regulators, and for other purposes.

H.R. 6400. An act to require the Secretary of Homeland Security to conduct a threat and operational analysis of ports of entry, and for other purposes.

H.R. 6893. An act to amend the Overtime Pay for Protective Services Act of 2016 to extend the Secret Service overtime pay exception through 2020, and for other purposes.

H.R. 7243. An act to amend Public Law 115–217 to change the address of the postal facility designated by such Public Law in honor of Sergeant First Class Alwyn Crendall Cashe, and for other purposes.

The enrolled bills were subsequently signed by the Acting President protempore (Mr. CORNYN).

At 12:07 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mrs. Cole, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, without amendment:

S. 2276. An act to require agencies to submit reports on outstanding recommendations in the annual budget justification submitted to Congress.

S. 3031. An act to amend chapter 5 of title 40, United States Code, to improve the management of Federal personal property.

S. 3191. An act to provide for the expeditious disclosure of records related to civil rights cold cases, and for other purposes.

S. 3367. An act to amend certain transportation-related reporting requirements to improve congressional oversight, reduce reporting burdens, and promote transparency, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 6602. An act to reauthorize the New Jersey Coastal Heritage Trail Route, and for other purposes.

H.R. 7293. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 770 Ayrault Road in Fairport, New York, as the "Louise and Bob Slaughter Post Office".

H.R. 7318. An act to amend the Federal Assets Sale and Transfer Act of 2016 to ensure

that the Public Buildings Reform Board has adequate time to carry out the responsibilities of the Board, and for other purposes.

H.R. 7319. An act to amend the Federal Assets Sale and Transfer Act of 2016 to provide flexibility with respect to the leaseback of certain Federal real property, and for other purposes.

H.R. 7329. An act to make technical corrections to provisions of law enacted by the Frank LoBiondo Coast Guard Authorization Act of 2018, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House has agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 88) to modify the boundary of the Shiloh National Military Park located in Tennessee and Mississippi, to establish Parker's Crossroads Battlefield as an affiliated area of the National Park System, and for other purposes, with an amendment, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House has agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the House to the bill (H.R. 695) to amend the National Child Protection Act of 1993 to establish a national criminal history background check system and criminal history review program for certain individuals who, related to their employment, have access to children, the elderly, or individuals with disabilities, and for other purposes, with an amendment, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House has agreed to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1 and 2 to the text of the bill (H.R. 2606) to amend the Act of August 4, 1947 (commonly known as the Stigler Act), with respect to restrictions applicable to Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

At 3:52 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mrs. Cole, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

S. 943. An act to direct the Secretary of the Interior to conduct an accurate comprehensive student count for the purposes of calculating formula allocations for programs under the Johnson-O'Malley Act, and for other purposes.

S. 2248. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to authorize the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to provide certain burial benefits for spouses and children of veterans who are buried in tribal cemeteries, and for other purposes.

S. 2736. An act to develop a long-term strategic vision and a comprehensive, multifaceted, and principled United States policy for the Indo-Pacific region, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2606. An act to amend the Act of August 4, 1947 (commonly known as the Stigler Act), with respect to restrictions applicable to Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma, and for other purposes.

H.R. 7327. An act to require the Secretary of Homeland Security to establish a security vulnerability disclosure policy, to establish a bug bounty program for the Department of Homeland Security, to amend title 41, United States Code, to provide for Federal acquisition supply chain security, and for other purposes.

The enrolled bills were subsequently signed by the Acting President protempore (Mr. CORNYN).

The message further announced that the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. MCHENRY) has signed the following enrolled bills:

S. 1520. An act to expand recreational fishing opportunities through enhanced marine fishery conservation and management, and for other purposes.

S. 2076. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to authorize the expansion of activities related to Alzheimer's disease, cognitive decline, and brain health under the Alzheimer's Disease and Healthy Aging Program, and for other purposes.

S. 2278. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide grants to improve health care in rural areas

S. 3530. An act to reauthorize the Museum and Library Services Act.

The enrolled bills were subsequently signed by the Acting President protempore (Mr. CORNYN).

At 5:58 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, without amendment:

S. 512. An act to modernize the regulation of nuclear energy.

S. 1023. An act to reauthorize the Tropical Forest Conservation Act of 1998 through fiscal year 2021, and for other purposes.

S. 1158. An act 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. 1580. An act to enhance the transparency, improve the coordination, and intensify the impact of assistance to support access to primary and secondary education for displaced children and persons, including women and girls, and for other purposes.

S. 1862. An act to amend the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 to modify the criteria for determining whether countries are meeting the minimum standards for the elimination of human trafficking, and for other purposes.

S. 3247. An act to improve programs and activities relating to women's entrepreneurship and economic empowerment that are carried out by the United States Agency for International Development, and for other purposes.

S. 3456. An act to redesignate Hobe Sound National Wildlife Refuge as the Nathaniel P. Reed Hobe Sound National Wildlife Refuge, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House has passed the following bill, with an amendment, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 3661. An act to provide for a program of the Department of Defense to commemorate the 75th anniversary of World War II.

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

H. Con. Res. 149. Concurrent resolution directing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to make certain corrections in the enrollment of H.R. 4174.

The message also announced that the House has agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 2200) to re-

authorize the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House has agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 4174) to amend titles 5 and 44, United States Code, to require Federal evaluation activities, improve Federal data management, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House has agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 6287) to provide competitive grants for the operation, security, and maintenance of certain memorials to victims of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

At 6:41 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 bill, without amendment:

S. 3628. An act to reauthorize the National Flood Insurance Program.

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

H. Con. Res. 148. Concurrent resolution directing the Secretary of the Senate to make a correction in the enrollment of the bill S. 3628

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on December 20, 2018, she had presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bill:

S. 756. An act to reauthorize and amend the Marine Debris Act to promote international action to reduce marine debris, and for other purposes.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. RISCH, from the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship:

Report to accompany S. 2419, a bill to amend the Small Business Act to improve the technical and business assistance services under the SBIR and STTR programs (Rept. No. 115–454).

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 Ms. DUCKWORTH:

S. 3804. A bill to reinstate the taxation of foreign oil related income, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. SASSE:

S. 3805. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit certain fraudulent audiovisual records, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 743

At the request of Mr. REED, the names of the Senator from Maryland

(Mr. Van Hollen), the Senator from Minnesota (Ms. Klobuchar), the Senator from Nevada (Ms. Cortez Masto) and the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. Menendez) were added as cosponsors of S. 743, a bill to strengthen the United States Interagency Council on Homelessness.

S. 1497

At the request of Mr. DAINES, the name of the Senator from Delaware (Mr. Coons) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1497, a bill to amend title 40, United States Code, to provide a lactation room in public buildings, and for other purposes.

S. 2018

At the request of Mr. Bennet, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts (Ms. Warren) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2018, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to make the child tax credit fully refundable, establish an increased child tax credit for young children, and for other purposes.

S. 2274

At the request of Mr. CARDIN, the name of the Senator from Maine (Ms. COLLINS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2274, a bill to provide for the compensation of Federal employees affected by lapses in appropriations.

S. RES. 738

At the request of Mr. GRAHAM, the names of the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. WICKER), the Senator from Alaska (Mr. Sullivan), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. KYL), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. ROUNDS), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Young) and the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Toomey) were added as cosponsors of S. Res. 738, a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the United States should continue its limited military activities within Syria and that ending such activities at this time would embolden ISIS, Bashar al-Assad, Iran, and Russia and put our Kurdish allies in great jeopardy.

At the request of Ms. Collins, her name was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 738, supra.

BUILDING OUR LARGEST DEMEN-TIA INFRASTRUCTURE FOR ALZ-HEIMER'S ACT

The bill (S. 2076), as amended by the Senate on December 12, 2018, passed as follows:

S. 2076

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Building Our Largest Dementia Infrastructure for Alzheimer's Act" or the "BOLD Infrastructure for Alzheimer's Act".

SEC. 2. PROMOTION OF PUBLIC HEALTH KNOWL-EDGE AND AWARENESS OF ALZ-HEIMER'S DISEASE, COGNITIVE DE-CLINE, AND BRAIN HEALTH UNDER THE ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE AND HEALTHY AGING PROGRAM.

Part K of title III of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 280c et seq.) is amended—

- (1) in the part heading, by adding "AND PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAMS FOR DEMENTIA" at the end; and
 - (2) in subpart II—
- (A) by striking the subpart heading and inserting the following:

"Subpart II—Programs With Respect to Alzheimer's Disease and Related Dementias"; and

(B) by striking section 398A (42 U.S.C. 280c-4) and inserting the following:

"SEC. 398A. PROMOTION OF PUBLIC HEALTH KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS OF ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE AND RE-LATED DEMENTIAS.

"(a) ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE AND RELATED DEMENTIAS PUBLIC HEALTH CENTERS OF EX-

"(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary, in coordination with the Director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the heads of other agencies as appropriate, shall award grants, contracts, or cooperative agreements to eligible entities, such as institutions of higher education, State, tribal, and local health departments, Indian tribes, tribal organizations, associations, or other appropriate entities for the establishment or support of regional centers to address Alzheimer's disease and related dementias by—

"(A) advancing the awareness of public health officials, health care professionals, and the public, on the most current information and research related to Alzheimer's disease and related dementias, including cognitive decline, brain health, and associated health disparities;

"(B) identifying and translating promising research findings, such as findings from research and activities conducted or supported by the National Institutes of Health, including Alzheimer's Disease Research Centers authorized by section 445, into evidence-based programmatic interventions for populations with Alzheimer's disease and related dementias and caregivers for such populations; and

"(C) expanding activities, including through public-private partnerships related to Alzheimer's disease and related dementias and associated health disparities.

"(2) REQUIREMENTS.—To be eligible to receive a grant, contract, or cooperative agreement under this subsection, an entity shall submit to the Secretary an application containing such agreements and information as the Secretary may require, including a description of how the entity will—

"(A) coordinate, as applicable, with existing Federal, State, and tribal programs related to Alzheimer's disease and related dementias:

"(B) examine, evaluate, and promote evidence-based interventions for individuals with Alzheimer's disease and related dementias, including underserved populations with such conditions, and those who provide care for such individuals; and

"(C) prioritize activities relating to-

"(i) expanding efforts, as appropriate, to implement evidence-based practices to address Alzheimer's disease and related dementias, including through the training of State, local, and tribal public health officials and other health professionals on such practices;

"(ii) supporting early detection and diagnosis of Alzheimer's disease and related dementias:

"(iii) reducing the risk of potentially avoidable hospitalizations of individuals with Alzheimer's disease and related dementias:

"(iv) reducing the risk of cognitive decline and cognitive impairment associated with Alzheimer's disease and related dementias;

"(v) enhancing support to meet the needs of caregivers of individuals with Alzheimer's disease and related dementias;

"(vi) reducing health disparities related to the care and support of individuals with Alzheimer's disease and related dementias;

"(vii) supporting care planning and management for individuals with Alzheimer's disease and related dementias; and

"(viii) supporting other relevant activities identified by the Secretary or the Director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, as appropriate.

"(3) CONSIDERATIONS.—In awarding grants, contracts, and cooperative agreements under this subsection, the Secretary shall consider, among other factors, whether the entity—

"(A) provides services to rural areas or other underserved populations;

"(B) is able to build on an existing infrastructure of services and public health research; and

"(C) has experience with providing care or caregiver support, or has experience conducting research related to Alzheimer's disease and related dementias.

"(4) DISTRIBUTION OF AWARDS.—In awarding grants, contracts, or cooperative agreements under this subsection, the Secretary, to the extent practicable, shall ensure equitable distribution of awards based on geographic area, including consideration of rural areas, and the burden of the disease within sub-populations.

"(5) DATA REPORTING AND PROGRAM OVER-SIGHT.—With respect to a grant, contract, or cooperative agreement awarded under this subsection, not later than 90 days after the end of the first year of the period of assistance, and annually thereafter for the duration of the grant, contract, or agreement (including the duration of any renewal period as provided for under paragraph (5)), the entity shall submit data, as appropriate, to the Secretary regarding—

"(A) the programs and activities funded under the grant, contract, or agreement; and "(B) outcomes related to such programs

and activities.
"(b) IMPROVING DATA ON STATE AND NA-

"(b) IMPROVING DATA ON STATE AND NA-TIONAL PREVALENCE OF ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE AND RELATED DEMENTIAS.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall, as appropriate, improve the analysis and timely reporting of data on the incidence and prevalence of Alzheimer's disease and related dementias. Such data may include, as appropriate, information on cognitive decline, caregiving, and health disparities experienced by individuals with cognitive decline and their caregivers. The Secretary may award grants, contracts, or cooperative agreements to eligible entities for activities under this paragraph.

"(2) ELIGIBLITY.—To be eligible to receive a grant, contract, or cooperative agreement under this subsection, an entity shall be a public or nonprofit private entity, including institutions of higher education, State, local, and tribal health departments, and Indian tribes and tribal organizations, and submit to the Secretary an application at such time, in such manner, and containing such information as the Secretary may require.

"(3) DATA SOURCES.—The analysis, timely public reporting, and dissemination of data under this subsection may be carried out using data sources such as the following:

"(A) The Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System.

"(B) The National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey.

"(C) The National Health Interview Survey.

"(c) IMPROVED COORDINATION.—The Secretary shall ensure that activities and programs related to dementia under this section do not unnecessarily duplicate activities and programs of other agencies and offices within the Department of Health and Human Services."

SEC. 3. SUPPORTING STATE PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAMS RELATED TO ALZ-HEIMER'S DISEASE AND RELATED DEMENTIAS.

Section 398 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 280c-3) is amended—

- (1) in the section heading, by striking "ESTABLISHMENT OF PROGRAM" and inserting "COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS TO STATES AND PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENTS FOR ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE AND RELATED DEMENTIAS";
- (2) by striking subsection (a) and inserting the following:
- "(a) In General.—The Secretary, in coordination with the Director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the heads of other agencies, as appropriate, shall award cooperative agreements to health departments of States, political subdivisions of States, and Indian tribes and tribal organizations, to address Alzheimer's disease and related dementias, including by reducing cognitive decline, helping meet the needs of caregivers, and addressing unique aspects of Alzheimer's disease and related dementias to support the development and implementation of evidence-based interventions with respect to—
- "(1) educating and informing the public, based on evidence-based public health research and data, about Alzheimer's disease and related dementias:
- ``(2) supporting early detection and diagnosis;
- "(3) reducing the risk of potentially avoidable hospitalizations for individuals with Alzheimer's disease and related dementias;
- "(4) reducing the risk of cognitive decline and cognitive impairment associated with Alzheimer's disease and related dementias;
- "(5) improving support to meet the needs of caregivers of individuals with Alzheimer's disease and related dementias;
- "(6) supporting care planning and management for individuals with Alzheimer's disease and related dementias.
- "(7) supporting other relevant activities identified by the Secretary or the Director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, as appropriate".; and
 - (3) by striking subsection (b);
- (4) by redesignating subsection (c) as subsection (g):
- (5) by inserting after subsection (a), the following:
- "(b) Preference.—In awarding cooperative agreements under this section, the Secretary shall give preference to applications that focus on addressing health disparities, including populations and geographic areas that have the highest prevalence of Alzheimer's disease and related dementias.
- "(c) ELIGIBILITY.—To be eligible to receive a cooperative agreement under this section, an eligible entity (pursuant to subsection (a)) shall prepare and submit to the Secretary an application at such time, in such manner, and containing such information as the Secretary may require, including a plan that describes—
- "(1) how the applicant proposes to develop or expand, programs to educate individuals through partnership engagement, workforce development, guidance and support for programmatic efforts, and evaluation with re-

spect to Alzheimer's disease and related dementias, and in the case of a cooperative agreement under this section, how the applicant proposes to support other relevant activities identified by the Secretary or Director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, as appropriate.

"(2) the manner in which the applicant will coordinate with Federal, tribal, and State programs related to Alzheimer's disease and related dementias, and appropriate State, tribal, and local agencies, as well as other relevant public and private organizations or agencies; and

- "(3) the manner in which the applicant will evaluate the effectiveness of any program carried out under the cooperative agreement.
- "(d) MATCHING REQUIREMENT.—Each health department that is awarded a cooperative agreement under subsection (a) shall provide, from non-Federal sources, an amount equal to 30 percent of the amount provided under such agreement (which may be provided in cash or in-kind) to carry out the activities supported by the cooperative agreement.
- "(e) Waiver Authority.—The Secretary may waive all or part of the matching requirement described in subsection (d) for any fiscal year for a health department of a State, political subdivision of a State, or Indian tribe and tribal organization (including those located in a rural area or frontier area), if the Secretary determines that applying such matching requirement would result in serious hardship or an inability to carry out the purposes of the cooperative agreement awarded to such health department of a State, political subdivision of a State, or Indian tribe and tribal organization.":
- (6) in subsection (f) (as so redesignated), by striking "grant" and inserting "cooperative agreement"; and
- (7) by adding at the end the following:
- "(f) Non-duplication of Effort.—The Secretary shall ensure that activities under any cooperative agreement awarded under this subpart do not unnecessarily duplicate efforts of other agencies and offices within the Department of Health and Human Services related to—
- "(1) activities of centers of excellence with respect to Alzheimer's disease and related dementias described in section 398A; and
- "(2) activities of public health departments with respect to Alzheimer's disease and related dementias described in this section.".

SEC. 4. ADDITIONAL PROVISIONS.

Section 398B of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 280c–5) is amended—

- (1) in subsection (a)—
- (A) by inserting "or cooperative agreement" after "grant" each place that such appears;
- (B) by striking "section 398(a) to a State unless the State" and inserting "sections 398 or 398A to an entity unless the entity"; and
- (C) by striking "10" and inserting "5"; (2) by striking subsection (b);
- (3) by redesignating subsections (c) and (d) as subsections (b) and (c), respectively;
- (4) in subsection (b) (as so redesignated)—
- (A) in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking "section 398(a) to a State unless

- the State" and inserting "sections 398 or 398A to an entity unless the entity";
- (B) in paragraph (1), by striking "expenditures required in subsection (b);" and inserting "expenditures;";
 - (5) in subsection (c) (as so redesignated)—
 - (A) in paragraph (1)—
- (i) by striking "each demonstration project for which a grant" and inserting "the activities for which an award"; and
- (ii) by striking "section 398(a)" and inserting "sections 398 or 398A"; and
- (B) in paragraph (2), by striking "6 months" and inserting "1 year";
- (6) by inserting after subsection (c) (as so redesignated), the following:
- "(d) DEFINITION.—In this subpart, the terms 'Indian tribe' and 'tribal organization' have the meanings given such terms in section 4 of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act."; and
- (7) in subsection (e), by striking "\$5,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1988 through 1990" and all that follows through "2002" and inserting "\$20,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2020 through 2024".

SIGNING AUTHORITY

Mr. DAINES. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the majority leader and the junior Senator from Montana be authorized to sign duly enrolled bills or joint resolutions on Friday, December 21.

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

ORDERS FOR SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 2018

Mr. DAINES. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 12 noon, Saturday, December 22; further, that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, and the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day; finally, that following leader remarks, the Senate resume consideration of the House message to accompany H.R. 695.

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

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL TOMORROW

Mr. DAINES. Madam 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 8:07 p.m., adjourned until Saturday, December 22, 2018, at 12 noon.