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## Senate

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. HATCH).

### PRAYER

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

Let us pray.

Our Father in Heaven, thank You for Your guidance, protection, wisdom, and love. We are grateful for Your compassion, for You are full of mercy and eager to forgive. We find refuge in the shadow of Your wings.

Lord, sustain our lawmakers. Teach them how to live and serve. May they honor You in their thoughts, words, and deeds. Give them the wisdom to live in complete dependence on You so that Your power can work through them. Help them to be attentive to Your precepts and sensitive to the unfolding of Your loving providence.

We pray in Your great Name. Amen.

### PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

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

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

### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

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

### RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

### REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, it was quite something to listen yester-

day to Members' heartfelt tributes to the memory of our friend Senator McCain. He meant so much to so many of us, both inside this Chamber and out.

As I noted yesterday, the Senate is eager to work on concrete ways to continue this momentum and provide a lasting tribute to this American hero long after this week's observances are complete. Following Senator Kennedy's death in 2009, for example, we named the Kennedy Caucus Room to honor his and his brothers' public service. Some have suggested we take a similar step so that the Armed Services Committee, on which our friend played such a critical role, would meet in a committee room named for Senator McCain.

Back in 2000, the Senate approved recommendations to add two additional portraits to the Capitol Senate Reception Room right off the Senate floor. Only seven Senators in the entire history of this institution are honored with portraits there.

I actually had the opportunity to serve in the bipartisan group that successfully recommended that Senators Arthur Vandenberg and Robert Wagner should appear there alongside Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John Calhoun, Robert La Follette, Sr., and Robert Taft, who were selected by a special committee back in 1957. That committee, interestingly enough, was appointed by Lyndon Johnson and chaired by John F. Kennedy. I have also heard in recent days that perhaps Senator McCain's portrait should join that distinguished group. So it is a further tribute to our colleague that there is no shortage of good ideas.

In order to make sure we realize these intentions, I would like to put together an official group who can collaborate and bring together ideas from current Members, former colleagues, and friends. It will be bipartisan, as only befits John's legacy. Come to think of it, we should probably call it

not a committee but a gang. So I am glad we are able to form this gang to ensure that a suitable, lasting tribute becomes a reality. I will have more details regarding this group to share in the coming days after our friend is laid to rest.

### AUGUST RECESS

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, August is usually a time for Senators to spend more time in our home States, meeting with our constituents and reporting on the progress we have made here in Washington, but this August had to be different. There was too much business left unfinished. So I made the decision to keep the Senate in session this month to continue working on behalf of the American people. I am proud to report that is just what we have done.

The Senate has now passed regular appropriations measures that account for 87 percent of next fiscal year's discretionary spending, we finalized our work on the National Defense Authorization Act named for Senator McCain, and in August alone, we have confirmed eight more of the President's well-qualified nominees for the Federal courts. But, as I have stated, the continuing, historic obstruction from Democrats on the President's nominees continues to make our progress on that front insufficient, so we will stay at it.

Currently before us are nominees to be Assistant Secretary to the Department of Health and Human Services, a Vice Chairman for the Federal Reserve, important posts at the Departments of Justice and Treasury, and a slate of impressive nominees for the Federal judiciary. I hope we can continue to make progress. It remains my intention to confirm all 17 of the nominees currently before us before the Senate concludes our business this week.

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



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## ECONOMIC GROWTH

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, now on one final matter, lately there has been no shortage of outstanding economic headlines:

“Small business confidence hits another record high.”

“U.S. workers get biggest pay increase in nearly a decade.”

“Open jobs outnumber U.S. unemployed for third straight month.”

But it is also important to look beyond the headlines and ask whether all Americans are benefiting from this new prosperity.

For years, under the last administration, much of the so-called recovery only touched some communities and some industries. Many vulnerable Americans fell further and further behind. Today, things are different. A growing and vibrant economy has room for everyone. The unemployment rate for young Americans age 16 to 24 is now the lowest it has been since July 1966. Labor force participation among this same group is at its highest level in nearly a decade. The unemployment rate for workers with less than a high school diploma is now at its lowest level in recorded history.

As work opportunities have opened back up, the number of Americans seeking Social Security disability benefits has plummeted. As one scholar told the *New York Times*, “When the economy gets better, employers are more willing to look to other labor pools and be more accommodating. . . . People with disabilities also have a sense there may be something out there that fits their needs.”

Remember, for much of the Obama economy, opportunity creation was so insufficient that many vulnerable Americans were effectively put right on the sidelines. The job market was too crowded. Openings were too few. But this thriving economy, helped along by Republican policies, is a different story. There are more and more opportunities for everyone.

This reminds us that it is capitalism and free enterprise, not new government programs, that best equip Americans to provide for their families and pursue happiness. Free enterprise is what has led an aviation tech maker in Colorado to lean on a high school-age technician, whose skills are “highly integral” to the company. Free enterprise is what has led a semitrailer manufacturer in Wisconsin to hire inmates, as they reenter the community after paying their debt, and help them rebuild upright lives. There is an old line often attributed to Ronald Reagan: “The best social program is a job.”

While our Democratic friends keep railing against tax reform and regulatory reform, keep insisting we should compile more money and power here in Washington, Republicans know better. We know that a real recovery is when Americans of all ages, all abilities, and in all parts of the country have more opportunities to earn their own success, and we are proud that our policies are helping make that happen.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

## REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, this is a sad time for the Senate and our Nation. With the passing of John McCain, our country lost a legend, and this Senate has lost a towering figure. I have lost a friend. America owes John McCain and his family our gratitude and respect for his courage and sacrifice and for the trials he endured to serve the Nation he loved.

John McCain entered this world with big shoes to fill. His father and grandfather were four-star admirals in the U.S. Navy. John McCain met and exceeded his family legacy.

I first met him 35 years ago, in 1982. We were brand-new freshmen Congressmen elected to the U.S. House. I spotted him on the other side of the floor in the Senate and, of course, I knew instantly who he was and worked up the courage to go over and introduce myself. Then, I asked him a favor.

I said: John, would you consider doing a cable TV show that I could send back to my Central Illinois district?

He said: Sure, I would be glad to.

I thought: That is amazing—a Democratic Congressman asking a new Republican Congressman to help him back in his district, and John McCain said yes.

It was the beginning of a friendship. That cable show wasn't shown beyond Central Illinois, but I still remember it and still thank John for his act of kindness. It was my first exposure to a unique style of communication that America would come to know as the “Straight Talk Express.” Sitting for that interview is a typically generous John McCain act, for which I am still grateful.

There is an old joke about an Irishman who walked past a brawl and said: Is this a private fight or can anyone get into it?

I think that man's name may have been McCain. Everyone who knew or served with John for any period of time got crosswise with him. I can remember there, in the well of the Senate, John McCain walking up to me, getting within an inch of my face and chewing me out about some article that he had read in the *Chicago Tribune*. He was so mad he was about to explode, and he wheeled around and walked away.

I thought: What did I say? I can't even remember the article.

I raced back to look up the *Chicago Tribune* article he referred to and still couldn't understand his anger, and I thought: How am I going to make

amends with John. He has been my friend for so long.

The next day he came up to me, and I got ready for the second round. He put his arm around me and said: It wasn't that bad after all. We are still friends.

That was typical John McCain—a volcanic temper but an embracing, loving approach when it came to friendship. That was John. He was passionate in his beliefs, but he was not a man to hold grudges. He understood that two people can disagree on issues today, and still both love this country and work together tomorrow.

Occasionally, he would invite you on a trip. Be careful. I said yes several times. A John McCain trip over a weekend was something you don't soon forget. If there is anybody out there who thinks that Senators with John McCain were sitting poolside drinking these mixed drinks with paper umbrellas, they have it all wrong. John McCain's trips on the weekend were more like Bataan death marches. From the minute you got on that plane until you got back to Washington, it was a nonstop schedule. Everything had to be done. We had to see three countries, not two, and we had to get it done and get back to Washington. You learned so much.

I went to Ukraine with John. I remember walking the streets of Kiev in Ukraine. People were coming up to John—people who remembered that he showed up in the Maidan Square when the revolution was underway and spoke for those who were defying Moscow—and they still remembered John McCain and couldn't wait to come up and say hello and thank him. It was that way in so many places of the world. I was lucky to be there. I was lucky to be a part of it, lucky to see history unfold, and lucky to count John as a friend.

John and I had our disagreements. In fact, there was one solid year when we barely spoke. At the end of that year, I found an excuse to walk over to his office to see him on some issue. I remember that he stood up and greeted me. He shook my hand. He looked me in the eye and said: I am glad this is over between us.

So was I. It was one of the happier days I served in the Senate.

His ability to see beyond party labels was one of the qualities that so many of us loved and admired about him. It was a lesson he learned from his family. It is a truth, I imagine, that he came to see even more clearly during the 5½ torturous years—two of them in solitary confinement—that he spent as a prisoner of war in that hellish place known as the Hanoi Hilton.

We are stronger together than we are divided. John McCain knew that. His entire life was a testimony to that powerful truth. It is why, as a prisoner of war, John McCain refused offers of release. He knew what the rules were. The rules were “first in, first out.” He was not the first in. He just happened

to be the son of an admiral, and the North Vietnamese were going to make him a symbol and release him. He wouldn't do it. He wouldn't accept it. His body was broken by the torture and the plane crash, but he stayed in that cell and waited his turn, until the moment came when he could leave with his head up.

John didn't want to be defined as a professional prisoner of war. I love the story about a party that was given for John and his fellow captives after they got home. One young man was telling the story of his confinement in some detail when he happened to look over and see John McCain. He suddenly felt conspicuous and said to John: I shouldn't be going on about my time as a prisoner of war. I was there for 6 weeks, and you were there for 5½ years.

With typical John McCain humor and wit, John replied: Oh, no, go right ahead. The first 6 weeks were the toughest.

Like Abraham Lincoln, John McCain knew that laughter helped to make the unbearable bearable, and like President Lincoln, he was secure enough in his own reputation and in his own achievements to be modest.

John endured the hell of the Hanoi Hilton more than many. He served in the Senate longer than many. He leaves his mark on this body and our Nation.

When the issue of torture and detention was front and center before the American people, when we were trying to decide what were the boundaries for this democracy, faced with the threat of terrorism, there was one voice in the Senate who was credible. It was John McCain.

I made speech after speech on the subject, but when John McCain got up and spoke about the issue of torture, there was silence on the floor of the Senate as we listened carefully. He proposed a resolution establishing humane standards of treatment, realizing the humanity we showed toward our prisoners is the same humanity we expected if Americans were taken prisoner. His effort was enacted by the Senate with over 90 votes, a strong bipartisan rollcall.

John McCain, more than anything, was a champion of the U.S. military—the men and women who serve in our Armed Forces. They never had a better friend. Our Nation's veterans and their families never had a stronger ally. He was a leader in the fight to curb the influence of special interests in politics and to make our government truly a government of, by, and for the people.

Russ Feingold and John McCain moved us toward what America is longing for—putting the special interests behind us, putting the people first, ending soft money.

He treasured our heritage as a nation of immigrants. I have such profound respect for John McCain's efforts to reach across the aisle and try to find solutions for America's broken immi-

gration system. Even as his own party railed against him, we spent almost a year together—eight Senators, four Democrats and four Republicans, led by John McCain—to write a comprehensive immigration reform bill. It was one of my proudest moments in the Senate. It was why I ran for the Senate. It was what John McCain told us over and over was to be our mission in life as Senators: To solve the problems facing America and not to be worried about taking some heat.

He took a lot of heat as a Republican who stepped up and offered a real solution to our comprehensive immigration challenge. We put together a bill over the course of a year. I think it was an extraordinary effort. We all had to compromise. John compromised and I compromised, but we ended up with a bipartisan bill that passed overwhelmingly on the floor of the Senate.

There hasn't been another moment like that in the time I have been here, and John led the way. He took a lot of grief for it. His poll numbers were not that good, particularly among the most conservative Republicans, but John knew we had a problem to solve, and he stepped out and did it. I was honored to be a part of the small group that worked night after night, week after week to put that effort together.

Of course, what I remember now more than anything is that middle-of-the-night vote a little over a year ago. He walked through that door, just having spoken on the telephone with President Trump, and he came to the well of the Senate and stood right next to that table. Because he had limited motion in his arm because of that plane crash and torture in Vietnam, he barely lifted his right arm and pushed his thumb down and said no. With that "no" vote, he preserved health insurance for millions of Americans, and he invoked the ire of conservative Republicans, who will never forgive him for that moment. It was one of the proudest, most courageous votes and moments in the history of the Senate. I was honored to be here and had a chance to thank him personally that night.

I also remember when he came to the floor and spoke at that desk, which is now bearing the vase of roses, a tribute to John McCain, and reminded all of us why we run for this office. Sure, it is a great title and a lot of Americans never get close to a title like U.S. Senator, but to John McCain and to many of us, it is much more. It is not only a great honor. It is a great challenge for us to do something with this title to solve the problems that face this country.

I didn't always agree with John, but I always respected the fact that he wanted the Senate to be an institution that was serving the people in this country and solving the problems we face.

John was principled and courageous time and again. There were times when we had our differences. I can recall

when he came to Illinois to campaign against me. He was campaigning on behalf of a State Representative in Illinois named Jim Durkin—not Durbin, but Durkin—who had been John's supporter for President in the State of Illinois. John returned the favor by campaigning for Jim Durkin against me. You might wonder, in this world of politics, how you react to a person who is trying to take your job away, which John was doing. I understood it. I expected it. Jim Durkin was loyal to John McCain, and John McCain was loyal to him and came in and campaigned for him.

After the election was over, the people of Illinois decided I should be the Senator. It didn't deter John McCain one bit from working with me from that point forward.

There is an empty space in this Chamber without John McCain. There is an empty space in America without his spirit. He will be missed, but he certainly will never be forgotten. I endorse the proposal to rename the Russell Senate Office Building in honor of Lieutenant Commander and Senator John McCain. Like Senator Schumer, I hope that decades from now, children who are visitors to the Capitol grounds will ask: Who was this McCain they named the building after? They will discover he was a man worthy of our respect, a man who in his heart was a public servant, a man who was an American hero.

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. SCHUMER. Madam 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.

#### REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, as the Senate continues to mourn the loss of our friend and fellow Senator John McCain, let us dwell on how best to remember this great man; his friendship, his service, his integrity, his career in the Senate.

One of the ways to carry on his memory is for us to try to live up to the expectations he had for the Senate, expectations he shared with us even in his waning days: to act with more humility, to ignore the critics, to put aside our differences when necessary, and learn to trust each other more.

In Senator McCain's memory, we can try to live by those principles and make this Senate a place where, despite the noisy din of politics, progress can still be made.

That is a sentiment I hope will long outlast the memorials, the tributes, and the observances this week.

I also propose that we recognize Senator McCain's legacy by renaming the Russell Senate Office Building in his honor. For three decades, Senator McCain was a fixture in those marble halls, an institution of the Senate. It is only fitting that his name should adorn a physical institution of the Senate, particularly one that housed the Armed Services Committee. What better way to encourage future Senators, their staffs, reporters, and average Americans to study his noble but imperfect example.

Today I will be circulating a letter with Senator FLAKE, asking all of our colleagues if they will be willing to join us in a resolution to officially rename the Russell Building the McCain Building. I hope that many, if not most or all, will join because Senator McCain was a dear friend to all of us and a great American, a great Senator, a great man. Let his name be an example to future generations, as his service and character were to every one of us.

#### NOMINATION OF BRETT KAVANAUGH

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, on another matter, next week the Senate Judiciary Committee will begin hearings on President Trump's nomination to the Supreme Court, Judge Brett Kavanaugh. For Senators both on and off the committee to do their constitutional duty, to advise and consent on his nomination, they must have time to review the nominee's record.

Unfortunately, Chairman GRASSLEY has so far frustrated our effort to get full access to the judge's records.

First, he requested only 10 to 15 percent of Kavanaugh's White House record, unilaterally declaring the bulk of his time in the White House irrelevant.

As the National Archives works through that request, the Judiciary Committee has been accepting documents from a lawyer hired by the Bush Library to prescreen documents. That lawyer, Mr. Burck, who counts Steve Bannon, Reince Priebus, and White House Counsel Don McGahn among his clients, has provided only 6 percent—6 percent—of Kavanaugh's White House record to the Judiciary Committee, recently declaring some documents personal rather than Presidential records, a determination we have been given no basis for.

Judiciary Republicans went even further in their efforts to conceal Judge Kavanaugh's record by labeling another small portion of those documents committee confidential. So of the 6 percent, close to one-third cannot be seen by anyone but members of the Judiciary Committee, and they can't talk about it to others. That is 4 percent of Kavanaugh's record being made public, and there are no guidelines, no rules, as to which 4 percent is being made

public and which 96 percent is being withheld. Obviously, one might think the lawyer, who is clearly totally hooked into the Republican appointment of Kavanaugh mechanism, would not allow things that might be controversial, that might put Kavanaugh in not such a good light. Yet there is not even a standard as to which documents are made public and which are kept confidential.

Does that sound fair to the Senate? Does that sound fair to the American people who have a right to read and understand who this potential future Supreme Court Justice may be?

The burden of proof should not be on disclosure of documents. We believe in disclosure. We are an open place. Senator GRASSLEY has made disclosure of things throughout the executive branch a hallmark of his career. Yet now they make the burden of proof on those who want to disclose, and the presumption is documents will not be disclosed. It is so wrong.

Any fairminded observer would be hard pressed to say that the review of Judge Kavanaugh's record has been transparent, open, and fair. It has not been.

The Supreme Court Justice, the next one, will have immense influence over the lives of Americans for generations on issues ranging from women's reproductive rights to healthcare, protections for preexisting conditions, civil rights, labor rights, environmental rights, LGBTQ rights, and so much more. The next Supreme Court Justice may very well make crucial decisions about the limits of Executive power and accountability, something that hangs in the balance right now with all of President Trump's actions.

We know already that Judge Kavanaugh has some deeply troubling views on these issues, both because of his writings and because he was selected by a President who explicitly promised to pick pro-life judges and judges hostile to our Nation's healthcare law.

So, in order to get a complete picture of Judge Kavanaugh's views on these crucial issues, his record should be made public. There may be some highly relevant information on issues like *Roe v. Wade*, campaign finance, affirmative action, and more, contained within the documents Chairman GRASSLEY has labeled "committee confidential."

Again, there is very relevant and significant information, even in the committee confidential documents, about *Roe*, campaign finance, affirmative action, and more. They should be made public, and Senator GRASSLEY can do it with a flick of his pen. I would appeal to him as a man, again, who has stood for disclosure and openness, who has probed and gotten angry at executive branch members of both parties for withholding information. Now, of course, we have this 180-degree turn. It is not like the best of Chairman GRASSLEY, and I hope he will change his mind.

Certainly, there is an offer to allow Senators to view these documents, but they ought to be released to the public. We don't have secret proceedings when we choose a Supreme Court Justice. It is not the Senate going into the Old Chamber and debating among themselves. These documents should be made public. The Senate should not be in the practice of shrouding the eyes of the public from the crucial business of learning what a Supreme Court nominee will be like.

I yield the floor.

#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

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

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Lynn A. Johnson, of Colorado, to be Assistant Secretary for Family Support, Department of Health and Human Services.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, all time has expired.

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

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Madam President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

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

The result was announced—yeas 67, nays 28, as follows:

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM), and the Senator from Alaska (Ms. MURKOWSKI).

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

[Rollcall Vote No. 195 Ex.]

#### YEAS—67

Alexander	Collins	Gardner
Baldwin	Corker	Grassley
Barrasso	Cornyn	Hassan
Bennet	Cotton	Hatch
Blunt	Crapo	Heitkamp
Boozman	Daines	Heller
Burr	Donnelly	Hirono
Cantwell	Enzi	Hoeven
Capito	Ernst	Hyde-Smith
Casey	Fischer	Inhofe
Cassidy	Flake	Isakson

Johnson	Murray	Shaheen
Jones	Nelson	Shelby
Kaine	Paul	Sullivan
Kennedy	Perdue	Tester
King	Portman	Thune
Lankford	Risch	Tillis
Lee	Roberts	Toomey
Manchin	Rounds	Wicker
McCaskill	Rubio	Wyden
McConnell	Sasse	Young
Moran	Schumer	
Murphy	Scott	

## NAYS—28

Blumenthal	Gillibrand	Schatz
Booker	Harris	Smith
Brown	Heinrich	Stabenow
Cardin	Klobuchar	Udall
Carper	Markey	Van Hollen
Coons	Menendez	Warner
Cortez Masto	Merkley	Warren
Duckworth	Peters	Whitehouse
Durbin	Reed	
Feinstein	Sanders	

## NOT VOTING—4

Cruz	Leahy
Graham	Murkowski

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority whip.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table and that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action with respect to the Johnson nomination. I further ask consent that the mandatory quorum call be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

## CLOTURE MOTION

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

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

## CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Richard Clarida, of Connecticut, to be Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for a term of four years.

Mitch McConnell, Richard C. Shelby, Cory Gardner, John Boozman, Johnny Isakson, John Thune, John Cornyn, Pat Roberts, Ron Johnson, James M. Inhofe, Chuck Grassley, Lamar Alexander, Richard Burr, Lisa Murkowski, Michael B. Enzi, Roy Blunt, Bob Corker.

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

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the nomination of Richard Clarida, of Connecticut, to be Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM),

and the Senator from Alaska (Ms. MURKOWSKI).

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

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 69, nays 26, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 196 Ex.]

## YEAS—69

Alexander	Flake	Nelson
Barrasso	Gardner	Perdue
Bennet	Grassley	Peters
Blumenthal	Hassan	Portman
Blunt	Hatch	Reed
Boozman	Heitkamp	Risch
Burr	Heller	Roberts
Capito	Hoeven	Rounds
Cardin	Hyde-Smith	Rubio
Carper	Inhofe	Sasse
Casey	Isakson	Scott
Cassidy	Johnson	Shaheen
Collins	Jones	Shelby
Coons	Kaine	Smith
Corker	Kennedy	Sullivan
Cornyn	Klobuchar	Tester
Cotton	Lankford	Thune
Crapo	Lee	Tillis
Daines	Manchin	Toomey
Donnelly	McCaskill	Van Hollen
Enzi	McConnell	Warner
Ernst	Moran	Wicker
Fischer	Murphy	Young

## NAYS—26

Baldwin	Harris	Sanders
Booker	Heinrich	Schatz
Brown	Hirono	Schumer
Cantwell	King	Stabenow
Cortez Masto	Markey	Udall
Duckworth	Menendez	Warren
Durbin	Merkley	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Murray	Wyden
Gillibrand	Paul	

## NOT VOTING—4

Cruz	Leahy
Graham	Murkowski

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas are 69, the nays are 26.

The motion is agreed to.

## EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Richard Clarida, of Connecticut, to be Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for a term of four years.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority whip.

## REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, we have been hit with some hard news in recent days. The toughest of all, perhaps, was losing our friend and colleague John McCain this past weekend. He was a man who loved his country and was beloved in return.

One of the things I appreciate the most about our friend Senator McCain is he truly believed in all his heart, in all his being, in all his soul, in American exceptionalism and that America had to lead in the world because in the absence of American leadership, that void would be destabilizing and even dangerous.

We know that John cast a long shadow in Congress over the last four decades of American politics, and we will continue to honor and remember him this week and into the future. But tears and sentimentality are not what

he would want from us. Today, instead, we should try to remain a little more grateful than we otherwise would be. We should be grateful for his example. We should be grateful for his daring skill as a pilot and lieutenant commander in the U.S. Navy. We should be grateful for his tenacity and resolve as a prisoner of war in Vietnam—a prisoner subject to unbelievable cruelty and torture but one who endured all of these unspeakable torments and one who was quick to remind us of what that was endured for; that is, our freedom. I think he was one of liberty's best ambassadors.

We should remain grateful for our friend John McCain's willingness and ability to serve his State of Arizona for so many years and to serve our great country, by running for public office, for radiating such a sense of purpose, such a sense of moral seriousness each time, even during tough, grueling political races. And they didn't always turn out the way he would have liked. We should learn from the dignity and honor that he displayed even in defeat after his Presidential campaigns did not work out in his favor.

Like all of us, he was an imperfect man. Let's just say he was a work in progress, as we all are. He won many political battles, and he lost a few along the way, but he always responded admirably. After slipping with some run-in with adversity, he got back up, dusted himself off, and tried harder the next time.

We should also be grateful for Senator McCain's dedication to our Nation's Armed Forces throughout his political career, including as chairman of the Armed Services Committee, where I served with him for a number of years. We should cherish his friendship. We should remember that at the end of the day, the Senator many called a maverick had a gruff, sometimes intimidating exterior, but he also was a compassionate man and one who displayed not only tremendous loyalty to friends but a tremendous love for his family, who are now grieving.

As our Nation mourns the loss of John McCain and as my colleagues and I are all too aware of his absence here today, we are all challenged to be stronger patriots and better citizens. That is what he would want from us.

As Senator McCain told cadets during a 1993 commencement address at the U.S. Naval Academy, "My time is slipping by. Yours is fast approaching. You will know where your duty lies." Our duty now lies in continuing the difficult, courageous work Senator McCain devoted his life to, and it is not a burden that we take lightly. We do so gladly, and we mourn for those for whom the last few days have been most difficult.

As we express our condolences to Senator McCain's mother, his seven children and five grandchildren, and, of course, his wife Cindy and the entire McCain family, we want them to know that we continue to think of them. We

continue to pray for them. We continue to celebrate with them the great, larger-than-life, and distinguished life of Senator John McCain.

It is hard to lose one of your best teammates, but I know the legacy John McCain leaves here in the Senate will long remain.

I want to echo a few comments made by the majority leader earlier today. John McCain was a lion in the Senate and in American politics. That is why I believe we should put together a bipartisan group who can bring together the best ideas on how we can memorialize his service to his country and his legacy here in the Senate. We should do this carefully and consider all options about what the best form that tribute should take. Doing this in a collaborative and a deliberate way I hope is how Senator McCain would have wanted it. I can't tell you how many times he always advocated for regular order. He didn't want ideas cooked up in some back room and then sprung on the Nation and the Senate; he wanted the committees to do their work because he knew that by doing so—by thinking about them, by testing ideas in a committee process—we improve the chances of a better product.

Despite our heavy loss, we can't lose sight of our other work, either. I think Senator McCain would want us to keep pushing the ball forward and achieving more on behalf of the American people.

We all remember him as a fighter until the very end, and staying in the fight and making progress for the American people is what he would expect of us as well.

#### NOMINATION OF BRETT KAVANAUGH

Mr. President, turning to that work before us, one of the most important constitutional duties the Senate performs is to provide advice and consent to the President on nominations to his Cabinet, to the Federal judiciary, and for other Senate-confirmable positions.

We have the responsibility to do that with a judge whom he has now nominated to succeed Anthony Kennedy as Associate Justice on the U.S. Supreme Court. The hearing on his confirmation will occur next week, and I hope we will move forward quickly thereafter to vote on his confirmation.

Judge Kavanaugh's confirmation process includes the largest production of documents ever in the Senate's consideration of a Supreme Court nominee. Well over 400,000 pages of documents have been produced on the judge's career. I appreciate Senator GRASSLEY's spearheading this effort in such a transparent, efficient, and thorough manner.

Of course, I think logic would tell us that the best way for us to judge Kavanaugh is how he ruled in real, concrete cases that came before him while serving on the DC Circuit Court of Appeals for 12 years. That is the best evidence of how he would perform if elevated and confirmed to the Supreme Court.

In Judge Kavanaugh's case, what those rulings show is that he is a dili-

gent and thoughtful judge. His rulings are clear and they are impartial.

One of his colleagues, Judge Laurence Silberman, called Judge Kavanaugh "one of the most serious judges" he has "ever encountered," and we expect that kind of seriousness and sobriety when it comes to people who wear the black robe and sit in judgment of cases. Attorneys who have practiced before Judge Kavanaugh describe him as an "extremely well-prepared, careful, and thorough" judge.

As I said, Judge Kavanaugh served on the DC Circuit, where he has authored 307 opinions and has attracted praise across the ideological spectrum for the clarity of his thought and expression and the precision of his legal reasoning.

He respects the roles and responsibilities that are assigned to the different branches of government—three coequal branches—by the Constitution, and he sees the proper role of the judiciary as a limited, albeit important, one—not to make policy but to interpret the law and apply it to individual cases impartially, as written, with no eye cast toward the politics of the outcome or a desire to put a thumb on the scales of justice in favor or against one of the litigants.

Judge Kavanaugh has shown through his opinions that he adheres to precedent—something careful, thoughtful judges do—paying a keen eye to legal history and tradition and putting an emphasis on the text of the relevant statutes when interpreting them. How better to effectuate Congress's intent than to read and apply the statutes that are signed into law.

This is in the nominee's own words:

[The] text may be pro-business or pro-labor, pro-development or pro-environment, pro-bank or pro-consumer. Regardless, judges should follow clear text where it leads.

Judge Kavanaugh also approaches his job with humility. When describing his mindset, he said that a good judge has to "keep learning," that they should constantly challenge themselves to study legal problems in greater depth, even when doing so forces them to reconsider their "instincts and prior inclinations."

That is exactly the kind of Justice the Supreme Court needs—one that is never content to rest on his laurels, one that is constantly educating and improving himself when it comes to the history of our country or the nuances and difficult or technical aspects of the law.

The truth is that since his nomination Judge Kavanaugh has demonstrated that he is imminently qualified and well respected by all who know him and those familiar with his work.

So as a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I look forward next Tuesday to participating in the confirmation hearings, and soon thereafter I look forward to voting to confirm him as the next Justice on the Supreme Court of the United States.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

#### REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, when you walk by Senator McCain's desk and see the black drape and the bowl of white roses, it really underscores the loss. We lost a colleague. We lost a friend. The country lost a true public servant.

We have heard the stories. After being shot down, spending all those years in the Hanoi Hilton, beaten nearly to death when he was fished out of the lake in downtown Hanoi, he continued to serve his country—in the Navy, in Congress, in this Senate, and, of course, as the party's nominee for President.

His call to serve and his sense of duty and honor is the legacy of John McCain. He is an example for all of us.

He was a fighter, and he was funny too. Maybe it was the years in prison or the long line of military service or the sometimes tense humor of fighter pilots. Maybe it was that legacy of his family in the military, but he knew in his soul how special the United States was and what the United States could do for its people and for the world.

Sometimes we forget the stories of the excruciating pain that Senator McCain went through as a POW. In 2000 David Foster Wallace, in *Rolling Stone* magazine, wrote an article. I want to give you some of the graphic details after he had been nearly beaten to death and his weight had gone down to 100 pounds. When they found out that his father was a four-star admiral and his grandfather was a four-star admiral, they decided they were going to offer him early release. This is what the author writes:

McCain, 100 pounds and barely able to stand, refused [release]. The U.S. military's Code of Conduct for Prisoners of War said that POWs had to be released in the order they were captured, and there were others who'd been in [that prison] Hoa Lo a long time, and McCain refused to violate the Code. The commandant, not pleased, right there in the office had guards break his ribs, rebreak his arm, knock his teeth out. McCain still refused to leave without the other POWs. And so then he spent four more years in Hoa Lo [prison] like this, much of the time in solitary, in the dark, in a closet-sized box called a "punishment cell." Maybe you've heard all this before . . . [there have certainly been] profiles of John McCain. But try to imagine the moment between getting offered early release and turning it down. Try to imagine it was you. Imagine how loudly your most basic, primal self-interest would have cried out to you in that moment, and all the ways you could rationalize accepting the [commandant's] offer. Can you hear it? If so, would you refuse to go? You simply can't know for sure. None of us can. It's hard to even imagine the pain and the fear in that moment, much less how you'd react.

That was written 18 years ago about John. In that moment, you could summarize his courage, his strength, and his will to overcome. But here in the Senate we saw a leader who thought that public service was a noble calling,

a leader who always tried to do the right thing, who always put the people of his country ahead of himself—an individual who always believed that we, as Americans, can subscribe to a cause greater than ourselves.

America is certainly going to miss John McCain. For this Senator and for Grace, as well, it was certainly a privilege to know the McCains and to look up to him as a role model, not only for this Senator but for the entire country.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEE). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. COONS. Mr. President, I come to the floor to speak in honor, in memory, of our colleague Senator John Sidney McCain III. I asked myself a series of questions as I was trying to prepare for today's comments.

First, who was he? Who was John McCain? John was a man deeply in love with his country and its promise, a man optimistic that tomorrow would be better than today, and a man grateful for the chance to serve a cause greater than himself. His humor was rooted in that hopefulness, the sometimes sharp sting of his words in debate rooted in his passion for his cause and his love of the fight, and his restlessness rooted in impatience to get on with it, to get busy defending liberty or making a difference in the world to help soften the burdens of millions not yet free. John was both a romantic and a cynic, as some of have said, in love with and passionate about the causes he fought for, yet clear-eyed about the long odds he often faced in a world hostile to our ideals.

In trying to summarize John, just reviewing a few of his titles barely captures the sweep and complexity of this man—naval aviator, POW, captain, Congressman, Senator, chairman of the Commerce Committee, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Presidential nominee of his party, statesman, hero.

John also treasured, deeply, two titles rarely mentioned here—husband and father. He clearly loved his family and was every bit as privately passionate about them as he was publicly passionate about the causes he fought for here and around the world.

To Cindy and to all of John's family, thank you so much for sharing him with us, for sustaining him in his service over 60 years of his remarkable service to our Nation.

I was so honored to get to know John first as a colleague and then as a traveling companion and mentor and, in recent years, to be able to count him as a friend. We didn't always agree, or even often agree, on a very wide range

of policy and political issues. On one thing in particular, I deeply admired and followed his lead as best I could. John was convinced what makes America great, what has always made America great, is its values, its principles; that we stand for something in the world, not the example of our power but the power of our example; that only when we fight for those values, when we fight for the values that define us apart from other powerful nations—for human rights, for freedom of speech and religious expression, for a free press, an independent judiciary, open and fair elections, for the very foundations of democracy as guarantors of human liberty—only then do we best use our power to act in the world.

What impact did John McCain have on those of us in the Senate and on our country? John commanded this Chamber when he spoke like few others I have ever known, and he commanded it precisely because he called us to our better selves, to put down the tools of petty partisanship so often on display here and to work together to fashion better solutions to the problems of our day.

It was a great honor to be his cosponsor on his last immigration reform bill earlier this year—a bill which offered not partisan promises but a way forward to fix our immigration system, which has, for far too long, been badly broken.

Indeed, from immigration to healthcare, national security to foreign relations, John challenged us, pushed us to act in ways more worthy of this place and its history as the greatest deliberative body on Earth, as a full equal to the Executive, our President, as a group elected and empowered over longer terms to know each other, to respect each other, and engage with each other in the real and hard and good work of advancing America's values at home and abroad.

What impact did John McCain have on me, the junior Senator from Delaware? First, my predecessor, former Senator and Vice President Joe Biden, let me know, from my first day here, that John was a treasure and a challenge and that I would, in serving alongside him, have a unique opportunity to learn from someone whose scope of experience was, in many ways, unmatched among our current Senate colleagues.

I had the honor of traveling with John, of seeing him at his absolute best, of seeing him show compassion for Syrian refugees at a camp in Jordan, hearing him confront corrupt foreign leaders and encourage our men and women in harm's way, and, most memorably, visiting Vietnam to see the genuine warmth with which the Vietnamese people and their leaders regarded him.

I first encountered John overseas on my first codel, or congressional delegation trip, just a few months into my first term, early in 2011. I was traveling with Senators MANCHIN, CORKER, and

SANDERS, and we had visited Pakistan, Afghanistan, Jordan, and Israel. It was quite a group and a memorable trip at a time of great conflict, particularly in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It was our last day in Israel before returning home. I spotted former Senator Joe Lieberman of Connecticut at dinner at the David Citadel Hotel, and he waved me over. He and McCain had just finished a long dinner, and Lieberman asked me to sit down and talk about our trip, our experiences, and recent developments in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

McCain barely acknowledged my presence with a gruff grunt and seemed genuinely distracted and even annoyed as I was answering Joe Lieberman's questions, McCain looking around the room and barely paying any attention. After 10 minutes, John snapped to and asked me three pointed and challenging questions, testing my observations and my conclusions. Rattled and intimidated, I defended as best I could my insights before his withering questioning. McCain grunted and stormed off, and in the silence of his wake he left behind him, Joe Lieberman leaned over and said: I think he really likes you.

I said: How can you tell?

To which Lieberman responded: He wouldn't have bothered asking you those questions or waiting for your answers if he didn't think you had something to say.

There followed invitations to travel, which I accepted less often than I should have, but three trips were especially memorable. While visiting a refugee camp in Jordan where hundreds of Syrians had literally just arrived, fleeing the butchery of Assad's troops, John wept with compassion for women who recounted their husbands being murdered before them and their children being taken from them. John promised to fight for them and their cause relentlessly, and he did.

Just after inauguration last year at the North Atlantic Regional Security Conference in Halifax, Canada, I got to see John command respect across the board from political and military leaders from a dozen countries, and I heard as leaders from allies and partners across Europe—from the Baltics to the Balkans—pressed him for reassurance that we would keep our commitments, defend our values, and stand by their young democracies in the face of Russian aggression.

During that trip, too, Senator McCain, once again, reiterated his principled, unequivocal stand against the use of torture. His unwavering commitment on that issue at that critical time was just one of the many ways John nudged us ever closer to our ideals.

Finally, on an unforgettable trip to Vietnam just last June, I got to visit the Hanoi Hilton with John to hear his indescribable description of the deep deprivations of his long captivity and torture and then got to see in person



the high regard the people and leaders of Vietnam had for him as a warrior and a peacemaker, a statesman, and healer of the wounds of that war.

We admired John for all these things, but working with him in the Senate, traveling with him, many of us got to know him as not just a war hero and statesman but a colleague, even a friend. John's temper was quick and fierce. On more than one occasion, I swear he peeled the paint off the wall behind me with a fiery stream of profanity-laced invective, but he also, more often than not, later apologized, came around, listened, even considered. He was that breed of Senator—too rare today—who knew how to fight passionately, yet not make it personal; whom I could respect, even when I thought he was deeply wrong; who pushed me relentlessly to defend and explain my own positions and votes.

He showed unusual kindness to my children, my father and stepmother when they visited, and I was struck by the delight John took in visiting with schoolchildren and seniors, with people of all kinds of backgrounds when they visited this Capitol he loved.

He also took wicked delight in teasing, and testing and working with journalists, always letting them in on the joke or giving them a heads-up when good trouble was brewing.

Most importantly, Senator John McCain was genuinely humble, not the false modesty of a popular politician who knows he should feign indifference to the cheers of a crowd. No, John's humility was real, a demonstrated humility of one who knows he is a flawed and fallen human, as are we all, and then sets about being open and accountable for his shortcomings.

John, remarkably, for a modern politician, wrote and spoke about and acted on the ways in which he fell short. In an excellent recent HBO biography of him, "For Whom the Bell Tolls," McCain subjected himself to accountability for chapters in his life I am certain he would have rather left forgotten in history.

In talking about the 2000 Presidential primaries, rather than simply blaming his opponents and their dirty tricks for his loss, John took responsibility for his failure to stand up in South Carolina against the practice of flying the Confederate flag over their State capitol.

John, even more strikingly, directly addressed his association with the Keating Five scandal. John McCain was cleared, but he viewed that scandal as part of the larger and growing problem of campaign finance that has threatened the ethics of all who serve here. Rather than moving past it, he owned it and acted on it, angering leaders in both parties by working relentlessly with Senator Feingold until they passed the McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform bill.

John also used his hardest personal experience to make some of his most important contributions. Having him-

self survived imprisonment and torture at the hands of his Vietnamese captors, Captain McCain could easily have returned home after those 5½ harrowing years in captivity to serve out his time and retire in comfort. Instead, he continued his cause of serving our Nation and, while here, worked tirelessly to champion those unjustly imprisoned around the world. Dissidents and activists who spoke up for freedom and against dictators knew no more dedicated friend than Senator McCain, and we on the Senate Human Rights Caucus intend to carry forward that work.

After 9/11, when our own country was engaged in enhanced interrogation techniques that could only be called torture, Senator McCain was irate and insisted we end a practice he knew was both of limited value and that demeans both tortured and torturer.

John's passion on this point wasn't just the pain of one who had experienced it himself, it was the pain of someone who loved his country and felt deeply the shame of episodes like Abu Ghraib and then worked to address them.

What will it mean to have Senator McCain no longer here with us? My fear and concern is, we will not soon see another Member of John's stature join us, a stature John earned over decades of service and a demonstrated willingness to put country over party and cause over self.

Senator McCain earned his "Maverick" title. It would serve all of us well to remember that even as his principled stands cost him the support of many in his party and even home State, he won the accolades of many more here and millions abroad who were delighted to see someone willing to risk reaching across the aisle and around the world from those hoping we will continue to fight for the values that best define America.

What should we do? What should we do to honor the memory and legacy of Senator McCain? First, fight the dreaded disease that took him from us, as it did my dear friend Beau Biden, beloved son of my predecessor Joe—Beau was taken too young—and Senator Ted Kennedy, another great lion of this Senate who was lost at a time he was needed most. Brain cancer has robbed us of our best and brightest, and we must work harder to cure and end this disease.

As has been proposed, I believe we should rename the great Senate building in which John served for decades, that we might keep his memory alive for future generations.

I also think we should strengthen and invest in national service, an expectation that all young Americans will serve their country in some way, military or civilian, which will take effort and investment, but service as a young man helped John fall in love with our Nation. At a time of great division, I can think of nothing greater to remind us of the spirit of service in which John lived his life than to make it possible

for the hundreds of thousands of young Americans who want to serve—whether in Teach For America or Habitat for Humanity, the Peace Corps or our military—by expanding those opportunities for them to learn skills, commit themselves to our community and country, and earn tuition funds for college through service.

We must stay engaged internationally and lead by the power of our example. John would say this requires us to advance not just America's cherished values, but our interests—to stand against authoritarian leaders from Russia, China, North Korea, and Iran, and to stand with our democratic partners and allies like those in NATO.

Last, we have to continue in John's spirit of working across the aisle. I was struck, while hearing his remarkable speech in Philadelphia at the National Constitution Center, where my predecessor, Vice President Biden, spoke movingly in introducing him, and Senator McCain's acceptance of that award. It should be mandatory viewing at every high school in America. It was clear these two men, who served decades alongside each other, genuinely knew each other, knew each other's families, knew each other's values, respected each other, even though they rarely, if ever, agreed. We must do that too.

We have to demonstrate that we can work together and, like John, be cheerful and grateful in our service.

I caught my breath as I walked into this Chamber yesterday, seeing John's desk draped in black velvet and with white flowers rather than seeing his remarkable stature, hearing his punctuated speech and his dramatic call to action that so often rang through this space.

John, I will not soon meet another man like you, and I only hope to someday deserve the friendship you extended to a young and inexperienced Senator and to follow your example of genuine humility, dedication, and passion in tirelessly serving the greatest Nation on Earth and the best hope for freedom in our world.

Rest well, dear friend. May God Himself hold you in the palm of His hand and give peace to you and your family.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be able to complete my remarks here today.

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

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to an American hero, a powerful leader, and a dear friend, Senator John McCain. After decades of dedicated service to this Nation, John was taken from us over the weekend. The good Senator from Arizona fought his battle with brain cancer as he did every battle in his life, with toughness and tenacity, with grit, and with grace. This week, I join millions in mourning the passing of a beloved patriot. Over a



lifetime of selfless service, John came to embody the very pinnacle of American virtue, courage, commitment, integrity, and sacrifice. These are the precepts he lived by and by which he will always be remembered.

No one is more worthy of the word "hero" than John McCain. The Senate—indeed, I should say, the Nation—will miss the steady, guiding presence of a singular statesman.

By now, the biographical details of Senator McCain's life have been covered at length. The son of a four-star Navy admiral, John knew great expectations from an early age. He was to forgo the comforts of civilian life and fight for freedom, which he did.

What is exceptional about John McCain is that he not only met the heavy expectations placed upon him, he far exceeded them. Few have ever risen to the positions of influence that John McCain did. Fewer still have done so and kept their character intact, but Senator John McCain did. Indeed, he never parted from it. As a prisoner of war in Vietnam, John was offered release on multiple occasions. Yet he refused each offer until the POWs incarcerated before him were also released.

Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his country, for his friends. John possessed such love, proving time and again his willingness to lay down his life for his brothers in uniform. As a captive, John McCain personified selfless sacrifice, offering himself as a bargaining chip to secure the freedom of his fellow countrymen.

Each day, for more than 2,000 days, he endured horrors that few of us could ever imagine: solitary confinement, forced starvation, repeated beatings, and the constant threat of death. Yet he stayed the course, finding strength in the love he felt for his fellow servicemen—and most of all, the love he felt for his beloved country.

When John was eventually released in the spring of 1973, he came home a living scar of Vietnam. The cartilage in his knees was all but gone, the bones in his body broken by endless beatings. He was a walking testament to the brutalities of torture and the depths of human depravity, but the hell of war was not enough to stop John McCain from being a happy warrior. Upon his return, he continued the same mission he started in Vietnam: looking out for the safety and welfare of his fellow sailors.

Few remember that the time before John was elected to Congress, he was the Navy's Senate liaison. It was in this capacity that he and I first became friends. Even then, John impressed me with his sense of mission, going to incredible lengths to ensure that our service men and women had the resources they needed to keep us safe. He would carry that same commitment with him when he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1982 and 5 years later when he joined us in the Senate.

The Pentagon had no closer ally than John McCain. They also had no fiercer critic. Like an admiral who demanded only the very best of his sailors, John wanted to ensure that our servicemen were living to their full potential, and so he held our Armed Forces to the highest standard, never hesitating to call out bureaucratic complacency and runaway spending in military ranks. Our men and women in uniform were stronger and our Nation more safe because of his efforts. No one commanded more respect than John McCain as the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

John constantly put others before himself as a prisoner of war, and he did the same as a Senator. He was the kind of a friend you could count on for help when you needed it most.

Nearly 20 years ago, Governor Mitt Romney—who at the time had been tasked with salvaging the Salt Lake Winter Olympic Games—came to me with a pressing problem: With only months to go before the opening ceremony, Utah lacked the Federal funding it desperately needed to pull off the Olympic Games.

In our moment of need, we turned to Senator McCain. I took Mitt over to see him. The two of us marched up to Senator McCain's office in the Russell Building. Even though we came unannounced, Senator McCain gladly received us. Together, Mitt and I made the case for emergency funding. Within days, we had secured the resources we needed to move forward with the games, all thanks to Senator John McCain. Were it not for John's quick action, I can honestly say the 2002 Winter Olympics would not have been a success. In fact, it would have been an embarrassment. He was not excited about putting up Federal funds either, but all I had to do was ask, and he said fine.

So esteemed was John by his Republican colleagues that we didn't hesitate to throw our support behind him in the 2008 Presidential election. Senator McCain mounted an admirable campaign, refusing to stoop to the political mudslinging that all too often defines Presidential contests. I agree with the assessment of the late Charles Krauthammer:

McCain ran a valiant race against impossible odds. He will be—he should be—remembered as the most worthy Presidential nominee ever to be denied the prize.

That was a wonderful quote.

We will remember John for many things—for his courage as a sailor, for his dedication as a Senator, and for his principle as a statesman. We will also remember how he embodied the best in us. John McCain was a man for all seasons—a voice of temperance in intemperate times and a model of civility and reason. The tragedy of his passing is that we need men like John McCain now more than ever before.

I consider myself incredibly lucky to have known John and even luckier to have called him friend. Here in the

Senate and across the Nation, we will miss him dearly.

John, thank you for blessing us with your service and your sacrifice.

Today, my prayers are with the people of Arizona and the McCain family. I differed with John from time to time, but we never had any acrimony between us. He was always open. He would come across and help me when I needed the help here in the Senate, as I would do for him. It was a privilege to serve with him. I feel very deeply about John McCain, and I am very pleased that I can stand here as one of his friends who knew him well and praise him—maybe not as good as I really feel but good enough.

NOMINATION OF BRETT KAVANAUGH

Mr. President, on another matter, I would like to take a moment to discuss the nomination of Brett Kavanaugh to be an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Next Tuesday, the Judiciary Committee will convene a hearing to consider Judge Kavanaugh's nomination. The hearing will run 4 days. The American people will have an opportunity to hear from Judge Kavanaugh at length. They will also hear from a number of lawyers, former colleagues, and clerks who know Judge Kavanaugh well and can attest to his legal abilities and personal character.

Ever since the President nominated Judge Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court, my Democratic colleagues have hurled all sorts of wild acquisitions against him. They have called him a reactionary. That is terrible. They have said his nomination threatens the destruction of the Constitution—even more terrible. They have said that those who support his nomination are complicit in evil—even more terrible.

Well, next week the American people will have an opportunity to see Judge Kavanaugh. They will find that he is not a reactionary. They will find that he doesn't, in fact, intend to destroy the Constitution. They will also find that those who, like me, support his nomination are not complicit in evil. Rather, the American people will see a whip-smart, incredibly accomplished, humble man. They will see a jurist who has authored more than 300 opinions and whose reasoning has won the day at the Supreme Court over a dozen times where the Court has copied his opinions. They will see a devoted husband and father who puts his family and community first. They will see a man who spends his spare time coaching youth basketball and feeding the homeless. They will see a beloved teacher who wins sterling reviews from students for his fairminded approach to teaching constitutional law. In other words, the American people will see what those of us who know Judge Kavanaugh see in him. It is those qualities that make me proud of the role I played in his confirmation as a circuit court judge in 2006 after years of partisan obstruction.

I have been on the Judiciary Committee for the last 14 Supreme Court

confirmation hearings. Judge Kavanaugh's will be my 15th and final. He is as qualified and ready to serve as any nominee I have seen to our Nation's highest Court.

I hope that next week, the over-the-top rhetoric and misrepresentations about Judge Kavanaugh will finally cease. Let's make this confirmation about Judge Kavanaugh. Let's make it about his judiciary record and his experience. Let's stop trying to gin up the base by pretending his nomination is a threat to the Republic.

Brett Kavanaugh is an excellent judge and a good man. He will make an outstanding Justice. Next week, the American people will see that for themselves. I think it will be an eye-opener for some people who have been listening to some of the rhetoric thrown his way. I know him well. He is a bright man. He is an honest man. He tells the truth. He writes very well. He will make an excellent addition to the U.S. Supreme Court. He is honest. He is faithful. He is a good family man. He is everything you would want in a Justice on the greatest court in the world. I know him. I support him—not just because he is a Republican or because he gives the Republicans somewhat of an advantage on the Court but because he is one heck of a good person, one heck of a good judge, and one heck of a good student of the law. He is a wonderful man, and I hope my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will see it through in a way that will be an honor to this body, not a desecration.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be able to complete my brief remarks.

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

REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, before I speak on another topic I sadly have to come to the floor every week and speak on, I want to offer my heartfelt condolences to the McCain family and all of his friends and supporters.

I had the privilege of serving on the Senate Armed Services Committee with Senator McCain for 3 years. I learned a lot from him. During his entire time in Congress, he did a wonderful job of standing up for the men and women in uniform and standing up for veterans.

I also wanted to share this one story. I had a reporter ask me yesterday: What kinds of experiences have you had with him that were most memorable? It was a day I spent with him in North Carolina back in 2014. I think you can really judge a politician by how they behave when they are not in front of the camera or here at one of the desks in the Senate. When you saw him interacting with men and women in uniform and with veterans, you saw a man with a heart of gold and a commitment to those men and women in uniform.

I want to again tell the McCain family that our prayers are with them and our hearts are with them. We thank them for allowing him to share some of his life here with us in the Senate.

CALLING FOR THE RELEASE OF PASTOR ANDREW BRUNSON

Mr. President, now I would like to turn to another sad topic. It is a floor speech that I have had to give over the past few months and sadly may have to give over the next several months. It has to do with someone who has been in detention now for 690 days in the country of Turkey.

In October 2016, this man was detained. He was held in a Turkish prison for almost 19 months, in a cell that was designed for 8 people—it had 21 people in it. This man's name is Andrew Brunson. He is from Black Mountain, NC. He is a Presbyterian minister, and he spent the better part of 20 years in Turkey in a Christian ministry. He opened a church just outside of Izmir several years ago. It is a very small church. They had an open-door policy. Anyone could come in. He had been living there peacefully for 20 years.

In 2016, there was a coup attempt that I still maintain was illegal. It was not the proper way to change government, whether in the United States or in Turkey. The people responsible for that coup should be held accountable to the law. Unfortunately, Pastor Brunson got swept up in the emergency actions that President Erdogan took after the coup attempt, and he was put in prison. He actually thought he was going down to finally get his permanent residency documents in Turkey, which he had been working on for a while, when he and his wife were arrested. His wife was held in prison for about 12 days. Pastor Brunson has been in prison and now detained under house arrest for what will be 2 years in October.

The issue actually came to me as constituent work about a year and a half ago. We were doing everything we could to go through diplomatic channels to try to get Pastor Brunson released. Earlier this year, they finally—after about 19 months in prison without charges, they issued an indictment and read the indictment. It was absurd. I am not an attorney, but I couldn't even understand how—the charges they had levied against Pastor Brunson and the evidence they used to substantiate the charges I don't believe would keep you in jail in the United States overnight. Yet this man had already been held in prison for 19 months. I also heard that he was really concerned. His mental state was down. He lost 50 pounds over about a year and a half. I also heard through diplomatic channels that he was afraid that the American people would read these indictments, believe them, and then turn their backs on him. That is when I requested a trip to Turkey to visit him in a prison and look at him eye-to-eye and let him know that as long as I am a U.S. Senator, he will not be forgotten.

About 6 weeks later, I went back, and I sat through 12 hours of his first hearing—12 hours in a Turkish courtroom. That convinced me that this man was being subjected to a kangaroo court. The legal system there is very different from our own. He has no jury. He is speaking before three judges and a prosecutor who sits up at the dais with the judges. They assume you are guilty unless you prove to them you are innocent. He testified for almost 6 hours that day. We heard from secret witnesses whose voices were scrambled—some of them are in prison—putting forth some of the most absurd charges or allegations you can imagine, but they are enough to keep him in prison.

About a month ago, the Turkish Government did agree—or I should say their judiciary did agree to release him on house arrest. So for about the last month, he has been confined to an apartment he has near Izmir. He has a tracking bracelet on his ankle. As far as I am concerned, he is still in prison.

For the past several months, I have been trying to do everything I could to show respect to the Turkish Government but make it clear that America will not stand for this kind of treatment of an American citizen, particularly from a country that is a NATO ally, a country that we have a treaty obligation to go and defend in a time of any sort of adversarial act. Let's say Russia or some other nation chooses to do something hostile to Turkey. We are obligated to send men and women onto Turkish soil to fight side by side for their freedom. Yet I have an American who has been charged with bogus charges in prison in a NATO ally country. This is the first time that has ever happened in the history of the alliance.

When we talk to the people—the Foreign Minister, President Erdogan, and others—about this, they say: Well, we just have to have our judicial process follow its course. I don't believe that is true. As a matter of fact, I believe we have a President who is inclined to try and do a hostage swap. The reason I believe that is that after they said we have to let the judicial process follow its course, President Erdogan made this statement publicly—that they have someone here who they believe was involved in the coup attempt. We said to them, if they are and can prove it and if we have an extradition treaty, we will extradite that person. They haven't proven it. What they have said to the press is, If you give us our pastor, we will give you your pastor.

Maybe it was just an offhanded comment that he regrets. Maybe he didn't really mean that he is willing to trade someone on U.S. soil for somebody on Turkish soil. Then why, just a few weeks ago, did the administration or administration officials say, "Well, OK, if we can't trade a pastor for a pastor, then if you agree to drop a lawsuit that is against a major banking institution in Turkey, we will give you Pastor Brunson"? If, after two different examples, they haven't proven that

this is a hostage situation, I don't know what is.

Over the past several months, we have had to put a provision in the National Defense Authorization Act to hold Turkey accountable. It relates to Pastor Brunson's imprisonment. It relates to their consideration for buying a Russian-made missile defense system that would never be allowed to inter-operate with the NATO missile defense system. We have also told them that we may have to reconsider whether we would actually transfer Joint Strike Fighter F-35 planes to Turkey and the timeline they are supposed to go there, which would be at the end of 2020.

I hope we get past all of this. I hope that measure in the National Defense Authorization Act is the last one I have to pursue here. Yet, as long as Pastor Brunson is imprisoned in Turkey, I will do everything I can to get the 72 Senators who signed the letter that expressed concern for Pastor Brunson—it is extraordinary to get that many Senators to agree on something in this body—to take it up another notch unless Pastor Brunson is set free.

I hope, next week, I will come to this floor and thank Turkey for doing the right thing in releasing Pastor Brunson and in allowing his wife, Norine, to travel out of the country. I hope, next year or next week, I will be talking about the positive things we can do with the NATO allies to secure their homeland, to improve our trade agreements, and to actually have the relationship with that NATO ally that I want so badly to have. Until Pastor Brunson is released, there is no way on this Earth that I will do anything to make our relationship better.

It is within President Erdogan's power to take this off the table today. I hope that President Erdogan and the Turkish officials hear our pleas. Show us, a NATO ally, the respect we deserve, and free Pastor Brunson.

I yield the floor.

## RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:48 p.m., recessed until 2:15 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. PORTMAN).

## EXECUTIVE CALENDAR—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

### REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I have been thinking about this, I have been dreading this, and now I am going to do this.

To all of my colleagues who have come before me, you have done right by our friend Senator McCain. The family appreciates all the good words, the kindnesses, and the antidotes that

have come their way. This is a tough time for the family.

John has seven wonderful children.

Cindy, as a devoted wife, you really did well by John.

I am going to try to make this somewhat fun even though I don't feel in a funny mood right now.

Let's start off with the tie. To anybody who may be watching on television, this is a Naval Academy tie.

I wore this today, John, to honor you and to annoy you all at the same time.

He would constantly tell me: LINDSEY, I wish you were in my Naval Academy class.

I would say: Well, that is very nice, John.

Do you know why, LINDSEY?

No, John.

If you would have been in my class, I would have been sixth from the bottom, not fifth.

Thank you very much, John.

Humiliation and affection were constant companions. The more he humiliated you, the more he liked you, and in that regard, I was well-served.

To my colleagues, thank you again so much for what you have done. The only way I know to put this in words that maybe John can relate to is that after a military operation is over, after a mission is complete, the pilot comes back and debriefs. If there is a military operation, you do an after-action report. I thought to myself, what would it say? What would the after-action report for John McCain say? The purpose of these reports is for lessons learned so that we will benefit and make sure that we remember—remember the things that went well and the things that did not so that we will be better off as a unit and as a nation.

The title of the operation was pretty easy—you can say a lot of things about me but “clever” is not one of them—“Operation Maverick.” It began in the fall of 1954 at the Naval Academy—the year before I was born—and it ended August 25, 2018. And what can we learn? The source of the report is me, his political wingman, code named “Little Jerk”—you all have your names, and you earned them like I did—who was lucky enough to walk in his shadow and to witness history up close, to be in the presence of a giant at a time everything around us was so small.

What did I learn? I learned that a few dumb jokes told over and over again actually become funny and can take you a long way in politics, MARCO. I am going to give them to you because John liked you.

He said: LINDSEY, how hot is it in Arizona?

John, I don't know.

It is so hot that the trees chase the dogs.

Well, isn't that funny, John.

He said: What is unique about Arizona?

I said: I don't know, John. I would imagine a lot of things.

Barry Goldwater ran for President and lost. Mo Udall ran for President

and lost. I ran for President and lost. LINDSEY, it is the only place in the Nation where mothers tell their children: You can never grow up to be President.

I say to the Senator from Oregon, remember that. Maybe you can break the string.

He said: LINDSEY, aren't you a lawyer?

Yes, I am, John.

Do you know the difference between a lawyer and a catfish?

No, I don't.

One is a bottom-dwelling, scum-sucking creature, and the other is a fish.

No wonder we did so poorly with lawyers, John.

He said: Do you know why I didn't join the Marines, LINDSEY?

No.

My parents were married.

I am going to miss these dumb jokes.

What else did I learn? I learned how to fight a lot, everything and everybody. I learned how to forgive. And from him, I saw how to heal.

On the fighting side, I learned that the captured warrior who was tortured became the statesman who forgave and healed a relationship between his former adversary and our Nation.

I went to the Hanoi Hilton with John. That is one of the highlights of my life. It is now a museum, and we are the bad guys because they get to write how the museum reads. I remember being in front of his cell, and you could see the wheels turning and the memories coming back. As we walked forward, surrounded by a bunch of handlers—and John McCain was like Elvis in Vietnam. It was the most amazing thing in the world how people adored him in Vietnam. I saw a bunch of photos on the wall of the prisoners playing volleyball and sitting in the Sun with sunglasses on.

I said: John, it must not have been that bad after all.

With a wide smile, he said: I don't remember it this way—which allowed us to get out of Vietnam.

I remember him embracing a war that nobody wanted to talk about because he understood what it would cost to lose it. I remember him supporting the surge when everybody was willing to get out of Iraq because they were so tired of it and saw no way forward. I remember the fighter. I remember the 2008 campaign when, in 2007, John McCain was fifth in a four-person race; written off as politically dead; no money. The “Straight Talk Express” had no wheels.

After a visit to Iraq in July, where General Petraeus allowed him to talk to 600 people who were going to reenlist in a war that they did not have to continue to fight, and about an equal number were becoming citizens because they were fighting for their country and had expedited citizenship—there were two empty chairs in the front with boots, and John asked: What is that all about? Two didn't make it to the ceremony, but they were given their citizenship that day. I remember

about 2,000 soldiers wanting a photo, and every one of them got it. I remember it being so hot that I couldn't breathe, but we stayed anyway.

I remember coming back and him getting the nomination, only to lose. I remember that night very well. He had wanted to be President, he was prepared to be President, but it was not his to have. I remember above all else the speech he made that night. John taught us how to lose.

When you go throughout the world, people remember his concession speech as much as anything else. There are so many countries where you can't afford to lose because they would kill you. John said that night: President Obama is now my President. So he healed the Nation at a time he was hurt.

I learned that serving a cause greater than yourself hurts. Anybody in the military can tell you the risk you take. He couldn't put his jacket on and he couldn't comb his hair because he got hurt serving a cause greater than himself.

I remember how easy it is to say and how hard it is to do, how hard it is to tell your base "I think you are wrong" and how hard it is to solve problems that nobody else wants to talk about.

I learned that failure and success are different sides of the same coin. John told me: I have become better from my failures because it teaches me, and I have been tempted by my success, and without my failures, I would have never been successful.

So to those who are striving as a young person, remember John McCain. He failed a lot, but he never quit. And the reason we are talking about him today and the reason I am crying is because he was successful in spite of his failures.

For family and friends, the after-action report would say: A relationship with "Maverick" brought joy and difficulty. Both were your constant companions. He was a difficult man. He could be tough. But the joy you received from being with him will sustain you for a lifetime. And I am so lucky to have been in his presence.

He taught me that principle and compromise are not mutually exclusive and are the foundation of a great person, as well as a great nation. He taught me that immigration—as hard as it is to solve, somebody has to do it. He said to me, along with Ted Kennedy: You are going to learn, LINDSEY, that the other side has to get something too. I have learned that lesson.

To my friends on the other side, as long as I am here, I am going to remember that you have to get something too.

He taught me that when good ignores evil, it may be convenient, but it seldom works.

He talked about what would happen in Iraq if we left. He was right. He talked about what would happen in Syria if we didn't get involved. He was right. Why? Because warriors are the best, I believe, at making peace, and

the warrior understands the difference between a false peace and real peace.

To those who accused him of wanting endless wars, you had no idea what you were talking about. He wanted sustainable peace and understood the consequences of not seeing it through. The soldiers adore him.

To those who have traveled with John, you seldom had two meals in the same country. You met more people than you could remember. But you were struck by one thing: We are going to really bad places a lot. And those in the military adore this man.

He taught me that boldness and practicality must be practiced in equal measure.

I say to the Senator from Rhode Island, he believes in climate change, and so do I. But there is a practical streak about John that I think made him very successful. He told me time and again: You have to let people catch up with you. You have to have a rhythm and a pace. There are 100 people in this body from different walks of life. You may think you are right, and if you are, it will be proven over time, but give your colleagues the time and the understanding to catch up with you.

He taught me that honor and imperfection are always in competition. I do not cry for a perfect man; I cry for a man who had honor and who was always willing to admit his imperfection.

If you are thinking about getting in politics, the one thing I would ask you to look at when it comes to the life of John McCain is that it is OK to tell people: I screwed up. I got this wrong. I want to make it right.

In my view, honor is doing the right thing at your own expense, and he did that time and again.

He taught me that life without passion and love is a sad life. He had a happy life. He had 10 lives. He was involved in five aviation accidents. If we sent John a bill for all the planes he crashed, he could never pay it off. He lived life to its fullest. He was often disappointed, but he was never deterred from getting back up and going at it again.

"Love"—not a word often associated with Senator MCCAIN, but it should be because if you were loved by him, you knew it. You were loved with all of your faults. And I was lucky to have been loved by him.

So how would I characterize "Operation Maverick"? Wildly successful. It made the world a better place. It gave the Nation something to talk about at a time when we can't agree on anything. It is not universal acceptance of a life of John McCain, but it is pretty damn close. It is the only time that MSNBC, CNN, and FOX are saying the same thing.

The only way that happened is because those of us who had the pleasure of being in his presence and those who covered him in the media business want to tell the story.

I have been approached since his death by cab drivers, waiters, and cops, and they all said: Sorry for your loss.

My name is Graham, not McCain, but I feel like a McCain. I don't know if I have earned that honor, but I feel like one.

The average man and woman in this country got John McCain. What will it mean for the future? It means there will be generations of politicians coming along who will be influenced by him. The McCain Institute is alive and well, and its goal is to attract young leaders throughout the developing world, expose them to democracy, and teach them the art of compromise and the rule of law. What a legacy that is.

John will inspire courage. He will reinforce the idea that nothing is inevitable as long as a few people are willing to fight for what they believe is right.

It is going to be a lonely journey for me for a while. I am going to need your help. The void to be filled by John's passing is more than I can do. Don't look to me to replace this man. Look to me to remember what he was all about and try to follow in his footsteps. If you want to help me, join the march. If you want to help the country, be more like John McCain. I believe there is a little of John McCain in all of us, and the little of John McCain practiced by a lot of people can make this a really great nation.

So, my friend, you did good. You lived in the shadow of a four-star father and a four-star grandfather. You always worried if you disappointed. You did not.

To Cindy and the children, thank you for making me a part of the clan. To Team McCain, you taught me what loyalty is all about. To my colleagues, thank you for your kindness.

I yield the floor.

**THE PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Louisiana.

**MR. CASSIDY.** Mr. President, I rise to speak about John McCain.

As one of those rising to pay tribute, I am perhaps one of the least qualified to do so. I say that because although John McCain and I served together, it was only for the last 4 years of his storied Senate career, and we were not on any common committees.

But let me say why I am qualified. In that brief period, I saw firsthand that of which others with many more years of acquaintance rise and speak. I speak of 2014, when I was running for Senate for the first time, and John McCain came to Louisiana to campaign on my behalf. It was remarkable to see how veterans responded to him. We would go—oh, my gosh, it was the sort of schedule that is legendary for John McCain. We started off in Covington, LA, then went to New Orleans, then went to Baton Rouge, to Lafayette, drove up the length of the State to Shreveport, and then came back to New Orleans—all in 1 day. Others would have been tired. He was energized.

He taught me about social media. Folks would come up to him and wish to have their picture taken. He would take a selfie, and say: Post it on Facebook.

Sure enough, they did. In that way, his contact with people went from just a group meeting—always incredibly well attended—to the individual meeting, to everybody those folks were reaching out to through Facebook.

But even that is not the story I wish to tell.

We had an incredibly intense schedule in which we were meeting one person after another. In Shreveport, as we were walking out, a fellow handed John McCain a note. He said: Senator, this is a fellow who is a fellow Vietnam vet, and he is in the hospital now and cannot come. He would love to hear from you. Here is his phone number.

So we get in the car, and John picks up his phone and he calls. He says: Hello, my friend, this is John McCain. I am sorry you are under the weather. Tell me about it.

He spoke to the man as one Vietnam veteran to another, reaching through the wire, letting that man know he was deeply cared for and honored for his service to our country and his sacrifice for our country.

That tells me a measure of John McCain—in this incredibly intense schedule, finding that moment to reach out to an individual to let him know how much he was valued as an American.

So I rise to speak briefly. I started by saying that I am probably among the least qualified, but, perhaps, because of my brief interaction and the quality of the interaction and the intensity of how John McCain presented himself, not just to me, not just to his fellow Americans, but to all of the voters of Louisiana, I might be the best qualified—the best qualified because, even in that glimpse, you see that which made John McCain a great American: bringing it all, all the time, for everybody who lives in this country, to represent this country as best as possible to the rest of the world, and in so doing serving not just our country but the rest of the world.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise today to honor our late colleague and friend, Senator John McCain.

I want to begin by offering my deepest sympathies to John's loving wife, Cindy; to his children, Sidney, Meghan, Jack, Jimmy, Bridget, Doug, and Andy; and to that most remarkable woman who shaped his life, his mother, Roberta.

Those who knew him knew that, above all else, John was a loving father, devoted husband, and a dedicated family man. Today we mourn with the entire McCain family.

I would like at this time to take a few moments to reflect on his heroic legacy.

When I think of John McCain, two words come to mind: courage and sacrifice. As the son and grandson of decorated naval officers, the desire to serve his country ran deep in John. Fol-

lowing in their footsteps, he graduated from the Naval Academy and went on to serve his country in Vietnam.

The events that followed, including his bravery facing unrelenting anti-aircraft fire, being shot down, captured, and held in horrific conditions, have become military legend. His indomitable spirit carried him through his years of imprisonment, but his willingness to sacrifice for his fellow servicemembers should be a testament to all of his courage and sacrifice.

As everyone knows well, John endured grueling hardship throughout his captivity. On courage, he so eloquently explained: "Courage is not the absence of fear, but the capacity to act despite our fears."

At one point during his captivity, John made what I can only imagine to be one of the most difficult decisions of his life. He was offered special treatment and release due to his family's military prominence, but he refused. He stated that he would not accept release until all the prisoners of war taken before him were also released. To put his comrades and his country before his own welfare, especially when confronted with a future of uncertainty and abuse, is the most profound example of his willingness to sacrifice his life for others.

John spent more than 5 years in captivity at the Hanoi Hilton, but rather than allowing the horrors of the experience to continue to color his life, he instead returned to the Navy for several years before beginning a career in business. Not long after, he again heeded the call to service and won a seat in the House of Representatives representing Arizona.

The first indication that Senator McCain would be an outspoken leader and staunch defender of servicemembers came when, as a freshman member of the House, he opposed legislation supported by President Reagan to keep marines in Lebanon. He refused to further endanger servicemembers for an objective that he viewed as unattainable. It took political courage and conviction for John to stand up to a man he has called one of his heroes and oppose him on principle.

This willingness to stand by his convictions and speak his mind, no matter the perception, would become a hallmark of Senator John McCain. First in the House, then in the Senate, and on the Presidential campaign trail with the aptly named "Straight Talk Express," John was renowned for the candid expression of his thoughts and steadfast defense of his principles.

While John and I served for many years together in the Senate, I was fortunate to work most closely with him during the past 4 years when he was chairman of the Armed Services Committee and I was the ranking member. Our pairing could be rocky at times, not because he was a Republican and I was a Democrat but because he went to the Naval Academy and I went to West Point. As John often joked, I did OK

for someone who didn't have a college education.

Thank you, John.

In all seriousness, Senator McCain's leadership was vital in shepherding through Congress numerous National Defense Authorization Acts that have substantively reformed the Department of Defense, improved care for servicemembers, and increased the capacity of our military to meet the myriad national security challenges we face.

Throughout his life, Senator McCain was a steadying force through turbulent times in global affairs. The threats to our national security and the stability of the global order are more numerous and diverse now than at any point in our recent history. As we grapple with these challenges, we should remember John's guidance: "We live in a land made of ideals, not blood and soil. We are the custodians of those ideals at home, and their champion abroad."

He believed in an America that is united by values, not divided by manufactured distrust and animus. Most importantly, he emphasized the moral obligation that we, as Americans, carry to provide leadership in the world and serve as a beacon of hope, opportunity, and justice, both here and across the globe.

As a further reflection, I was always impressed by John's respect for colleagues who were committed to principle but who sought principled compromise. This respect animated our relationship and made it possible to find common ground.

Finally, what ultimately motivated John McCain, I believe, was the knowledge that thousands and thousands of Americans in uniform were protecting this Nation. He understood that we owed these men and women and their families more than we could ever really pay. He always kept faith with these valiant Americans and inspired all of us here to keep that faith. As our sailors, soldiers, marines, and airmen guarded our country and Constitution, he guarded them with a special and profound love.

I will miss Senator McCain's partnership and friendship, and this Chamber will be hard pressed to find a more respected voice of reason and bipartisanship. It is my hope that we can follow in the footsteps of the virtues that Senator John McCain exemplified: courage, sacrifice, compassion, determination, and, above all else, an unyielding patriotism that motivated a lifetime of service. We can best honor Senator McCain by living our lives by the example he set.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, in the wake of Senator John McCain's passing, I was particularly moved by the announcement that, in accordance with his wishes, he will be buried in the cemetery at the U.S. Naval Academy. It is a fitting resting place for someone

who belonged, in a special way, to the U.S. Navy, and it is characteristic of him that in death he wished to rest with his comrades in arms.

It was during his service in the Navy that LCDR John McCain's plane was shot down over North Vietnam. He ejected, breaking several bones in the process, and was taken into captivity.

During World War II, ADM Chester W. Nimitz, describing the actions of the Marines in the battle of Iwo Jima, noted that "uncommon valor was a common virtue." The same thing can be said about the American soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines in the prison camps of North Vietnam. John McCain joined their number in October of 1967.

During the years of his confinement, he was regularly beaten and tortured. He survived thanks, in part, to the friendship of his fellow prisoners of war. In 1968, his captors offered the malnourished and ill McCain the chance to be returned home early, ahead of prisoners who were next in line. John McCain said no. He spent another almost 5 years in captivity before being released on March 14, 1973. It scarcely needs to be said that he remained a thorn in his captors' side the entire time.

Living in perhaps the most privileged country in the world, it is hard for most of us to imagine going without the internet for a few months, let alone something more fundamental like electricity or indoor plumbing. The courage and character and sheer determination required to undergo regular torture, malnourishment, and deplorable living conditions is almost impossible to fathom. Yet hundreds of U.S. soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines—John McCain among them—endured these torments and persevered.

Amazingly, it was in the prison camps of North Vietnam that John McCain discovered the fierce love of country that would animate the rest of his life. Years later, he noted:

I fell in love with my country when I was a prisoner in someone else's. I loved it for its decency, for its faith in the wisdom, justice, and goodness of its people. I loved it because it was not just a place but an idea, a cause worth fighting for. I was never the same again; I wasn't my own man anymore; I was my country's.

John McCain was his country's man. Throughout a congressional career that spanned 35 years, he served her faithfully. He inspired those who served with him, on both sides of the aisle. He always called on all of us to live up to all that is best and greatest about the United States of America.

He was a fierce crusader for the causes close to his heart, from supporting our Nation's veterans to equipping our military with the tools it needs, to advancing liberty around the world.

He was also a wonderful colleague and friend. Shortly after I got to the Senate, I read his book, "Faith of My Fathers." As I am reading this book, I

am starting to think that some of the dates and places sound pretty familiar. I did a little research and ended up discovering the Distinguished Flying Cross my father Harold Thune received had been awarded to him by none other than ADM John McCain—our John McCain's grandfather.

When I shared this with John, and every time I would see him, he would say: "We've got to call your dad," and that is exactly what we did one day. I cherish that special connection with a family who has meant so much to our country and to freedom.

It was an honor to serve with John McCain. I will miss his sense of humor and the passion he brought to every battle. I admired him greatly. He reminded me and all of us every day that life is not about advancing ourselves but about serving a greater cause and that, paradoxically, it is in service that we find freedom.

In his farewell message to his countrymen, John said, "To be connected to America's causes—liberty, equal justice, respect for the dignity of all people—brings happiness more sublime than life's fleeting pleasures. Our identities and sense of worth are not circumscribed but enlarged by serving good causes that are bigger than ourselves."

Already, the new class of midshipmen has overrun the grounds of the U.S. Naval Academy. In the days and years and decades to come, midshipmen will walk past John McCain's grave and the graves of other marines and sailors who have served our country. The graves will fade into the background of everyday life, but they will still whisper always of the courage and sacrifice of those who have gone before.

Later, at that time of their testing, some of those midshipmen may remember the graves of those heroes and resolve to be like them, to be like John McCain.

When discussing how he would like to be remembered, John McCain said, "I want, when I leave, that the ceremony is at the Naval Academy, and we just have a couple of people that stand up and say, 'This guy, he served our country.'"

"This guy, he served his country." I think he can be assured there will be more than a few people saying that on Sunday. There can be few finer epithets.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, the Trump administration is engulfed in scandal. The President has been implicated in at least one felony. His former campaign chief, former deputy campaign chief, longtime personal lawyer, and former national security adviser are all confessed or convicted felons. With every passing week comes a shocking new revelation about Russian interference in the 2016 election, another bombshell report detailing their infiltration of conservative circles, or another story about how woefully underprepared the United States is to defend against another attack.

Here in Congress, Republicans have their heads buried in the sand. It sure seems like they are going to keep on pretending it is business as usual.

A year ago, I placed a hold on a Treasury nomination—Isabel Patelas to be Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis—because of the Department's refusal to turn over documents related to follow-the-money issues and other key investigative questions. Since then, colleagues, Treasury's stonewalling has not changed. In fact, in light of all that has been revealed in the last year, their stonewalling is even more unpardonable.

The Treasury Department is participating in the coverup of criminal activity. The least the Congress can do—the very least—is hold nominees until the administration changes its behavior. It ought to happen on a bipartisan basis. Republicans ought to stand up with Democrats and say, "This is dangerous. This is corrosive to our democracy. This is wrong."

Leader MCCONNELL has gone ahead, filed cloture, and called votes on the Patelas nomination without doing any of that.

For me, this started a year ago, when I asked the Treasury to provide the Finance Committee with key documents related to follow-the-money and Russia. I am the ranking Democrat on the committee, which has jurisdiction over the Treasury Department. We have a team of skilled investigators who are highly adept at digging into the kinds of questions that had been raised about Russian oligarchs like Alexander Torshin and about shell companies and other forms of money laundering and illicit finance. That is why I requested these documents from the Treasury, but the Treasury essentially blew us off.

Russia's interference in our democracy has been thoroughly covered in news reports, and many of those reports get right to the heart of why I have called for investigators to follow the money. I will quote from an article in BuzzFeed about Alexander Torshin, the accused Russian spy Maria Butina, and her American associate Paul Erickson.

"[Butina's] indictment said that she was communicating with Russian intelligence while here and was 'acting at the direction of a high-level official in the Russian government.'"

"That person, federal authorities told BuzzFeed News, is Alexander Torshin—Butina's former boss, once a member of Russia's upper house of parliament, and a close confidant of President Vladimir Putin."

"In 2015, Torshin was appointed deputy governor of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation and Butina was hired as his special assistant. Torshin is believed to have close ties to gun rights activists in the US, and McClatchy reported that the FBI is investigating whether Torshin illegally funneled money to the NRA."



“According to her indictment, Butina worked for Torshin until May 2016, and she came to the US on a student visa later that summer. The same month, Spanish authorities reported that Torshin had been laundering money for [a] Moscow-based . . . crime syndicate.

“This year, Torshin was among the Russian oligarchs sanctioned by the US Treasury Department for playing a key role in ‘advancing Russia’s malign activities.’ Law enforcement sources told BuzzFeed News that tens of millions of dollars in his suspicious financial transactions were flagged by Treasury officials working on the FBI’s counter-intelligence investigation into Russian influence.

“These transactions included large, round-number wire transfers—a hallmark of money laundering—from Istanbul and Dubai, the sources said.”

Elsewhere in the report, BuzzFeed outlined how anti-fraud investigators at a major bank flagged transactions by Erickson and Butina as suspicious. Again, I will quote from the article.

“The two also appeared to use a company, Bridges LLC, to conduct suspicious transactions. Bank officials said they couldn’t determine the purpose of the company, which was incorporated in South Dakota in February 2016. Butina was listed as the ‘sole signer’ on its checking account, but Erickson wrote and signed checks from it. He told McClatchy that Bridges was formed to help Butina obtain financial assistance for her graduate studies . . .

“About \$89,000 passed between Erickson’s US accounts and one held by Butina at Russia’s Alfa Bank. In 2014, Erickson received \$8,000 from Butina’s Alfa account. Between June 2016 and March 2017, Erickson sent a dozen wires to her Alfa account totaling \$27,000.

About \$93,000 was sent or received during a single four-month period—from May to August 2017 . . . Bank officials discovered wires, checks, transfers, and cash deposits totaling that amount, including checks made out to cash, between the duo’s accounts last year.

“In June and July 2017, Erickson wired \$45,000 to an unidentified law firm in Washington on Butina’s behalf. It is not known why Butina retained an attorney at that point, and her current lawyer, Robert Driscoll, told BuzzFeed News that his firm was not the recipient of the money.

“ . . . Investigators from Wells Fargo flagged dozens of other suspicious transactions involving Butina and Erickson for FBI agents and the Treasury Department’s financial crimes division. Bank investigators told Treasury officials they were suspicious about where the money came from and that they could find no ‘apparent economic, business, or lawful purpose’ for the transactions.”

I am not going to comment on any classified material, and I am not confirming these reports, but these arti-

cles are right out in the open. The information reported by BuzzFeed alone ought to have been enough to convince Senators that the administration needs to be forced to comply with oversight requests from the Congress—just that one report—and that is far from the only bombshell that has dropped in the last year since I announced a hold on the Patelunas nomination. Still, Treasury is stonewalling. They are blocking our oversight and our investigations at every turn.

It is an outrage that Senate Republicans are apparently A-OK with this stonewalling.

So colleagues, here is what I want to know: When does it become too much? How many reports detailing election interference does the Senate need to stand up and take action? How many stories about shell companies and shadowy payments from oligarchs need to come out into the open? Maria Butina is sitting in a jail cell in northern Virginia—how many other spies need to be arrested before Senate Republicans stand up to an administration that is hiding the facts?

A year ago, the President’s son confirmed meeting with Russians in Trump Tower during the campaign, at least one of them connected to Russian intelligence. Senate Republicans did not try to get answers.

On the morning of Monday, July 16, Maria Butina was charged with being a Russian spy. It was revealed she had infiltrated a “gun rights organization” and woven herself into prominent conservative circles to manipulate our politics. That same day, the Trump administration announced a pro-dark money rule that would make it easier to get away with this kind of lawbreaking the next time. Republicans did nothing about it.

Last Tuesday afternoon, Paul Manafort was found guilty on five counts of tax fraud, two counts of bank fraud, and one count of failure to disclose a foreign bank account. Michael Cohen pleaded guilty to charges of tax evasion, bank fraud, and two felony campaign finance violations he said he committed at the President’s direction.

Again, Donald Trump has been implicated in a felony campaign finance violation. Manafort and Cohen, who are convicted and confessed felons, are both deeply enmeshed in the broader investigation into Russia’s interference in our election and potential collusion with the Trump campaign.

The very same day, Senator WARNER, as part of his questioning on the U.S. Senate Banking Committee, had to repeatedly press Sigal Mandelker, the Treasury Department’s Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Crimes, during a hearing on the effectiveness of Russian sanctions, to be more responsive to bipartisan requests from the Intelligence Committee. Treasury is 8 months behind in their responses to some requests.

To her credit, Ms. Mandelker said she would respond in a timely manner,

though she noted she would have to consult with people back at her office. The problem is that, pretty much every time anyone from this administration has uttered such a promise, it has been broken faster than it takes a wildfire to spread in the arid West.

Regardless of the promises made, the very next day, Leader MCCONNELL went ahead and filed cloture on a nomination I have been holding due to the Treasury’s stonewalling over those exact issues.

Colleagues, the President is routinely attacking the rule of law in this country. He is attacking the Justice Department, which is run by people he appointed. He has mused about pardoning people who are unquestionably guilty of committing crimes. He said that perhaps it should be illegal for individuals to cooperate with law enforcement by providing information that can bring criminals and coconspirators to justice.

When is enough enough?

In my view, nobody in this body, in their heart of hearts, could possibly believe that the ties between the President, his associates, the Trump organization, and Russia do not warrant thorough investigation. You could not possibly have kept up with the news over the last 18 months and come to any other conclusion. Everybody can smell the smoke, but you would have to blind yourself not to see the fire.

By stonewalling our investigations, the Treasury is complicit in the cover-up. They are hiding the facts from the Congress and the American people. The Senate’s powers of oversight and investigation are derived from the Constitution of the United States, and the Trump administration is trampling all over it. Every member of this body, Democrat and Republican, ought to be outraged.

That is why it is wrong to proceed with the Patelunas nomination. I drew the line here, with this nominee, but Leader MCCONNELL filed cloture against my known wishes, scheduling the vote to collide with Members’ plans to attend Senator McCain’s memorial.

Furthermore, what the Treasury Department is doing to keep this information about follow-the-money hidden in the shadows is wrong. The Senate should not stand for it.

Mr. CRAPO. Mr. President, I rise in support of the nomination of the Honorable Richard Clarida to be a member and Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

Dr. Clarida has a breadth of private sector, government, and academic experience involving both monetary policy and financial markets.

At his nomination hearing in the Banking Committee, he demonstrated his expertise and provided members insight of how his background, knowledge, and experience will aid the Federal Reserve Board and the country.

This was evidenced when he received bipartisan support from members of



the Banking Committee with a vote of 20-5.

Dr. Clarida currently serves as managing director and global strategic advisor at PIMCO, a position he has held since 2006.

Previously, he served as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy from 2002 to 2003 and as a senior staff economist with the Council of Economic Advisers from 1986 to 1987.

In his academic career, he was an assistant professor at Yale University from 1983 to 1988 and has served as a professor of economics at Columbia University in various capacities since 1988.

If confirmed, Dr. Clarida will play an important role in monetary policy normalization.

Dr. Clarida has written extensively about monetary policy and, along with others, developed a framework for monetary policy analysis that has been widely cited and used by policymakers around the world.

Such expertise will be especially important as the Fed continues to wind down its balance sheet and raise interest rates after years at the zero lower bound.

The Fed has also begun the important work of implementing S. 2155, the Economic Growth, Regulatory Relief, and Consumer Protection Act, which was signed into law on May 24 of this year.

If confirmed as a member and Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors, I look forward to working with Dr. Clarida on these important issues.

The Board of Governors currently has vacancies, with only three sitting members to carry out its vital work.

I strongly support this nomination today and urge my colleagues to do the same.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOEVEN). The majority leader.

#### UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the provisions of rule XXII, the pending cloture motions on Executive Calendar Nos. 911, 783, and 720 be withdrawn, and that at 3:45 p.m. today, the Senate vote on the following nominations in the order listed with no intervening action or debate: Executive Calendar Nos. 910, 911, 783, and 720; that if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table and the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

I further ask unanimous consent that the pending cloture motions on Executive Calendar Nos. 633, 635, 636, 674, 676, 692, 693, 731, 779, 782, 838, and 893 be withdrawn; and that following disposition of the Patelunas nomination, the Senate vote on the following nominations in the order listed with no intervening action or debate: Executive Calendar Nos. 633, 635, 636, 674, 676, 692, and 837; that if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table and the President be im-

mediately notified of the Senate's action.

I further ask unanimous consent that at a time to be determined by the majority leader, in consultation with the Democratic leader, during the week of September 4, the Senate vote on the following nominations in the order listed: Executive Calendar Nos. 693, 731, 778, 779, 782, 838, 839, and 893; that if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table and the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Minnesota.

#### REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, last week, we lost an incredible patriot, Senator, and American—our friend and colleague Senator John McCain. My heart goes out to his wife Cindy, his mom, his daughters, and family.

In the Navy, John exemplified heroism and bravery, and in the Senate, he was a mentor to so many of us. He taught us how to work with leaders on the world stage, but then he taught us something just as important; that is, how to work with each other when we are here and back home.

This past month, my husband and I got to visit John and Cindy at their ranch in Arizona one last time. Even while battling brain cancer, he continued to be engaged in the issues of our time. He continued to have that signature McCain humor and that grit.

My last memory of John was, I had brought a few of his books to him, and he was getting tired and pointed to one sentence in one of the books and said to me: That, that is what matters.

The sentence was this: "Nothing in life is more liberating than to fight for a cause larger than yourself." No one proved that more than John McCain.

LINDSEY GRAHAM just gave beautiful remarks about his best friend—his best friend who had taught him so much, who taught him how to pick yourself up and be resilient when things go wrong, who taught him how to always put your country first.

I saw that resilience firsthand when John invited me to go with him and LINDSEY on a trip to Asia. It was an incredible moment in his own life. It was right after he had lost that Presidential election—something he had dreamed of attaining for so long, and it didn't work out. Did he just go home and not do his work? No. He dove right in and took a young Senator with him to Asia, along with his best friend LINDSEY, and some of his most beloved staff.

What I saw on that trip I will never forget. He was literally a few months out of losing a Presidential election, but he was still excited about the world around him. He was excited when the Defense Secretary called him with something he wanted him to work on with him.

He had great humor when he read about President Obama's latest pur-

chase of a dog and other things, and he just said it and smiled and put the newspaper down.

He loved introducing me to people whom I thought I would never meet, and he loved sharing those stories. On every leg of the trip between countries, he would read books. He would read books about World War II. He would read books about anything in history that he thought was relevant to today. He loved it for the sake of history, but he also loved it because he believed history teaches us something; that you can't ignore history; that you take the lessons of history and bring them with you forward.

John's own history was incredible—a Navy pilot during Vietnam. After being shot down, he was held and tortured as a prisoner of war for over 5 years in that infamous Hanoi Hilton.

On the trip to Asia, we went to that prison, and I saw the cell where John had been held for those 5 years—the cell in which he made the decision to allow other prisoners to be released before him because he didn't want to look like he got special treatment. That was a moment I will never forget. Then, we went on a tour of the rest of the prison. Again, with that signature wry humor and resilience, as the guide was showing us a new exhibit, which included happy pictures of prisoners of war sitting around a Christmas tree or playing table tennis, and she proudly showed us those pictures, he nodded his head with all the media behind him and then whispered to me: I don't remember any of this.

We then went to an exhibit that was brand-new of his flight suit, and it was a pristine flight suit with his name embroidered on it. Next to it was a picture of him and the plane being shot down, and the flight suit was all torn up. They would show us the flight suit, and he took pictures and smiled. Then, as we were walking away, he said to me: That was not my flight suit.

That was John McCain. When he walked around the streets of Vietnam, a place where he had been held prisoner for 5 years, he was like a rock star. Do you know why? Because he had come back there so many times, bringing different Americans with him, working on issues that mattered to them, working on trade issues, normalizing relations. They loved him there. That was him; that was John McCain.

The other thing about him was there were so many Senators that he mentored, but I always loved how he would take some of the new women Senators under his wing and make sure they went on these trips. In many of the rooms where we met with foreign leaders, it would be, again, John and LINDSEY and I. Of course, Senator McCain went first as the leader of the delegation, and then all of these male foreign leaders would next look at LINDSEY GRAHAM because they figured he was the next senior, which was correct. But John McCain would stop

them and say: I am sorry. Senator KLOBUCHAR is the lead Democrat in the delegation, and she will be going next. At that singular moment, he would send a message to the foreign leaders: Yes, she is to be treated with respect and equality; she is the Democratic lead on our trip.

Part of being a mentor to someone is also urging them on, and many of us here know what it was like to get one of those backhanded McCain compliments, which didn't always seem like a compliment but truly was.

My favorite was when I would do some kind of Sunday show or something like that, and he would have liked what I said, I would have guessed, but he would call and leave a message: Well, you did a pretty good job on that show, talking about immigration—well, pretty good for a Communist.

I know some of my Republican colleagues were never called a Communist, but that was his word of affection for many of us on the Democratic side.

I think part of this work that he did in mentoring women Members and staff had to do with the incredibly strong women in his own life—his wife, Cindy; his mother; his daughter, Meghan; and his family. That was a part of John McCain that I think people don't know.

The last thing I will mention—and LINDSEY talked about this—is that his legacy must live on; that is, what he taught us about working with the rest of the world.

The last trip I took with John McCain was to Lithuania and Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, and Georgia. He planned that trip right after the last Presidential election. The President-elect had been talking negatively about NATO, and there had been discussions about our dealings with Europe. I think he felt it was very important to show the world that there were people in the Senate, leaders in the Senate, who stood by those Baltic nations that had declared their independence, and that is why we went on that trip.

Somehow we found ourselves on New Year's Eve in a blizzard in the middle of the night on live Ukrainian TV with President Poroshenko. The President of Ukraine wanted to show American support for their democracy and their quest to stay independent despite the foreign invasion by Russia. So as we stood there, the President gave Senator McCain a machine gun, a Ukrainian-made machine gun. They are very proud of their armaments there. McCain was holding it, and then he went to Senator GRAHAM, and he gave Senator GRAHAM a pistol. I was standing there, and McCain said to me: I wonder what you're going to get. It looks like you're getting a flat box.

I opened up the box, and it had two daggers in it. Senator McCain decided that I was deserving of a pistol and somehow arranged to have one brought to me.

But then what happened was the Navy confiscated every single weapon,

and a year later, Senator McCain was still saying to me: What happened to my machine gun?

That trip was more than just about that delightful moment. That trip was about his standing with us, with all of these leaders, to send that incredibly important message in his own words from a few years before, in 2013, when he spoke to that pro-democracy crowd of protestors in Ukraine, telling them: America is with you. And they roared “thank you” back at him. He said: “The United States has a special responsibility to champion human rights—in all places, for all peoples, and at all times.”

So he would send this message to our allies. He would look for those hot spots. He would look for those moments when it was necessary to show our allies and friends and those struggling for human rights and democracy that they had a friend in the United States.

He knew that supporting our allies is also about supporting ourselves—and I will use John's words here—in supporting “their hope . . . their faith . . . and their friendship.” That was John McCain.

So when I think about protecting the future of our country and the work that must be done in this Chamber and his devotion to making friends on both sides of the aisle, I think about the decency that he brought to politics, not always—not always happy every moment of his life in politics, but always decent. That was best reflected at a rally that happened in my State in the waning days of his Presidential campaign when a woman stood up, when he could have just embraced what she said, but he didn't. The woman said of then-candidate Obama: “I have read about him. . . . He's . . . an Arab.”

Without missing a beat, John shook his head and very politely said: “No, ma'am. He's a decent family man . . . [whom] I just happen to have disagreements with.”

That is not something you plan for; that is not an arc of your career where you have a moment and a strategy. That was his reaction in the moment when he knew that his dream was slipping away from him, and he could have said just anything about his opponent because he was mad that he wasn't winning. But he didn't. He took the high road. That was John McCain.

As we move forward in this Chamber, I hope we will remember his words, that the most liberating thing in life is “to fight for a cause larger than [ourselves].” He did that every single day, and we must now carry on that torch. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, today I want to join my colleague from Minnesota and other Senators in talking about our colleague, an American icon, who played an outsized role in our Nation's great story.

Navy captain, Congressman, and U.S. Senator, John McCain was first and

foremost a patriot. Throughout his whole life, a very prolific life, he lived the motto of his 2008 Presidential campaign, which was simply “Country First.”

I had the privilege of helping Senator McCain during that 2008 campaign. I was in the private sector then. I took time off to spend about 6 weeks with him, traveling around the country. I was on the campaign trail with a group of his loyal friends, including the first friend, LINDSEY GRAHAM.

I had known John for many years, but you really get to know somebody in a different way during the intensity and the pressure of a national campaign. I played the role of his opponent, then-Senator Barack Obama, to prepare him for his debates, and I took that role very seriously—maybe too seriously on occasion. It was my job to get under his skin and prepare him well for the debates, and I did it.

Many of my colleagues will tell you he was a fighter and a tough competitor and did not mince words. I was on the other end of that. After some spirited debates, I was very glad that in the real world I was actually on his side.

Needless to say, he wasn't happy with me during those debate sessions. I think Cindy McCain still hasn't forgiven me, by the way, for some of the things I said during the debate preparation, playing the role of then-Senator Obama. Even 2 years later, after I was first elected and joined him here in the U.S. Senate, he would introduce me to reporters here in the hall by saying: That's the jerk who played Obama.

The John McCain I got to know through the intensity of that Presidential campaign was principled. He was patriotic, he was passionate, and his heart was in the right place.

He also had a sense of humor that was intact. I remember when a bad poll would come out, he would gather us around and say: Don't worry. It's always darkest before it's pitch black.

One of the memories I will never forget was during one of those debate preparations in a theater at the Morgan Library in New York City. At the start of the debate practice, I was backstage behind a curtain because I wanted it to be realistic; I would be coming out from behind the curtain and going to the podium, just as you would do in a Presidential debate. It was in late September 2008—I think it was September 24—just as the financial crisis was hitting and hitting hard. It is difficult to go back to that moment today, but the mindset at the time was that we were in a true crisis. The stock market had crashed, and the country was mired in financial turmoil.

As I stood there behind the curtain, getting ready to come out, John McCain and two of his top campaign advisers were on the stage, getting into their own debate, and their debate was about whether to suspend the campaign, postpone the first debate that was scheduled to occur just a few days

later, and fly back to Washington, DC, to try to work out some legislative solution to bolster the then really shaky financial system.

I distinctly remember one of the advisers raising concerns that suspending the campaign would hurt them politically. They just couldn't do it.

By the way, that was a point of view that was shared by pretty much every political pundit and probably would be today.

I remember John McCain pushing back. He said: It is the right thing to do, to suspend this campaign. If we don't fix this, there won't be a country left to govern.

It is the right thing to do. If we don't fix this, there won't be a country left to govern.

He suspended his campaign and he returned to Washington to jump into the arena—like his hero, Teddy Roosevelt—and to try to fix things. John McCain was less worried about the political fallout than he was about what was at stake for our great country. Country first.

He didn't win that campaign, but I think he taught all of us a lesson about how to lose. He gave a generous concession speech that put country first. He was someone a lot of us looked to for counsel and worked with on many issues, often national security issues, in my case. He was an expert. I worked on some issues like Ukraine, but also on other matters.

Just in the last year, he played a key role in helping us enact reforms here in the U.S. Senate that are making a real difference right now in combating online sex trafficking. This was through legislation that I had introduced called the Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act, or SESTA. This SESTA legislation was something he was very involved with. Cindy McCain has a long history in this area. She is a real expert on it, and she was instrumental in the legislation and these reforms, as was the McCain Institute.

John had a passion for it. He was the first Republican cosponsor of the bill and a passionate advocate. He believed in his heart that the sale of women and children online was just wrong, and it should never happen, certainly not in this country in this century.

About 6 months ago, this legislation, the SESTA bill, was about to be voted on. After getting permission from my Democratic coauthor, Senator RICHARD BLUMENTHAL, who agreed with me, I approached John McCain, and I asked him if we could name this anti-sex-trafficking legislation "the McCain bill," after him and after Cindy and all the work he had done—his passion for it. His response was immediate and classic McCain. He said: No, that wouldn't be right. I strongly support the legislation, but you all did the work. It isn't about me; it's about getting this done for those women and those children. Country first.

For me, this Chamber is never going to be the same place without him. It is

as simple as that, and LINDSEY GRAHAM said that well earlier. For me, this place, the Senate, and our country, for that matter, are better off because of him. He dedicated his life to those liberties that we enjoy as Americans, and he took it upon himself to defend and represent them and try to spread them around the globe.

He joined the U.S. Navy to protect our country, spent more than 5 years as a prisoner of war, was stubbornly patriotic to his own detriment, and served in the House of Representatives and in the U.S. Senate, representing not just his Arizona constituents, which he did well, but as he viewed it, the entire country. Country first.

Now, as a gesture of our Nation's gratitude for the patriotic path he blazed, Senator McCain will lie in state in the U.S. Capitol, draped in the flag that he spent his life serving.

John McCain was a hero in the flesh right here in this century, and I feel blessed for having known him.

The last conversation I remember having with John was right out here in the anteroom off the Senate floor. It was during his very last days here. He was in a wheelchair. He had a brace on his leg, necessary because of the chemotherapy, and his voice was faltering. We sat and we talked, first about the SESTA legislation and Cindy's role. John always had a funny line. In this case he joked, saying: Passing that legislation will save my marriage.

Then he started talking about his kids. He went into detail about what they were doing, especially his sons in the military and what they were accomplishing and his daughter Meghan and her work in the media world, how proud he was of them. His voice strengthened, and his eyes shown with pride as he talked about each of them. I muttered something about that being another part of his legacy, and he gave me that crooked smile.

Family and country first.

My wife Jane and I send our condolences to John's amazing wife Cindy, to his seven proud sons and daughters, and to the entire McCain family.

Godspeed, John McCain.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

MR. BROWN. Mr. President, I appreciate what my colleague from Ohio said. I appreciate his comments about Senator McCain and Cindy McCain. I made remarks on the floor earlier about Senator McCain in my tribute to him, as my colleagues are all doing, as we should, and as people have done so well.

I appreciate particularly Senator PORTMAN's comments about the sex trafficking issue that Senator McCain was so interested in, and Cindy really led the way. I saw Cindy at a conference in Cincinnati, Senator PORTMAN's hometown. I live at the other end of the State. Her passion about that issue clearly infected John and his passion about that issue especially. North of Cincinnati, along the

75 corridor and especially in Toledo, we see how troubling that is. He took on so many issues that matter. I thank Rob for mentioning that.

#### NOMINATION OF RICHARD CLARIDA

Mr. President, today we consider the nomination of Dr. Richard Clarida for two positions at the Federal Reserve Board of Governors—Vice Chair for a term of 4 years and a member of the Board for an unexpired term of 14 years. That is the way the Fed works. A person is on the Board and then serves in some special—supervision or Vice Chair. Generally, those titles go along with the appointment.

The Federal Reserve hasn't had a full Board since August 2013. Why is that? President Obama nominated Allan Landon—a small community bank owner, I believe, from Hawaii—and Professor Kathryn Dominguez, who both stepped up to serve their country. They put a number of their life activities on hold in order to serve on the Federal Reserve. Yet the chairman of the Banking Committee—not the present chairman, Senator CRAPO—the former chairman of the Banking Committee simply refused to give a hearing on either of them.

We have seen that on the Export-Import Bank. We saw that on a number of Transportation nominations. We saw it on the Federal Reserve. Time after time, if Obama nominated someone, the Senate Banking Committee and the Senate floor refused to confirm.

Trump, as President now for only 18, 19 months, will have the ability to nominate six of the seven Fed Governors to 14-year terms. Think about that. Board members do vital work on monetary policy, and their work affects the financial situation of Ohio families. They set rules for the Nation's largest banks—the banks that caused the financial crisis.

You can't underestimate the collective amnesia of this body when it comes to financial deregulation and the financial amnesia of the Banking Committee, which continues to give Wall Street anything it asks for—more profits, more deregulation, and more tax cuts.

As I said, the Board sets rules for the Nation's largest banks—the banks that caused the largest financial crises and cost millions of jobs and so many families their homes.

As I have said a number of times, my wife and I live in the Cleveland ZIP Code 44105. In 2007, that ZIP Code had more foreclosures than any ZIP Code in the United States of America. You still see the residue of that and the results of those foreclosures. We know the pain that inflicted on millions of families across the country and thousands of families within 2 or 3 miles or 4 miles of my house. Yet we barely recognize anymore in this body what happened because this body didn't do its job, Federal regulators in the Bush administration didn't do their jobs, and Wall Street was so greedy.

Fast-forward to this year. Board members will decide whether to finalize the Fed's proposal to roll back capital and leverage requirements. Think about that. That is the collective amnesia. The regulators—whether it is the OCC, the Federal Reserve, the FDIC, or the Treasury Department—are willing to weaken rules across the board that are there to protect the stability of our financial system. Yet it is as if we forgot what happened 10 years ago.

If adopted, the plan that the Fed is considering right now will allow the eight largest banks in the country to pour \$121 billion into stock buybacks and dividends. That is giving executives who already make millions of dollars in compensation—it is giving them more. Those are funds that could be used to pay workers, cut fees for consumers, and protect taxpayers from bailouts. It is never enough for Wall Street. Big tax cuts are never enough. More deregulation is never enough. Biggest profits ever are never enough. Huge compensation is never enough.

Members of the Fed Board will also vote on a Fed proposal to weaken limits on speculative trading. These restrictions, devised by a former Fed Chair more than 25 years ago, protect taxpayers by preventing big banks from taking risks—big risks—with hard-working families' savings accounts. If there is any better example of the collective amnesia of politicians and regulators in Washington, DC, it is this. And that is compounded by—if you look up the street at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, the White House looks like a retreat for Wall Street executives. One Wall Street executive after another is hired by the White House.

Governors on the Fed Board will also have a say on the Fed's stress test—the yearly exercise designed to prevent a big bank from being able to bring down our entire economy.

Why would we want to do this? Why would we weaken these rules as banks are making bigger profits, bank executives are getting greater compensation, and when banks got such a huge tax cut? Why would we weaken rules so they can have more at the possible expense of the stability and strength of the financial system?

We have already seen the damage this administration's Wall Street-friendly appointees can do. In July, the Fed allowed the seven largest banks to plow \$96 billion—any way you calculate it, that is about \$14 billion each; some a little more, some a little less—allowed them to plow \$96 billion into dividends and buybacks so CEOs can make more money. They didn't put it in workers' paychecks.

Mr. President, do you know what the average teller in this country makes? Go into a local branch bank. The average teller makes \$12.50 an hour. At my 45th high school reunion in Mansfield, OH, I sat across the table from a woman who was working for one of the largest banks. She worked there for 30

years, and she makes \$30,000 a year. But it is never enough for the CEOs, never enough for top management.

At a time when big banks post record profits, they should be building capital cushions to protect themselves from tough times. They should be giving raises to workers who power these companies. Instead, the Fed undermines the lessons from the last crisis and lets the banks drain away their rainy-day funds.

Three banks—Goldman Sachs, Morgan Stanley, and State Street—all had capital below the amount required under the stress tests, but do you know what happened? The Fed gave them passing grades anyway. What are the stress tests for? They are called tests. If you fail a test, you should do something to correct it. They patted them on the back: It is OK. You tried. You may have not have gotten a passing grade, but we will let you go anyway.

What is the Fed's response, in addition to giving these three banks a pass? The Fed wants to make next year's stress test even easier to pass. Vice Chair Quarles has suggested that he wants to give bankers more leeway to comment on the tests before they take them. So they are going to make them easier. They are going to talk to the banks and say: How do we write it so it will be easier for you to pass it? Maybe we will show you ahead of time what the tests are.

I don't remember that in eighth grade, junior high, or college, where the professor or teacher would say: Sherrod, come up to my desk. I will tell you what this test will be, and I will give you advice on how to pass it.

The Fed is considering dropping the qualitative portion of the stress test altogether, even though Deutsche Bank, Santander, HSBC, RBS, and Citigroup failed on qualitative grounds before.

Most of those banks I mentioned are foreign banks. Some had real problems internationally in the strength and the viability of those banks.

That doesn't even include changes the Fed is working on after Congress passed S. 2155 to weaken Dodd-Frank more, making company-run stress tests for the largest banks periodic. They used to be annual, but now they are periodic. Guess who gets to decide how often periodic is. It happens to be the same Wall Street people the President appointed to the Fed to decide how often these tests will be.

So we are making them weaker. We let you pass even if you don't. We are going to make them weaker, and then we are going to let the people being tested know more about them before the tests run. Then we will make them periodic, so they won't take them as often. This is really a way to make sure these banks aren't strong enough to make sure they can weather a storm.

Vice Chair Quarles also made it clear that massive foreign banks can expect goodies too. The Fed may also weaken

the Community Reinvestment Act, a law that ensures that low- and moderate-income communities have access to credit. It goes on and on.

While Dr. Clarida is an expert in monetary policy, during his nomination hearing, he failed to provide the committee with meaningful insight into his views on the important issues that will be considered by the Fed. I know that a number of us on both sides asked questions, but I couldn't get clear answers during the hearings on leverage, on the Community Reinvestment Act, on taxpayer protections for the biggest banks, and on diversity and so many other issues that impact the people we serve.

I asked him to respond to these questions in writing. Putting it mildly, we were disappointed. He is a distinguished professor. We asked him specific questions, but the answers we got were pretty much identical to the responses from another Federal Reserve nominee, Michelle Bowman. So instead of writing the answers themselves, it is clear that the Fed's staff wrote them and gave them to the two of them, so they gave identical answers. That doesn't tell us anything about what he actually thinks.

When banks are making record profits, the Fed should be preparing the financial system for the next crisis. They should ensure that banks are resilient, focus on increasing employment and wages, and combat asset bubbles. But over the last 6 months, I have seen the Fed only moving in the wrong direction—weakening rules and bowing to special interests. Remember I said that the White House looks like a retreat for Wall Street executives? They are bowing to those interests and making it easier for big banks to cut corners. I have only become more worried about whether the Fed can protect taxpayers and homeowners from the next crisis.

We need strong financial watchdogs, not lapdogs. We need individuals who have their own ideas on the causes and impacts of the financial crisis and who take seriously their role to protect taxpayers and homeowners from Wall Street abuse. I am not confident that is the case with this nominee.

The Ohioans I represent need to know how the people nominated serve them think about these important issues. We haven't gotten that from this nominee. That is why I cannot support and why I plan to vote no on Dr. Clarida.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. President, I know we have a series of votes coming up, and I won't stand in the way of those votes once we get over the next couple of minutes, but I didn't want to let the week go by without talking a little bit about John McCain here on the floor.

A number of people have asked me this week—particularly members of the media have asked: Who is going to replace John McCain? I think the point

is, he will be a hard man to replace. He brought a unique background to this job. He was raised in the house of a man who was going to become an admiral. His grandfather was an admiral on the deck of the USS Missouri when World War II ended. John McCain grew up in a house where visiting Members of the House and visiting Members of the Senate was not unusual. I think that gave him a real capacity to have a comfort level to speak forcefully and truthfully with people at all levels.

Clearly, his time as a prisoner of war had a great impact not only on who he was but also on what he was able to do and what he was able to say and how he was able to say it. He was a man of intense energy.

There is a picture in this building of Theodore Roosevelt seated in a chair, and his left hand is made into a fist. I never saw that picture thinking it was a fist about to hit somebody but a fist trying to contain his own energy.

There was a reason Theodore Roosevelt was John McCain's hero. H.W. Brands wrote a book about Theodore Roosevelt, which was called "T.R.: The Last Romantic." The truth is, if there were a last romantic, it was John McCain, not Theodore Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt was who he was, but John McCain brought an intensity to what we do, an immediate willingness to engage. Certainly, I think every Member of the Senate experienced at least once when that immediate engagement, with no doubt in his mind, was there. Members of the media also saw that. He was a man of intensity. He was a man who believed in his country. He was a man who believed this country deserved to be represented well all over the world and that freedom should be defended.

Somebody observed to me earlier today that when traveling with John McCain, he was unbelievably patient with the troops and unbelievably tough with the generals. I saw that, and many of us saw that. He will be missed, but his work was well done. His place was clearly filled. He made a difference in the history of the country, and he made a difference for all of those of us who got to know him.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Clarida nomination?

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE), and the Senator from Alaska (Ms. MURKOWSKI).

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

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

The result was announced—yeas 69, nays 26, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 197 Ex.]

#### YEAS—69

Alexander	Gardner	Nelson
Barrasso	Graham	Perdue
Bennet	Grassley	Peters
Blumenthal	Hassan	Portman
Blunt	Hatch	Reed
Boozman	Heitkamp	Risch
Burr	Heller	Roberts
Capito	Hoeven	Rounds
Cardin	Hyde-Smith	Rubio
Carper	Inhofe	Sasse
Casey	Isakson	Scott
Cassidy	Johnson	Shaheen
Collins	Jones	Shelby
Coons	Kaine	Smith
Corker	Kennedy	Sullivan
Cornyn	Klobuchar	Tester
Cotton	Lankford	Thune
Crapo	Lee	Tillis
Daines	Manchin	Toomey
Donnelly	McCaskill	Van Hollen
Enzi	McConnell	Warner
Ernst	Moran	Wicker
Fischer	Murphy	Young

#### NAYS—26

Baldwin	Harris	Sanders
Booker	Heinrich	Schatz
Brown	Hirono	Schumer
Cantwell	King	Stabenow
Cortez Masto	Markey	Udall
Duckworth	Menendez	Warren
Durbin	Merkley	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Murray	Wyden
Gillibrand	Paul	

#### NOT VOTING—4

Cruz	Leahy
Flake	Murkowski

The nomination was confirmed.

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

The Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the remaining votes in this series be 10 minutes in length.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question occurs on the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read the nomination of Richard Clarida, of Connecticut, to be a Member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for the unexpired term of fourteen years from February 1, 2008.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Clarida nomination?

The nomination was confirmed.

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

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question occurs on the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Joseph H. Hunt, of Maryland, to be Assistant Attorney General.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Hunt nomination?

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE), and the Senator from Alaska (Ms. MURKOWSKI).

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

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

The result was announced—yeas 72, nays 23, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 198 Ex.]

#### YEAS—72

Alexander	Graham	Murray
Baldwin	Grassley	Nelson
Barrasso	Hassan	Paul
Bennet	Hatch	Perdue
Blunt	Heitkamp	Peters
Boozman	Heller	Portman
Burr	Hirono	Risch
Cantwell	Hoeven	Roberts
Capito	Hyde-Smith	Rounds
Cardin	Inhofe	Rubio
Cassidy	Isakson	Sasse
Collins	Johnson	Scott
Coons	Jones	Shaheen
Corker	Kaine	Shelby
Cornyn	Kennedy	Smith
Cotton	King	Sullivan
Crapo	Klobuchar	Tester
Daines	Lankford	Thune
Donnelly	Lee	Tillis
Enzi	Manchin	Toomey
Ernst	McCaskill	Warner
Feinstein	McConnell	Whitehouse
Fischer	Moran	Wicker
Gardner	Murphy	Young

#### NAYS—23

Blumenthal	Gillibrand	Schatz
Booker	Harris	Schumer
Brown	Heinrich	Stabenow
Carper	Markey	Udall
Casey	Menendez	Van Hollen
Cortez Masto	Merkley	Warren
Duckworth	Reed	Wyden
Durbin	Sanders	

#### NOT VOTING—4

Cruz	Leahy
Flake	Murkowski

The nomination was confirmed.

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

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question occurs

on the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The assistant bill clerk read the nomination of Isabel Marie Keenan Patelunas, of Pennsylvania, to be Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis, Department of the Treasury.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Patelunas nomination?

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE), and the Senator from Alaska (Ms. MURKOWSKI).

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

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

The result was announced—yeas 75, nays 20, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 199 Ex.]

#### YEAS—75

Alexander	Harris	Perdue
Baldwin	Hassan	Peters
Barrasso	Hatch	Portman
Blunt	Heinrich	Reed
Boozman	Heitkamp	Risch
Burr	Heller	Roberts
Capito	Hoeven	Rounds
Casey	Hyde-Smith	Rubio
Cassidy	Inhofe	Sasse
Collins	Isakson	Schumer
Corker	Johnson	Scott
Cornyn	Jones	Shaheen
Cortez Masto	Kaine	Shelby
Cotton	Kennedy	Smith
Crapo	King	Stabenow
Daines	Klobuchar	Sullivan
Donnelly	Lankford	Tester
Duckworth	Lee	Thune
Enzi	Manchin	Tillis
Ernst	McCaskill	Toomey
Feinstein	McConnell	Van Hollen
Fischer	Moran	Warner
Gardner	Murray	Whitehouse
Graham	Nelson	Wicker
Grassley	Paul	Young

#### NAYS—20

Bennet	Coons	Murphy
Blumenthal	Durbin	Sanders
Booker	Gillibrand	Schatz
Brown	Hirono	Udall
Cantwell	Markey	Warren
Cardin	Menendez	Wyden
Carper	Merkley	

#### NOT VOTING—4

Cruz	Leahy
Flake	Murkowski

The nomination was confirmed.

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

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question occurs on the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The assistant bill clerk read the nomination of Terry Fitzgerald Moorer, of Alabama, to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of Alabama.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Moorer nomination?

The nomination was confirmed.

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

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question occurs on the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The assistant bill clerk read the nomination of R. Stan Baker, of Georgia, to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of Georgia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Baker nomination?

The nomination was confirmed.

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

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question occurs on the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The assistant bill read the nomination of Charles Barnes Goodwin, of Oklahoma, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Oklahoma.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Goodwin nomination?

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE), the Senator from Alaska (Ms. MURKOWSKI), and the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. PAUL).

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

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

The result was announced—yeas 52, nays 42, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 200 Ex.]

#### YEAS—52

Alexander	Graham	Portman
Barrasso	Grassley	Risch
Blunt	Hassan	Roberts
Boozman	Hatch	Rounds
Burr	Heller	Rubio
Capito	Hoeven	Sasse
Cassidy	Hyde-Smith	Scott
Collins	Inhofe	Shelby
Corker	Isakson	Smith
Cornyn	Johnson	Sullivan
Cotton	Kennedy	Tester
Crapo	Klobuchar	Thune
Daines	Lankford	Tillis
Donnelly	Lee	Toomey
Enzi	McCaskill	Wicker
Ernst	McConnell	Young
Fischer	Moran	
Gardner	Perdue	

#### NAYS—42

Baldwin	Gillibrand	Nelson
Bennet	Harris	Peters
Blumenthal	Heinrich	Reed
Booker	Heitkamp	Sanders
Brown	Hirono	Schatz
Cantwell	Jones	Schumer
Cardin	Kaine	Shaheen
Carper	King	Stabenow
Casey	Manchin	Udall
Coons	Markey	Van Hollen
Cortez Masto	Menendez	Warner
Duckworth	Merkley	Warren
Durbin	Murphy	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Murray	Wyden

#### NOT VOTING—5

Cruz	Leahy	Paul
Flake	Murkowski	

The nomination was confirmed.

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

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question occurs on the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Barry W. Ashe, of Louisiana, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Louisiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Ashe nomination?

The nomination was confirmed.

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

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question occurs on the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of James R. Sweeney II, of Indiana, to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of Indiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Sweeney nomination?

The nomination was confirmed.

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

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question occurs on the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Susan Paradise Baxter, of Pennsylvania, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Paradise Baxter nomination?

The nomination was confirmed.

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

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question occurs on the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Nancy E. Brasel, of Minnesota, to be United States District Judge for the District of Minnesota.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Brasel nomination?

The nomination was confirmed.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

##### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to legislative session for a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

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

#### REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I have been watching as Senators have come to the floor over the past couple days to pay tribute to John McCain, to share their stories, and to reflect on a full life of service to his country.

I have known John McCain for 25 years, not as long as some of my col-

leagues, but long enough to take the measure of the man and to appreciate his dedication to his family, to the U.S. military, to the Senate, to Arizona, and to the Nation.

He was a statesman and a global citizen, and our loss is all the deeper because we are living in a time where people like John are in short supply.

Like many others, I had my disagreements with John and found myself on the wrong end of his temper, but more often, I saw him as a man of ideals and a man who stood up for what he believed in.

For me, nowhere was this as strong and clear as on the issue of torture, and I wanted to talk a little bit about that today and really to share my appreciation for him.

It was June 2013, and John McCain and I were visiting Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, to see the detention facilities that had been hastily put together after the invasion of Afghanistan in September 2001. It was a hot, sunny, sultry day. We had toured the base, received briefings and boxed lunches from the commander, and looked at three separate detention facilities.

It was clear that the officers and enlisted personnel were working under difficult conditions, dealing with enemy combatants with little contact with the outside world and no sense of what would happen to them.

John McCain, as always, praised the troops for their service and took whatever time was required to take pictures with them, but he, like me and like Presidents Bush and Obama, had called for Guantanamo to shut down.

I remember we were flying home on the last flight of the day—after two boat rides, after seeing the facility where forced intubations were done to feed hunger-striking detainees, and after hearing about the daily infractions committed by the detainees against the guards.

The conversation turned to the conditions of detention we had just seen and the detainees being held at Naval Station Guantanamo Bay.

John opened up about his years in the Navy and his time as a prisoner of war.

I learned for the first time the depth and breadth of his suffering, but also his perseverance and his intensity.

John told us about his years as a captive in Hanoi and how one of the things he and his fellow prisoners did was work out a tap code, similar to Morse code.

They tapped on walls, day after day, year after year. They tapped out messages. I read earlier this week of an account of tapping out poems that other POWs had learned in school.

So there we were on that airplane, flying to Washington from Guantanamo Bay, and John starts tapping, speaking using his code. After all those years, he could still use the tap code like second nature.

John was unusual, but in a very good way.

As the son and grandson of admirals, John was born and bred in military tradition and the ideals of public service. He worried that he wouldn't live up to his family's traditions or expectations. John often joked about how bad of a student he was at Annapolis, but even though his father was an admiral and he could have used the help, John never sought nor accepted special treatment.

John was brutalized. Although both arms and a leg were broken in a plane crash in Vietnam, he received no medical treatment. His torturers regularly beat him, rebreaking one arm and cracking his ribs. He was held in solitary confinement for years, in unimaginable conditions.

When the North Vietnamese offered to release John early, he refused. Other servicemen had been in custody longer, and he wasn't going to allow his father and his grandfather's position to bring him special favor.

But John was able to emerge from that hell with a sense of humor and such an amazing strength of purpose. How he did so is simply remarkable.

I knew John for decades, but it was just in the last 5 years that I worked particularly close with him on the issue of torture.

He was already recognized in the Senate as the leader on torture issues, having recently authored the Detainee Treatment Act and important amendments to the Military Commissions Act to ban cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment or punishment during the Bush administration.

Starting in 2009, the Intelligence Committee began work on what ended up being a 7,000-page report on the CIA detention and interrogation program after 9/11.

By the time we were finishing the report, John was chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

As an ex officio member of the Intelligence Committee, he was aware of what our investigation had found, and he knew how controversial our findings would be. Nonetheless, he approached me and said he wanted to help. To say I was grateful would be an understatement.

John had an innate and immutable sense of what was right. More to the point, he knew from personal experience what torture can do, and he knew that torture doesn't work to elicit accurate information. It is wrong, and we shouldn't practice it.

I remember the day we released the report. I spoke on the floor about the report and everything we found, but no one could match the eloquence of John, who spoke immediately after me. I was so grateful to have a friend and a partner, literally standing across the aisle on that day.

Here is what he said about the use of torture: "I know from personal experience that the abuse of prisoners will produce more bad than good intelligence."

"I know victims of torture will offer intentionally misleading information if they think their captors will believe it."



"I know they will say whatever they think their torturers want them to say if they believe it will stop their suffering."

"Most of all, I know the use of torture compromises that which most distinguishes us from our enemies—our belief that all people, even captured enemies, possess basic human rights which are protected by international conventions the United States not only joined but for the most part authored."

There was no better spokesman against torture or for the report. When John McCain spoke on this floor in support of this report, people took notice and paid attention.

It wasn't just John's experience that made him so powerful on this subject. You could tell that he wholeheartedly believed what he was saying.

Here is how John wrapped up his remarks that day: "We have made our way in this often dangerous and cruel world not by just strictly pursuing our geopolitical interests, but by exemplifying our political values and influencing other nations to embrace them."

"When we fight to defend our security, we fight also for an idea—not for a tribe or a twisted interpretation of an ancient religion or for a King—but for an idea that all men are endowed by the Creator with inalienable rights."

"How much safer the world would be if all nations believed the same. How much more dangerous it can become when we forget it ourselves, even momentarily."

I ask unanimous consent that Senator McCain's remarks from December 9, 2014, be printed in the Record immediately following my remarks.

Of course, John also didn't just talk about those issues that he cared deeply about; he also acted.

We knew the report would shine a light on what the CIA had done, but it didn't do anything concrete to make sure this would never happen again.

John knew how the prior White House and Department of Justice had concocted twisted legal analyses that said techniques like stress positions, sleep deprivation, and waterboarding did not violate existing law. He had already passed legislation to prevent abuses by the Department of Defense, going back to the Detainee Treatment Act of 2005.

The Office of Legal Counsel in 2002 had given the legal approval to the CIA, even though laws were already on the books that clearly prohibited these acts.

U.S. domestic law already banned the use of torture, which it defined as "an act committed by a person acting under the color of law specifically intended to inflict severe physical or mental pain or suffering (other than pain or suffering incidental to lawful sanctions) upon another person within his custody or physical control."

The United States was and remains a signatory to the Geneva Conventions and the Convention Against Torture, which similarly banned torture, as well

as cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment and punishment.

Nonetheless, the CIA had developed—through the use of two contractors, so-called enhanced interrogation techniques, and the Department of Justice had said they were acceptable.

John believed, as did I, that if lawyers could find legal loopholes to allow the CIA to waterboard people in its custody, then the laws needed to be tightened.

We came up with a simple fix to make the law explicit and crystal clear. In an amendment that John sponsored to the defense authorization bill, we applied the restrictions of the Army Field Manual across the government, including to the CIA.

This manual not only bans specific interrogation techniques; it lays out those techniques that are authorized for use. Never again could a DOJ lawyer or a CIA interrogator mistake what was lawful from what was not.

The amendment also mandated that the International Committee of the Red Cross be allowed access to all detainees in U.S. custody, thereby ending the possibility of secret, undisclosed detention.

With his leadership, the amendment passed by a strong 78–21 vote, so that torture and cruel and degrading treatment will never be allowed.

Of course, John was prolific during his years in the Senate, and many Senators have spoken about other aspects of his work.

He traveled the world as a champion for democracy, visiting countries like Syria and Ukraine and doing all he could to improve the lives of millions.

He was a critical player in the process to restart diplomatic relations with Vietnam.

John was never afraid to reach across the aisle, most notably when he joined with Russ Feingold on campaign finance reform legislation.

John had a firm sense of right and wrong, and you saw that every day in the issues he worked on.

John McCain's life was one of strength and of commitment. He was a great patriot and a fine, fine U.S. Senator. He worked for this country to better it for 60 years. That is a pretty good record, and I am thankful for the opportunity to have known him and worked with him.

To Cindy and the rest of John's family, my heart goes out to you, but rest well knowing that you had a great man in your lives.

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

SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN FLOOR REMARKS—  
DECEMBER 9, 2014

Madam President, I wish to begin by expressing my appreciation and admiration to the personnel who serve in our intelligence agencies, including the CIA, who are out there every day defending our Nation.

I have read the executive summary and I also have been briefed on the entirety of this report. I rise in support of the release—the long-delayed release—of the Senate Intel-

ligence Committee's summarized unclassified review of the so-called enhanced interrogation techniques that were employed by the previous administration to extract information from captured terrorists. It is a thorough and thoughtful study of practices that I believe not only failed their purpose to secure actionable intelligence to prevent further attacks on the United States and our allies, but actually damaged our security interests as well as our reputation as a force for good in the world.

I believe the American people have a right—indeed a responsibility—to know what was done in their name, how these practices did or did not serve our interests, and how they comported with our most important values.

I commend Chairwoman Feinstein and her staff for their diligence in seeking a truthful accounting of policies I hope we will never resort to again. I thank them for persevering against persistent opposition from many members of the intelligence community, from officials in two administrations, and from some of our colleagues.

The truth is sometimes a hard pill to swallow. It sometimes causes us difficulties at home and abroad. It is sometimes used by our enemies in attempts to hurt us. But the American people are entitled to it nonetheless. They must know when the values that define our Nation are intentionally disregarded by our security policies, even those policies that are conducted in secret. They must be able to make informed judgments about whether those policies and the personnel who supported them were justified in compromising our values, whether they served a greater good, or whether, as I believe, they stained our national honor much harm, and little practical good.

What were the policies? What was their purpose? Did they achieve it? Did they make us safer, less safe, or did they make no difference? What did they gain us? What did they cost us?

What did they gain us? What did they cost us? The American people need the answers to these questions. Yes, some things must be kept from public disclosure to protect clandestine operations, sources, and methods, but not the answers to these questions. By providing them, the committee has empowered the American people to come to their own decisions about whether we should have employed such practices in the past and whether we should consider permitting them in the future.

This report strengthens self-government and ultimately, I believe, American security and stature in the world. I thank the committee for that valuable public service.

I have long believed some of these practices amounted to torture as a reasonable person would define it, especially but not only the practice of waterboarding, which is a mock execution and an exquisite form of torture. Its use was shameful and unnecessary, and, contrary to assertions made by some of its defenders and as the committee's report makes clear, it produced little useful intelligence to help us track down the perpetrators of 9/11 or prevent new attacks and atrocities.

I know from personal experience that the abuse of prisoners will produce more bad than good intelligence. I know victims of torture will offer intentionally misleading information if they think their captors will believe it. I know they will say whatever they think their torturers want them to say if they believe it will stop their suffering. Most of all, I know the use of torture compromises that which most distinguishes us from our enemies—our belief that all people, even captured enemies, possess basic human rights which are protected by international

conventions the United States not only joined but for the most part authored.

I know too that bad things happen in war. I know that in war good people can feel obliged for good reasons to do things they would normally object to and recoil from. I understand the reasons that governed the decision to resort to these interrogation methods, and I know that those who approved them and those who used them were dedicated to securing justice for victims of terrorist attacks and to protecting Americans from further harm. I know their responsibilities were grave and urgent and the strain of their duty was onerous. I respect their dedication, and I appreciate their dilemma. But I dispute wholeheartedly that it was right for them to use these methods which this report makes clear were neither in the best interests of justice, nor our security, nor the ideals we have sacrificed so much blood and treasure to defend.

The knowledge of torture's dubious efficacy and my moral objection to the abuse of prisoners motivated my sponsorship of the Detainee Treatment Act of 2005, which prohibits "cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment" of captured combatants, whether they wear a nation's uniform or not, and which passed the Senate by a vote of 90 to 9.

Subsequently, I successfully offered amendments to the Military Commissions Act of 2006, which, among other things, prevented the attempt to weaken Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions and broadened definitions in the War Crimes Act to make the future use of waterboarding and other "enhanced interrogation techniques" punishable as war crimes.

There was considerable misinformation disseminated then about what was and wasn't achieved using these methods in an effort to discourage support for the legislation. There was a good amount of misinformation used in 2011 to credit the use of these methods with the death of Osama bin Laden. And there is, I fear, misinformation being used today to prevent the release of this report, disputing its findings and warning about the security consequences of their public disclosure.

Will the report's release cause outrage that leads to violence in some parts of the Muslim world? Yes, I suppose that is possible and perhaps likely. Sadly, violence needs little incentive in some quarters of the world today. But that doesn't mean we will be telling the world something it will be shocked to learn. The entire world already knows we waterboarded prisoners. It knows we subjected prisoners to various other types of degrading treatment. It knows we used black sites, secret prisons. Those practices haven't been a secret for a decade. Terrorists might use the report's reidentification of the practices as an excuse to attack Americans, but they hardly need an excuse for that. That has been their life's calling for a while now.

What might come as a surprise not just to our enemies but to many Americans is how little these practices did aid our efforts to bring 9/11 culprits to justice and to find and prevent terrorist attacks today and tomorrow. That could be a real surprise since it contradicts the many assurances provided by intelligence officials on the record and in private that enhanced interrogation techniques were indispensable in the war against terrorism. And I suspect the objection of those same officials to the release of this report is really focused on that disclosure—torture's ineffectiveness—because we gave up much in the expectation that torture would make us safer—too much.

Obviously, we need intelligence to defeat our enemies, but we need reliable intelligence. Torture produces more misleading information than actionable intelligence.

And what the advocates of harsh and cruel interrogation methods have never established is that we couldn't have gathered as good or more reliable intelligence from using humane methods.

The most important lead we got in the search for bin Laden came from using conventional interrogation methods. I think it is an insult to the many intelligence officers who have acquired good intelligence without hurting or degrading prisoners to assert that we can't win these wars without such methods. Yes, we can and we will.

But in the end torture's failure to serve its intended purpose isn't the main reason to oppose its use. I have often said and I will always maintain that this question isn't about our enemies; it is about us. It is about who we were, who are, and who we aspire to be. It is about how we represent ourselves to the world.

We have made our way in this often dangerous and cruel world not by just strictly pursuing our geopolitical interests but by exemplifying our political values and influencing other nations to embrace them. When we fight to defend our security, we fight also for an idea—not for a tribe or a twisted interpretation of an ancient religion or for a King but for an idea that all men are endowed by the Creator with inalienable rights. How much safer the world would be if all nations believed the same. How much more dangerous it can become when we forget it ourselves, even momentarily.

Our enemies act without conscience. We must not. This executive summary of the committee's report makes clear that acting without conscience isn't necessary. It isn't even helpful in winning this strange and long war we are fighting. We should be grateful to have that truth affirmed.

Now, let us reassert the contrary proposition: that is it essential to our success in this war that we ask those who fight it for us to remember at all times that they are defending a sacred ideal of how nations should be governed and conduct their relations with others—even our enemies.

Those of us who give them this duty are obliged by history, by our Nation's highest ideals and the many terrible sacrifices made to protect them, by our respect for human dignity, to make clear we need not risk our national honor to prevail in this or any war. We need only remember in the worst of times, through the chaos and terror of war, when facing cruelty, suffering, and loss, that we are always Americans and different, stronger, and better than those who would destroy us.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, today I would like to honor the late Senator John McCain. I appreciate having this opportunity to celebrate the life and accomplishments of John McCain and to mourn him as he has lost his battle with cancer. His loss will be deeply felt by all of us here in the Senate, not only by those of us who served with him, but also by the many staff and individuals he has worked with over time.

Senator McCain was a true patriot who dedicated his life to serving others. His dedication to his country and its defense was unmatched. After graduating from the Naval Academy, he served for two decades in the Navy. He was tested as only few men ever are after his plane crashed in Vietnam. He showed incredible resilience and moral fortitude during his time as a prisoner of war. After leaving the Navy, he rep-

resented the great State of Arizona in Congress for 35 years, first in the House and later in the Senate. His sense of duty, loyalty, honor, and compassion were bedrock strong and served to guide him in his long career of public service.

He rightfully earned his Maverick moniker during his long public career with his iron strength of will to stand up and fight for what he believed was right, no matter the political consequences. He was renowned for his support of the military. John showed unwavering support to freedom, democracy, and the country he loved. He found it in himself to push to reopen ties to Vietnam, believing that was how we could begin to heal the wounds of war. He was a lively speaker, a straight talker, and a prodigious leader, but more than that, he was a good man. I had the opportunity to work with John on several pieces of legislation over time, and every time, I was impressed with his ability to cut right to the heart of an issue. He always put what he thought would be best for his constituents and America above any political concerns or niceties. He was passionate throughout his long years of service to the people of Arizona.

John was a man of faith. He had a quiet faith, one that was beyond simple expression. It meant, when he did speak of his faith, it made it that much more impactful. He once recounted how it was his faith in God, faith in his fellow prisoners, and faith in his country that helped him make it through his time as a prisoner of war in Vietnam. In an interview John gave in 2008, he shared what it meant to him to be a Christian, "It means I'm saved and forgiven." During that same interview, he mentioned a guard at that prisoner of war camp in Vietnam who shared his faith one Christmas. "He stood there for a minute, and with his sandal on the dirt in the courtyard, he drew a cross and he stood there, and a minute later, he rubbed it out, and walked away. For a minute there, there were just two Christians worshipping together." His moral compass was guided strongly by his faith in God, and it meant that he always did what he thought was right, rather than doing what was easy. I know that his quiet devotion and many of his other qualities earned him respect from Members on both sides of the aisle.

While America is remembering a war hero, veteran, Senator, and Presidential candidate, his family is remembering a husband, a father, a brother and experiencing a world that seems incomplete without him in it. My wife Diana and I send our thoughts and deepest prayers to his wife Cindy and the entire McCain family, as we mourn the passing of an American hero.

How can I adequately praise the life of a man who has had such a long and storied career, one with so many accomplishments? In an interview, John talked about how he would want to be remembered. He wanted people to remember him as a guy who "served his

country.” I intend to do just that. John McCain served his country. He served it well. America will never forget that service.

Thank you. God bless you. May you find peace.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, I come to the floor to today to pay tribute to an American hero, a beloved colleague, and a friend, a man who lived a life that embodied service, sacrifice, and statesmanship, a patriot whose presence here in the U.S. Senate will be sorely missed for years to come but whose legacy will last for generations.

As so many of my colleagues have said in recent days, you never forget your first time meeting Senator John McCain. For me, it was early 2006, when I was appointed to the U.S. Senate and in the midst of my campaign for a full term that November. Naturally, I wanted to establish a record that could show I was an effective Senator. I had submitted an amendment to the budget aimed at reducing the burden on New Jersey taxpayers, and while the Republican majority wasn’t thrilled I was the one putting it forward at the time, it had strong bipartisan support. It could have easily passed with a voice vote but I wanted to get my colleagues on the record. I wanted a rollcall vote, so that is what I requested.

Shortly thereafter, Senator John McCain came barreling towards me on the floor, calling me out. “Bob, you are a jerk!” he said.

I was taken aback. We weren’t on a first-name basis back then. “Senator,” I said, “what is the problem?”

“This didn’t need a roll call vote. That makes you a jerk!”

Well, at that point, the Hudson County in me kicked in, and I fired back with some language I think is best left out of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Senator McCain stormed off, leaving me bewildered. Wasn’t this supposed to be the world’s greatest deliberative body?

I walked over to minority leader Harry Reid to ask what that was all about. “Welcome to the Senate, that’s John McCain,” he said.

Apparently, John had a foreign trip scheduled, and he was anxious to leave Washington, so my rollcall vote was a kink in his schedule.

Later, when I retold the story to my friend Senator LINDSEY GRAHAM, he said, “Good for you for standing up to him, Bob. You earned his respect.”

I share this story today not as an example of John McCain’s temper—which he was well known for, along with his biting wit, of course—I share it for two reasons. First, it is a reminder that John admired people willing to stand their ground, not out of stubbornness or rigid partisanship but out of principle. He respected people for the strength of their convictions.

The second reason I tell this story is because it is a reminder that, to John McCain, being a U.S. Senator was about more than passing laws. It was

about championing American values around the world. Whether he was traveling abroad to meet with our troops or foreign heads of state, Senator McCain never hesitated to stand up for American ideals of democracy, human rights, and freedom on the global stage.

Yes, he was a relentless advocate for the American military, but he ultimately believed that our Nation’s strength came not just from the might of our military but the power of our ideals. I saw Senator McCain’s commitment to those ideals up close back when I served as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, during which he was a member.

Russia, which had opposed Ukrainian independence from the moment it was declared in 1991, had invaded the sovereign nation of Ukraine and illegally annexed Crimea. John and I both understood then that Putin’s annexation of Crimea wasn’t about a territorial dispute. It was about exerting Russia’s geopolitical power and undermining the liberal international order the United States helped build in the aftermath of World War II and worked to strengthen throughout the challenges of the Cold War.

John was instrumental in crafting and passing the package of sanctions we put forward to counter Russian aggression and promote the interests of the Ukrainian people in their ongoing struggle for sovereignty and freedom. He understood better than anyone that we had to stand on the side of the Ukrainian people, not just because of Russia’s hostile takeover of Crimea, but for the Kremlin’s years of interference in Ukraine, from its cyberattacks on Ukrainian infrastructure to its deliberate efforts to manipulate and corrupt its democratic processes.

I will never forget his support and counsel as we worked to pass the Ukraine Freedom Support Act in the months that followed, a piece of legislation that made crystal clear America’s unwavering support for the people of Ukraine and their right to sovereign self-determination, democracy, territorial integrity, and freedom.

Senator McCain believed that, as Americans, we have a responsibility to support all people in their struggle against tyranny, to stand up for human dignity against those who deny it, and to share American ideals like freedom, democracy, and human rights around the world, bringing hope to the hopeless and light to the darkest corners of the Earth. Perhaps that is because John himself spent so many years in one of the Earth’s darkest corners, as a prisoner of war in Vietnam. His commitment to country was tested in ways that few of us can imagine—the pain he suffered, the torture he endured, the faith he kept. There is no question in my mind that John’s time spent as a prisoner of war shaped him as a legislator and not just with respect to foreign policy. He may have been a

staunch Republican, but he never treated his Democratic colleagues as if they were evil, perhaps because he had seen real evil. Disagreeing on the issues didn’t make us enemies, because we were all Americans.

Some have accused Senator McCain of abandoning his conservatism whenever he sought common ground. Those accusations are foolish. Take it from me as a Member of the bipartisan Gang of 8 who worked on historic immigration reforms back in 2013. When I entered those negotiations, I did so with a healthy dose of skepticism towards Senator McCain, and I imagine he did so with me same way. After all, I was the Hispanic Democrat from New Jersey who never hesitated to voice my problems with the McCain-Kennedy immigration negotiations of 2007 loudly and clearly.

It is easy to demonize the other side from afar, but when you sit in a room with someone for probably 100 hours of negotiations, as I did with Senator McCain, you begin to lift, ever slowly, the veil of distrust between you. You soon realize there is far more that unites you as Americans than divides you as partisans.

John never relented in his commitment to border security, just as I never relented in my commitment to bringing the undocumented out of the shadows and towards a path to citizenship. We disagreed pretty much constantly; yet we built trust. We engaged in the give-and-take of compromise, and we emerged from the Gang of 8 negotiations with a compassionate and comprehensive immigration reform bill that ultimately passed the Senate with a bipartisan supermajority.

That historic legislation never received a vote in the House of Representatives, but I remain as committed as ever to the cause of comprehensive immigration reform; reform built on mutual trust and good-faith compromise, on both pragmatism and idealism, and on a shared commitment to solving the greatest challenges of our time.

John McCain wasn’t perfect. No one is. John McCain made mistakes. We all do. But what made him a giant of the Senate, in my opinion, was his willingness to put country over party and patriotism over partisanship.

In recent days, there has been a lot of discussion about what would be a fitting tribute to Senator John McCain. I would certainly name a building in his honor and hope we do, but I don’t think we should stop there. I believe it would be a great tribute to Senator John McCain if all of us here in this body strived to look at each other through his lens. We are humble servants for something far greater and bigger than ourselves. We are bestowed by the American people an opportunity to make an imperfect nation even better, and we are far more likely to succeed at that mission when we can rise above the politics of division, look beyond the news cycle, and work relentlessly toward common cause.

Mrs. McCASKILL. Mr. President, today I wish to recognize the extraordinary life of my friend, colleague, and role model, Senator John McCain.

Senator McCain lived a life of superlatives. He was a war hero whose conduct in the face of unimaginable adversity spoke to the very essence of who he was as a man. He was a consummate statesman, who spent a career in public service working to foster consensus on the most intractable and important problems facing our Nation. He was a gentleman of the highest caliber, who understood that, although we may discuss, argue, and disagree, our common bond as Americans is stronger than the passing tempest of political debate.

The measure of a man like Senator McCain can be seen in the outpouring of sympathy from friends and colleagues across the political spectrum. He spoke his mind, and more importantly, he spoke his conscience. He was never afraid to tell those in power they were wrong and those suffering injustice that the United States of America would not abandon them. His commitment to doing what was right transcended political ideology, and I am confident that future generations will study his legacy as we have studied the great leaders of the past.

It is not difficult to find examples of Senator McCain's integrity in a career marked by such moments. I know that I particularly admired his steadfast courage in opposing and working to eliminate torture by the United States of America. He, more so than most, knew what that legacy would mean to our country. He knew that, if we were torturing, our servicemen and women would be tortured. He was willing to stand up for what was right and ensured that we would live up to our promise as a nation. His unwavering voice on the issue served, as it has so many times, as our national conscience, and we are all better for it.

We had our brawls every once in a while, but it usually ended with a joke and a laugh and a commitment to work together on the next problem that our country faced. I will cherish the memories I have of working with Senator McCain on issues related to eliminating earmarks, protecting children from human-trafficking, and providing the necessary resources to the men and women of the Armed Forces whom he loved and respected dearly.

His wit, intellect, and humor were the hallmark of a man who cannot be replaced; however, it is my hope that we might use this sad occasion to unite together around the principles that he stood for. I join my voice to the thousands that have spoken to his character as a colleague and as a friend and extend my most heartfelt sympathies to his family. I will miss him terribly, the Senate will miss him terribly, and our country will miss him terribly.

Ms. WARREN. Mr. President, today I wish to pay tribute to a true American hero, my friend and colleague Senator John McCain.

To know John was to know a man who was fiercely devoted to his family, his constituents, and his country. My thoughts and prayers are with his family and loved ones during this difficult time.

As a nation, we all share in the sense of emptiness his passing has left behind, but we also share a profound sense of gratitude for the life John lived and the legacy of service and unwavering commitment he has left us to cherish.

Many Americans felt a personal connection to John McCain. Our men and women in uniform always knew he was on their side; he was one of them. John understood better than anyone what it meant to send people into combat. So much of his work in the Senate was devoted to making sure our troops got the training, equipment, and pay that they deserved.

Last year, I had the honor of traveling with John on one of his final trips to the Middle East. I had the chance to see how deeply revered he was by everyone in uniform. They all knew the story—how John McCain, the war hero, spent nearly 6 years as a prisoner of war in North Vietnam; how, when offered abrupt release less than a year after his Navy jet was shot out of the air, John McCain refused to be released while his brothers were still in captivity; how he was isolated, tortured, and beaten so badly that he carried the physical consequences of his loyalty to our country with him for the rest of his life; how he could have avoided it all but endured out of love and loyalty to his fellow servicemembers.

Yeah, they knew the story and every single servicemember we saw treated John like a celebrity rockstar, and that is because he was.

John was a deeply principled man. I had the honor of working with John closely in the fight to reinstate Glass Steagall, and boy, was it a fight. Throughout the entire battle, John would always tease me about pulling my weight in "getting this thing done," as he would say. "Show some fight, girl," "Don't tell me you're afraid. Get in there—throw some punches." That was John's approach in life: If you're going to be in a fight, you had better give it your all.

Don't get me wrong: John and I disagreed on many things and sometimes quite forcefully, but even when we disagreed, I always respected that his heart was focused on doing what he thought was best for the American people. I remember expressing to John my views on the most effective strategy in Iraq and Afghanistan, that there are simply some problems that cannot be solved through military action alone, we can't simply fight our way to peace and we need to bring our troops home. Respectfully, John would disagree and proceed to energetically walk me through why he believed in the benefits of staying longer.

Democrat or Republican, foreign leader or President of the United

States, John McCain would go toe-to-toe with anyone to fight for what he thought was right. He applied these principles to his service to our country, in his commitment to the people of Arizona, and his abiding love and defense of the American people. At a time when character and integrity are under siege, the entire Nation mourns the loss of a public servant who lived his life with courage and conviction.

John ran the Armed Services Committee with an iron fist, but also with a respect for the importance of bipartisanship and a basic sense of fairness no one could ever ignore. If you came to the table, ready, prepared to work, John made sure you were heard. There were so many occasions where John would jump in while I was questioning a witness because he was listening and hear how my questions were being dodged and disregarded. His admonishment to the witness was like a whip: "If you can't come up with better answers what are you here for?"

I count it a blessing to have had the honor to serve with Senator John McCain in the U.S. Senate. If there ever was a true American patriot, John McCain was that patriot. I will miss his strength, I will miss his maverick spirit, but most of all, I will miss his kindness.

Mrs. FISCHER. Mr. President, today I wish to join my colleagues in saying goodbye to our friend and mentor, John McCain.

As our country and the world grieves for his loss, we remember him as he was: a father, husband, grandfather, a war hero, and a dedicated public servant who loved this country.

We remember his extraordinary story and how the tragic and painful experiences he endured gave him the uncommon strength we all knew so well.

Most of all, I remember John for his passion. He was a fearless advocate for American values and a champion of democratic ideals.

When I was elected to serve the people of Nebraska in this Chamber, I became a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Serving on this committee has been an honor, but one of the greatest privileges it offered was the opportunity to work with John McCain.

As a senior member and chairman, Senator McCain set the tone for the committee. We all benefited from his good instincts, his unfailing energy, his unwavering values, and, of course, his sense of humor.

His leadership fostered an environment that led to bold reforms. He embraced and encouraged the heated debates. But John knew how to unite the committee, how to compromise, and how to refocus members on our fundamental responsibility: providing for the defense of the Nation he loved so dearly.

As much as John was an inspiration to us, he was truly a global figure who took his message of liberty to some of the darkest regions of the globe. All

around the world, people had such respect for John McCain. Traveling with him, I witnessed firsthand the weight and authority his words carried with foreign leaders. This strong global support reflects the effect he had on this world and the legacy he leaves behind.

Last fall, Senator McCain addressed the brigade of midshipmen at the U.S. Naval Academy. He said: "My appreciation for those lessons and for the friendships I made here bring me back often. So does my gratitude for the life of adventure the Naval Academy prepared me for, and for the privilege of being a bit player in the story of America that the Navy made possible."

John was not just a bit player in our Nation's story. He was a man who served our country in war and peace with courage and honor.

This weekend, John will return to Annapolis for a final time, but generations from now, Americans will still be inspired by his story, that of a hero committed to his nation and willing to live a life of service.

He has carried our Nation's highest ideals through the darkest of times, and he remains an enduring example of selfless dedication to country.

I know I join so many of my colleagues here in the Senate in sending our love and prayers to Cindy and the rest of John's family, who supported him every step of the way.

John McCain will certainly be missed here in the U.S. Senate.

Though he is no longer with us, his steadfast commitment to the ideals of our Nation will not be forgotten here, across the country, or around the globe.

Thank you.

#### CONFIRMATION OF CHARLES BARNES GOODWIN

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I would like to congratulate Judge Charles Goodwin of Oklahoma City on his confirmation today as a U.S. district judge for the Western District of Oklahoma. Judge Goodwin most recently served the Western District as a magistrate judge, and he has done so admirably and faithfully since his appointment in 2013.

Judge Goodwin's service on the Federal bench, combined with his career as a civil litigator before various Federal district courts, U.S. circuit courts of appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court, and as a Federal law clerk provides him with the experience, knowledge, and perspective necessary to take on his new role of Federal district court judge.

Furthermore, Judge Goodwin has been a leader on Federal civil procedure. He served as chair of the Western District's Local Civil Rules Committee, and, while in private practice, he taught seminars and authored articles on civil procedure for the Oklahoma Bar Association. Judge Goodwin is also active in his community, providing legal assistance to homeless veterans and volunteering in support of

the improvement of public education in Oklahoma.

During the process of looking for capable, well-qualified candidates for the Western District, my office heard from many people in the Oklahoma legal community who worked with Judge Goodwin for many years and know him best. I think these colleagues and legal contemporaries speak better to the type of man and judge he is, and I would like to share some of their thoughts with you.

Kevin Donelson, current president of the Oklahoma Bar Association, wrote, "I have personally appeared before Magistrate Judge Goodwin on a number of matters. He has been judicious and courteous in all of the matters that I have appeared before him. The United States of America and the Western District of Oklahoma would [be] lucky to have Magistrate Judge Goodwin be a United States District Judge."

Seventeen former past presidents of the Oklahoma Bar Association wrote, "Each of us knows Charles in person or by reputation and believes that he is highly qualified for this position. As a lawyer and a judge, Charles has always exhibited a high degree of ethical conduct, professionalism, competence, hard work, and, as a judge, exceptional judicial temperament. We are confident he would make an outstanding District Judge . . ." Mr. Harry Wood, a supervisor and then colleague of Judge Goodwin's at Crowe & Dunlevy, wrote, "In all my dealings with him, I found him to be extremely capable, highly dependable, very hard-working, and well organized." He went on to say, "I found him given to decency, honesty, integrity, even temper and good humor . . . I cannot think of anyone that has a higher level of character, integrity, and judicial temperament." Mr. Daniel Webber, a former Assistant U.S. Attorney and U.S. Attorney for the Western District, stated that Judge Goodwin as a litigator "had a strong reputation for being a diligent but ethical advocate. I have never heard his integrity or his temperament called into question."

Finally, I will leave you with some words from Chief Judge Joe Heaton of the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Oklahoma. Judge Heaton wrote, "I have reviewed various indicators of Judge Goodwin's productivity, such as the number of reports and recommendations generated by him and the complexity of the matters assigned to him. I believe his productivity to be fully comparable with that of the other magistrate judges of this court." Furthermore, Judge Heaton states, "Based on his service here and his experience as a partner and practicing lawyer with one of Oklahoma's largest law firms, I believe Judge Goodwin is plainly qualified to be a U.S. District Judge."

Based on Judge Goodwin's experience, expertise, and stature in the Oklahoma legal community, I have fully supported his nomination as a U.S. district judge for the Western Dis-

trict of Oklahoma and congratulate him on his well-deserved confirmation.

#### CONFIRMATION OF LYNN A. JOHNSON

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, today the Senate confirmed the nomination of Lynn Johnson to lead the Administration for Children and Families. In less chaotic times, she would be running an office that few people outside of Washington would hear much about. In the coming months, however, she will be responsible for undoing a lot of the damage this administration has done with respect to separating immigrant children from their parents.

There are a few key matters I want to discuss today as this debate closes.

As the ranking Democrat on the Finance Committee, I voted against sending Ms. Johnson's nomination to the Senate floor. There were far too many unanswered questions and misleading statements from the administration regarding its family separation policy.

In the last week, I spoke with Ms. Johnson at length about what she needs to accomplish if she is confirmed. She committed to me that she would change how the Administration for Children and Families, and particularly the Office of Refugee Resettlement, handle several key policies. I want to guarantee that those commitments are laid out on the record.

First, Ms. Johnson made several commitments to improve the treatment of the kids in the custody of the Office of Refugee Resettlement or in facilities that receive grants from ORR. Those changes include prohibiting solitary confinement as a punishment or an attempt to change behavior; prohibiting arbitrary restraint policies; prohibiting the distribution of psychotropic medications or sedatives outside of emergency situations; unless the agency or facility has the informed, written consent of a parent or guardian; prohibiting any security measures that are not necessary for children's protection, such as denying children access to drinking water or preventing them from making private phone calls; and guaranteeing the confidentiality of information disclosed by children to therapists and counselors during treatment.

Ms. Johnson also committed to ensuring that separated children can call their parents or legal guardians as frequently as they wish. Calls can be monitored if there are documented safety concerns, but otherwise, ORR and private facilities cannot prevent kids from talking to their parents or guardians. If the parent or guardian is in the custody of Homeland Security, the agencies must establish a way to connect them by phone.

Finally, Ms. Johnson committed to conducting a full review, within 90 days, of the oversight, staffing, training, medication, and licensing policies for ORR-funded facilities. She will issue a report to Congress describing

the oversight of those facilities, as well as the actions the Administration for Children and Families will take to correct any problems.

That review will include a stem-to-stern examination of the policies related to services offered to immigrants after their release. That includes legal services and healthcare, including reproductive healthcare.

If Ms. Johnson's agency cannot complete that review in 90 days, they will provide a summary of their work to date and give the Congress a new timeline and a guarantee of when the process will be finalized.

Let me be very clear: These are not suggestions from me or from the Finance Committee. These are commitments set in stone. The Finance Committee is going to watchdog this every day going forward. We will do everything in our power to hold Ms. Johnson to these commitments.

This administration's continuing mistreatment of migrant children and their parents is cruel and inhuman. Separating kids from their parents has harmful, long-lasting effects to these kids' physical and mental well-being. There is a lot of work left to be done reunifying the families that were broken apart as a result of the administration's "zero tolerance" policy. I believe Lynn Johnson will be an improvement. I supported her nomination today, but you can bet my colleagues and I are going to go to every length to hold her to the commitments she has made.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, today I voted yea on the confirmation of Lynn Johnson of Colorado to lead the Administration for Children and Families under the Department of Health and Human Services. As the head of the agency that oversees the Office of Refugee Resettlement, Mrs. Johnson now faces the daunting and critically important task of overseeing the ongoing reunification of hundreds of children and parents who were forcibly and cruelly separated by this administration at the southern border.

This nightmare is far from over. As of today, hundreds of children have still not been reunified with their families. According to information I received from the Department of Health and Human Services yesterday, 43 of these children are being held in facilities in my home State of Florida. I am outraged at the slow pace of reunification, and I am furious that these children are still being subjected to the unimaginable trauma of separation at the hands of our government.

I conveyed these serious concerns to Mrs. Johnson when I met with her last month. It is my hope that she understands the gravity of the situation she has now inherited. I expect her to immediately put forward a plan to reunify all remaining separated children with their families and to ensure that these children are treated humanely while they are held in facilities that she now oversees. I will continue to monitor this crisis, and I will continue

to hold this administration accountable for its policies.

#### VOTE EXPLANATION

Ms. HIRONO. Mr. President, I was necessarily absent for votes on August 23 and August 27 so I could return to Hawaii to lend my support to the State and Federal preparations for and response to the severe weather conditions caused by Hurricane Lane. I rise today in order to outline how I would have voted on the rollcall votes that occurred on those dates.

For vote No. 190 on August 23, 2018, on the motion to invoke cloture on Senate amendment 3695 to H.R. 6157, Department of Defense, Health and Human Services, and Education Appropriations Act, 2019, had I been present, I would have voted yea.

For vote No. 191 on August 23, 2018, on adoption of Senate amendment 3967 to H.R. 6157, Department of Defense, Health and Human Services, and Education Appropriations Act, 2019, had I been present, I would have voted nay.

For vote No. 192 on August 23, 2018, on the motion to waive the Budget Act with respect to Amendment No. 3695 to H.R. 6157, Department of Defense, Health and Human Services, and Education Appropriations Act, 2019, had I been present, I would have voted yea.

For vote No. 193 on August 23, 2018, on final passage of H.R. 6157, Department of Defense, Health and Human Services, and Education Appropriations Act, 2019, as amended, had I been present, I would have voted yea.

Finally, for vote No. 194 on August 27, 2018, on the motion to invoke cloture on the nomination of Lynn A. Johnson to be Assistant Secretary for Family Support, Department of Health and Human Services, had I been present, I would have voted yea.

#### TRIBUTE TO DR. MARCIA CROSSE

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, as ranking member on the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions and along with my colleague, Senator ALEXANDER, the chairman, I would like to recognize a public servant deeply committed to protecting the health of the American people, Dr. Marcia Crosse. Dr. Crosse will retire on August 31, 2018, after a distinguished 35-year career at the Government Accountability Office, where she is currently a director with the Health Care Team.

Over the course of her career, Dr. Crosse led the work behind more than 200 reports and congressional testimonies on a wide range of important public health issues, including the safety of drugs and medical devices; bioterrorism; infectious disease outbreaks such as SARS and the West Nile Virus; pandemic and emergency preparedness; biomedical research; and HIV/AIDS. She has helped shed light on problems that otherwise may have long gone unnoticed. Her work has not only led

agencies to take action, but has also informed important legislative changes, including more effective medical device recalls, a risk-based approach to foreign drug inspections, clarification of FDA's authority to oversee drug compounding, and enhanced authority for FDA to better manage drug shortages. Her work has helped to improve the health and safety of families across the country for generations to come, and we are incredibly grateful for her service.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, I join with Senator MURRAY in recognizing Dr. Marcia Crosse. In recognition of her achievements, she has been honored within GAO through meritorious and distinguished service awards for her technical excellence and dedication to client service, as well as across government as a 2014 finalist for a Samuel J. Heyman Service to America Medal for Citizen Services. Both within GAO and in Congress, Dr. Crosse is recognized as a consummate professional and an independent and creative thinker who understands the issues, gets to the bottom of problems, and communicates those issues clearly to Members of Congress, our staff, and to the agencies she works with. Thanks to the dedication and expertise of Dr. Crosse, not only are vital parts of our government working better, but Americans are better off as well.

#### TRIBUTE TO FRED SCHUSTER

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I am writing to recognize a longtime member of my staff, who will shortly retire from public service, after honorably serving me and the people of Iowa for over 35 years.

Fred Schuster joined my staff in 1984 as my regional director in Des Moines, IA. He had been president of the Iowa State University student body and a member of ISU's Cardinal Key Honor Society. He had also been president of the College Republicans of Iowa.

In 1987, I asked Fred to move to Waterloo and become the regional director. During this time, Fred was elected president of the largest Kiwanis club in North East Iowa and served as its lieutenant governor, covering seven other clubs. He was appointed to the Cedar Falls Library Board and was elected an officer each year he served. He was also selected to be on the North East Iowa regional library board. In 1999, there was a devastating flood in northeast Iowa, the recovery from which resulted in a significant shortage of drywall in the region. Fred worked to get suppliers to provide extra drywall to the Waterloo area stores. One of the companies instead provided two semi loads for free, which was distributed by the Area Agency on Aging to those in greatest need.

In 2002, President George W. Bush appointed Fred to be the Region 7 Director for the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services covering the States of Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and



Kansas. At its peak, there were over 600 employees at HHS in that region. Fred traveled extensively, visiting with the Governors and State and Federal officials and testified before congressional committees. Fred was ranked overall the best regional director in each of the last 3 years he served.

Following Fred's service in the Bush administration, he returned to work as my State business and economic liaison. Part of his responsibilities was to raise funds and plan an ambassadors tour I had been hosting every other year at that time to foster and facilitate greater awareness of Iowa's workforce and exports with those assigned to the U.S. Embassy in Washington from nationals around the world. Iowa's an exporting State with outstanding manufacturing and leading in agriculture commodities. Even though 2009 was a challenging economic time, Fred raised more than enough to cover the cost of the ambassadors' airfare to and from Washington, DC, renting three commercial tour buses, and organized lodging for the diplomats, security detail, and staff. He organized the cultural, educational, manufacturing, and agricultural sites for the ambassadors to visit.

In January 2011, I asked Fred to become the regional director in my Cedar Rapids office, the role he presently holds. Fred again took an active role in the recovery from the flood of 2016, visiting the numerous communities and businesses damaged by the floodwaters.

Fred Schuster will retire from my office after more than 35 years of service to me and my office, the U.S. Senate, and the people of Iowa, effective September 11, 2018. His honest, thoughtful, helpful, and insightful wisdom and advice have been valuable to me and to everyone with whom he connected. His absence will be a loss to my office, but I am glad that he will have more time to spend with his daughters, granddaughter, and friends, as well as to visit the remaining of the 50 State capitols and Presidential historical sites. I greatly value Fred's friendship and his commitment to public service, and I wish him well.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

##### REMEMBERING SALLY J. MICHEL

• Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, today I wish to celebrate the life of Sally J. Michel, a lifelong activist, a staunch advocate for underprivileged children and Baltimore's parks, and a Baltimore icon and friend. Sally passed away last week, and while I join with all of Baltimore in mourning her passing, I also celebrate the lasting impact her legacy will have on generations of Marylanders to come.

Sally grew up in Roanoke, VA, before attending Goucher College and settling down with her husband, Robert "Butch" Michel, in Baltimore, where she immediately began devoting her

life to our city. She began by joining the renowned volunteer organization, the Junior League. By 1973, Sally was the Baltimore chapter's president. She used her position to sponsor a national conference she called For Children's Sake, which brought together leaders in education, healthcare, and more to discuss the most pressing needs of America's children and how best local communities can address them. She brought those ideas home to Baltimore, often serving as an ambassador for children's welfare issues across the city.

Her seemingly boundless energy for community service earned the attention and trust of then-Mayor William Donald Schaefer, who entrusted Sally with hosting a monthly dinner wherein Baltimore citizens of all professions and backgrounds were invited to come, eat, and exchange their ideas for how to improve the city. Sally hosted these dinners for more than a decade, cultivating hundreds of new, innovative ideas for bettering Baltimore's schools and neighborhoods and ensuring that those ideas were executed. Attendees often said that Sally's dinners made them feel more connected with their city and as though their experiences and insights truly mattered to the city's leadership. That is what Sally did best, bring people together and make sure they knew they were important. Her unparalleled talent for making Baltimore's residents feel heard, loved, and supported was a gift to us all.

Later, in the 1980s, Sally turned her focus to improving Baltimore's public parks. She believed our outdoor spaces were the key to bringing and keeping communities together and provided critical safe spaces for children to play and develop active lifestyles. Toward that end, she founded two Baltimore mainstays: the local Outward Bound School and the now-legendary Parks and People Foundation.

The Parks and People Foundation was Sally's labor of love. The foundation invests in Baltimore's parks, gardens, and afterschool activities and has been so wildly successful that it has become a model for urban park advocacy nationwide. I was proud to have worked with the Parks and People Foundation to establish bike trails through our city. One of the foundation's flagship achievements was the creation of the SuperKids Camp, a children's literacy program designed specifically to help elementary school children falling behind their reading level. Sally always saw the children that were being overlooked and underserved, and she used the SuperKids program to make sure that they felt seen. She inspired and supported kids who would have otherwise lacked the resources to catch up with their peers, and for that, a grateful city will always remember her. My granddaughter Julia volunteered at one such camp over the summer, and she spoke with pride of how many lives she saw positively impacted by their good work.

In the 80 years Sally was with us, she served on the board of trustees for 57 different State and local organizations. Of those 57, she chaired 19, including the Baltimore City Planning Commission. In addition to the programs mentioned, she was a key figure in establishing the Baltimore School for the Arts, and to date, her SuperKids Camp program has served more than 30,000 children. The Outward Bound School has served more than 62,000.

Perhaps most impressive of all, everything that Sally accomplished, she accomplished free of charge. Sally was never a paid advocate, but a volunteer, and when asked about her decades of service, she commented that she received "psychic income" and was more than satisfied with that. Sally's extreme generosity of spirit and selfless devotion to our community is one of many reasons Baltimore so acutely feels the weight of her passing. She was a hero to the tens of thousands of children who benefited from her altruism and creative problem-solving. She was Baltimore's guardian angel, always there to watch over, protect, and support the city's families whenever they needed her most.

Sally was fueled by raw empathy and compassion. She took genuine joy in other people's successes. Beyond her impressive list of achievements, she was, above all, a kind and generous soul. It is a tragedy for our city that such a soul was taken from us too soon. Sally battled Alzheimer's for nearly 10 years, one of the cruelest, most difficult diseases there is. Sally met it head-on, as she did with every other challenge she ever faced. I am committed to honoring her life by fighting for more Federal funds toward curing Alzheimer's and devising better therapies for managing its symptoms. Sally's story reminds us that resources for medical research and institutions like the National Institutes of Health are absolutely critical and that, when we fail to invest in them, we fail good people like Sally.

That kind of failure is inexcusable because Sally never failed us. She rose above and beyond in all that she did. Her commitment to activism and community service was unmatched and led directly to some of Baltimore's most successful and lasting programs. For that reason and so many others, Sally's absence will be sorely felt; yet her presence, through the families she touched and through the fingerprints she left all across our city, is felt all the more and will be for decades to come.●

##### TRIBUTE TO DAVID LONG

• Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I wish to rise today to formally recognize the retirement of Indiana Senate Pro Tempore David Long. The former Fort Wayne City councilman has over 30 years of public service. He has spent the past 22 years as State Senator representing Senate District 16 and the



past 12 sessions as the chamber's leader.

Senator Long's accomplishments while serving as president pro tempore are a testament to his leadership. He has presided over property tax caps, a series of personal and corporate income tax cuts, the expansion of charter schools and the creation of private school vouchers, and passage of right-to-work law and the Healthy Indiana Plan. Senator Long also has a lengthy record of fiscal prudence and acting as a good steward of hard-working Hoosiers. His legislative accomplishments were married with his consistent production of balanced budgets. Under his tenure, Indiana achieved one of the lowest unemployment rates in the Nation, while also boasting some of the lowest property taxes and income taxes in the union.

I know that I add my voice to a chorus of those that have sang Senator Long's praises and expressed their appreciation for his exemplary service when he announced that he will formally step down on November 6. His steadfast service to his fellow Hoosiers and his leadership of the senate lead to long lasting success for our home State. I wish Senator Long and his wife Melissa a very well-deserved and happy retirement.

I ask my colleagues to join me in recognizing the service of Indiana Senate Pro Tempore David Long for his years of unwavering service as we wish a fond farewell to a true titan in the history of the Indiana Senate.●

#### 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF FRANKLIN SAVINGS BANK

● Mr. KING. Mr. President, today I wish to recognize the 150th anniversary of Franklin Savings Bank, one of the oldest and most successful business in Franklin County and the only locally owned bank in Franklin County. Today the bank has eight locations across western and central Maine, including a commercial lending center in Ellsworth.

Founded on February 24, 1868, when Governor Joshua Chamberlain signed a bill into law incorporating the bank, the bank's early mission was "to help the people of Franklin County lay by something each year and deposit in some good bank where it will be safe and earn a little something." At the beginning, President Joseph Fairbanks said that they preferred the small accounts of children, which would be added to little by little over time, over the large account of a rich man. Times have changed since then, with the bank now serving four Maine counties with eight locations, but their dedication to customer service has not wavered. Over the past 150 years, Franklin Savings Bank has shifted from focusing on individual savings accounts to now also offering home mortgage lending and commercial lending. Online banking services were added to Franklin Savings Bank in 2001 and have only in-

creased, today offering customers the ability to deposit, complete transactions, and pay bills all from the convenience of their cellphone.

Franklin Savings Bank is not only committed to its customers, but also to its neighbors in the communities it serves. In 2000, the board of directors established the Franklin Savings Bank Community Development Foundation. This is a not-for-profit foundation that supports the community, economic, and educational needs within areas served by the bank. Over the first 15 years, the foundation has contributed \$2 million to local economic development, education, and various charities.

Amidst the mortgage crisis of 2008, Franklin Savings Bank continued to be a safe and trusted place for the people of Maine to keep their money. Franklin Savings Bank was named the Strongest Bank in Maine for 19 years and, during the mortgage crisis, the strongest bank in New England. Today Franklin Savings Bank is consistently ranked as one of the safest banks in the country. Their mission is to continue to be a financially strong and independent community bank, and I look forward to seeing their continued growth and impact on the State of Maine. I join with their customers in congratulating Franklin Savings Bank on 150 years of leadership in western Maine.●

#### TRIBUTE TO DR. JULIETTE BELL

● Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, I wish to recognize an extraordinary educator, Dr. Juliette Bell, for her 6 years of outstanding service as president of the University of Maryland Eastern Shore. Dr. Bell has left a lasting legacy of accomplishment.

During Dr. Bell's tenure, UMES reached new levels of achievement, including being ranked as one of the Nation's best Historically Black Colleges and Universities, being a top producer of African-American pharmacists, becoming a doctoral research university, establishing the engineering and aviation science complex, experiencing an increase in student graduation rates, and improving relationships and collaboration between the university and the community. Thanks to her focus on inclusion and her commitment to the success of all students, Dr. Bell truly made a difference in the lives of UMES' students.

Dr. Bell's leadership has been recognized beyond the UMES campus. A renowned biochemist and scholar, she has received numerous prestigious national honors and awards, including the Millennium Award for Excellence in Teaching from the White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities, the NAFEO Research Excellence Award, the Minority Access, Inc., National Role Model Mentoring Award, and the University of North Carolina Board of Governors' Award for Excellence in Teaching. She has also been named a Giant in Science

by Quality Education for Minorities and was featured as one of 10 African-American life scientists in an exhibition at the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry entitled "Defying Tradition: African American Women in Science and Technology." She has also been named one of Maryland's Top 100 Women.

Throughout her distinguished career, Dr. Bell has been a role model for many, including women and women of color, especially those seeking to pursue careers in STEM fields. I ask my colleagues to join me in expressing our gratitude and appreciation to Dr. Juliette Bell for all that she has done for students, the State of Maryland, and our entire Nation.●

#### TRIBUTE TO CHUCK NERUD

● Mr. DAINES. Mr. President, this week I have the honor of recognizing Chuck Nerud of McCone County for his contribution to his community.

Chuck was born and raised in Circle, MT, where he has been ranching for 65 years. At 8 years old, Chuck was already training horses, sparking his love of the rodeo. At 18, marking a decade of experience training horses, Chuck joined the McCone Race and Rodeo Club, which was later named the Circle Rodeo Club.

For the next 50 years of his life, Chuck dedicated his life to the rodeo, teaching children of all ages the proper techniques and rules regarding the sport. Some even call Chuck the walking encyclopedia of professional cowboys. Chuck also serves on the McCone County Stockyard Board.

Chuck has the heart of a true Montanan rancher. I thank Chuck for his contributions to McCone County and wish him well in his future endeavors.●

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Ms. Ridgway, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations and a treaty which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The messages received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 12:48 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. McLaughlin, one of its journal clerks, announced that the House agrees to the following concurrent resolutions, without amendment:

S. Con. Res. 43. Concurrent resolution providing for the use of the catafalque situated in the Exhibition Hall of the Capitol Visitor

Center in connection with memorial services to be conducted in the rotunda of the Capitol for the Honorable John Sidney McCain, III, late a Senator from the State of Arizona.

S. Con. Res. 44. Concurrent resolution authorizing the use of the rotunda of the Capitol for the lying in state of the remains of the late Honorable John Sidney McCain, III.

The message also announced that pursuant to section 1 of the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board Act (2 U.S.C. 154), and the order of the House of January 3, 2017, the Speaker appoints the following individual on the part of the House of Representatives to the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board for a 5-year term: Ms. Elizabeth Beretta-Perik of Jamestown, Rhode Island.

#### ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, August 28, 2018, she had presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bill:

S. 899. An act to amend title 5, United States Code, to ensure that the requirements that new Federal employees who are veterans with service-connected disabilities are provided leave for purposes of undergoing medical treatment for such disabilities apply to certain employees of the Veterans Health Administration.

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. TESTER (for himself and Mrs. SHAHEEN):

S. 3391. A bill to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to expand access to school-wide arts and music programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mrs. GILLIBRAND (for herself, Mr. BOOKER, and Ms. HARRIS):

S. 3392. A bill to address maternal mortality and morbidity; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Ms. CORTEZ MASTO (for herself and Mr. PORTMAN):

S. 3393. A bill to establish the Council on Rural Community Innovation and Economic Development; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Ms. COLLINS (for herself and Mr. CARPER):

S. 3394. A bill to establish a national mercury monitoring program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Mr. HELLER:

S. 3395. A bill to promote veteran involvement in STEM education, computer science, and scientific research, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Ms. KLOBUCHAR (for herself, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. CASEY, Mr. INHOFE, and Mr. BOOZMAN):

S. 3396. A bill to establish an Intercountry Adoption Advisory Committee, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. HELLER:

S. 3397. A bill to promote conservation, improve public land, and provide for sensible

development in Douglas County, Nevada, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. CARPER (for himself, Ms. HIRONO, Ms. WARREN, and Mr. PETERS):

S. 3398. A bill to require repayment of wasteful agency spending, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. MERKLEY (for himself and Mr. KENNEDY):

S. 3399. A bill to provide standards relating to airline travel by Federal employees for official business; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. COONS (for himself and Mr. WICKER):

S. 3400. A bill to address the threat to national security from illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing and associated illegal activity, to prevent the illegal trade of seafood and seafood products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. WARNER (for himself and Mr. ROUNDS):

S. 3401. A bill to provide minimum standards for transactions secured by a dwelling, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. YOUNG (for himself and Mr. DONNELLY):

S. 3402. A bill to designate the National Airmail Museum at Smith Air Field in Fort Wayne, Indiana; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. WYDEN:

S. 3403. A bill to authorize transitional sheltering assistance for individuals who live in areas with unhealthy air quality caused by wildfires, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. BOOKER:

S. 3404. A bill to impose a moratorium on large agribusiness, food and beverage manufacturing, and grocery retail mergers, and to establish a commission to review large agriculture, food and beverage manufacturing, and grocery retail mergers, concentration, and market power; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Ms. BALDWIN (for herself, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. WYDEN, Mrs. MCCASKILL, Mr. TESTER, Mr. DONNELLY, Mr. JONES, Mr. CARPER, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. COONS, Ms. HARRIS, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. BROWN, Mr. NELSON, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. CASEY, Mr. BOOKER, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. SCHATZ, Mr. REED, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Ms. HASSAN, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. PETERS, Mr. MURPHY, and Mr. KING):

S.J. Res. 63. A joint resolution providing for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of the rule submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Labor, and Secretary of Health and Human Services relating to "Short-Term, Limited Duration Insurance" to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

#### SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. NELSON (for himself and Mr. BLUNT):

S. Res. 620. A resolution congratulating the National Academy of Inventors on the mile-

stone of achieving 200 member institutions; considered and agreed to.

#### ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 352

At the request of Mr. CORKER, the name of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 352, a bill to award a Congressional Gold Medal to Master Sergeant Rodrick "Roddie" Edmonds in recognition of his heroic actions during World War II.

S. 732

At the request of Mr. BOOZMAN, the name of the Senator from Illinois (Ms. DUCKWORTH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 732, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to allow a refundable tax credit against income tax for the purchase of qualified access technology for the blind.

S. 1086

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from Alabama (Mr. JONES) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1086, a bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to remove the prohibition on eligibility for TRICARE Reserve Select of members of the reserve components of the Armed Forces who are eligible to enroll in a health benefits plan under chapter 89 of title 5, United States Code.

S. 2105

At the request of Mr. BOOZMAN, the name of the Senator from Michigan (Ms. STABENOW) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2105, a bill to modify the presumption of service connection for veterans who were exposed to herbicide agents while serving in the Armed Forces in Thailand during the Vietnam era, and for other purposes.

S. 2680

At the request of Mr. ALEXANDER, the name of the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. CORKER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2680, a bill to address the opioid crisis.

S. 2823

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2823, a bill to modernize copyright law, and for other purposes.

S. 3172

At the request of Mr. PORTMAN, the name of the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. BOOZMAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3172, a bill to amend title 54, United States Code, to establish, fund, and provide for the use of amounts in a National Park Service Legacy Restoration Fund to address the maintenance backlog of the National Park Service, and for other purposes.

At the request of Mr. BOOKER, his name was added as a cosponsor of S. 3172, *supra*.

S. 3225

At the request of Mrs. MURRAY, the name of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. MURPHY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3225, a bill to ensure the humane

treatment of pregnant women by reinstating the presumption of release and prohibiting shackling, restraining, and other inhumane treatment of pregnant detainees.

S. 3254

At the request of Mr. RUBIO, the name of the Senator from Florida (Mr. NELSON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3254, a bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to establish criminal penalties for unlawful payments for referrals to recovery homes and clinical treatment facilities.

S. 3349

At the request of Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, the name of the Senator from Nevada (Mr. HELLER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3349, a bill to amend the Carl Levin and Howard P. "Buck" McKeon National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2015 to modify provisions relating to the conveyance of certain Federal land in Storey County, Nevada.

S. 3359

At the request of Ms. HARRIS, the names of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ), the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MERKLEY) and the Senator from Colorado (Mr. BENNET) were added as cosponsors of S. 3359, a bill to posthumously award a Congressional Gold Medal to Aretha Franklin in recognition of her contributions of outstanding artistic and historical significance to culture in the United States.

S. 3381

At the request of Ms. STABENOW, the names of the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. TILLIS) and the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. MANCHIN) were added as cosponsors of S. 3381, a bill to encourage Federal agencies to expeditiously enter into or amend cooperative agreements with States for removal and remedial actions to address PFAS contamination in drinking, surface, and ground water and land surface and subsurface strata, and for other purposes.

S. 3382

At the request of Ms. STABENOW, the name of the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. TILLIS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3382, a bill to require the Director of the United States Geological Survey to perform a nationwide survey of perfluorinated compounds, and for other purposes.

S. 3388

At the request of Mr. TILLIS, the name of the Senator from Georgia (Mr. ISAKSON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3388, a bill to amend the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act.

S. 3389

At the request of Mrs. CAPITO, the name of the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. MANCHIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3389, a bill to redesignate a facility of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

S. RES. 481

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from Vermont

(Mr. SANDERS) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 481, a resolution calling upon the leadership of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to dismantle its labor camp system, and for other purposes.

S. RES. 525

At the request of Mrs. FEINSTEIN, the name of the Senator from New Hampshire (Mrs. SHAHEEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 525, a resolution designating September 2018 as National Democracy Month as a time to reflect on the contributions of the system of government of the United States to a more free and stable world.

S. RES. 610

At the request of Mr. BLUMENTHAL, the name of the Senator from Iowa (Mr. GRASSLEY) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 610, a resolution urging the release of information regarding the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks upon the United States.

S. RES. 612

At the request of Mrs. FEINSTEIN, the names of the Senator from Iowa (Mr. GRASSLEY) and the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. HOEVEN) were added as cosponsors of S. Res. 612, a resolution designating September 2018 as "National Child Awareness Month" to promote awareness of charities that benefit children and youth-serving organizations throughout the United States and recognizing the efforts made by those charities and organizations on behalf of children and youth as critical contributions to the future of the United States.

#### STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Ms. COLLINS (for herself and Mr. CARPER):

S. 3394. A bill to establish a national mercury monitoring program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, today along with Senator CARPER, I am introducing the Comprehensive National Mercury Monitoring Act. This bill would ensure that we have accurate information about the extent of mercury pollution in the United States.

A comprehensive national mercury monitoring network is needed to protect human health, safeguard fisheries, and track the effect of emissions reductions. This tracking is particularly important in light of increasing mercury emissions from other countries, including a substantial amount of mercury emissions from China. Mercury can be transported around the globe, meaning emissions and releases can affect human health and environment even in remote locations.

The issue of mercury emissions is growing in importance around the world. In 2013, the United States was the first Nation to join and sign the Minamata Convention on Mercury, a global agreement to reduce mercury pollution. The Minamata Convention

has been signed by more than 125 countries and raises the issue that mercury poses a global threat to human health. At present, scientists must rely on limited information to understand the critical linkages between mercury emissions and environmental response and human health. Successful design, implementation, and assessment of solutions to the mercury pollution problem require comprehensive long-term information. A system for collecting such information, such as we have for acid rain and other pollution, does not currently exist for mercury—a much more toxic pollutant.

Mercury is a potent neurotoxin of significant ecological and public health concern, especially for children and pregnant women. It is estimated that approximately 200,000 children born in the U.S. per year are exposed to levels of mercury in the womb that are high enough to impair neurological development. Mercury exposure has gone down as U.S. mercury emissions have declined; however, levels remain far too high.

By accurately quantifying regional and national changes in atmospheric deposition, ecosystem contamination, and bioaccumulation of mercury in fish and wildlife in response to changes in mercury emissions, a monitoring network would help policy makers, scientists, and the public to better understand the sources, consequences, and trends in mercury pollution in the United States. We must have more comprehensive information and we must have it soon; otherwise, we risk making misguided policy decisions.

Specifically, the Comprehensive National Mercury Monitoring Act would:

Direct EPA, in conjunction with the Fish and Wildlife Service, U.S. Geological Survey, National Park Service, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Association, and other appropriate Federal agencies, to establish a national mercury monitoring program to measure and monitor mercury levels in the air and watersheds, water and soil chemistry, and in marine, freshwater, and terrestrial organisms across the nation;

Establish a scientific advisory committee to advise on the establishment, site selection, measurement, recording protocols, and operations of the monitoring program;

Establish a centralized database for existing and newly collected environmental mercury data that can be freely accessed on the Internet and is comprised of data that is compatible with similar international efforts;

Require a report to Congress every two years on the program, including trends, and an assessment of the reduction in mercury deposition rates that need to be achieved in order to prevent adverse human and ecological effects every four-years; and

Authorize \$95 million over three years to carry out the Act.

We must establish a comprehensive, robust national monitoring network

for mercury to provide the data needed to help make decisions to protect the people and environment of Maine and the United States.

By Mr. WYDEN:

S. 3403. A bill to authorize transitional sheltering assistance for individuals who live in areas with unhealthy air quality caused by wildfires, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, today I am introducing the Clean Air Refugee Assistance Act of 2018 to help Americans who have been driven away from their homes by choking, hazardous wildfire smoke. Western wildfires are getting bigger, hotter, and more difficult to fight and scientists says it's only likely to get worse.

Folks back home in Oregon and across the Pacific Northwest already know what I'm talking about because they're on the front lines of these disasters. With dryer summers and lower snow packs, wildfires rage across the West. They're threatening lives, homes, and businesses and generating so much smoke that they're creating what I call clean air refugees.

These are people who can't go outside and, in some cases, who must flee their homes and communities to find pockets of fresh air.

I'm talking about children suffering from asthma and other conditions and seniors who need a respirator to breathe.

In some cases, Oregonians lacking access to safe, clean air are being told to seek shelter in public places like libraries and government buildings.

My legislation would help provide some relief by opening the Federal Emergency Management Agency's (FEMA) Transitional Sheltering Assistance program to people seeking temporary shelter from wildfire smoke.

This program already permits FEMA to pay for temporary lodging for people who can't immediately return home following a disaster.

My bill would permit clean air refugees to apply if they live in an area where the air quality index is determined to be unhealthy for at least three consecutive days as the result of a wildfire declared to be a major disaster by the President or Governor of the affected state.

FEMA-approved applicants would pick from a list of participating hotels and motels and FEMA would pay the lodging costs.

Mr. President, the Federal government needs to step up and be a better partner on these wildfires and it can start by helping Americans who have been driven from their homes find some refuge.

Passing the Clean Air Refugee Assistance Act would be a breath of fresh air for folks struggling to escape the choking smoke, and I urge my colleagues to support this important bill.

By Mr. BOOKER:

S. 3404. A bill to impose a moratorium on large agribusiness, food and beverage manufacturing, and grocery retail mergers, and to establish a commission to review large agriculture, food and beverage manufacturing, and grocery retail mergers, concentration, and market power; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. President, I rise to introduce the Food and Agribusiness Merger Moratorium and Antitrust Review Act of 2018, a critical bill that would put a pause on the largest, most consequential acquisitions and mergers in the food and agriculture sector, and give Congress an opportunity to update our antitrust laws in order to protect America's farmers, workers and rural communities who are being harmed by the ever increasing levels of corporate concentration.

Almost 20 years ago, Senator Paul Wellstone of Minnesota introduced the Agribusiness Merger Moratorium and Antitrust Review Act of 1999.

Senator Wellstone introduced that bill out of a concern that growing concentration in the agricultural sector was harming our farmers and rural communities, and was causing agricultural commodity markets to become stacked against the farmer.

Senator Wellstone was right to be concerned, and over the past two decades concentration has only gotten worse—much worse. Today a small number of giant companies control every link of the food chain.

Consolidation has now reached a point where the top four firms in almost every sector in the food and agriculture economy have acquired abusive levels of market power.

Recently I traveled and met with farmers and ranchers in rural America. I heard firsthand how excessive levels of concentration and market power hurt our independent family farmers, who are being forced to sell into ever more concentrated marketplaces that unfairly reduce the prices they receive for their crops and livestock.

The data paints a grim picture: The farmer's share of every retail dollar has plummeted from 41 percent in 1950 to approximately 15 percent today. Since 2013, net farm income for United States farmers has fallen by half and median farm income was negative in 2017 and is expected to be negative again in 2018.

Excessive market power has led to price gouging of both farmers and consumers. For example, in 2016 the largest pork producer in the U.S., Chinese-owned Smithfield Foods, credited its enhanced profits to the 14-year low prices paid to farmers for live hogs and the higher selling prices for pork to consumers.

In the past three decades, the top four largest pork packers have seized control of 71 percent of the market, up from 36 percent. Over the same period, the top four beef packers have expanded their market share from 32 percent to 85 percent. The top four flour

millers have increased their market share from 40 percent to 64 percent. The market share of the top four soybean crushers has jumped from 54 percent to 79 percent, and the top four wet corn processors control of the market has increased from 63 percent to 86 percent.

The top four grain companies today control nearly 90 percent of the global grain market.

During the past two years, there has been a wave of consolidation among global seed and crop-chemical firms, and three companies now control nearly two-thirds of the world's commodity crop seeds. Those same three companies now also control nearly 70 percent of all agricultural chemicals and pesticides.

In the United States, the four largest corn seed sellers accounted for 85 percent of the market in 2015, up from 60 percent in 2000. Over the past 20 years, the cost for an acre's worth of seeds for an average corn farmer has nearly quadrupled, and the cost of fertilizer has more than doubled. Yet corn yields increased only 36 percent over that time, and the price received for the sale of a bushel of corn increased only 31 percent.

71 percent of the contract poultry growers who depend on the income from their poultry contracts live at or below the federal poverty level.

The United States is losing farmers at an alarming rate, agricultural jobs and wages are drying up, and rural communities are disappearing.

These problems can be mitigated by more active use of our antitrust laws, and allowing an opportunity for U.S. farmers and ranchers to compete in fair and open markets.

The Food and Agribusiness Merger Moratorium and Antitrust Review Act provides the opportunity to stop increased consolidation through acquisitions and mergers until such time as a full review of the impact of concentration is completed and government responses are formulated.

Specifically, this bill would halt large mergers in the food system for 18 months and would set up a commission to study how to strengthen antitrust oversight of the farm and food sectors and publish recommended improvements to merger enforcement.

This moratorium would provide needed time to develop new tools to strengthen merger enforcement and antitrust rules to address the unique conditions in the farm and food economy and protect farmers, workers and consumers.

The federal government needs to provide safeguards to the agricultural marketplace so that farmers and workers have the opportunity to share in the prosperity that open, transparent and fair markets can provide them.

Senator Wellstone was prescient when he put forward this legislation almost twenty years ago. The problem of concentration was apparent then, and has grown even worse. What would

have been had the Senate passed this legislation then?

I did not have the opportunity to serve alongside Senator Wellstone, but I know from my colleagues who did, that there was no better advocate, no better organizer, who understood the power of coalitions, who understood the power of taking an issue to the Senate floor and demanding action. I look forward to working with my colleagues, educating others about this issue, and continuing the work he started to defend farmers, workers, and consumers from the harms being posed by corporate concentration.

This legislation has broad support, with endorsements from the following organizations:

ActionAid USA, Alabama Contract Poultry Growers Association, Alliance for Democracy, American Agriculture Movement, American Grassfed Association, Animal Wellness Action, Appetite for Change (MN), Beyond Pesticides, California Dairy Campaign, California Farmers Union, Campaign for Contract Agriculture Reform, Campaign for Family Farms and the Environment, Cattle Producers of Louisiana, Center for Food Safety, Community Farm Alliance (KY), Contract Poultry Growers Association of the Virginias, The Cornucopia Institute, Crawford Stewardship Project (WI), Dakota Rural Action of SD, Dallas Farmers Market Friends, Family Farm Action.

Family Farm Defenders (WI), Farm Aid, Farm and Ranch Freedom Alliance, Farmworker Association of Florida, Federation of Southern Cooperatives/Land Assistance Fund, Food & Water Watch, Food Chain Workers Alliance, Food for Maine's Future, Food Policy Council of San Antonio, Friends of the Earth U.S., Government Accountability Project, GROW North Texas, HEAL Food Alliance, Idaho Organization of Resource Councils, Illinois Farmers Union, Illinois Stewardship Alliance, Independent Cattlemen of Wyoming, Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, Iowa Citizens for Community Improvement, Iowa Farmers Union.

Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future (MD), Kansas Farmers Union, Land Stewardship Project (MN), Michigan Farmers Union, Minnesota Farmers Union, Missouri Farmers Union, Missouri Rural Crisis Center, National Family Farm Coalition, National Farmers Organization, National Farmers Union, National Latino Farmers & Ranchers Trade Association, National Women Involved in Farm Economics, Nebraska Farmers Union, North Dakota Farmers Union, Northeast Organic Dairy Producers Alliance, Northeast Organic Farming Assoc.—NY, Northeast Organic Farming Assoc.—VT, Northern Plains Resource Council (MT), Northwest Atlantic Marine Alliance (MA), Ohio Ecological Food and Farm Association.

Oklahoma Independent Stockgrowers Association, Oklahoma Stewardship Council, Organic Farmers' Agency for Relationship Marketing (OFARM), Organic Seed Alliance, Organic Seed Growers & Trade Association (OSGATA), Organization for Competitive Markets, PCC Community Markets (WA), Pennsylvania Farmers Union, Powder River Basin Resource Council (WY), R-CALF United Stockgrowers of America, Rocky Mountain Farmers Union, Rural Advancement Foundation International—USA (RAFI-USA), Rural Coalition/Coalición Rural, Rural Vermont, Slow Food Dallas-Ft. Worth, South Dakota Farmers Union, Southern Colorado Livestock Association, State of Missouri National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Western Colorado Alliance, Wisconsin Farmers Union.

Thank you, Madam President.

## SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

### SENATE RESOLUTION 620—CONGRATULATING THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF INVENTORS ON THE MILESTONE OF ACHIEVING 200 MEMBER INSTITUTIONS

Mr. NELSON (for himself and Mr. BLUNT) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 620

Whereas the systematic application of organized knowledge and information can generate technology and produce creative solutions to existing problems;

Whereas innovation, based on new inventions and technologies, has proven to be a key factor in the industrial and economic development of the world;

Whereas the majority of our Nation's basic research is done at United States colleges and universities;

Whereas the National Academy of Inventors was founded at the University of South Florida in 2010;

Whereas the National Academy of Inventors serves a valuable role in the translation of science and technology within the university, college, government, and nonprofit research institute community, and for the benefit of society;

Whereas the National Academy of Inventors enhances the visibility of university, college, government, and nonprofit research institute technology and academic innovation;

Whereas the National Academy of Inventors educates and mentors innovative students;

Whereas the National Academy of Inventors encourages the commercialization of research;

Whereas the National Academy of Inventors recognizes and encourages inventors who have patents issued by the United States Patent and Trademark Office;

Whereas the National Academy of Inventors includes thousands of researchers, amplifying their work into practical applications; and

Whereas the National Academy of Inventors has achieved the significant milestone of 200 member institutions across the Nation: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate—

(1) recognizes the importance of inventions, patents, and copyrights as part of maintaining United States leadership in the world and a competitive global economy;

(2) expresses support for academic technological developments that promote entrepreneurship and for academic innovations in local communities;

(3) supports the mission of the National Academy of Inventors to recognize and encourage inventors with patents issued by the United States Patent and Trademark Office, enhance the visibility of academic technology and innovation, encourage the disclosure of intellectual property, educate and mentor innovative students, and translate the inventions of its members to benefit society;

(4) acknowledges the National Academy of Inventors for its role in elevating the contributions of academic inventors across all disciplines; and

(5) congratulates the National Academy of Inventors for its rapid expansion to include 200 member institutions.

## AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, I have a request for one committee to meet during today's session of the Senate. It has the approval of the Majority and Minority leaders.

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

SUBCOMMITTEE ON OCEANS, ATMOSPHERE, FISHERIES, AND COAST GUARD

The Subcommittee on Oceans, Atmosphere, Fisheries, and Coast Guard of the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, August 28, 2018, at 2:30 p.m. to conduct a hearing entitled "Harmful Algal Blooms: The Impact on Our Nation's Waters."

## REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to add my voice to many around the world who remember our dear friend and our colleague John McCain.

John McCain was a man of the highest character, courage, and credibility, known for his stubborn courage and his heroic patriotism. He leaves a legacy of unquestioned devotion and love for his country and his family.

When I first came to the Senate, John was very welcoming. He knew I had been an orthopedic surgeon, and he told me I really ought to take a look at his x rays. Of course, the x rays showed the many fractures which were the result of being shot down over Hanoi and the injuries that resulted from the crash and the subsequent beatings as a prisoner of war. It was out of pure generosity on his part that we became friends and traveling companions.

John took great pride in this institution and in knowing that none of us in this body of 100—left or right, Republican or Democrat, conservative or liberal—none of us agreed with him 100 percent of the time. But every one of us respected him and the strength of his convictions. I always have.

Probably no one knows the first person to give him the nickname "Maverick," but he certainly lived up to it. For John, it wasn't about playing a character on television. For him, there was no switching between a public and a private persona; he was the same when the cameras were off as when they were on.

His voice would thunder on the Senate floor when he was stirred to outrage, with incredible force and conviction, and so he came to another affectionate name—"Hurricane McCain."

His humor was legendary. He used his biting humor like a surface-to-air missile.

We all know his incredible biography—the courage he showed as a naval officer and as a prisoner of war in Vietnam. It was a story that inspired millions of people around the world. I could see it when we traveled the world together. We would visit American troops overseas, and it was incredible to see the respect he commanded no matter where he went.

Mr. President, you served time in the military. You have been deployed. You know what it is like to be there and when someone from home comes to thank you and support you and make sure you have everything you need. Our men and women in uniform looked at him in awe, and they hung on his every word. Foreign leaders did the same. John really was a reassuring figure around the world.

My first trip with John was Thanksgiving 2007. It was before he was the nominee for President. He was actually trailing significantly in the polls. We went to Iraq during the surge. We spent the day in Baghdad and in other locations, and then in the dark of night, we flew out into the Anbar Province, where his son, a marine grunt, was serving.

We had Thanksgiving dinner with a number of the soldiers. When John got to see his son, he went to hug him, to lift his arms, but because of the orthopedic injuries he had sustained, until the end of his life, he was unable to really lift his arms due to the fractures. He was up on his toes trying to hug his son in the Anbar Province of Iraq. I had a chance to have dinner with six Wyoming soldiers that evening. They had only one request of me: Could I introduce them to Senator McCain?

Our final trip was over Memorial Day this past year, 2017. It was to Vietnam. We went to the lake where he had been shot down. It was a bipartisan group. Senator COONS from Delaware was along. We went to the Hanoi prison where he spent 5½ years. We saw the cell. We also went to the Presidential Palace. No matter where we went, he was met with a hero's welcome. I don't know how many people could have sustained and survived 5½ years in that prison with the beatings. It took a man of incredible courage and character, and he gained credibility, as well as a certainty for his own life.

We also went to Cam Ranh Bay during that trip to Vietnam. Many Vietnam war veterans have been through that area. They brought in the USS *John McCain*, the ship named after his father and his grandfather. While there, we had a luncheon on the deck of the ship, and it was called McCain Field. He was greeted warmly by everyone, and he greeted them just as warmly.

Every Senator who ever traveled with Senator McCain shared a common experience; it was being approached by someone on the street or in a restaurant and being asked: Are you with Senator McCain? Of course we would

say yes. Then they would hand us a cell phone and say: Could you please take a picture of me with Senator McCain. Of course we always said yes. You could see the reverence and respect each of these individuals had for Senator McCain.

People also respected his incredible legacy of service, his strength as one of the fiercest legislators in our history. It is fitting that just a few weeks ago, Congress paid tribute to him by passing the John S. McCain National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019 because we all know that caring for the military was an abiding concern in his career. He wanted to make sure that the men and women in uniform were treated fairly by the government, that they were respected, and that they were honored for their service.

We get used to using the language of combat around here in all sorts of other areas where it doesn't really belong. We talk about fierce political battles. We talk about hard-fought election campaigns. But as someone who knew what real battles looked like, John had a realistic perspective on the political kind of battle. He took them seriously, and he never engaged in a fight where he didn't believe that he was on the side of right.

He never tired of ridiculing what he saw as wasteful government spending.

Every soldier, every sailor, every airman knows that none of us are indispensable. We serve our mission, and if we fall, another will step up to take our place. John understood that truth also about public service.

I think John would also understand the sincerity of the grief that the Members of this Senate are feeling today.

I remember vividly the last time I saw John McCain. I went to visit him and his wife Cindy at the ranch in Sedona. I will tell you, John and Cindy have been so kind to my wife Bobbi when we have visited the ranch in the past. I remember John taking my wife Bobbi on a tour of the many historic trees on the ranch. John has also been so very kind to my daughter Emma on her visits in Washington and some of her travels with me.

Let me assure you about Cindy McCain. Cindy is also an American of great strength and great courage. When I was there, we sat together and we talked about the Senate, about his beloved Arizona, about the past and actually about the future as well, and about the places around the world we had visited together.

Senator McCain was a great lover and student of history. We talked of Teddy Roosevelt's "Man in the Arena" speech. It was one that he knew quite well, he knew by heart.

It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs, who comes up short again and again . . . who knows great enthusiasms, the great devotions; who

spends his life in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement . . . and who . . . if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who neither know victory nor defeat.

John McCain knew both. He knew victory, and he knew defeat. John McCain was the man in the arena.

Mostly, John and I sat and enjoyed the view of the river, the trees, and the red rocks. I know that view was one of his great joys, the peace and serenity of a hard landscape shaped by years of wear and weather. Think about that—the serenity of a hard landscape shaped by years of wear and weather. People will see all sorts of symbolism in that hard landscape shaped by years of wear and weather, but if John had heard me say that, he would have said: Whiskey Tango Foxtrot—get to the point. So I will.

John McCain was the conscience of the Senate. He served the American people and the Senate on his own terms. He left us on his own terms as well. We grieve him today because, for us, it just was not enough time. That is the thing about our heroes—we start to believe they will live on forever, but of course they do not.

Ronald Reagan's final letter to the American people said this:

When the Lord calls me home, whenever that may be, I will leave with the greatest love for this country of ours and eternal optimism for its future.

John McCain has left this world, I can assure you, with the greatest love for this country of ours and eternal optimism for the future.

Rest in peace, my friend John McCain. Rest in peace.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. RUBIO). The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. SCHATZ. Mr. President, Senator McCain may have represented the people of Arizona, but in doing so, he changed the world.

His family legacy and leadership are, actually, partly rooted in the Pacific. He met his wife, Cindy, in Honolulu, and generations of McCains have left their mark on the region as his grandfather served in the Pacific theater as an admiral in World War II, as his father commanded the Armed Forces in the Pacific during the Vietnam war, and as John S. McCain III became the most famous POW of the Vietnam war. His relationship with the region began with those conflicts—with pain and with loss—but he never let that beginning define his views of the Asia-Pacific.

As a Senator, he called for the United States to transform the peace we made with Vietnam into a partnership. It is thanks, in part, to him that the United States now works closely with Vietnam on everything from economic development to counterterrorism, and the people of Vietnam know it. The monument that marks where he was captured as a naval pilot in Vietnam has turned into a shrine this week, with people leaving flowers in memory



of the man who helped to normalize relations between our two nations. This is just one of the ways in which Senator McCain shaped the Pacific.

Just a few years ago, he designed the Southeast Asia Maritime Security Initiative in order to increase stability and to help professionalize militaries in the region, including the military of Vietnam. He was a strong advocate for freedom of navigation in the region and for human rights. He worked with Senator CARDIN to introduce a bill to punish military officials in Burma for the part that they had played in waging genocide against the Rohingya—a bill that, I hope, the Senate will pass soon. He was an early voice that warned about North Korea's nuclear program, and as a longtime member and chairman of the Armed Services Committee, he always stood up for our men and women in uniform.

A few years ago, on the 70th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor, my predecessor, Daniel K. Inouye, planned to give a floor speech to remember the 2,400 Americans who died that day. Senator Inouye's staff made it known that he would mark the anniversary on the Senate floor. He gave that speech to a Chamber that was not full, but John McCain was there. He was there for Senator Inouye just as he was there, time after time, for our military and for our country. He was earnest and solemn when it came to fulfilling his oath to the Constitution, but he was also the embodiment of taking your job seriously, not yourself.

One tribute from a former staff member recalled how Senator McCain led a codel to Estonia, where he joined Senate colleague Hillary Clinton and enjoyed several rounds of vodka shots before having decided to take a midnight stroll around town. He also remembered the Senator's holding a press conference in a geothermal pool in Iceland—in his bathing suit and all.

Early on in my time in the U.S. Senate, I would pick up the phone and call my dad to tell him whenever I had had a substantive conversation with Senator McCain, because he was that much of a giant, and now he is gone. We all need people in our lives who ask us to do more, who remind us that we are capable of doing more and of doing better. The world needs heroes, and we have lost one in the death of Senator McCain.

He once challenged a leader in his party to “set the example for what our country can and should represent.” That was also his challenge to the Senate. He demanded more of the Senate and more from us. It is for that, especially, he will be missed in this Chamber. Who will hold us accountable when we fall into a destructive pattern? When he lectured us—and he did lecture us—we took it to heart. He was true north for the U.S. Senate. He cared deeply about relationships between Members of both parties. He cared about legislating and about finding a way to govern.

While he is gone, we do not need to forget Senator McCain's lessons and lectures. He is an example for us to follow, and that is as true today as it was in any of his 32 years of service to the Senate. We will miss him in this Chamber, where he cast a long shadow with moral clarity whenever he spoke.

This week, our hearts are with his mother, Roberta, with his wife, Cindy, with his children and his grandchildren, and with all of those who loved him. May his memory be a blessing.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. MORAN. Mr. President, I join my colleagues today in tribute to our colleague, Senator John McCain of Arizona.

We look for heroes in this world. It seems to me we are always looking in the wrong places. We look at baseball diamonds and basketball courts and amphitheaters and stadiums where performers sing, but we fail to look in the right places. Sometimes we are with heroes, and we don't always recognize it at the moment. Yet there is no American I know who is more deserving of the title “hero” than John McCain. Those who serve us in the military are entitled to that honorific, and those who serve in the military and serve others in the military—those who serve our veterans—are heroes too. Senator McCain lived a life in which heroics were a part of every day.

I first met John McCain in 1996, in Hays, KS, my hometown. The habit was that Senator Bob Dole, then a candidate for President of the United States, would fly to the airport in Hays, near his hometown of Russell. This time he had a guest with him, John McCain, who was the campaign chairman on his Presidential campaign. I watched the two of them interact, and it was really the first time I had had the opportunity to see a Senator other than, perhaps, my own two from Kansas.

Senator Dole had the greatest regard for Senator McCain. Senator Dole wore the POW bracelet. He never knew John McCain when he was a POW, but by happenstance, he chose to wear a bracelet in honor of and in respect and concern for a POW in Vietnam. John McCain learned on the Senate floor that Bob Dole wore his throughout much of his captivity. I respect and honor Senator Dole, and I saw that day the respect and honor he had for a fellow Senator, a fellow serviceman, a fellow veteran. Both Senator Dole's and Senator McCain's lives were dramatically affected by their service to our Nation.

Quite frankly, when I arrived at the U.S. Senate, I was intimidated by Senator McCain. He was vitriolic, and he

had the habit of exploding at a moment's notice. Something could set him off. Something he cared passionately about could cause him to react. So, in my early days as a new U.S. Senator, I didn't seek John McCain's companionship. That was a mistake on my part because, despite his prickly nature, knowing John McCain has become one of the most valuable experiences I have had in the Senate.

We began working together on one of those issues that John McCain and no one else in the U.S. Senate could have had the stature to have dealt with—certainly, our military men and women in the defense of our Nation. We bonded in our efforts to see that the veterans of our Nation received the care that they deserved, that they received their benefits from the Veterans Health Administration that they were entitled to and that they had earned through their service to our Nation. That work—a McCain-Moran bill—became a significant part of the VA MISSION Act.

I learned in that experience the dedication that Senator McCain had to those who served—to have made sure that the mistakes that had been made at the Department of Veterans Affairs, which may have cost veterans their lives, never happened again. Initially, that resulted in the Veterans Choice Act, and in its just recently being passed by the House, passed by the Senate, and in having been signed by the President, the legislation that we named in honor of Senator John McCain has resulted in the VA MISSION Act, which replaces and improves the Choice Act.

In that experience of working with Senator McCain on behalf of America's veterans, I also got acquainted with Senator McCain's staff. I think it is probably true that we can learn a lot about our colleagues by the people they surround themselves with, in the way that a Senator treats his or her staff members and, perhaps, even more importantly, in the way that those individuals who work for a U.S. Senator treat their boss. What I saw from those who worked for Senator McCain was abiding respect, love, care, and compassion for U.S. Senator John McCain. It told me a lot about his staff, but it told me even more about Senator McCain's person and character.

In my time in working in the Senate with John McCain, I also discovered his abiding love for the people of Arizona. Senator McCain was a national figure and could be only a national figure if he desired. Yet he had the stature to be not only a person who was known in the State he represented and in the Nation but around the world. While Senator McCain represented the United States well, here in the U.S. Senate and in countries around the globe, you could tell that Senator McCain cared about and loved the people he represented at home. He respected them. He recognized that they were the ones who gave him the opportunity to perform on a national stage. He never forgot Arizonans.



I appreciate the way that he and his junior colleague from Arizona, Senator FLAKE, worked together on behalf of the citizens of his State. So, while it would have been easy for John to have played only the national figure, he never forgot from where he came.

While many of my comments today have paid my respect to Senator McCain for his service to the U.S. Senate, it is his service in the military, in the Navy, that is most compelling to me. I have known this story throughout my life—and it has been reported and repeated here on the Senate floor—but I do not know a person who, as a prisoner of war and who was given the opportunity to be released and to return home to family and loved ones, would say no. I do not know a person other than John McCain who would say: No, it is not my turn. No, there are others who are prisoners of war who are more deserving and who are, in fact, on the list ahead of me to be released.

What an honor to know a person who has put others so much ahead of himself, to know someone who, because of his love of country and love of those who served and his sense of responsibility and obligation to those he served with and who were prisoners of war with him, had the character, the values to say: No, it is not my turn.

I wish I knew people; I wish I were one of them.

So, today, I, certainly, honor Senator McCain for his status and service as a Senator. Yet I admire and respect him for his service to the Nation, his service in the Navy, and his care and compassion for those with whom he served.

John McCain led a full and meaningful life. He instructed us numerous times about our behavior here in the U.S. Senate. He asked us, as Americans, to behave differently. He asked our country to come together.

We desperately need the opportunity for Americans to see what they are seeing on the Senate floor this week, where both Republicans and Democrats are honoring the life and service of John McCain. We need to answer his call. We need to honor his request to make certain that the work we perform is done for all Americans.

John McCain was a Republican, but much more so, he was an American. He reminds me of what I see on the monuments and memorials at the National Mall when I make my trek up to the Lincoln Memorial and pass the World War II, the Vietnam war, and the Korean war memorials. No one memorialized there fought, died, sacrificed, and served for Republicans or for Democrats. John McCain and those we memorialize on the National Mall recognized a higher calling.

If we could do something that would alter our behavior in respect to John McCain, what a difference we might make in the country, and if Americans can use this moment to pull together, our country will be better.

John McCain led a full and meaningful life. I admired him, I respected him, and I loved him.

Senator McCain, thank you for your service to our Nation. It is a grateful Nation.

The Navy hymn says: “Eternal Father, strong to save, whose arms hath bound the restless wave.”

May John McCain rest in peace.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SUL-LIVAN). The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I rise today in great sadness to address the passing of Senator John McCain, which marks a deep loss for this country, for his State of Arizona, and, above all, for his family and friends.

John McCain was an honorable public servant who sacrificed greatly to serve his country in uniform, and as a lawmaker, he proudly represented the people of Arizona.

I will always remember the bipartisan luncheon that we had when Senator McCain recounted his experiences as a prisoner of war in Vietnam. There wasn't a dry eye in our caucus.

In my visit to Vietnam, I had a chance to visit the Hanoi Hilton, and I saw firsthand the place where John McCain acted so bravely. He was truly an American hero.

I would like to express my deepest sympathies and condolences at this difficult time to Cindy, their children, and their family.

In his final letter to Americans, Senator McCain reminded us:

We are citizens of the world's greatest republic, a nation of ideals, not blood and soil. We are blessed and are a blessing to humanity when we uphold and advance those ideals at home and in the world.

For nearly a dozen years in the Senate, I have watched my friend Senator McCain live and act by those ideals on behalf of the American people and on behalf of our global community. John was my enduring partner in standing up for universal rights and advancing core American values. John always expressed his views with passion but respected civility. He represented the best of the Senate, working across party lines to get issues resolved.

The Senate has lost a great patriot and a role model for Senators. The Nation has lost a strong, effective leader for American values. Arizona has lost a Senator who loved the State and the people he represented. I, along with many Members—all the Members of this Chamber—have lost a friend.

Today John's faith in American ideals endures with the Sergei and Global Magnitsky acts. With these two laws, the United States stands in solidarity with Sergei Magnitsky from Russia, David Kato from Uganda, Berta Caceres from Honduras, and the many unsung and unnamed people around the world who have suffered human rights abuses for uncovering corruption and fighting for freedom, equal justice, and dignity.

It was John who insisted we ensure that corrupt leaders were held account-

able for their crimes. He truly believed that public officials have a responsibility to serve and protect their citizenry from harm, and he had a particular disdain for officials who instead chose to exploit their citizens for personal enrichment.

Anyone who knew John knows of his disdain for one of the most corrupt leaders of our time, Vladimir Putin. It was the Putin regime's ruthless torture and murder of Sergei Magnitsky, after Sergei exposed their corruption, as well as the regime's repeated attacks on the Russian people, that inspired Senator McCain and me to work together on the Magnitsky law. I thank Senator McCain for giving me that opportunity, for giving me the strength to develop a strategy where we could, in fact, enact not only the original Magnitsky statute but the Global Magnitsky statute, which truly provided the U.S. leadership globally. Many other countries have followed our leadership.

After Vladimir Putin attacked our 2016 elections, Senator McCain worked with me and others to ensure a new, tough sanctions regime against Mr. Putin and his oligarchs for their insidious attacks on our democracy. Senator McCain fought to ensure that our efforts to hold Russia accountable for these actions made it into law. Just last month, he joined a bipartisan group of Senators again toward the same goal, given Mr. Putin's persistent attacks on our democratic system.

Senator McCain and I worked alongside one another to address the genocide against the Rohingya community in Rakhine, Burma, orchestrated by the Burmese military. Last Saturday, August 25, marked 1 year since the outbreak of violence in western Rakhine State, which has resulted in the mass exodus of over 700,000 Rohingya to neighboring Bangladesh. In response to this violence and crimes against humanity perpetrated against the Rohingya community, Senator McCain and I introduced the Burma Human Rights and Freedom Act.

Senator McCain would stand up for people anywhere in the world who were victimized by human rights violations.

Russian dissident Vladimir Kara-Murza wrote yesterday that John was “an idealist. . . . He believed in his principles and was prepared to stand on them—regardless of party, convenience, or political advantage.”

Mr. Kara-Murza has been poisoned twice in Russia as a result of his standing up against Mr. Putin.

I remember John doing just that during our Foreign Relations Committee 2013 debate on whether we should arm the rebels in Syria. He passionately argued that we should do more to support them against Bashar Assad's “butchery.”

In 2016, as the Assad regime mercilessly pummeled rebels in Aleppo, McCain said: “The name of Aleppo will echo through history . . . as a testament to our moral failure and everlasting shame.” Senator McCain called

it the way he saw it. He called out what was happening.

John also stood for his ideals as a leader on comprehensive immigration reform. I remember first coming to the Senate in 2007 and working on comprehensive immigration reform with Senator McCain, Senator Kennedy, and President Bush. That legislation ultimately did not pass, but it showed me that Senator McCain was a serious legislator who was willing to work across the aisle to get things done.

Senator Kennedy died in 2009 of the same form of brain cancer that Senator McCain succumbed to this past weekend. They both died on August 25.

In 2013, Senator McCain was part of the Gang of 8, along with Senator SCHUMER—the bipartisan group of Senators who wrote a 2013 measure to overhaul the country's immigration system and border security. I supported that bill, which passed in the Senate but sadly was never taken up in the House, although we all know there was enough support in the House to pass that legislation.

Senator McCain believed in working together to get things done. He listened and fought passionately for what he believed in, but he wanted to make sure we got things done in the best tradition of the Senate as the greatest deliberative body in the world. Senator McCain lived by that tradition.

In his memoir, Senator McCain said that his failure to enact comprehensive immigration reform was “a harder disappointment than other defeats.”

He continued:

We failed twice, and then once more after Ted had passed away, despite big majorities in both houses of Congress in favor of it. . . . I'd like to say I'll try again. But that is not up to me anymore. . . . That's a harder disappointment than other defeats have been because first, it's something that most Americans want, and most members of Congress know is the right thing to do.

He always called it the way he saw it. He showed his passion, but respected civility.

The Senate and the American people have lost in John McCain a man who was the very definition of service to his country. I will miss John terribly, and I hope all Americans will pause today to remember his legacy and admire his courage.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. President, I rise today to commemorate the life of Senator John McCain along with my colleagues.

John is an American icon whose legacy is known not only across our Nation but around the world. His belief in American exceptionalism was unwavering, and it propelled him to a lifelong service to our Nation.

Few have demonstrated John's level of commitment and service to our country. Through both, his bravery serving in the U.S. Navy and his long tenure in Congress, he demonstrated his deep love of country.

As the son and grandson of four-star admirals, John began serving this country at an early age. He followed in their footsteps and attended the U.S. Naval Academy and was later commissioned as a naval aviator.

He served in the Vietnam war, where he was captured and spent 5½ years as a prisoner of war. During those years, through torture and misery, he never gave up. He was offered freedom but refused to be released unless every other prisoner was released with him. Think about that. He was flying over Vietnam and was shot down. He was projected from his plane and landed in a lake in Hanoi. He was bruised, in terrible shape, put in a prison, and was clearly in incredible pain, and, through it all, he was offered an opportunity to go home early, and he said: Nope, I am not going unless all of the POWs go. Think of the strength and character that takes. It is almost unfathomable.

I always affectionately refer to him as an admiral because both his father and grandfather were full admirals. There is no doubt that Senator McCain would have been an admiral had he stayed in the Navy, as well. It was just the way that I could recognize his amazing service in a fun way and in a personal way. Here is somebody, when you talk about serving our country in the military, who just epitomizes that grit, that determination, that character, and that service that we love, respect, and honor so much in our servicemen and servicewomen.

John's perseverance followed him as he began serving our Nation as a Member of Congress and in the U.S. Senate. He fought fiercely for what he believed in. Everyone talks about how, when he took a position, he took it with a passion. So whenever you debated him, discussed things with him, and worked with him—whether you were on the same side or if you disagreed with him—he had that amazing passion that came through, and many have remarked on it. It was a remarkable trait. It is part of that warrior in him.

For the entirety of his life, John endlessly advocated for our men and women in uniform. He served, and he served them throughout his life in the Senate. Working with him to support our servicemembers and veterans is something that I will never forget.

What many people will not know about John, though, is his warmth as a friend. You know, you hear about his temper. He could be mercurial. Although, then he would get over it, and you would be right back working again.

You heard about his incredible energy, about his war record, his time as a POW, the things he did as a Senator, but one thing that I think you don't hear as often but that was very much true is that he had a tremendous, tremendous sense of humor, and that came through so often in his interviews.

He was also a warm person. I can remember when somebody would come to

my office and want to meet Senator McCain. If it worked out timewise, I would take them over, and we would go over to Senator McCain's office. I would say: Hey, I have somebody here who would just like to say hi to John, get his picture and meet him.

If he was there, almost every time he would bring them in. It wasn't a case of getting enough time or getting a quick picture, or something like that. Invariably, he would have them come in, sit down, talk with him, and take pictures, and pretty soon he would be taking them all around his office and showing them pictures of his family—he was so proud of his family, his grandfather, his father—and his mementoes, all the amazing things that made up his amazing life. He loved it, and he was so warm.

There are so many things that I will never forget, but that is one that I truly treasure and will always remember. Here is Senator McCain, somebody who is known across America, around the world. He was certainly an icon and a colleague, obviously, to all of us, but he was somebody who really was a friend. When you went over and you wanted to talk to him about something or take someone over to see him, or whatever it was, he was a friend. He was somebody who was down-to-earth, who was a person you could connect with at a real level. That is pretty amazing for somebody who lived such an incredible life.

We will miss John McCain. May God bless him. From my wife Mikey and myself, to John's wife Cindy and the entire McCain family, we join with you in mourning his loss and honoring his tremendous memory and legacy.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana.

#### HEALTHCARE

Mr. TESTER. Mr. President, I rise on behalf of the 152,000 Montanans whose healthcare coverage is currently in jeopardy.

Next week, a Texas courthouse will become the newest battlefield in the war against our healthcare. The latest attack is a lawsuit attempting to get rid of legal protections for folks with preexisting conditions. These are protections that make it illegal for insurance companies to deny healthcare coverage or charge absurd rates because of common conditions like high blood pressure or diabetes or heart disease or cancer or even pregnancy.

These protections were signed into law almost 10 years ago, passed by majorities in both the House and in the Senate. Despite many attempts to undermine them, they have been upheld by the Supreme Court and continue to be supported by Members of both parties in Congress. That is because an overwhelming majority—more than three-fourths—of Americans support these protections. In fact, the Kaiser Family Foundation recently reported

that 88 percent of Democrats, 77 percent of Independents, and 58 percent of Republicans think it is very important to maintain protections for folks with preexisting conditions.

So why are we even here?

Well, in June, the Department of Justice announced it would stop defending these critical protections in court. That is correct. You heard it right. A bunch of unelected bureaucrats have decided to stop defending the law of the land that protects folks with preexisting conditions. This decision not only harms millions of Americans, it threatens to create chaos in the marketplace and could drive up healthcare costs, not to mention it is a dereliction of duty.

Now, I know we all wake up some days, and we would just rather go fishing, but a job is a job, and you just can't decide it is not worth doing, especially when your job is to defend protections for millions of Americans and thousands of Montanans with preexisting conditions.

Montanans like Christina, from Missoula, who told me last week about how the Justice Department's decision could impact her husband who suffers from a chronic type of leukemia that can be managed but not cured. Christina wrote:

Six years ago, we started the cancer journey when my husband was diagnosed with CLL, a type of lymphoma/leukemia. Thankfully, he found work and is receiving the care he needs to manage his chronic disease that has no cure. But if he could be denied health insurance because of a preexisting condition, my husband probably would not have received the care he needs.

Karen, from Belgrade, MT, wrote something similar, saying:

I am very concerned about the DOJ's decision to no longer defend Americans against insurance companies who want to disallow people with preexisting conditions. I am a cancer survivor, as is my 22-year-old son. It is frightening to think that both of us may be uninsurable in the future if this trend continues.

Kim, from Helena, wrote me and said:

I have been a Type 1 diabetic for 35 years—and the burden is heavy. The cost of insulin continues to soar to the point that some people have to choose between their insulin or their rent, food, or other medication. I have good health insurance through my employer, which makes the financial cost of my diabetes manageable. But if preexisting conditions weren't covered, my next health insurer could simply choose not to cover my diabetes.

I am here to tell you, there are thousands of others in Montana like Karen, Kim, and Christina. In fact, a new report released today, also by the Kaiser Family Foundation, found that without current protections—without current protections—52 million Americans could be denied healthcare coverage because of a preexisting condition.

The report broke this number down even further and found that in Billings, MT—our State's largest city—one out of every four adults between the ages of 18 and 64 have a preexisting condition that could prevent them from get-

ting healthcare coverage if our current protections were repealed. That is not to mention the thousands of others who could be charged higher rates or denied reimbursement for care if these protections disappear.

Instead of doing their job and protecting folks like Kim and Karen and Christina, a bunch of unelected bureaucrats in the Department of Justice have decided to help repeal a law that it is their job to defend.

Well, if they will not protect Montanans, then we will. That is why I have helped introduce legislation that will authorize the Senate to intervene in next week's lawsuit and defend protections for people with preexisting conditions.

I would be the first to say that our healthcare system isn't perfect, but folks are no longer denied coverage or forced to pay higher premiums because of common ailments like high blood pressure, diabetes, or cancer, and the vast majority of Americans, on both sides of the aisle, want to keep it that way.

That is why a group of my colleagues from across the aisle introduced a bill last week to try and preserve some of these protections. That might sound good in theory, but in reality it will still threaten people with preexisting conditions.

That is why I am calling on my colleagues to pass our resolution, which will ensure folks with preexisting conditions get the coverage they need. The thousands of Montanans and millions of Americans who rely on these protections deserve nothing less.

With that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

#### REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. SASSE. Mr. President, like so many here today, I rise to honor John McCain and to sing John McCain's praises.

There are many here—most here—who knew him longer than I did. I will admit that when the Presiding Officer and I first got here in 2014, I knew John McCain as somebody from the history books. I knew John McCain as somebody destined for the history books. I knew John McCain as an American hero, but I didn't know John McCain, the man. I didn't know John McCain, the flesh and blood, genuinely hilarious guy, but over the past 48 months, I had the privilege of actually getting to become friends with John McCain.

It is sort of weird to say, when you are roughly our age—I am 46 and John McCain was an octogenarian—that he befriended me. I went on many overnight flights with John McCain. I have been to refugee camps with John McCain. I have been to war zones with John McCain. I have been cussed out by John McCain lots of times. He called me a stupid bastard on a regular basis—and he meant it, affectionately. I am convinced he didn't use the term

“stupid bastard” lightly. He reserved it for those he really cared about.

I have laughed and cried with John McCain. I have wrestled policy with John McCain. I got to grill hamburgers and serve them to troops in Afghanistan on the Fourth of July with John McCain.

As we in this body praise John McCain today and for the rest of this week, as we rightly should, there will be a lot of people talking about his time in the Hanoi Hilton.

John McCain was in prison to fight for our freedom for more than 5 years. He was in solitary confinement for about 3 years. He was tortured for years. If you have ever met any of the POWs who were in the cells around him, almost to a man they credit the fact that they didn't lose their minds during that time to the fact that John McCain kept them sane. He kept them stable.

John McCain told me a story one time on one of those overnight flights—and he has told it to many other people around here—about tap code, which is sort of akin to Morse code, but new folks in the Army learn tap code. It is a way to spell out a five-by-five grid: You can put letters together and make words, make sentences, and make paragraphs.

John McCain thought it was very important that the men who were in prison with him would learn to tell each other stories—they would tell poems they knew from their youth; they would tap out songs they knew from when they were kids—because if they had a sense of history past, they would have a sense of hope and history future. John McCain kept those people sane.

I remember one time hearing him wax on and on about this story, and I was just in awe of how long it must have taken to persuade these men that they were going to teach each other songs and poetry from their youth. I said: How long did it take to do that?

He looked at me like I was just a complete idiot, and he said: What did I care? What the hell did it matter to me? We had infinite time, you moron.

He didn't say “you moron,” but it was clear: How do you not get that time was the one thing that just was completely irrelevant when you are in prison? If something takes too long, that is a virtue, not a liability.

One of the things we don't tell here and that we need to tell more is the connection between how he thought about time and why he acted the way he acted as a Senator. If we want to honor John McCain around here, one of the most basic things we should do is recognize that the reason he didn't suffer fools lightly is because he had a concept of time that was—as a man who had spent 5½ years in prison, he wanted to redeem the time. After he was released, he wanted to make sure he spent all of his time on big things.

His impatience, his volcanic temper flowed directly from the fact that he

thought life was too short to waste on small stuff, and if you were willing to do small stuff, he was going to get up in your grill.

So the fact that John McCain is a hero because of the way he endured torture on our behalf and the fact that John McCain worked really hard on big issues and often ran over people rudely in his interactions with them in the Senate—those things were inextricably linked. If we are really going to honor John McCain, we have to understand that his impatience was a huge part of what he saw as his mission—to serve his fellow Americans.

So how do we honor this man? There is a lot of talk around here right now about what we should do to honor John McCain, and it is an important conversation. My understanding is, the two leaders are going to get together and put together a commission to deliberate over the next many weeks or months about the proper way to honor John McCain. I am glad they are doing that.

There is a lot of discussion about renaming a building after him or renaming a different committee room after him, and some of those tributes may be the right tributes. I am not meaning to prejudge that right now. Obviously, there is something just hilarious about the idea that a Senate office building may be renamed after John McCain because if you had the “McCain SOB,” it is obvious what John McCain would want you to call that McCain SOB building all the time.

So there are important things to talk about. Yet I want to urge one bit of caution, which is: We should not think that what John McCain would want us to do in this time and place is in any way reducible to marble because just as America is not the sum of her cities, so, too, the U.S. Senate is not the sum of its buildings. The U.S. Senate is not the places where we meet.

As John reminded us in his farewell charge, read posthumously yesterday, America is an idea. America is a cause. America is about liberty. America is about justice. America is about universal human dignity. Even though John could often run over you, when you were having a debate and an argument if you were in his way, probably more than any person I have ever met John actually believed in universal human dignity.

The reason he was so big on the global stage is because he stood on a tradition 230 years long, announcing what America believes: There are about 7½ billion people who are created in God's image with universal dignity, and that applies to everybody everywhere. It isn't America's job to fix every problem everywhere, but it is certainly part of America's mission in the world to proclaim that universal human dignity, and that is what John did. That was a huge part of his calling.

Unfortunately, we know all too well that when the public looks at this institution right now, when the public

looks to this city, they don't see a place that looks like its beating heart is to proclaim that universal American idea, to proclaim that American sense that everybody is created with infinite worth, and though we know that, we are not doing that much about it.

In this institution, most of the time we finger-point, we don't problem-solve, and the public is groaning for us to do better. The last few years should be blinking red lights for all of us who are privileged to serve here for a time.

When the American people look at Washington, they rightly think it is shady for Cabinet members and their spouses to be raising money from foreign sources.

When the American people look at Washington, they rightly think there is a whole lot of shady going on and that people's taxes and finances ought to be disclosed when they are running for an office of public trust.

When the American people look at Washington, they don't see most Members of Congress as stewards of the public trust but rather as hypocrites with taxpayer-funded sexual lawsuit settlements.

When the American people look at Washington, they think it is weird that the average Member of Congress has an investment portfolio that grows much faster than the market average, and when people leave jobs in this institution they often head for “cush” jobs on K Street rather than moving back home, which is where they said they were going to end up after they ran for office.

We have seen multiple indictments across both the legislative and executive branches just in recent weeks in this town. Is it any wonder the American people look at us and wonder if we really care about the crisis of public trust? Is it any wonder that John McCain was impatient with the pace of us tackling big problems in this place?

We obviously have a truncated week here, and many of us are headed to Arizona for a funeral in the next few hours so I will not introduce anything now, but I want to say that when we get back, and as this Commission gets kicked off trying to figure out the proper way to honor John McCain, I plan to make a proposal that we should find a way to honor John McCain not just in marble. Maybe that is a step that is important, but if John McCain were here, I submit to you that John McCain wouldn't be all that concerned about what names and placards and signs we put up on buildings and meeting rooms.

I think we should find a way to honor John McCain in a way that John McCain would have seen fit, and that is we ought to pass a piece of legislation that we wouldn't have passed absent this moment. We ought to come together, in a bipartisan way, and we ought to do something that makes both political parties really uncomfortable.

That was one of the things John McCain was great at. This man is gone

and we are surely poorer for it, but we can do something big that is in line with the spirit of how he wanted to disrupt this place. If we wanted to make both parties uncomfortable—and John was a guy who loved to point both barrels at both parties—I think we can find a way to do that in a way the American people will applaud, and I think that might be the right way to honor John McCain.

His willingness to take on everybody and all the sacred cows in this town was why a lot of people hated him, but it is why a lot more people loved him. I think, if we are going to honor his spirit, we ought to find a way to do something that is big and disruptive and uncomfortable for Washington, DC.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, as a lot of my colleagues, I rise to speak for a short period of time about our deceased colleague, Senator John McCain.

I begin my remarks by paying my respect for our colleague and friend, Senator John McCain. A great American has died.

Senator McCain represented the people of Arizona and the United States of America with great honor, always holding his ground and sticking to his principles. “Sticking to his principles” have been the words used by more colleagues since his death than any other description of him. Senator McCain was tough and tenacious, both as a 32-year Member of the U.S. Senate and also as a member of the U.S. Navy. His grit and determination as a prisoner of war in Vietnam are legendary and ought to be an inspiration. For the rest of his life, he understood from his own experience what it takes to keep a country safe, and he stood up for the security of the United States, and, in turn, that was standing up for the security of the world.

He prioritized those in uniform and the veterans who safeguard our Nation. I had tremendous respect for Senator McCain's leadership of the Armed Services Committee and for the many ways he led on the No. 1 responsibility of the Federal Government: our national defense.

Senator McCain and I served in the Senate together since 1986. Even after he became ill last year, Senator McCain's charisma was as strong as ever. At Christmastime, he greeted me with an oft-repeated joke he had since he was a candidate for President and traveling around Iowa. He learned a lot about Iowa, and this greeting was something like: Well, Chuck, I had my glass of ethanol for breakfast. He would often say to me something he learned in Iowa about advertising by the John Deere corporation: Nothing runs like a Deere. Of course, being from Iowa, I liked to hear that sort of greeting, and it was often that he said those things to me.

As I stand here today with his Senate desk close at hand and draped in his

honor, my wife Barbara and I share our condolences with Cindy McCain and Senator McCain's entire family. Senator McCain sacrificed so much of himself for his country, and we are grateful for his lifetime of service.

#### NOMINATION OF BRETT KAVANAUGH

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I rise on another matter that I have addressed the Senate on quite frequently lately, and that is about Judge Brett Kavanaugh.

One week from today, Brett Kavanaugh will appear before the Senate Judiciary Committee for the first day of his confirmation hearing. After reviewing Judge Kavanaugh's very extensive record, I am convinced he is perhaps the most qualified person ever nominated to the Supreme Court.

Some of my colleagues on the other side, including all of the Democratic members of the Judiciary Committee, have asked that I delay Judge Kavanaugh's hearing. They have asked me to delay the hearing because of legal issues surrounding some of President Trump's former associates. It is absolutely not clear to me what one has to do with the other. But this is, by my account, at least the third strategy Democratic leaders have used to try to delay Judge Kavanaugh's hearing.

Liberal outside groups, if you recall, announced their opposition to every one of the 25 potential nominees before the President made his decision. Those 25 potential nominees were, for the most part, given to the people of the country probably 6 months before the President's election. No other President has told you the types of people he was going to put on the Supreme Court and given you those examples. Some Democrats joined these outside liberal groups, and many others announced their opposition immediately after the nomination.

The minority leader, before he even had a chance to meet with Judge Kavanaugh or review Judge Kavanaugh's record, said that he would fight the nomination with everything he has.

Democratic leaders' first strategy was to try to argue that the Biden rule, which bars the confirmation of Supreme Court Justices in a Presidential election year, also applies during midterm election years. This was a strange argument to make given that many of those Senators argued in 2016 that the Biden rule didn't even exist for Presidential elections.

Fact checkers and outside observers widely rejected their argument. The historical record was clear: The Biden rule has never applied during midterm election years.

The second strategy Democratic leaders pursued was to attempt to bury the Judiciary Committee in irrelevant paperwork—mountains of it. I have discussed the issue at length previously, so I will only give you a bottom line.

The bottom line is, we have received more pages of documents from Judge Kavanaugh's time as an executive branch lawyer than we did from any previous Supreme Court nominee. In fact, we have already received over 430,000 pages of Judge Kavanaugh's executive branch legal records, which is nearly as many as the last 5 nominees combined. This is on top of the 307 opinions he wrote and hundreds more he joined as a judge on the DC Circuit over the past 12 years. The public already has access right now to every one of those more than 10,000 pages of judicial writings, as well as the nearly 18,000 pages we received in connection with his judicial questionnaire. Those were supplemental to the 110 pages he filled out in the questionnaire. By the way, that happens to be the most robust questionnaire ever issued to a Supreme Court nominee.

Democratic leaders now are asking me to delay Judge Kavanaugh's hearing because of some of the President's former associates' legal troubles, but this is just another obvious and opportunistic attempt to push the confirmation process past the midterm elections. After all, both Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Justice Stephen Breyer were confirmed while President Clinton was personally under investigation for the Whitewater controversy. In fact, Justice Breyer was confirmed while President Clinton's personal documents were under grand jury subpoena. Moreover, between June 1993 and February 1999—a period during which President Clinton faced significant legal jeopardy—the Senate confirmed 248 district judges and 50 circuit judges for lifetime appointments.

It is clear that the Democratic leaders' latest attempt to delay the confirmation is unsupported by law or history.

Another reason Democratic leaders have focused on these issues is to divert attention from the great record and abilities of Judge Kavanaugh. They know that Judge Kavanaugh is exactly the type of Justice the American people want because that is what the Constitution calls for—somebody to interpret the law, not to be a superlegislator.

Judge Kavanaugh has served for 12 years on the DC Circuit Court of Appeals—a court many consider to be the second most powerful court in our country. During that time, he authored more than 300 opinions and joined hundreds more. The Supreme Court has in at least a dozen separate cases adopted legal positions advanced by Judge Kavanaugh in his opinions. Historians of the Supreme Court would say that is a very impressive record.

Judge Kavanaugh has demonstrated that he understands the proper role of a judge. I also would say he sees himself as a judge and not a superlegislator. In numerous opinions and in speeches and publications, Judge Kavanaugh has eloquently expressed that judges must find and apply the

law as it is written, not how they wish the law were written. If they followed how they wish the law were written, that would fall into a category where I would say a Judge becomes a superlegislator.

Judge Kavanaugh recently said this on that point: "When courts apply doctrines that allow them to rewrite the laws (in effect), they are encroaching on the legislature's Article I power."

If you ever wonder why judges shouldn't be superlegislators, that is because they have lifetime appointments. If you don't like what they do, you can't vote them out of office; whereas if the legislating is done by the Congress of the United States and you don't like the laws the Congress passes, you can vote those Members of Congress out of office.

Judge Kavanaugh has also argued that judges must apply the same approach to all cases. He said this: "Like cases should be treated alike by judges of all ideological and philosophical stripes, regardless of the subject matter and regardless of the identity of the parties to that case." Judge Kavanaugh's judicial record reveals that he follows his own advice. He decided cases based on his understanding of law as written, not his own personal policy preferences or who the litigant is.

In addition to his impeccable qualifications and record of achievement, Judge Kavanaugh has shown a dedication to public service, mentorship, and diversity. He spent all but 3 years of his legal career in public service. He volunteers his time to coach both his daughters' youth basketball teams, and he serves meals to the homeless with Catholic Charities. Judge Kavanaugh is a proven mentor to law students and young lawyers. Judge Kavanaugh has taught courses at Harvard Law School on separation of powers and the modern Supreme Court since 2008.

The Senate Judiciary Committee received a letter in support of his confirmation from his former students. They wrote this:

We . . . represent a broad spectrum of political and ideological beliefs, as well as perspectives on judicial philosophy. We may have differing views on political issues surrounding the confirmation process, but we all agree on one thing: Judge Kavanaugh is a rigorous thinker, a devoted teacher, and a gracious person.

But this letter goes on with other things that are important about Judge Kavanaugh, so I quote again:

Both inside and outside the courtroom, Judge Kavanaugh evinced a genuine warmth and interest in his students and their careers. . . . He was exceptionally generous with his time, making himself available to meet with students not only to discuss the class, but also to assist with their scholarly writings or to offer career advice. In many instances, he has continued to provide advice and support long after the class ended by writing letters of recommendation and serving as a valued mentor. In our view, his genuine interest in helping young lawyers demonstrates a deep commitment to the legal community as a whole.

That is from students of his of differing political views.

Federal judges also play an important role in mentoring the next generation of lawyers. They typically hire four new law clerks each year to help them research and decide cases. A law clerk is like a judge's right arm. A judge's law clerks know the judge better than anyone else. Day in and day out, law clerks work closely with a judge in chambers every day on complex legal issues.

Judge Kavanaugh has clearly taken seriously his mentorship role with his clerks. His former law clerks submitted a letter to this committee strongly supporting his confirmation. They wrote:

It was a tremendous stroke of luck to work for and be mentored by a person of his strength of character, generosity of spirit, intellectual capacity, and unwavering care for his family, friends, colleagues, and us, his law clerks. . . . He is unfailingly warm and gracious with his colleagues no matter how strongly they disagree about a case, and he is well-liked and respected by judges and lawyers across the ideological spectrum as a result. . . . He always makes time for us, his law clerks. He makes it to every wedding, answers every career question, and gives unflinchingly honest advice. That advice often boils down to the same habits we saw him practice in the chambers every day: Shoot straight, be careful and brave, work as hard as you possibly can, and then work a little harder.

That is from his law clerks.

One of the areas where Judge Kavanaugh has had a particular impact is his commitment to diversity. More than half of his law clerks have been female. Indeed, during one year, all four of his law clerks were female, which was a first for the DC Circuit.

Judge Kavanaugh's female law clerks sent the committee a letter. These law clerks wrote:

We know all too well that women in the workplace still face challenges, inequality, and even harassment. Among other things, women do not enjoy a representative share of prestigious clerkships or high-profile legal positions, but this committee and the American public more broadly should be aware of the important work Judge Kavanaugh has done to remedy those disparities. In our view, the Judge has been one of the strongest advocates in the Federal judiciary for women lawyers.

Additionally, Judge Kavanaugh has a track record of recruiting and hiring diverse law clerks from the best law schools. It is clear that he cares about expanding opportunities to unrepresented groups in the law. The legal profession should be open to anyone, regardless of where they grew up or where their parents emigrated from. Judge Kavanaugh's clerks reflect this important principle.

In sum, Democratic leaders committed 1 month ago to oppose Judge Kavanaugh's confirmation. They have thrown a lot against the wall to try to delay his confirmation, but none of it sticks. Judge Kavanaugh will have his hearing next week, and I am looking forward to it.

Based upon my review of Judge Kavanaugh's extensive record, it ap-

pears that he is extremely qualified to sit on the Supreme Court. He understands the proper role of a judge in our constitutional system, and he has devoted time to serving his community and improving the legal profession.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PERDUE). The Senator from Alaska.

#### REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. President, I am standing at a different desk this evening to give my remarks because I want to be actually behind this desk in front of me, which is Senator McCain's desk draped in black, with beautiful flowers, signifying the loss that we are all feeling here in the U.S. Senate.

As we have heard from so many in this Chamber all week—this evening in particular—Senator John McCain's passing represents an incalculable loss not only to his family, his dear wife Cindy, his friends, and a legion of admirers across the world, but also to his colleagues here in the U.S. Senate—Democrats and Republicans—and to the institution of the Senate itself, where he served as a model of honor and integrity and character for 31 years.

There are so many people who served with him much longer and knew him much better than I did. I have been watching the speeches, the wonderful, passionate, and emotional words from my colleagues like Senator GRAHAM—LINDSEY GRAHAM—his best friend here in the Senate this afternoon; Senator WHITEHOUSE, a good friend of Senator McCain's, a good friend of mine whom I met through many trips with Senator McCain; Leader MCCONNELL; Senator SASSE—so many have been coming to the floor.

The tributes on the Senate floor and in the newspapers across the country have been inspiring, and they have been true, talking about a man of courage, a steadfast patriot, an American hero, a warrior of indomitable spirit, who not only believed in American exceptionalism but inspired millions of Americans and millions of people across the globe to believe in it as well.

As I have watched and listened, sometimes I have started to wonder what more there is to add—there has been a lot said—especially from a freshman Senator who hadn't served with John nearly as long as most in this august Chamber. But if Senator John McCain taught us anything, it was to speak when you feel compelled to speak, and when it comes to him, I certainly feel compelled to speak, particularly as a newer Member of this body who thought the world of this man and learned so much from him.

John McCain was a leader. There is no arguing about that. One of the qualities of leadership that is so important and sometimes gets overlooked and that was a huge quality of this great Senator was his ability to focus on and give his time and willingness to mentor newer Members of the Senate.

If you look at the arc of his three decades of service in the U.S. Senate, one thing he always took the time to do was to take newer Members under his wing, show them the ropes, travel with them, teach them, coach them. Of course, this takes time, effort, energy, and initiative. We are all busy here in the U.S. Senate, but this was and is a truly important hallmark of the McCain legacy—critical—and it is a bipartisan legacy.

Just look at the Senators who have come to the floor to speak about Senator McCain. Look at some of the newer Senators who have come to the floor: Senators WHITEHOUSE, KLOBUCHAR, ERNST, SASSE, and GRAHAM, of course—so many who had that privilege, the great privilege, of having John McCain actually take an interest in them and spend his precious time and energy on their well-being and careers in the Senate.

One of the true honors of my life was having John McCain as a friend and a mentor in the Senate. At the time this was happening, I didn't always think about it too much, but now, as we look at his desk, I am so grateful that I had these experiences.

Like most things with John McCain, it wasn't a subtle experience. In fact, a lot of the time I didn't feel I had a choice in the matter. My first month in the Senate, in January 2015, like a lot of the new Senators, I was pretty clueless here, quite clueless—rules, faces, names, votes. This lion of the Senate, John McCain, pulled me aside on the floor of the Senate on two different times in the first month I was a Senator.

On one occasion, he was talking about an institution that really mattered to him—the U.S. Naval Academy. He said to me: Dan, do you know what? Under Federal law, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee—which he was—sits on the boards of all the service academies, or his designee. He asked me if I was interested in sitting on the Board of Visitors for the Naval Academy. This was from John McCain, who went to the Naval Academy. His dad went to the Naval Academy, and his grandfather went to the Naval Academy. The name McCain and the Naval Academy are almost synonymous. He is going to be buried there, in fact.

I looked at the Senator, and I said "Yes, sir."

Another time, in the Armed Services Committee, he mentioned to me that he had always taken a very strong interest in the Asia-Pacific and our force posture out there, what was happening in places like Okinawa, and he wanted the newer Members of the Senate to be part of it. Reaching out to new Senators—I want you to do this. I am going to travel the region, and I want you to come with me. I mean, it was unbelievable. And I said "Yes, sir" to that.

Like so many here who have talked about it, we went to these places. Just



a couple of months later, I had the incredible honor of traveling to Vietnam with Senator McCain, with Senator REED from Rhode Island, Senator ERNST from Iowa, and that is a trip I will never forget.

We actually went to the Hanoi Hilton, which has been talked about a lot this past week, where John McCain suffered and was tortured. There is a tribute in that place of torture. It is not really a tribute, but it has pictures of him. We walked in, and we looked at this, and there were a couple of Americans in front, reading about this. They turned around, and they saw John McCain, and two of them just started crying.

By the way, when you were in Vietnam with John McCain, he was treated like a hero—the hero that he was—by the Vietnamese people, which was amazing. These codels—and Senator McCain has led them all over the world with Senators—have gotten a lot of attention. Of course, they are very important. Senator GRAHAM was talking about them recently in the Senate. We focus a lot on foreign policy and national security. You can't learn that from watching cable TV, but you can learn when you go out into the world and travel and meet with leaders and meet with people and see the suffering, see the opportunities, and see the challenges.

John McCain took so many of us, through his leadership and mentorship, on these congressional delegations all over the world.

There has been some joking now about how, with his energy and his focus, some Members called these forced marches. By the way, nobody could keep up with him—even the newer Members. They certainly were tense.

Back to the idea of mentorship, on a codel with John McCain, he once again showed that leadership. He would be leading it. He would be in a room with a world leader, and then he would take the time to name and introduce every Member of the Senate on the codel and have them ask questions, have them engage. He could have dominated every one of these conversations. He never did. He was always asking the Members: What do you think? Do you have a question?

These codels were also a great opportunity to bring Senators together—Democrats and Republicans. When you are traveling overseas, partisan differences fade if you are in a war zone or in a poverty-stricken country or dictatorship. You see that what unites us is a lot more important than what divides us.

The bottom line is that he clearly saw that part of his mission was to work with and mentor the next generation of Senators on responsibilities that he clearly cared so much about, particularly on foreign policy and national security.

I would like to talk a little bit about my class, the class that was elected in

2014. We had 13 new Senators in that class. The Presiding Officer is a Member of that class. It is a great class. There is a lot of energy and a lot of youth. Of the 13 Members of the class of 2014 who joined the Armed Services Committee, if you look at it right now, there are 8 who are on it. That is John McCain in action as the former chairman of that committee, taking newer Senators and getting them on that committee to focus and learn about the world.

There have been numerous articles and commentary—particularly in the realm of foreign policy and national security—saying that the passing of this great Senator has left a huge void in the Senate, and I couldn't agree more. The combination of service, sacrifice, moral authority, military and combat experience, and a deep, abiding conviction about America's role in the world makes him a unique Senator, unmatched by anyone in this body.

One of the things I believe Senator McCain knew about leadership and one of the reasons he focused so much on the issue of mentoring other Senators over the years was to prepare this body and the next generation of Senators, whether on the Armed Services Committee or as part of another institution he led for many years, the International Republican Institute—making sure and being ready so that when this day happened, other Senators who were taught and mentored and encouraged by John McCain would be focused on issues that he cared so much about, like the indispensable role of America and the Senate in making the world a better place.

A mentor is, almost by definition, a teacher. Many of us have learned so much from him. Much has been said about this, and I am sure that over the years, we will learn more about what Senator McCain taught us. I would like to highlight two areas where I personally learned so much from John McCain.

The first was how to fight for what you believe in. When you look at the arc of John McCain's whole life, whether in the Hanoi Hilton or on the Senate floor, it was about fighting for what he believed in. Pretty much everybody in this body has had a scrap with John McCain, and when you did, you had to be ready to fight with all you had because he was so passionate and intense.

On the Armed Services Committee, I had a bit of a tradition with him. Prior to the markup of the National Defense Authorization Act, I would go and have a one-on-one meeting with him on some provisions that he might not like that I was trying to get in the bill. These were mostly behind-closed-door battles, some of which got a little heated, fingers pointed, voices raised. I won a few, lost a lot more than I won, but it was never personal for John McCain. He was a warrior, and as he often said, "A fight not joined is a fight not enjoyed."

When he took a stand, he could be unwavering, but he was always willing

to listen to reason and to compromise when the reasoning was convincing and the principle sound, regardless of who was making the case—a Democrat or a Republican.

"We are Americans first, Americans last, Americans always," he once said. "Let us argue our differences. But remember we are not enemies, but comrades together in a war against a real enemy."

He always fought with honor, and he always kept his word. In his final memoir, "The Restless Wave"—which I recommend everybody read; it is a great book—he has a chapter called "Fighting the Good Fight." It recounts a lot of his battles on the floor of this body, but when the fight was over, he emphasized the importance of keeping your word—what he called the Senate's principal virtue. He always did that, and he taught others to do that.

Another thing I learned early on from Senator McCain was how to have fun and not take life too seriously here in the Senate. Senator McCain's good friend John Lehman, who was President Reagan's Secretary of the Navy, recently wrote an op-ed about Senator McCain's life entitled "A Life of Service, Lived With Good-Natured Irreverence." I think for those of us who knew and loved John McCain, that was a great description of him. His wit was legendary. After a while, I learned that if you were a target of it, it was ultimately a term of endearment, although it could take some getting used to. Senator SASSE was just on the floor talking about some of the barbs, some of his first engagements with the Senator.

I first met John McCain 4 years ago. I remember the meeting like it was yesterday. I was a huge fan. I had read books about him. I read books by him. I was here as a candidate for the Senate and had recently won my primary, and I was meeting Senators at one of our lunches. Senator MURKOWSKI, my colleague from Alaska, was taking me around and introducing me to a number of Republican Senators, and she said: Dan, have you ever met John McCain?

I said: No. I would be honored to meet him.

I walked up to Senator McCain. Of course I was a bit nervous. My colleague from Alaska, Senator MURKOWSKI, was introducing me and telling him about my background—that I was in the Marine Reserves commanding a battalion—and Senator McCain looked at me very seriously and said: Well, that is interesting, Dan. I almost joined the Marines.

I said: Really, Senator?

He said: Yeah. I almost joined the Marines, but the Marines told me I wasn't qualified.

I said: Really? Why weren't you qualified?

As I was asking this question of him, I noticed other Senators gathering around, all smiling.

He said: Why wasn't I qualified? Because I knew who my parents were.

Of course everybody laughed. Senator McCain laughed. I realized I and my beloved Marine Corps had just been assaulted by John McCain in the first of what would be many jokes. Only later did I know—and Senator GRAHAM was talking about it—that this Marine joke was one of the many in the McCain repertoire. I have heard it many times now. It always gets a laugh. These jokes are a great part of his wonderful personality—irreverent wisecracks to keep people humble, keep them laughing even about serious topics.

I remember when I was in Vietnam with Senator McCain. We were at the lake in Hanoi where he had been shot down and had parachuted into this lake. There is a statue of John McCain coming out of the lake. The language is in Vietnamese. He said: You know, I really don't like this statue. I can't stand it. Do you know why, Dan?

No. I have no idea, John.

Look at what it says: John McCain, Major, U.S. Air Force.

Then he let a few choice words out that I can't say here on the Senate floor.

He said: I wasn't a major in the U.S. Air Force; I was a commander in the U.S. Navy.

Even in the twilight of his life, the wit and wisecracks were as strong as ever. I had the honor of visiting Senator McCain about 6 weeks ago in Arizona with his wonderful wife Cindy. We were talking about the National Defense Authorization Act that we were getting ready to vote on that was named after him. I was getting ready to leave, and I said: John, I just want you to know all your Senate colleagues really miss you.

He hadn't said much during the conversation. He looked at me and said: Dan, that is a lie.

Again, after all he had been through, he still had a lightness of being and wit and laughter. He still knew how to love the world, how to appreciate it in all its humor, splendor, and creativity.

The story of John McCain is a story for the ages—carefree, somewhat reckless young man; a rebel searching for a cause who found that cause in love of country as a POW in Vietnam; a person who underwent unimaginable pain and suffering and yet came back better for it and loved America more for it and wanted most of all to pass down that love, that sense of service to the next generation. He succeeded.

Let me close by quoting the same Robert Louis Stevenson poem Senator McCain recited during his father's funeral service:

Here he lies where he longed to be  
Home is the sailor, home from the sea  
And the hunter home from the hill.

To Cindy McCain and the whole McCain family, please be assured of our continued prayers and deepest condolences for your loss. We miss John McCain so much, as we know you do.

To my friend John McCain, Godspeed. Semper Fidelis. Fair winds and following seas. It was an honor to serve with you. You will always be with us.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. President, I rise, as my colleague from Alaska just did so eloquently, to pay tribute to our colleague and our friend, Senator John McCain.

I guess I have to start with a question: Where do I begin? Where does anyone begin after all we have heard these last number of days and will continue to hear in the days ahead when we pay tribute, in a more formal way in the next few days, here in Washington, in Arizona, and around the world?

John McCain lived to serve his country. His life could be best described in many words, but three come to mind: courage, commitment, and character.

There is a line attributed to Abraham Lincoln in which he said: In the end, it is not the years in one's life that count; it is the life in those years. It is a loose translation, not exact. Yet, when you consider the life in those years in the context of John McCain, what a life it was. He was a remarkable human being who was able to rise above the horror of being a captive and of being tortured in order to achieve so much in his life after that in the Navy, as an elected official, as a Presidential candidate, and, of course, most especially, as a leader.

John McCain demonstrated a kind of courage that most people cannot even begin to imagine—5½ years spent in an enemy prison camp in North Vietnam. I was thinking, as it was recounted this week, that 5½ years is just a little less than a Senate term that he spent as a captive. Given the opportunity to cut the line and be released ahead of his fellow prisoners, likely because of his father's rank as an admiral, John McCain said, no, he would wait his turn and endure the beatings and suffering that he had to endure.

A few years ago, a number of us retreated to the rare privilege of listening to John McCain talk about that experience. We had a lunch—both sides of the aisle—in the caucus room in the Russell Building, and John McCain talked about some of his experiences as a prisoner of war. I will never forget those stories, and I will never forget how he walked through those experiences with such humility. There is no recitation of facts that would lead you to the conclusion that he was heroic—though, he was. There was no self-aggrandizement, no effort to tell you how tough he was or how strong he was. He just told stories about what it was like—the daily suffering and the pain his captors would inflict on him day after day after day.

This experience, obviously and certainly, impacted his approach to foreign policy and his approach to military policy for the rest of his life. It especially impacted his work as a public official in the House of Representatives and in the U.S. Senate.

In his 2008 acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention, John McCain said:

I fell in love with my country when I was a prisoner in someone else's. I loved it not just for the many comforts of life here. I loved it for its decency, for its faith in the wisdom, justice, and goodness of its people.

It is a rare soul of great courage who comes away from such a painful, searing experience with that outlook and with a deep desire to continue to serve.

John McCain's life, obviously, was a life of action and a life of commitment. He was committed to this country that he served for 60 years in the Navy, in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate—the Senate, of course, for more than 30 after having been elected in 1986. He was, of course, committed to bringing hope to the oppressed, to the persecuted around the world, and to the people here at home.

When I think of John, I am reminded of some of the words from "America the Beautiful." The one line that is inspirational is that line that we have often heard: "O beautiful for patriot dream that sees beyond the years."

John McCain's life was a testament to that dream, not a "dream" in a theoretical sense but in the belief that, every day, your work has to be geared toward the future. The dream of a patriot is not something abstract. The dream of a patriot has to be the commitment of working on behalf of those who will come after you. That is why the line talks about seeing beyond the years, always working, as John McCain did, for the future—for more freedom, for more opportunity, for less oppression, for less suffering for people here at home and around the world. He had that dream that animated his life's work.

John McCain, of course, would also have been the first person to have reminded us that he had been far from perfect. I am not sure I have ever heard of a public official recounting or reciting instances in which he was not perfect or when he didn't do the right thing. Very few public officials are willing to admit that. Of course, John was not the usual public official. Even when he cataloged mistakes or things that he believed he did wrong, everyone who knew him—everyone who knew anything about his life or his work or his service—would also conclude at the same time that, without question, John McCain had integrity, that John McCain had character, and that character must continue to matter in the life of a public official. If it doesn't matter, then we are not going to have much of a country. John McCain understood that. It is not good enough to be smart and committed to your positions on public policy. It is not good enough just to be there for votes and for debates. That is, obviously, critical, but character still matters, and John McCain was living proof of that.

I remember one occasion on which he and I had an acrimonious exchange in a Senate elevator, for just a couple seconds when the elevator went from the

basement to the second floor. John was very heated, and I was taken by surprise as to how heated he was. Yet, as we have heard so many times over the past several days, John McCain never let a public policy disagreement impact personal relationships with his colleagues.

A couple of hours later, we were back on the Senate floor. I wanted to continue the argument, and I started to approach him on the floor to continue the argument. I guess I wanted to get the last word, which might have been a mistake with John McCain. Yet, as I got close to him, John McCain lifted up his arms, reached out to me, and embraced me. He said, "I'm sorry." He apologized. It is not common for elected officials in any government or at any level of government to apologize on a regular basis, but John McCain was uncommon when it came to being a unique public official.

John worked with so many of us on many issues. I didn't have the chance to work with him on a long list of issues, but I do remember one that had a particular impact on me. That was his work as a vocal advocate for the people of Syria, who were still suffering under the oppressive, violent regime of Bashar al-Assad. I worked with John, as many did here, to pursue a policy as to how the United States could best support the aspirations of the Syrian people for new political leadership, for stability, security, and, of course, for a prosperous future.

John McCain and I didn't agree on all national security issues, but I will always remember his courage of conviction when it came to standing with the oppressed and vulnerable people across the world against tyrannical dictators or despots. On this issue, we were on the same page and tried to get the policy right.

Whether it was with international affairs or domestic policies, John worked to find common ground with his colleagues, though, to do that, we were trying to create, of course, a stronger country and a better world, and I am grateful to have been included among those who can say they worked with John McCain to try to enact good policy.

Let me conclude with these words. In one of his final interviews, when asked how he would like to be remembered, John McCain's simple response was: "He served his country honorably." The final word was added with some reservation as if he still wondered if it were deserved.

Let's be clear. John McCain did serve his country honorably, and this country is much better for his service. We will miss him in this Chamber, but we should all strive to live up to his example of service and bipartisan work in the Senate and bipartisan work for our Nation.

The words ring true for John McCain more than almost anyone else I can think of: "O beautiful for patriot dream That sees beyond the years."

John McCain was always trying to be that patriot who thought about the future, who tried to see beyond the years to make life better for those who would come after him. We were privileged to have served in the U.S. Senate with John McCain.

On behalf of my family and, I am sure, not just of the family of Pennsylvania but of those well beyond our State, we offer condolences to John's wife Cindy and to their family, and his many friends. May he rest in peace.

God bless John McCain.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

## EXECUTIVE SESSION

### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 1061.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Elad L. Roisman, of Maine, to be a Member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for a term expiring June 5, 2023.

#### CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

#### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Elad L. Roisman, of Maine, to be a Member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for a term expiring June 5, 2023.

Mitch McConnell, John Cornyn, Michael B. Enzi, Roy Blunt, Thom Tillis, Mike Rounds, Johnny Isakson, Roger F. Wicker, Mike Crapo, Richard C. Shelby, Steve Daines, John Kennedy, John Boozman, David Perdue, John Thune, Shelley Moore Capito, Pat Roberts.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the mandatory quorum call for the cloture motion be waived.

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

### REMOVAL OF INJUNCTION OF SECRECY—TREATY DOCUMENT NO. 115-3

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the injunction of secrecy be removed from the following treaty transmitted to the Senate on August 28, 2018, by the President of the United States: amendments to the Treaty on Fisheries between the Governments of Certain Pacific Island

States and the Government of the United States of America, Treaty Document No. 115-3. I further ask that the treaty be considered as having been read the first time; that it be referred, with accompanying papers, to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed; and that the President's message be printed in the RECORD.

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

The message of the President is as follows:

#### *To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Amendments to the Treaty on Fisheries between the Governments of Certain Pacific Island States and the Government of the United States of America, done at Port Moresby April 2, 1987, as amended (the "Treaty"), done at Nadi, Fiji, December 3, 2016. I also transmit, for the information of the Senate, the amendments to the Annexes to the Treaty and report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty and a Memorandum of Understanding reflecting the parties' intent to provisionally apply certain amendments.

The objective of the Treaty is to provide United States purse seine vessels with fishing access to waters under the jurisdiction of 16 Pacific Island parties, and to provide a platform for broader cooperation between the parties. The Amendments update the Treaty's terms and conditions to promote more effective cooperation between parties and United States private-sector stakeholders. The Senate gave its advice and consent to prior amendments to the Treaty in 2003, but those amendments never entered into force. The Amendments my Administration is now submitting include some of those prior amendments.

The Treaty and its Amendments serve United States diplomatic and economic interests by promoting positive relations with the Pacific Island parties and allowing for the continued operation of the United States-flagged fishing fleet in the region. The Amendments are supported by both Pacific Island parties and United States industry stakeholders.

The recommended changes to the Treaty's implementing legislation, the South Pacific Tuna Act of 1988, to reflect the Amendments to the Treaty and its Annexes, will be submitted separately to the Congress.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Amendments to this Treaty, and give its advice and consent to ratification.

DONALD J. TRUMP.

THE WHITE HOUSE, August 28, 2018.

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the following nomination: Executive Calendar No. 1060.

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

The clerk will report the nomination. The legislative clerk read the nomination of David Hale, of New Jersey, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, to be an Under Secretary of State (Political Affairs).

Thereupon, the Senate proceeded to consider the nomination.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate vote on the nomination with no intervening action or debate; that if confirmed, the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action; that no further motions be in order; and that any statements relating to the nomination be printed in the RECORD.

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

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

The nomination was confirmed.

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the en bloc consideration of the following nominations: Executive Calendar Nos. 916, 917, 918, 919, 948, 949, 950, 1004, and 1005.

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

The clerk will report the nominations en bloc.

The legislative clerk read the nominations of Charles L. Goodwin, of Hawaii, to be United States Marshal for the District of Hawaii for the term of four years; R. Don Ladner, Jr., of Florida, to be United States Marshal for the Northern District of Florida for the term of four years; Susan Lewellyn Pamerleau, of Texas, to be United States Marshal for the Western District of Texas for the term of four years; Gadyaces S. Serralta, of Florida, to be United States Marshal for the Southern District of Florida for the term of four years; John D. Jordan, of Missouri, to be United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Missouri for the term of four years; Mark F. Sloke, of Alabama, to be United States Marshal for the Southern District of Alabama for the term of four years; Nick Willard, of New Hampshire, to be United States Marshal for the District of New Hampshire for the term of four years; Maria Chapa Lopez, of Florida, to be United States Attorney for the Middle District of Florida for the term of four years; and Richard E. Taylor, Jr., of Texas, to be United States Marshal for the Northern District of Texas for the term of four years.

Thereupon, the Senate proceeded to consider the nominations en bloc.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate vote on the nominations en bloc

with no intervening action or debate; that if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table en bloc; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action; that no further motions be in order; and that any statements relating to the nominations be printed in the RECORD.

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

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Goodwin, Ladner, Pamerleau, Serralta, Jordan, Sloke, Willard, Lopez, and Taylor nominations en bloc?

The nominations were confirmed en bloc.

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the en bloc consideration of the following nominations: Executive Calendar Nos. 1066, 1067, and 1068.

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

The clerk will report the nominations en bloc.

The legislative clerk read the nominations of Ariana Fajardo Orshan, of Florida, to be United States Attorney for the Southern District of Florida for the term of four years; Peter G. Strasser, of Louisiana, to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Louisiana for the term of four years; and G. Zachary Terwilliger, of Virginia, to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia for the term of four years.

Thereupon, the Senate proceeded to consider the nominations en bloc.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate vote on the nominations en bloc with no intervening action or debate; that if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table en bloc; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action; that no further motions be in order; and that any statements relating to the nominations be printed in the RECORD.

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

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Orshan, Strasser, and Terwilliger nominations en bloc?

The nominations were confirmed en bloc.

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the en bloc consideration of the following nominations: Executive Calendar Nos. 995 and 996.

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

The clerk will report the nominations en bloc.

The legislative clerk read the nominations of Elizabeth Ann Copeland, of

Texas, to be a Judge of the United States Tax Court for a term of fifteen years, and Patrick J. Urda, of Indiana, to be a Judge of the United States Tax Court for a term of fifteen years.

Thereupon, the Senate proceeded to consider the nominations en bloc.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate vote on the nominations en bloc with no intervening action or debate; that if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table en bloc; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action; that no further motions be in order; and that any statements relating to the nominations be printed in the RECORD.

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

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Copeland and Urda nominations en bloc?

The nominations were confirmed en bloc.

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the following nomination: Executive Calendar No. 1015.

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

The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Karen S. Evans, of West Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy (Cybersecurity, Energy Security and Emergency Response).

Thereupon, the Senate proceeded to consider the nomination.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate vote on the nomination with no intervening action or debate; that if confirmed, the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action; that no further motions be in order; and that any statements relating to the nomination be printed in the RECORD.

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

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

The nomination was confirmed.

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the en bloc consideration of the following nominations: Executive Calendar Nos. 832 and 834.

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

The clerk will report the nominations en bloc.

The legislative clerk read the nominations of Robert M. Duncan, of Kentucky, to be a Governor of the United States Postal Service for a term expiring December 8, 2018; and David Williams, of Illinois, to be a Governor of

the United States Postal Service for a term expiring December 8, 2019.

Thereupon, the Senate proceeded to consider the nominations en bloc.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate vote on the nominations en bloc with no intervening action or debate; that if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table en bloc; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action; that no further motions be in order; and that any statements relating to the nominations be printed in the RECORD.

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

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Duncan and Williams nominations en bloc?

The nominations were confirmed en bloc.

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the en bloc consideration of the following nominations: Executive Calendar Nos. 270, 1039, and 1040.

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

The clerk will report the nominations en bloc.

The legislative clerk read the nominations of Dawn DeBerry Stump, of Texas, to be a Commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission for a term expiring April 13, 2022; Dan Michael Berkovitz, of Maryland, to be a Commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission for a term expiring April 13, 2023; and James E. Hubbard, of Colorado, to be Under Secretary of Agriculture for Natural Resources and Environment.

Thereupon, the Senate proceeded to consider the nominations en bloc.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate vote on the nominations en bloc with no intervening action or debate; that if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table en bloc; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action; that no further motions be in order; and that any statements relating to the nominations be printed in the RECORD.

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

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Stump, Berkovitz, and Hubbard nominations en bloc?

The nominations were confirmed en bloc.

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the following nomination: Executive Calendar No. 869.

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

The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of James H. Anderson, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Thereupon, the Senate proceeded to consider the nomination.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate vote on the nomination with no intervening action or debate; that if confirmed, the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action; that no further motions be in order; and that any statements relating to the nomination be printed in the RECORD.

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

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

The nomination was confirmed.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

##### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to legislative session for a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

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

#### CONGRATULATING THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF INVENTORS ON THE MILESTONE OF ACHIEVING 200 MEMBER INSTITUTIONS

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of S. Res. 620, submitted earlier today.

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

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 620) congratulating the National Academy of Inventors on the milestone of achieving 200 member institutions.

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

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 620) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

#### RECOGNIZING THE AMERICAN LEGION FOR 100 YEARS OF SERVICE TO VETERANS AND MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES IN THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR FAMILIES

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from further consideration of S. Res. 617 and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

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

The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 617) recognizing The American Legion for 100 years of service to veterans and members of the Armed Forces in the United States and their families.

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

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 617) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in the RECORD of August 23, 2018, under "Submitted Resolutions.")

#### APPOINTMENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair announces, on behalf of the Democratic Leader, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 114-198, the appointment of the following individual to serve as a member of the Creating Options for Veterans' Expedited Recovery (COVER Commission): Matthew J. Kuntz of Montana (Veteran).

Mr. McCONNELL. 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.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Majority Leader.

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.

#### ORDERS FOR FRIDAY, AUGUST 31, 2018, THROUGH TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 2018

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn to then convene for a pro forma session only, with no business being conducted, on Friday, August 31, at 10 a.m.; and that following the pro forma session, the Senate adjourn until 3 p.m. on Tuesday, September 4; and

that on Tuesday, September 4, following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and morning business be closed; further, that following leader remarks, the Senate proceed to executive session and resume consideration of the Roisman nomination; finally, that notwithstanding the provisions of rule XXII, the cloture motion filed during today's session ripen at 5:30 p.m., Tuesday, September 4.

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

#### ADJOURNMENT UNTIL FRIDAY, AUGUST 31, 2018, AT 10 A.M.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask that it stand adjourned under the previous order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 10 a.m. Friday, August 31, 2018.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 7:46 p.m., adjourned until Friday, August 31, 2018, at 10 a.m.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate:

##### DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

LISA M. SCHENCK, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE A JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY COMMISSION REVIEW. (NEW POSITION)

##### SOCIAL SECURITY ADVISORY BOARD

MICHAEL J. ASTRUE, OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ADVISORY BOARD FOR A TERM EXPIRING SEPTEMBER 30, 2022, VICE ALAN L. COHEN, TERM EXPIRED.

JASON J. FICHTNER, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ADVISORY BOARD FOR A TERM EXPIRING SEPTEMBER 30, 2024, VICE LANHEE J. CHEN, TERM EXPIRING.

##### UNITED STATES TAX COURT

TRAVIS GREAVES, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE A JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES TAX COURT FOR A TERM OF FIFTEEN YEARS, VICE JUAN F. VASQUEZ, TERM EXPIRED.

##### INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION, UNITED STATES AND CANADA

JANE L. CORWIN, OF NEW YORK, TO BE COMMISSIONER ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION, UNITED STATES AND CANADA, VICE LANA POLLACK.

ROBERT C. SISSON, OF MICHIGAN, TO BE COMMISSIONER ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION, UNITED STATES AND CANADA, VICE DERETH BRITT GLANCE.

LANCE V. YOHE, OF NORTH DAKOTA, TO BE COMMISSIONER ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION, UNITED STATES AND CANADA, VICE RICHARD M. MOY.

##### THE JUDICIARY

JEAN-PAUL BOULEE, OF GEORGIA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA, VICE WILLIAM S. DUFFEY, JR., RETIRED.

JAMES DAVID CAIN, JR., OF LOUISIANA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA, VICE PATRICIA HEAD MINALDI, RETIRED.

##### IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED BY THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE UNDER TITLE

10 U.S.C. SECTION 950F(B)(2) TO SERVE AS APPELLATE MILITARY JUDGES ON THE UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY REVIEW. THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE OR THE UNITED STATES NAVY AND AS APPELLATE MILITARY JUDGES ON THE UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY COMMISSION REVIEW. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR CONTINUED STATUS AS APPELLATE MILITARY JUDGES PURSUANT TO THEIR ASSIGNMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE AND UNDER 10 U.S.C. SECTION 950F(B)(2), WHILE SERVING ON THE UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY COMMISSION REVIEW, ALL UNLAWFUL INFLUENCE PROHIBITIONS REMAIN UNDER 10 U.S.C. SECTION 949B(B) AND SUCH APPELLATE MILITARY JUDGES SHALL ONLY BE ELIGIBLE TO SERVE AS JUDGES ON THE UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY COMMISSION REVIEW SO LONG AS THEY REMAIN ON ACTIVE DUTY STATUS.

##### To be colonel

SCOTT E. HARDING

##### IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED BY THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE UNDER TITLE 10 U.S.C. SECTION 950F(B)(2) TO SERVE AS APPELLATE MILITARY JUDGES ON THE UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY REVIEW. THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE OR THE UNITED STATES NAVY AND AS APPELLATE MILITARY JUDGES ON THE UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY COMMISSION REVIEW. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR CONTINUED STATUS AS APPELLATE MILITARY JUDGES PURSUANT TO THEIR ASSIGNMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE AND UNDER 10 U.S.C. SECTION 950F(B)(2), WHILE SERVING ON THE UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY COMMISSION REVIEW, ALL UNLAWFUL INFLUENCE PROHIBITIONS REMAIN UNDER 10 U.S.C. SECTION 949B(B) AND SUCH APPELLATE MILITARY JUDGES SHALL ONLY BE ELIGIBLE TO SERVE AS JUDGES ON THE UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY COMMISSION REVIEW SO LONG AS THEY REMAIN ON ACTIVE DUTY STATUS.

##### To be captain

MARCUS N. FULTON  
FRANK D. HUTCHISON

##### NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

MARK GASTON PEARCE, OF NEW YORK, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD FOR THE TERM OF FIVE YEARS EXPIRING AUGUST 27, 2023. (REAPPOINTMENT)

#### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate August 28, 2018:

##### COMMODITY FUTURES TRADING COMMISSION

DAWN DEBERRY STUMP, OF TEXAS, TO BE A COMMISSIONER OF THE COMMODITY FUTURES TRADING COMMISSION FOR A TERM EXPIRING APRIL 13, 2022.

##### THE JUDICIARY

TERRY FITZGERALD MOORER, OF ALABAMA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA.

R. STAN BAKER, OF GEORGIA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA.

CHARLES BARNES GOODWIN, OF OKLAHOMA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF OKLAHOMA.

BARRY W. ASHE, OF LOUISIANA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA.

JAMES R. SWEENEY II, OF INDIANA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF INDIANA.

SUSAN PARADISE BAXTER, OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

##### DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

ISABEL MARIE KEENAN PATELUNAS, OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTELLIGENCE AND ANALYSIS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY.

##### DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JOSEPH H. HUNT, OF MARYLAND, TO BE AN ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL.

##### UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE

ROBERT M. DUNCAN, OF KENTUCKY, TO BE A GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE FOR A TERM EXPIRING DECEMBER 8, 2018.

DAVID WILLIAMS, OF ILLINOIS, TO BE A GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE FOR A TERM EXPIRING DECEMBER 8, 2019.

##### THE JUDICIARY

NANCY E. BRASEL, OF MINNESOTA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF MINNESOTA.

##### DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

JAMES H. ANDERSON, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE.

##### FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

RICHARD CLARIDA, OF CONNECTICUT, TO BE VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM FOR A TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

RICHARD CLARIDA, OF CONNECTICUT, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM FOR THE UNEXPIRED TERM OF FOURTEEN YEARS FROM FEBRUARY 1, 2008.

##### DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CHARLES L. GOODWIN, OF HAWAII, TO BE UNITED STATES MARSHAL FOR THE DISTRICT OF HAWAII FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

R. DON LADNER, JR., OF FLORIDA, TO BE UNITED STATES MARSHAL FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

SUSAN LEWELLYN PAMERLEAU, OF TEXAS, TO BE UNITED STATES MARSHAL FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

GADYACES S. SERRALTA, OF FLORIDA, TO BE UNITED STATES MARSHAL FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

JOHN D. JORDAN, OF MISSOURI, TO BE UNITED STATES MARSHAL FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF MISSOURI FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

MARK F. SLOKE, OF ALABAMA, TO BE UNITED STATES MARSHAL FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

NICK WILLARD, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, TO BE UNITED STATES MARSHAL FOR THE DISTRICT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

##### DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

LYNN A. JOHNSON, OF COLORADO, TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR FAMILY SUPPORT, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES.

##### UNITED STATES TAX COURT

ELIZABETH ANN COPELAND, OF TEXAS, TO BE A JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES TAX COURT FOR A TERM OF FIFTEEN YEARS.

PATRICK J. URDA, OF INDIANA, TO BE A JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES TAX COURT FOR A TERM OF FIFTEEN YEARS.

##### DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

MARIA CHAPA LOPEZ, OF FLORIDA, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF FLORIDA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

RICHARD E. TAYLOR, JR., OF TEXAS, TO BE UNITED STATES MARSHAL FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

##### DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

KAREN S. EVANS, OF WEST VIRGINIA, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF ENERGY (CYBERSECURITY, ENERGY SECURITY AND EMERGENCY RESPONSE).

##### COMMODITY FUTURES TRADING COMMISSION

DAN MICHAEL BERKOVITZ, OF MARYLAND, TO BE A COMMISSIONER OF THE COMMODITY FUTURES TRADING COMMISSION FOR A TERM EXPIRING APRIL 13, 2023.

##### DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

JAMES E. HUBBARD, OF COLORADO, TO BE UNDER SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE FOR NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENVIRONMENT.

##### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DAVID HALE, OF NEW JERSEY, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF CAREER MINISTER, TO BE AN UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (POLITICAL AFFAIRS).

##### DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ARIANA FAJARDO ORSHAN, OF FLORIDA, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

PETER G. STRASSER, OF LOUISIANA, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

G. ZACHARY TERWILLIGER, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.