but he was stymied time and time again from getting anything out of that committee. So for the last 10 years that committee has worked really hard, very hard, but they haven’t had much to show for that work.

The package protects more than 1 million acres of landscapes. I was waiting in my office and Senator BENNET from Colorado came to my office. He had a great big poster with him. I asked: What is that? It was upside down. You could see immediately what it was: white right side up. He was looking for time on the floor to show America what was in this bill for the State of Colorado. This beautiful vista he was showing me—and he showed the whole world last night—is something that is in this bill. It will be protected—a stunningly beautiful forest area in Colorado.

One million acres of landscape will be protected. Watersheds will be protected. Historic treasures will be protected. Over 140 miles of wild and scenic rivers throughout our country. These bills will create nearly 250,000 acres of wilderness in five States: Colorado, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, and Washington.

Additional packages convey more than 100,000 acres to local communities for economic development. My friend the Presiding Officer understands how important that is, being able to convey to the private sector the ability to develop federal lands. It has to be done carefully. It can’t be done on a massive scale. If we did that, the rich people would wind up owning all the nice places. These are places I think should be shared by the American people. But 100,000 acres go to local communities for economic development.

The legislation continues our country’s rich history, establishing national parks. It designates a number of new national parks. For example, the Harriet Tubman Historic Park.

I read in a period of a month two books on Harriet Tubman. They both came out at about the same time. I can’t imagine why a movie hasn’t been made about this dynamic little 5-foot woman who did such remarkable things. What a story of this woman—this slave. She was a slave—bringing people out of the South into freedom in the North. She took them as far as Canada. She did it alone. So I hope some day someone will make a movie of this stunningly powerful woman. We are recognizing an area that will be named on her behalf.

The bundle of lands bills is good for America. It stretches literally from the shores of Alaska to the coast of Maine. It is especially important to Nevada, my State. It protects over 75,000 acres of wilderness in Humboldt and Lyon Counties in northern Nevada, the first new wilderness protections in the State since 1964.

One of those areas is named after a famous Indian, Wovoka. There was a man who was a famous Indian. He established a dance that really brought Native Americans together. Even though it started in Nevada, it swept the country. This is going to be in Lyon County, it contains sage-grouse, bighorn sheep habitats, and some of the best fishing opportunities in Nevada and the Northwest.

Now there is a pine forest wilderness in Humboldt County which has been championed by the local community. They have been working on this for more than 20 years. It goes out of the House of Representatives. Over here, of course, it was a lost cause, and don’t even think about getting it out of the energy committee.

Environmentalists, ranchers, hunters, anglers, and off-road vehicle enthusiasts came together to protect 20,000 acres of scenic lakes, amazing rock formations, and prime sage habitat.

But it also allows a mine there to have a county that probably needed Federal Government which they need from enlarging that land. It is a copper mine. It is extremely important that we develop copper and don’t have to import it from South America and Russia.

Southern Nevada established the Tule Springs Fossil Beds National Monument on the edge of North Las Vegas. This area is the largest deposit of ice age mammals in the United States. Imagine that basically in the middle of thousands of homes. People couldn’t understand what they were digging up out there, ice age mammals that are so unbelievably large and preserved over these thousands of years. When the resources are developed, catalogued, and better understood, it will likely be the largest deposit in the entire country.

The package sells 10,000 acres of land to the city of Yerington. Lyon County was a county that probably suffered more from the economic shutdown. They had huge problems of unemployment, and now we have that mine there that will help. This will allow them to make even more jobs there.

The agreement also provides lands to the city of Yerington, Las Vegas, Fernley, Carlin, allocates tracts for three universities and college campuses, and expands Nellis Air Force Base and the Falcon Naval Air Station. This is good for Nevada. It is good for the country. This legislation promotes jobs, protects the environment, helps our Armed Forces, and gives Americans the opportunity to enjoy the beautiful landscapes this country has to offer.

It is not perfect legislation. No legislation is. But this is really good legislation. So I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting these critical lands bills which are part of the defense authorization bill.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME
Mr. REID. Mr. President, what is the business now?

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

PROTECTING VOLUNTEER FIREFIGHTERS AND EMERGENCY RESPONDERS ACT OF 2014

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will re-sume consideration of the message to accompany H.R. 3979, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Motion to concur in the Senate amendment to the Senate amendment to H.R. 3979, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to ensure that emergency services volunteers are not taken into account as employees under the shared responsibility requirements contained in the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act.

Pending:

Reid motion to concur in the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate to the bill, with Reid amendment No. 3984 (to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate to the bill), to change the enactment date.

Reid amendment No. 3985 (to amendment No. 3984), of a perfecting nature.

Reid motion to recommit the message of the House on the bill to the Committee on Armed Services, with instructions, Reid Amendment No. 3986, to change the enactment date.

Reid amendment No. 3987 (to the instructions amendment No. 3986), of a perfecting nature.

Reid amendment No. 3988 (to Amendment No. 3987), of a perfecting nature.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota.

FAREWELL TO THE SENATE

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. President, in 1986 the people of South Dakota elected me to serve them in the 100th Session of the Congress in the House of Representatives. In 1996 they gave me the honor and privilege of being their junior Senator.

When I ran for the House in 1986, I told the people of South Dakota that neither party has all the answers, and that both parties have good ideas, as well as men and women of good will. My job, as I understood it, would be to work in a bipartisan manner, listening to all parties and reaching a good fit—also known as a compromise. That is what I still believe.

However, in each year of my 28 years of service this has become more difficult to achieve. Each party, rather than working cooperatively for the American people, is more and more focused on winning the next election. Today, days after the 2014 election, you can walk into the call center for either party and find Members dialing for dollars for 2016. Tonight there will be fundraisers across DC where Members will discuss policy not with their constituents but with organizations that contribute to their campaigns. We have lost our way.

My thoughts are not original. My colleague and dear friend from South Dakota, Senator Tom Daschle, in his farewell called for finding common ground that ‘‘will not be found on the
far right or on the far left. That is not where most Americans live. We will only find it in the firm middle ground based on common sense and shared values.'

Ohio’s Senator Voinovich in his 2010 farewell speech said that his greatest frustration was the difficulty in finding common ground on significant issues, saying that “it doesn’t happen enough.”

In fact, the need for bipartisanship and the lack of it in the Senate is a hallmark of Senate farewell speeches. Rather than expounding on this topic, I would like to share the instances where I have experienced it.

I found it working with my colleague Senator JOHN THUNE, as we put aside our political differences and worked as our constituents expected two Norwegians to work. We worked side by side as we pushed for farm bills, highway funding, emergency relief from droughts and from floods. We successfully closed the Joint Development Area of Ellsworth Air Force Base. However, honoring our Norwegian heritage, we never hugged.

I found it on the banking committee, working closely with Ranking Member CHAPIRA and Senator JIM BUNDY, we reached middle ground on reforms in which both parties gave up significant priorities, compromising, finding the middle ground to pass bills out of committee.

My best and most enduring memory of this journey occurred during my 9-month absence following my AVM, a long and humbling journey. During this journey my committee assignments were respected and my friend from Rhode Island Senator JACK REED graciously accepted extra responsibilities until my return. Senator HARRY REID told me that during my long absence my colleagues on the other side of the aisle never once tried to take advantage of my absence. More importantly, in many ways the kind words and prayers from you and your spouses, on both sides of the aisle, supported both Barbara and me and gave us strength during my long and continuing recovery.

I was grateful and humbled by your support on September 9, 2007, the day I returned to the Senate when almost every chair in this Chamber was filled. Senator REID and Senator McCONNELL, I thank you for your welcome back to the Senate family.

In the years ahead, I will miss this family—not the bickering that I mentioned earlier, but the blessings that you have all been to Barbara and me.

I would also like to thank another family that has been critical to my work for South Dakota—a family that goes by the name “Team Johnson.”

This team is composed of highly talented and caring individuals. They have worked tirelessly in the halls of Congress, in South Dakota, and on campuses to make our State and our country a better place to live.

I wish I could thank each one of you for your service. Please know how much I appreciated the long hours and late nights that you put in. In the years ahead I hope we will continue to celebrate the friendships we have forged.

To my friend and chief of staff for 30 years, Dr. Bob Eigenmuller, thank you for joining my fledgling, uphill race for Congress in 1986 and for staying with me until we close the Senate office in a few days. Few Members of Congress have been as fortunate as I have been to have the loyalty, friendship, and thoughtful guidance that you have given me.

My legislative directors have all been remarkable, but time limits me to not ing the services of two individuals who have served the longest. Dwight Fettig started with us in the House as a young man fresh from his internship with Senator Byron Dorgan of North Dakota. Dwight rose through the ranks to legislative director and then became my first director on the banking committee. Bill Stubbediek is my current LD, and his legislative guidance for over 10 years has guided the staff in moving critical legislation through the Senate. Todd and Dwight have worked on legislation for projects that now deliver benefits to thousands of people across South Dakota, country of origin labeling bills, farm bills, national historic sites for Lewis and Clark and the Minute Man Missile, numerous projects for Ellsworth Air Force Base and the South Dakota National Guard, with efficiency and collegiality. To Todd and Dwight, thank you for your outstanding legislative teams.

Our No. 1 researcher, historian, historian, and go-to person, Luci Weigel, has been with us since we opened the first offices. Thank you, Luci.

To my South Dakota State director, Sharon Boyson, thank you for leading the three State offices, for ensuring that we were responsive to South Dakotans, and for coordinating with the DC office.

Sharon Stroscchio, who directed the Aberdeen office, and Darrell Shoemaker, who managed the Rapid City office, have been outstanding leaders for 28 years. You and all the State staff have been great advocates for South Dakota. You made sure that I always knew what was on the minds of South Dakotans, that I visited crisis situations, nonprofits, local and tribal governments, businesses, schools, and much more. Thank you.

Linda Robison, thank you for your dedication, willingness to go the extra mile, and your outreach to and service for our State’s veterans for 28 years.

The Senate office only needed one office manager for the last 18 years. Nancy Swenson is the most efficient, precise, and insightful person I know. The University of South Dakota will be forever grateful when they receive the and national Guard. Thank you.

To the Senate standing committees on banking and MILCON, you have served our Nation well, and I know you will continue to do so in the future. Thank you for your leadership on important issues.

I am looking forward to the years ahead and the time we will share.

To my wife Barbara and our three children, Brooks, Brendan, and Kelsey—thank you for your unwavering support, for putting up with late-night dinners, for accepting that my work demanded that I be away so many weekends, and for working side by side on the challenging campaigns. Without your understanding, love, and support, I could not have done the work I love.

Finally, to the people of South Dakota, thank you for the honor and privilege of serving you in our State legislature, the House of Representatives, and the United States Senate. Thank you for working side by side with me to improve the lives of South Dakotans and our Nation.

Palamayay, Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Applause, Senators rising.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I rise today to bid farewell to my colleague and friend Senator Tim JOHNSON.

Tim has deep roots in South Dakota and in the towns of Canton and Vermillion in particular. He has served our State for more than 35 years, first in the State legislature and then, after winning a highly competitive primary against two well-known Democratic opponents, in the Halls of Congress. In 1996, after a decade in the U.S. House of Representatives, Tim won his first of three terms in the U.S. Senate. I am well acquainted with his second election because I came out on the short end of that stick. But I have had the privilege of serving with Tim now in the South Dakota delegation for over 10 years, and the last two years here in the Senate. Today I want to pay tribute to his many years of public service and all he has done for our home State.

I would also like to take a moment to thank Senator Johnson’s staff for their dedicated work. They have worked closely with my staff for many years, and I am grateful for their efforts.

Like many South Dakotans, I will always remember Tim as a fighter. South Dakotans are tough, rugged folks, and Tim has exemplified that spirit every day in the Senate. A big part of his legacy as a public servant will be his tenacity, his work ethic, and his unwavering focus on the policies he believed to be in the best interest of South Dakota.

Tim and I haven’t always seen eye to eye on every issue, but we have always been able to come together and work with South Dakotans in times of crisis. From drought relief, to flood and tornado responses, to protecting the Black Hills from wildfires, Senator Johnson and I have always been able to quickly
respond to the needs of our State regardless of party differences or past disagreements.

Mr. President, when you represent a State like South Dakota—what some people like to call a flyover State, a State some of our colleagues here in the Senate occasionally mix up with North Dakota—there are days when it can seem as though the concerns of rural Americans aren’t given fair consideration. The needs of rural America are not being heard by the administration or the more densely populated areas of our country.

I have had the great pleasure of working with Tim to bring a voice to the concerns of rural America and those of us who hail from the middle of the country. To highlight just one of the many examples I could bring up, since his first term in Congress Tim has fought tirelessly for water infrastructure projects in South Dakota and throughout the Great Plains. Water is a vital resource in the rural expanses of South Dakota, and Tim’s efforts have helped meet this basic need in underserved Indian reservations, small towns, and rural areas across the State. These investments will pay dividends well beyond his tenure in the Senate.

Throughout Tim’s long career in public service—from his beginnings in the legislature to his ascension to the chairmanship of the Senate banking committee—he has had a hand in numerous efforts that will help South Dakotans and Americans alike for generations to come.

I know I speak for all South Dakotans when I say thank you, Tim, for your dedication and your service to our great State. It has been an honor to serve with you here in the United States Senate. Clean drinking water is just one example, your efforts on behalf of our beloved South Dakota, and most of all for your family. On behalf of my wife loved South Dakota, and most of all for your family, the very best as you serve with you here in the United great State. It has been an honor to serve with you here in the United States Senate. Thank you for your extraordinary service to our country.

There is no other mission in the world for our military where this much failure would be allowed. Based on General Dempsey’s own timeline, our men and women in uniform deserve a vote on this broadly bipartisan reform because military has not been able to demonstrate making a difference, therefore, they should be held to the scrutiny this year.

Throughout last year we continued to see the evidence of how much further we have to go to solve the problem of sexual assaults in our military. We saw BG Jeffrey Sinclair—one of the highest ranking officers ever charged with sexual assault—walk away with a slap on the wrist, reportedly over fears of retaliation having been made a crime in the military. He walked away with a plea deal on lesser charges for political reasons despite stated concerns over evidence.

That case brings up the very important issue of undue command influence in another reason why an independent justice system is needed. We should all be able to agree that our brave men and women in uniform deserve blind justice. The scale should not be tipped in either direction—in favor of a victim or an accused. Why should our servicemembers enjoy a lesser standard of justice and fairness than you and I, whose freedoms they risk everything to protect?

According to a recent story in the New York Times: ‘‘I don’t want to see any more sexual assaults’’; rather, ‘‘I don’t want to see any more sex crimes.’’ The DOD has failed to make any real progress in over 20 years now, and the scandals of the last 12 months and the latest data show they still don’t get it.

As USA Today said:

Over the decades, sexual scandals have spurred cycles of Pentagon apologies, congressional hand-wringing, half-baked attempts at action and nibble-around-the-edges changes. Isn’t it time that women and men who serve our country so nobly have a justice system that will serve them when they are victims of crime?

I agree. Congress should vote to remove the chain of command from these crises before year’s end. Our service-members deserve no less.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent:

We are currently on the clock. If you will the President of the United States said to us in December, you know what, you’ve got about a year to review this thing and you know how our experience tells us you understand that just because Senator Gillibrand’s vote was defeated yesterday doesn’t mean that a year from now it may not be reintroduced, and if we haven’t been able to demonstrate making a difference, you know, then we deserve to be held to the scrutiny and standard.

There is no other mission in the world for our military where this much failure would be allowed. Based on General Dempsey’s own timeline, our men and women in uniform deserve a vote on this broadly bipartisan reform because military has not been able to demonstrate making a difference, therefore, they should be held to the scrutiny this year.

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I agree. Congress should vote to remove the chain of command from these crises before year’s end. Our service-members deserve no less.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at a time to be determined by the majority leader, after consultation with the Republican leader, the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 644, S. 2902, the Military Justice Improvement Act. The time be up to 1 hour equally divided between the proponents and opponents of the bill prior to a vote on passage of the bill; that the vote on passage be subject to a 60-affirmative vote threshold; finally, that there be no amendments, points of order, or motions in order to the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. INHOFE. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objecion is heard.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I think it might be appropriate for the ranking member of the appropriate personnel subcommittee to be heard on this. In
my opinion, he is the most knowledgeable person on this subject at this time, and that would be Senator GRAHAM.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. GRAHAM. I join in the objection with Senator INHOFE. I appreciate what Senators INHOFE and LEVIN have done over the last couple of years, working in a bipartisan fashion, to make sure we defend this country. It is a problem in the military that is a problem in society, sexual assault, sexual harassment, and to set a zero-tolerance policy, but at the same time keep the military in a position to defend this country.

What can we say about our military? We heard Senator GILLIBRAND's view.

My view is that this is the finest military in the world—great people. But within that construct, you have people doing things that are criminal, wrong. But the problem is, that is a problem in the military than it is anywhere else?

My argument is this is a societal problem, and in the military it is a problem that is being addressed in, I think, a very aggressive fashion. Contrary to what the Senator from New York offers the Senate, I like where we are headed.

In March, we rejected her approach. Her approach was to fire every commander and replace the commander with a bunch of military lawyers to make decisions not just about sexual assault but about aspects of military life far beyond that.

I know the Presiding Officer has been a military commander, and barracks theft is a very big deal in the military. When you are in the military and you find out someone has stolen from another member of the unit, and you are all living together on top of each other, side by side, that is a very big deal, and the commander responsible for that unit needs to make sure something happens fairly.

The last matter I will ever agree to is the following: Sir, or ma'am—this is the first sergeant going to the commander—last night we think there may have been a rape in the barracks, and the commander says, well, that is no longer my problem, send that over to the lawyers. What a terrible thing to do to a military unit. The commander needs more accountability, not less. The commander is the person whom we choose to send people to war.

It is odd, to me, that we will give the commanders of the American military the power of life-and-death decisions, but somehow they are so morally corrupt or incapable of rendering justice in a situation such as this.

All I can say is that I respect the passion of those who are behind this to a point, but you are going too far. Members on the other side of the aisle have been threatened with money being cut off if they vote against this idea. This is no longer about reforming a system that is a political cause going out of control.

In my view, the good thing about the Armed Services Committee is that we have always been able, for the most part, to work out problems that affect our military.

And I say to Senator LEVIN, through the Chair, above all others, I appreciate my colleague's maturity and leadership, but we need to get the right answer. The right answer is to purge the military of the heinous crime of sexual assault, sexual harassment, clean up this mess, but do not destroy the structure that makes it the finest military on the planet, and we are well on our way to doing that.

Senator GILLIBRAND's bill last year did not make it through the Senate, but another bill did. Senator AYOTTE, Senator MCCASKILL, Senator FISCHER, along with the chairman, and others, came up with a reform package that I think was passed unanimously last March.

What do we now know from the recent report? You would have to have such a bias about your view to believe that the Senate bill didn't make any progress.

By any objective measurement, the reforms we have been working on in a bipartisan fashion are beginning to bear fruit.

I will give an example of some of those reforms. Every victim of a sexual assault or of sexual harassment allegations in the military is to be assigned an individual lawyer—a judge advocate—to represent their interests.

I don't know about other States, but in South Carolina, we are miles away from that. The goal of the Senators from South Carolina that makes it a specific crime in the eyes of the victim to retaliate against bringing an allegation forward.

Under the Uniform Code of Military Justice, it is a crime to retaliate against someone making an assault complaint. The retaliation portion of the report—where 62 percent felt retaliation—mostly came from peer, lower level members of the unit, not the commander.

Here is what I would say: Once the commander goes forward and gives his blessing to the allegation, retaliation is going to be less likely because it was the commander who made the decision in the unit and not a far-off lawyer.

I will now turn this over to Senators INHOFE and LEVIN.

There are so many more reforms that are paying dividends. So many of them have not even started yet.

I have to say we are on the right track. Let’s give this a chance. We are taking this seriously. The military is responding in a positive fashion and now is not the time to retreat from these reforms. I do believe what we have done today will move forward, and our goal is common—to eliminate the scourge of sexual assault and sexual harassment, but keep the military command structure the way it is because it is necessary to hold our commander accountable.

I will end with this thought. There is no problem in the military that can be solved without commander buy-in. That is the role of the commander. To everybody who wonders about what is going on in the military legal community, this commander will retire, which if I am the head of the subcommittee—will get a chance to come to our committee with Senator GILLIBRAND and
myself, if I am there, to give an accounting of what they think went wrong with the system and how they were treated, and the Air Force will be required to respond.

Every judge advocate of every branch of the military testifies the Gillibrand approach. Every commander and every member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff oppose what Senator Gillibrand is proposing, for very good reason. Give these reforms a chance.

To all of those who worked on this, congratulations. We are moving in the right direction, but we have a long way to go.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. We are going to vote soon on cloture on—by the way, I understand there was an objection to the unanimous consent request by Senator Gillibrand.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. LEVIN. It is an objection which I join. I understand she wishes to respond for 1 minute. I have no objection as long as you really do it in 1 minute because I would like to close the debate prior to the vote on cloture. My friend from Oklahoma, the ranking member, also wants to make a comment.

Mrs. GILLIBRAND. I ask for 1 minute.

Mr. LEVIN. I will yield for 1 minute. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

Mrs. GILLIBRAND. I wish to clarify a few things that are very misleading about this debate.

First of all, we are not making commanders less responsible. They are the only ones who can prevent retaliation from happening, whether it is by them or lower ranks, and they are failing in that right now. The only difference this bill makes is that 3 percent of commanders—the highest ranking commanders, generals—will no longer be able to make this decision, but instead trained military prosecutors should make that decision. Ninety-seven percent of commanders’ jobs do not change. They have to train their forces, bring them into battle, instill order and discipline, and make sure these victims are not retaliated against, and that is where they are failing. We are making commanders more responsible, not less responsible.

What I want is not the most victim-friendly place in the world. I want no victims, and that is where we are failing.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. We are going to vote on cloture on H.R. 3979 soon, which represents the agreement between the Armed Services Committees of the Senate and the House on the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2015. I urge my colleagues—I know my good friend from Oklahoma, the ranking member, joins in this urging—to support cloture so we can enact this important bill into law.

The Armed Services Committee approved the defense authorization bill by a 25-to-1 vote in May. In June, Senator Inhofe and I came to the Senate floor to urge Senators to begin to file amendments to the bill so we could work on a package of cleared amendments and try to identify relevant amendments that would need votes. We made the same request in July.

When our efforts failed to bring about a unanimous consent to bring the committee-reported bill to the floor with an opportunity to offer relevant amendments, we began to meet with the House Armed Services Committee in an effort to reach a bipartisan agreement that could be presented to the two Houses for approval in the form of a new bill. We also established an informal clearing process pursuant to which we were able to clear 44 Senate amendments—roughly an equal number of Democratic and Republican amendments—without any more than 1 included in the bill that is now before us. The process is far from ideal, but it was the best we could do under the circumstances.

We now have before us a bill that is the product of a bipartisan, bicameral agreement between the Armed Services Committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The House has already passed this bill by a vote of 257 to 164.

This bill includes hundreds of important provisions to authorize the activities of the Department of Defense and provide for the well-being of our men and women in uniform and their families. The bill will enable the military services to continue paying special pays and bonuses needed for recruitment and retention of key personnel. It strengthens survivor benefits for disabled children of servicemembers and military retirees. It addresses the employment of military spouses, job placement for veterans, and military child custody disputes. It addresses military hazing, military suicides, post-traumatic stress disorder, and mental health problems in the military. It provides continued impact aid to support military families and local school districts.

The bill includes 20 provisions to continue to build on the progress we are starting to make in addressing the scourge of sexual assault in the military. It provides continued funding and authorities for ongoing operations in Afghanistan and for our forces conducting operations against the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria—ISIS. It takes important steps to respond to Russian aggression in Ukraine. It adds hundreds of millions of dollars in funding to begin to restore the readiness of our Armed Forces. And it begins to make those changes that are needed to enable DOD to perform its essential missions in an era of tight budgets.

The process may have been flawed, but we have done everything we could to overcome those flaws and produce a defense bill that does the right thing for our national defense and for our troops.


We have produced a defense bill that does the right thing for our national defense and for our troops. I hope our colleagues will vote for cloture. I hope I have a minute left to yield to the ranking member.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. I know we are out of time. The vote is going to take place in 1 minute and we all appreciate that.

I will repeat what I think is most significant: We have to pass this bill. The House is going to go home. There is no way of making any changes at this point. It has to pass. If it doesn’t pass, when December 31 gets here, there will be 1.8 million enlisted personnel throughout the country at all of our establishments who are going to lose their benefits, I am talking about pilots’ pay, flight pay. I am talking about the SEALs who have extraordinary duties and all the rest of them. These benefits will be taken away from our enlisted personnel if we don’t pass this bill. In order to pass this bill, we have to pass this procedural vote that will take place right now.

So I encourage everyone to keep in mind, if my colleagues truly want to help our enlisted personnel, they have to have this bill and this bill has to pass now.

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 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, hereby move to bring to a close debate on the motion to concur in the House amendment to the Senate amendment to H.R. 3979.

Harry Reid, Carl Levin, Brian Schatz, Martin Heinrich, John E. Walsh, Patty Murray, Jack Reed, Tom Udall, Sheldon Whitehouse, Amy Klobuchar, Christopher A. Coons, Debbie Stabenow, Robert Menendez, Tom Harkin, Richard J. Durbin, Charles E. Schumer, Robert P. Casey, Jr.

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

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the motion to concur in the House amendment to the Senate amendment to H.R. 3979 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. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HARKIN) is necessarily absent.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—as yeas 85, nays 14, as follows:

[Roll Call Vote No. 322 Leg.]

YEAS—85

Alexander  Grimes  Murphy  Murray
Ayiote  Grassley  Murray  Ron Johnson
Balduf  Hagin  Nelson  Saukness
Barasso  Hatch  Portman  Chris Murphy
Begich  Heinrich  Pryor  Stabenow
Benettt  Holcomb  Reed  Steve Daines
Blumenthal  Hirono  Roberts  Thune
Boxer  Hoeven  Rockefeller  Whitehouse
Boozman  Inouye  Schatz  Wicker
Browne  Johnson  (SD)  Scott  Wyden
Cantwell  Johnson (WA)  Schatz  Wyden
Cardin  Kaine  Shaheen  Wyden
Carpenter  King  Shelby  Young
Casey  Kirk  Stabenow  Young
Chambliss  Klisch  Tester  Young
Coats  Landrieu  Thune  Young
Cooper  Leahy  Toomey  Young
Collins  Levin  Udall (AZ)  Young
Coons  Manchin  Udall (NM)  Young
Donnelly  Mark Warner  Udall (WA)  Young
Durbin  McCain  Vitter  Young
Enzi  McCain (AZ)  Vitter  Young
Feinstein  McConnell  Warner  Young
Fischer  Menendez  Whitehouse  Young
Flake  Mikulski  Wicker  Young
Franken  Markowski  Young

NAYS—14

Coburn  Gillibrand  Risch  Young
Corker  Lee  Rubio  Young
Coxyn  Merkley  Sanders  Young
Crapo  Moran  Wyden  Young
Cruz  Paul  Young

NOT VOTING—1

Harkin

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 85, the nays are 14.

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

Cloture having been invoked, the motion to refer falls as being inconsistent with cloture.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

FARWELL TO THE SENATE

Mr. COBURN. Mr. President, following in the traditions of the Senate, I come to the floor to speak about my experience in the Senate. Unfortunately, this will not be the last time I speak, much to the chagrin of many of you, as I have some adamant opposition to some of the things we are doing.

But I nevertheless will try to put in context some of my feelings and thoughts about the great privilege that has been granted to me by the people of Oklahoma. We hear a lot of speeches in this place. As Members who are elected, it gets referred on us, but nothing could be further from the truth. Because the things that really make this place operate are the people who work with us, the people who support us, the people who help guide us, the people behind the scenes who are both brilliant and committed and dedicated to the founding principles of this country.

We all have them working for us. Yet they are rarely recognized. So whether our accomplishments are big or small, those accomplishments come through the work, efforts, and labors of those who join with us as we come here to try to make a difference. So I first wanted to say there are a lot of people I need to say thank you to; from our Parliamentarian Elizabeth to all of the staff who work in the Senate, to the people who work at GAO, wonderful people who are the IA's, legislative counsel—they have written thousands. I mean literally thousands of amendments for me. They probably are going to have some real mixed feelings about my departure. Then I have personal staff who are absolutely tremendous—but one of whom I found to be a phenomenal, brilliant person. His name is Roland Foster. There is not anything he has ever forgotten. You can ask him anything. He will know it. He knows it. So I mention him. I have hundreds of others whom I could equally speak about, from my former chief of staff Mike Schwartz, who passed away from Lou Gehrig's disease, to those in my office and staff who each know what a difference they make—they did—the cloakroom staff and the help we get from Laura Dove and David Schiappa and Mr. Duncan on our side—same on the opposite side. We are only able to function because the people who enable us to do that. So with those thank-yous, I actually wanted to move to a different topic. The topic is believing in our country. I tell people wherever I go: We do not have one problem we cannot solve. There is nothing too big for us. They are all solvable.

To prove that is my chairman, Tom CARPER, on homeland security. He has been a phenomenal chairman. He is not in my party. We do not agree on everything. But he agreed on was that we were going to work together to solve problems. We have. We did not solve them all, but I would suggest if we look at what has come through this place, even in this dysfunctional place at this time, we will see more coming out under his leadership than any other pieces of legislation. Why is that? It is because the focus was not about him, it was not about me, it was about solving the problems of our country.

To those of you through the years whom I have offended, I truly apologize. I think none of that was intended because I actually see things differently. You see, I believe our Founders were absolutely brilliant, far smarter than we are, I believe the enumerated powers meant something. They were meant to protect us against what history says always happens to a Republic. They have all died. They have all died.

So the question is, What will happen with us? Can we cheat history? Can we do something better than was done in the past? I honestly believe we can, but I do not believe we can if we continue to ignore the wisdom of our founding documents. So when I have offended, I believe it has been on the basis of my belief in article I, section 8. I think we can stuff that genie back into the bottle.

E pluribus unum. "Out of many, one." But you do not have one unless you have guaranteed the liberty of the many. When we ignore what the Constitution gave us to protect the individual liberties, to limit the size and scope of the Federal Government so the benefits of freedom and liberty can be expressed all across this land, that is when we get back to solving our problems.

I think about my father—he had a fifth-grade education—a great believer in our country. He would not recognize it today. The loss of freedom we have imposed by the arrogance of an all-too-powerful Federal government, ignoring the wisdom and writing of our Founders that said: Above all, we must protect the liberty of the individual and recognize that liberty is given as a God-given right.

So my criticism isn’t directed personally, it is because I truly believe that freedom gains us more than anything we can plan here. I know not everybody agrees with me, but the one thing I do know is that our Founders agreed with me.

They had studied this process before. They know what happens when you dominate from a central government. This didn’t mean intentions are bad; the intentions are great. The motivations of people in this body are wonderful, but the perspective on how we do it and what the long-term consequences are of how we do it really do matter.

We see ourselves today with a President whom we need to be supporting and working for, with an emphasis that is not doing what it could be doing, and we need to be asking the question, Why? Is there a fundamental reason? And there is.

We are too much involved in the decisionmaking in the economy in this country that inhibits the flow of capital to the best return, which inhibits the growth of wealth, which leaves us at a standard of living the same as what we had in 1988. That is where we are, yet it doesn’t have to be that way. To go back to the words we have all heard before, but they are worth rereading.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights . . .

All of us.

. . . that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness—

I look at legislation and say how does that have an impact on those two things and too often it has a negative impact.

. . . That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving
TRIBUTES TO TOM COBURN

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BOOKER). The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. President, we have all just heard a very moving, a very inspirational and what I considered a motivational speech from our dear friend TOM COBURN.

I think there ought to be 535 Wastebooks every year, and then we ought to have the debate about where we are not spending money wisely and have the information at our fingertips so we make great decisions because, quite frankly, we don’t make great decisions because we don’t have the knowledge. Then what knowledge we do have we transfer to a bureaucracy to make decisions about it when we should have been guiding those things. True debates about national priorities would come about if we did effective oversight. It is the Senate, once hailed as the world’s greatest deliberative body, where these differences should be argued. Our differences should be argued, and I believe that will disperse so they are not settled in the street.

Just as the Constitution provides for majority rule and our democracy while protecting the rights of the individual, the Senate must make sure the principles to bring trust of the electorate, and it can. Our Founders believed that protecting the minority views and minority rights in the Senate was essential to having a bimetallic legislature that gave the Senate not move too quickly against the very fundamental principles upon which this country was based—and not out of guessing, but out of thorough knowledge, of what had happened in the past. We have to be very careful to guard both minority rights and the rule of law.

There is no one who works in the Senate who is insignificant, whether it is to people who serve us when we have lunch, to the highest of the high. They all deserve our ear. Each of us has value.

I would end with one final comment. The greatest power I have not used as a Senator, which I would encourage you to use in the future, is the power of convening. You have tremendous power to pull people together because of your position.

To convene the opposite opinions—CHUCK SCHUMER has been great at that for me. When we have a difference, he wants to get together, convene, and see how we work. That power is the power that causes us to compromise, to come together, to reach consensus. So my encouragement to you is to rethink the utilization of the power of convening. People will come to you if you ask them to come.

Again, I end by saying a great thank you to my family for their sacrifice, a great thank you to the wonderful staff I have, and a thank you to each of you for the privilege of having been able to work for a better country for us all.

I yield the floor.

(Applause, Senators rising.)
Twenty years ago, in 1994, there were a bunch of wild and crazy folks who got elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. The Republicans took the majority for the first time in 42 years. They ran on a Contract with America and were led by a group of firebrand leaders, Tom Coburn; they were a group of folks who got elected in 1994 to the U.S. House. I was in that group. Senator Graham was in that group. Senator Burr was in that group. Senator Wicker was in that group.

There were a few Members of that class who became known as real bomb throwers. Tom Coburn was a bomb thrower. Tom Coburn would object for the sake of objecting to anything that was going on. It didn’t make any difference which side of the aisle it was coming from. But let me tell you, Tom Coburn matured into a class act, No. 1, which he always was; and No. 2, he matured into a legislator second to none. Tom did not hesitate to object to any spending bill that came from either party if Tom Coburn believed that was not provided for in the Constitution and was something the U.S. taxpayer should not be paying for. There is nobody who has guarded the pocketbook of the taxpayers of the United States like Tom Coburn.

It is remarkable that those of us who were elected with Tom have had the opportunity to see him over the last 20 years take on major subjects that most veterans said, you know, in the election we are going to prevail. But guess what? They never did. Tom Coburn, even though he may have lost a vote from time to time, in the end, Tom Coburn prevailed.

Tom is one tough guy too. He has been through a lot physically and, boy, what a survivor. I mean we think we have issues to deal with. None of us can imagine what Tom has gone through. When somebody comes up to me as I am walking through an airport—and I imagine what Tom has gone through. It was like something out of a Dan Brown novel. Needless to say, an office ban on yellow highlighters was quickly implemented. Less to say, an office ban on yellow highlighters was quickly implemented.

Back in the 1990s one staffer made the mistake of letting Tom take a yellow highlighter back to Oklahoma. Tom spent the entire weekend marking up a massive bill. There were hand-written notes and clearly every margin. It took literally days to decipher any of it. It was like something out of a Dan Brown novel. Needless to say, an office ban on yellow highlighters was quickly implemented.

Fast forward to today. The pundit class has declared Tom Coburn a card-carrying member of the establishment. The rebel who once described himself as a kamikaze pilot has now been branded, incredibly, with a scarlet “E” for “exodus.” In some way, he has become a “fli-buster” in the House anybody can ever remember. He may have placed more holds than any equivalent Senator in history. He apparently held his own bill once.

As he departs the Senate, Tom will leave one battle behind to confront another. We are sending him every best
wish in that fight. We are keeping him in our prayers. We know he will prevail, but he is really going to be missed around here. He is just the type of citizen legislator our Founders envisioned.

Tom has poured over more oversight documents than anyone caring to imagine. His “Wastebook” has become an annual phenomenon. It helps drive the conversation on spending. He has led on issues like HIV and malaria.

The late Tom Coburn was a critical leader on oversight when he leaves. Tom played an invaluable role on the Intelligence Committee, where he brought a unique blend of integrity, analytical rigor, and dogged determination. He served our Nation selflessly, toiling for hours every week in a secure hearing room, learning many sensitive matters he could not discuss with others.

He worked closely with another extraordinary departing colleague, Vice Chair Saxby Chambliss, to ensure that our Nation’s intelligence community retains the tools necessary to defend our country.

If anyone thinks our Nation’s classified programs aren’t overseen rigorously, they haven’t met Tom Coburn. He brought a skeptic’s eye and a professional determination to the task. His probing lines of questioning earned the respect of his colleagues and helped the intelligence community craft stronger programs, while also reminding us of the value of many other intelligence activities.

Now, Tom has obviously done a lot to earn his reputation as a hawk on the budget, too. His interest there was never about the baubles of office. It is about solutions. That is why Tom actually volunteered for Simpson-Bowles. That is why he lobbied me to actually take him off—believe it or not—of the Finance Committee.

You always knew where Tom stood. I am told he was overseas with a couple of other Senators when a government minister launched into a finger-wagging harangue about our country. Tom couldn’t take it after he listened for a few minutes. He cut him off, told the minister what he thought of him, and caught the next flight home. So Tom is literally one of a kind. We are not likely to see another one like this guy.

Here is what former Senator Kyl had to say about him:

“Tom’s like your conscience. You can try to ignore him, but you know he’s right even when you wish he weren’t.

Some people may think Tom is a member of the establishment now, but the truth is Tom never changed. Washington changed. America changed.

People recognize the wisdom of his ideas—about leaving a better country to the next generation, about giving Americans the freedom and the opportunity to achieve real meaning and lasting happiness in their lives.

We are going to miss the Senator who actually likes to get his hands dirty, who actually likes to legislate.

We are going to miss the Senator who is so devoted to procedure that he sleeps next to Marty Gold’s book, and we are going to miss a friend who understands that honest compromise is necessary to achieve anything in a pluralistic society. We are all going to miss Tom Coburn’s stand with pride, and he should know that we are sending him our best wishes for a speedy recovery and a joyful retirement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, I was not at all surprised as I listened to the words of our colleague Senator Tom Coburn that he quoted extensively from the Declaration of Independence and he referred to our Constitution—the founding documents of our great country.

When America’s Founders conceived of a nation of citizen legislators, they had leaders like Senator Tom Coburn. In his 20 years of service in Congress, he has remained a compassionate physician, a devoted husband and father, a fierce defender of the rights enshrined in our Constitution, and an unwavering opponent of excessive spending.

Senator Coburn may be best known as our most diligent fiscal watchdog, relentlessly hounding wasteful spending. His annual “Wastebook” report is a call for transparency and accountability.

In his work on the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee and the Select Committee on Intelligence. Serving with Senator Coburn on both of those committees for many years, I have seen firsthand his brilliance, his tenacity, and his determination to protect our Nation and the safety of our people. He has a keen understanding of the grave and ever-evolving threats that our Nation faces.

As a citizen legislator, Senator Coburn leads by example and with compassion. With his expertise as a physician, he has been a leader in promoting wellness, disease prevention, combating HIV/AIDS, and advancing biomedical research. When it comes to fiscal responsibility, he walks the walk, having returned more than $1 million from his Senate office budget to the American taxpayers.

We have heard many descriptions of Tom Coburn today, but the word I most associate with him is “integrity.” He is a man of the utmost integrity, who always stands tall for his principles and for what he believes in. He sets an example for all of us who seek to serve the public.

On a personal note, I want to thank Senator Coburn for hounding me into joining a women’s prayer breakfast that meets each week and has introduced me to a number of wonderful women from the House of Representatives who have become my close friends as well as colleagues. And I use the word “hounded” appropriately. He mentioned it to me so many times that eventually I gave in and went to one of those breakfasts, and I must say it has been a spiritually enriching experience that I never would have had but for Tom continuing to press me to attend.

This past January Senator Coburn announced his intention to leave the Senate due in part to his deepening health problems—problems he has faced with extraordinary courage. This somber news was counteredbalanced by his overarching concern, not for himself, but for his family and for the people of his State and our Nation. As he now returns to the life of a private citizen, I wish him every success in combating his illness, and I thank him for his truly extraordinary service to our country. To quote from Scripture, I think everyone agrees with these words when it comes to Tom Coburn: “Well done, good and faithful servant.”

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, I have no prepared remarks. I am trying to speak right from my heart, and my heart is full.

I want to start off by thanking Tom for the very kind comments he made about serving with me. We met 10 years ago. He was that bomb thrower—still is a little bit—that Saxby talked about when they were elected 20 years ago. I remember the two of them were sitting in Ted Stevens’ office, a beautiful office here in the Capitol, and out of those 3 days Tom met with Carolyn and Michelle and Barack and I began to become friends. I didn’t know how close friends they were until about 4 or 5 years ago. Barack Obama had given the State of the Union address. I was sitting on the Republican side. There was a time when we actually went back and forth to try to mix things up. The President finished his speech, and there is no rope line at those speeches. The President came along to shake hands with people. I was sitting next to Tom, and we walked down so we could say hi to the President.

I will never forget what the President said to him. In just the quiet between the two of them—they embraced, and the President said to him: Are you still praying for me? And very quietly, Tom Coburn said: Every night.

Just like that—they didn’t agree on everything, but they were friends. They are friends, and they will always be friends. I hope Tom and I will be as well.

I remember sitting up there where Cory Booker, our new Senator from
New Jersey, is sitting now, listening to Mike Enzi talking about how he worked so well with Ted Kennedy—Ted Kennedy, one of the most liberal Democracts in the Senate, and Mike Enzi, one of the most conservative—and how they got extraordinary amounts of stuff done.

I just want to say that the legislation coming out of our committee—and Senator Collins has led that committee before—is moving through this body and the House—it is really pretty amazing, to strengthen our cyber defenses, to take the chemical facility antiterrorism law that Susan Collins authored and to make it better and make it real, to better protect our Nation’s information from attacks from all over the world, to try to make our Postal Service not just relevant and not just hanging on but actually vibrant and real.

But that day, Mike Enzi talked about the 80/20 rule with Ted Kennedy. He said: ‘‘We will probably quarrel about 80 percent of the stuff, and we disagree on about 80 percent of the stuff, and we disagree on about 80 percent we agreed on and set aside the 20 percent we didn’t agree on to another day.’’

I call that the ‘‘Enzi Rule,’’ and that has helped guide me here in the Senate, and it certainly has helped to guide me in the work I have been privileged to do with Dr. Coburn.

When I became chairman of the committee about 2 years ago and Dr. Coburn was going to be the ranking member of the committee, somebody asked me what it was going to be like. How are you going to work with this guy? I said: It is going to be a little like a marriage. You have to work at it every day. Everybody has to give and meet somewhere in the middle.

I love to ask people who have been married a long time what the secret is for being married 40, 50, 60, 70 years is the two c’s. It is not Coburn and Carper. It is the two c’s: communicate and compromise. That is not only the secret for a vibrant, long marriage for two people; it is a secret for a vibrant democracy.

I believe the reason why Tom and I have had this partnership that I think has been productive is, one, we surround ourselves with people—certainly for me—smarter than us. The second thing is we believe in communicating, we believe in compromising, and we believe in collaborating. I think the American people are the beneficiaries of that.

We have a reception later today for Tom, and I hope he comes. We will have the opportunity to say some more things, as well. He is not the kind of person who likes to be praised, so this is probably punishment. There is a verse in the Scriptures talking about heaping with praise, pouring praise all over. This is probably a little like that. But I want to close with this. His words on the Bowles-Simpson Commission are for two ages, and I hope we will never walk away from them. He showed us with his courage in supporting that work and helping to craft that work.

There are words in the Scriptures, in Matthew 25, that talk about the least of these in our society. When I was sick, when I was hungry, when I was naked, when I was in prison—those are the questions. The answer: If you have done it to the least of these, you have done it also to Me.

Senator Coburn believes we have a moral responsibility, a moral obligation to the least of these in our society. He also believes we have a fiscal obligation, a fiscal imperative to meet that moral obligation in a fiscally responsible way. And I think those two ideas guide him in his work, and, frankly, it is an inspiration to me.

Last word. Leaders should be humble, not haughty. Leaders should lead by example, not ‘‘do as I say’’ but ‘‘do as I do.’’ Leaders should have the heart of a servant. Leaders should have the courage to stay out of step when every- one else is marching to the wrong tune. Leaders ought to be committed to doing what is right, not what is easy. Leaders should ask the people the way they want to be treated. Tom has offended just about everybody in this body, but he always comes back and apologizes, and he has already done it here today. Leaders should focus on excellence in everything they do. If it isn’t perfect, make it better. It is in the preamble of the Constitution—‘‘in order to form a more perfect Union.’’ That defines him. Finally, if you think you are right and you know you are right, never give up. That is what a leader should be.

For the years he served here and for a long time before that and for a long time to come, he has been that leader, and I feel lucky to say he is my friend.

God bless you.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. BURR. Mr. President, I feel surrounded by friends and colleagues who are getting ready to leave, and being part of this is a good man. And 20 years ago, there is one thing that I have learned is extremely unique in Washington. I am next to two people who are voluntarily leaving. The toughest decision a Member of Congress ever makes is to leave this institution voluntarily. And I know that for my two friends and my third one, Mike Johann, this was not easy. It is not easy to stand here and know that in January they are not going to be here any longer, because they are truly friends, and that is tough.

To say that Tom Coburn can be intimidating I think is an understatement, and I think that comes because his breadth of knowledge based upon his experiences in life enable him to be an expert on a lot of issues.

With that in mind, I remember the day Tom sat down—we were leaving that week, and I said: What are you going to do this weekend? And he said: Well, Sarah’s future fiance is coming to sit down with me to find out whether he can marry my daughter. And I looked at him and thought, I would hate to be that young man.

The truth is Tom is a very intimidating guy. He plays hard, and he plays to win.

There is not an individual I know who is more fair and more compassionate than Tom Coburn. I remember the day the Bush administration wanted to extend the PEPFAR Program—the AIDs in Africa program—and when Tom found out that they were going to relax the requirement on how many more money would go to education than to actually saving lives, he grabbed me and he said, ‘‘We can’t let this stand. We’ve got to fight it. We’ve got to change it.’’ And it was Tom Coburn who blocked the President’s PEPFAR plan for 6 months—a Republican President, a Republican Senator. Why? On principle.

Tom Coburn, if you didn’t know it before this speech today, has never done anything in this institution or in life that wasn’t based upon principle. No Member of Congress should ever question whether he thinks he is right because if he didn’t think he was right, he wouldn’t fight so hard.

It is particularly difficult for me to say goodbye to Tom. We truly are legislative partners. We fought a lot of battles for a long time, and inherently we have a level of trust in each other that I would actually sign on to legislation that I had no idea what it did; I just knew that in that foxhole he needed somebody he could count on, and I knew when he signed on to something that I needed, that there was always somebody there to cover my back. That moral obligation in a fiscally responsible way, a fiscal imperative to meet the moral obligation, a moral responsibility, a moral obligation to the least of these in our society. He also believes we have a fiscal obligation, a fiscal imperative to meet that moral obligation in a fiscally responsible way. And those two ideas guide him in his work, and, frankly, it is an inspiration to me.

Last word. Leaders should be humble, not haughty. Leaders should lead by example, not ‘‘do as I say’’ but ‘‘do as I do.’’ Leaders should have the heart of a servant. Leaders should have the courage to stay out of step when everyone else is marching to the wrong tune. Leaders ought to be committed to doing what is right, not what is easy. Leaders should ask the people the way they want to be treated. Tom has offended just about everybody in this body, but he always comes back and apologizes, and he has already done it here today. Leaders should focus on excellence in everything they do. If it isn’t perfect, make it better. It is in the preamble of the Constitution—‘‘in order to form a more perfect Union.’’ That defines him. Finally, if you think you are right and you know you are right, never give up. That is what a leader should be.

For the years he served here and for a long time before that and for a long time to come, he has been that leader, and I feel lucky to say he is my friend.

God bless you.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

Mr. SCHUMER. I will be very brief. I know people are waiting to speak.

I guess it would surprise the world in general to know that Tom Coburn and I are true friends, but we are. He is a man of integrity above all.

You don’t have to agree with someone—we probably disagree on 90 percent of all the issues—to trust someone’s integrity, to trust someone’s
handshake, to trust someone that if you make a good argument, understanding their values, they will come along. That is just what Tom Coburn has done time and time again with this Senator from New York and countless others on the other side of the aisle.

On the very day Tom was opposed, I said: Let’s just sit down and let me give you the logic and then you will make your own judgment. And I knew that would be good enough. Sometimes it didn’t work. Sometimes he disagreed, sat and listened. He always asked perceptive questions, not “gotcha” questions. He was trying to figure it out.

Of course the most well known was when we negotiated on the Zadroga bill. Thousands of New Yorkers had rushed to the towers and gotten poison in their lungs and their gastrointestinal systems, and we wanted to help them. We thought they were just like our veterans. Tom knew it was a big engine. He sat with us, listened, made suggestions to make it leaner and trimmer, and then supported the bill. So right now there are people alive throughout the New York area, heroes, because of the integrity of that man from Wyoming.

Tom, I will miss you. This body will miss you. Regardless of our ideological views and perceptions, we will miss you. You are a great American.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. MANCHIN. First of all, there is not a whole lot that needs to be said that hasn’t been said, but one thing I want to say to my dear friend Tom Coburn is that he made Washington happen for me, if you will. He made it more tolerable. I had a hard time in transitioning. Tom reached out. He saw that. We talked about this before, but Tom made this place more palatable.

Tom expanded my area of friendships with more people than you know and the right type of people, and I appreciate it I think more than you even know.

I will end with this, and I don’t mean to say a lot. I have been asked about Tom Coburn. How would I explain him? Tom Coburn’s got soul. Tom Coburn’s got soul. And I mean that from the bottom of my heart, brother. You have soul, and I thank you for what soul you brought to this place.

God bless.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. FLAKE. Fourteen years ago I entered the House of Representatives. I had been elected, but before I took office, I traveled to Washington, and Matt Salmon, the Congressman I was replacing, said: Is there anybody you want to meet? And I said: Tom Coburn. I had watched from afar what he had done on the Appropriations Committee, and I have tried to learn and I admired him. I went and visited with him in his office while he was packing up his stuff. I will never forget that. And

I have to say that today I admire him even more than I did then, having watched him go back into the private sector and then enter the Senate.

Columnist George Will said Tom Coburn was the most dangerous creature that came into the Senate. Why? Because he is simply uninterested in being popular. I think that is certainly true. But if he didn’t care about it, it happened anyway. I have news for Tom. As you can see around, he has become popular. But one thing that is true about him is that if he really sought it, it was becoming partisan. When you hear those across the aisle lavish praise on this man, realize that was never one of his goals and never happened, much to his credit.

I thank you and your staff for your generosity over the years to me and my staff and for what you have done for this institution, for your colleagues, and for me personally.

I yield back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I probably have known Tom for the least length of time of anybody in this Chamber, and I want to offer some comments from the perspective of only 2 years, but really more like a year and a half since we became friends and colleagues.

I have seen Senator Coburn in two contexts—one is intelligence and the other is faith. He and I serve on the Intelligence Committee. We sit directly across from each other. That committee is generally a non partisan one, but it is also one where all the meetings generally are closed. There is no press. You can really take the measure of someone when they ask questions and participate in a debate in that forum.

His questions always struck me as the questions I wished I had asked, and they struck me as the questions I am sure he would have wanted asked. They were penetrating, they cut through obfuscation, and they were always meaningful and helped us move toward the important work that committee has to accomplish.

I have also become acquainted with him through our faith and participation in the Wednesday Prayer Breakfasts, and more recently, for reasons that I am not entirely sure, he has invited me to join him on Tuesday evenings for dinners on the other side of the Capitol that have been very meaningful.

For the 9 years before I came here, I taught a course called “Leaders and Leadership,” and I taught it at a couple of colleges in Maine. I taught it really as much for myself as for my students because I wanted to try to understand what leadership was, and I thought if I signed on to teach it, I would have to learn something about it. Every year what I did was go to the books and study the questions of great leaders throughout history, some well known and some not so well known. We always started with Ernest Shackleton. We talked about Eleanor Roosevelt and Margaret Thatcher and Martin Luther King and Lincoln and Churchill. We always tried to define the qualities that make a leader, and there are lots of them—perseverance, communication, vision, team work. What was the list when he really first got into it? I think there was the one that brings me back to Tom is always character. It is an indefinable quality. You cannot really put a specific definition to it, but people like Lincoln had it, Ernest Shackleton had it, Margaret Thatcher had it. I have always been a strong supporter of the notion that there has been a combination of qualities that Tom embodies, and almost all of them have been mentioned here today—integrity, intelligence, honesty, faith, belief in principle, and daring to stand for principle. It is the hardest thing to teach, but it is the easiest thing to see. And the reason I felt so privileged to get to know this man for such a short period of time is that he has shown me what character is all about.

Tom, it is one of the great joys of my life to have had these 2 years to get to know you, if only slightly. It is one of the great sadnesses of my life that it has only been 2 years.

Godspeed, Tom. You have made a difference for this country that we all love and honor and respect. Thank you for your service and for sharing your great character with all of us.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. ISAKSON. I was elected in a special election 16 years ago. I was No. 835 in the House of Representatives, so I did what my father told me to do when I went into business. He said: Son, sit in the back of the room, listen to people who are smart, pay attention to them, and do what the smart people do.

After 2 weeks of listening to Tom Coburn, I said: Well, I don’t know who knows as much about everything as this guy named Coburn. In 16 years, I have come to believe, yes, there is one who knows about everything he speaks of, and that is Tom Coburn.

Senator Coburn has been a great role model for me. The Senator from Oklahoma has taught me many great lessons, and I have learned a lot from him.

The greatest evangelists in life are the people who witness their faith, and Tom Coburn is a true witness for his faith and has changed the lives of many people. I have enjoyed, as much as anything, our walk with faith at the Prayer Breakfasts, in private meetings, and what we’ve shared together.

Lastly, every Christmas I try to give my grandchildren who can read something to read as a little treasury to put in their book to save so that when they grow up, they can refer to great things and great historical statements that have been made. I have no doubt there has ever been a better statement made on the floor of the Senate about our heritage, our country, our future, and our
hopes that Tom Coburn has said today. It will be required reading for my grandchildren this Christmas, and I can assure you that I am a better man for having served with Tom Coburn, the great Senator from the State of Oklahoma.

God bless you, Tom.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. The other Senator from Oklahoma.

I wish to make some unscripted comments, but sincere and from the heart. I hope I am accurate when I say this, that I think in some respect I discovered Tom Coburn. I suspect that Tom and I are the only two who have ever been to Adair, OK. I remember hearing that there was a conservative doctor from Muskogee. I remember calling him up at that time and asking him to run for the House of Representatives, which he did. He kept his commitments and did everything he was supposed to do. I honor Tom Coburn.

As Senator Coburn knows, we have a place my wife and I built on a big lake in Oklahoma back in 1962—a long time ago. When I drive up there, I go through Adair, and I go by that little sheltered area that is half torn down now. They tore down the biggest bank in town. Every time I go by there, I have to say I recall meeting for the first time with a young doctor named Tom Coburn.

I regret to say there are times in our service together when we have not been in agreement on specific issues, and I think we have a characteristic in common. I think we are both kind of bull-headed, which has created some temporary hard feelings, but there is one thing that overshadows all that. Jesus has a family, and His family has a lot of people in it. Some are here in this room. Tom Coburn and I are brothers.

In the 20 years I have been here in the Senate, I don’t believe I heard a speech that was as touching and sincere as the speech I heard from my junior Senator a few minutes ago.

I really believe that in spite of all the things that have happened—and there were some differences, but they were not something that overshadowed all that. Jesus has a family, and His family has a lot of people in it. Some are here in this room. Tom Coburn and I are brothers.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. COATS. I have been sitting here listening to the respect and the emotion of people recognizing the service of Tom Coburn. I don’t have a prepared speech, but I second everything that has been said about Tom.

My emotions well up in me when I think about Tom. Tom exhibits the conviction that I wish I had more of, Tom exhibits the commitment I wish I had more of, and he exhibits the courage I wish I had. I would love to be more like Tom Coburn.

I remember my very dear friend Chuck Olson made this statement: Lord, show me the kind of person You would like me to be and give me the strength to be that person.

I feel like God has given a gift to the Senate, and certainly a gift to me, by simply saying, take a look at Tom Coburn. Look at the qualities he exhibits and his commitment to faith. He is a pretty good model to follow.

Thank you, Tom.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. BEGICH. I came down to give my farewell remarks, but before I do, I would like to make a statement about Senator Coburn. Senator Coburn is absolutely what many people said about his word. Yesterday was an example of that when he resolved an issue.

There is always activity after the Senate, and I wish my friend from Oklahoma the best.

FAREWELL TO THE SENATE

I thank the Presiding Officer for allowing me to speak on my 6 years of serving in this body. It has been a true honor to serve with the Presiding Officer and the other Senator. In the short time he has been here and to serve with all of my colleagues, it has been an even bigger honor to serve my fellow Alaskans.

Alaska is a huge State—660,000 square miles. More than—my friends from Texas and California, please don’t take this personally—double and triple the size of States such as Texas and California.

But Alaska is a very small place in many ways. People make personal connections. When I was official. At the end of the day, we pretty much know everybody one way or another. Alaskans will more than likely see me at a checkout stand at Andy’s Hardware or Home Depot or hanging Christmas lights at my wife’s store or doing errands with my son Jacob that at times he is not very anxious to do. It is a small State, and they will more likely see me doing that than on the floor making speeches or on C-SPAN.

When Alaskans talk to me with an idea or complaint or problem, we made sure we responded. After 6 years in the Senate, I am most proud of the work with helping Alaskans and their families. My office responded to more than 360,000 individual letters and emails and phone calls from Alaskans. To put it in perspective, 360,000 is roughly half the population of the State.

Much of my staff is here with me on the floor today. I thank them for their hard work for their fellow Alaskans. Truly I have the best of the best. Some of them worked with me when I was mayor and are now working for me as a Senator. Many will go on and continue to do incredible work not only for Alaskans but for this country. I thank them.

We took on 3,000 individual casework cases to help Alaskans navigate the Federal Government. We helped them get their Social Security checks, made sure we responded. People need local post office delivers the mail, and in Alaska that is important. We fought for benefits for individual veterans.

I am also proud of the great policy work we did. Work we, it is because sometimes ideas came from Alaskans, sometimes they came from this body, sometimes I would have a crazy idea I would write down on a sheet of paper, but at the end of the day it was my staff that did the work.

Opening Alaska’s arctic lands and waters to responsible resource development—NPR-A, CD-5, Beaufort and Chukchi. We also helped to convince the EPA to free up permits for Keningston and Greens Creek mines.

They tore down the biggest bank in town. Every time I go by there, I have to say I recall meeting for the first time with a young doctor named Tom Coburn.

I yield the floor.
will get health care and access to it through our tribal health care delivery system—the first in the Nation.

One time when I was in Bethel, this gentleman who was a veteran came up to me when I was in the VFW Hall. A lot of us have been in VFW halls, and you know that when someone comes at you at an aggressive pace, it is probably not a positive situation, but you have to engage them in a conversation. He had his hand out and showed me his scars, and he said that he had to go to Anchorage to get this taken care of, and you told me I could go down to my clinic and get it taken care of, but it didn’t happen. I was about to say something, but before I could get a word out, he said: Do you know what I get to do because of what you did? Every single week now when I need therapy, I can go down the street in Bethel instead of flying to Anchorage to get it done. That is a model of how to do the right thing.

Alaska is well known for fisheries. I don’t mean to pick on Senator Franken, but I remember him coming up with a coined a phrase: modified engineered fish which we called the “Frankenfish.” It was not about the Senator, but it was about this fish that was chemically enhanced and would really destroy the fisheries in Alaska, and would be bad for the market and bad for consumers. We fought over that issue because Alaskans brought it to our attention every single day.

I just mentioned some of the things we did for native rural health care, which was not just about Alaska. When we discussed an issue in our office, we asked: Can we do it for Alaska, and does it have an international impact? Will it impact the rest of the United States in a positive way?

I remember hearing and reading about the money the Federal Government owed to our tribes which had not been paid for two decades. It was money owed in VFW halls, and we had to produce. We did some things, and the net result was Alaska received over $500 million in settlements over the last year. On top of that, many tribes across the country now have almost three-quarters of a billion dollars, money owed by the government for services delivered to individuals. And earlier this week we were able to pass another piece taking away the restriction on our tribes in Alaska so they can use Violence Against Women Act—and we hope the House will pass it—to be able to dispense and do tribal government in the sense of our justice system improving the situation on the ground when it comes to sexual assault, domestic violence, and substance abuse.

There are a lot of examples. It is hard when we talk about these because there are a lot of great things that have come about, not just individually, but collectively. But in this place we spend a lot of time talking about doom and gloom and how the sky is falling and always the worst-case scenario.

We have come a long way in the last 6 years. The people who know me know I don’t care how bad the situation is, I am positive about it because there is always another day to solve these problems and make things happen. I think it is a little different when you first came to the Senate. I remember coming on this floor as a freshman in 2009, and the chaos of this economy was unbelievable. We were losing 600,000 jobs a month—equal to the whole population of my State—unemployed, boom, gone. The unemployment was 10 percent. The stock market was at 6,500. Two of the largest automobile companies in this country were flat on their backs. No housing starts were happening. The market was crashing. The deficit was $1.4 trillion per year. As a new Member, I wasn’t sure what I had gotten myself into, to be frank. Some of the Members who came with me were trying to figure out, What did we get? But we didn’t sit around.

I know we always hear this doom and gloom out there. When we look back over 6 years, we remember we had some battles here, and most people think we don’t do anything. But where are we today? We are 17,000-plus in the stock market today.

I can tell my colleagues that Alaskans saw this because every year—I know I hear from other Members who ask me this question all the time—we get a permanent fund check. It is based on investments, and it is based on revenues we receive from oil and gas. That permanent fund check doubled this year from $800 to over $1,900. Why did it double? Because it is not done. So when the naysayers are out there speaking, it is just not accurate. GM and Ford and Chrysler have added over 500,000 good-paying jobs. Unemployment is at 5.8 percent, almost a 50-percent drop. Over 10 million new jobs and the longest stretch of private sector growth on record—56 months. Just last week—I know we always hear it is not good enough. Of course, but it is a heck of a lot better.

I remember the chaos on this floor during those 3 or 4 months and as a new Member what we had to go through. The deficit has dropped by $1 trillion a year. We are down to about $480 billion now. We have sliced off $1 trillion a year from the deficit.

In Alaska we have seen some incredible things. Anchorage unemployment is at 4.9 percent. There are more jobs in mining and timber than ever before. Tourism has risen to nearly 1 million visitors. There are 78,000 people in the fishery industry.

It is important to remember that this is just a moment in time of challenges we face as a country. It is important to remember that there is a lot of work ahead of us. But we have accomplished a lot. But we spend a lot of time on this floor debating what is bad about this country.

A lot of us are coming to the floor and giving our farewell speeches and talking about good things. There are a lot of good things we should be proud of as a country. Let’s talk about what we have done over the last 6 years. This country is back on track. We have more work to do to make sure people’s incomes rise, but that is starting to happen now.

The challenge for my colleagues who are still here and for this country is—it has been an incredible honor to be in this body, but what do we do to make sure we move forward so we don’t have this as a platform of negative attitudes and views but about opportunity and possibilities; not about things that we sit here and try to figure out how to kill but what we try to do to improve and give new ideas a chance.

I said it earlier; I am a very optimistic person. I believe today can be even better tomorrow. But it is incumbent on people to believe it, to want to do it, to put aside their differences where we can. I will tell my colleagues, that is why fewer Alaskans are party registered and more are nonparty registration than in most States—because our view is that we don’t care about the party; what we care about is getting things done. We are trying to find the answer to yes rather than trying to find the wrong answer.

My staff has always, and it is a struggle sometimes—and I have a great staff, as I said earlier, some from Alaska, some from here, and some from across the country, people who I don’t understand why they continue to subject themselves to working for me after the mayor’s office, and then they came here. I always told them that what mattered was not who sponsored the bill but whether it is a good idea. If it is a good idea, then let’s move forward, try to find an answer, try to solve the problem.

The positive attitude we have to have is not only important for this body, but it is important for this country. In a weird way, they love us and they hate us. The poll numbers show they don’t love us too much—13 percent. But on the flip side, they look to us. They look to us for certainty and guidance and where we might take them. The pun doesn’t mean different, it just means they look to us. I see it when I go to stores, when I am out and about. People may be angry with us, but they want to know what we are doing to do to solve these incredible problems, and it will be incumbent upon the next Congress to sit down and work together. It is going to be tough because the politics of the day are about the moment in time, not about the long term. This is an incredible challenge that has to be dealt with in some way.

I have spent a lot of time trying to, as I said, do what I can; it didn’t matter whose idea it was. I listened to Senator Coburn speak. I remember one
day we were working on an issue—essentially air service. Some of us have that in our States. Senator Coburn was against it. I remember having a conversation with him and trying to explain that between one airport and the next is 1,200 miles. There is no road. There is no way to get to it. At the end of the day we were able to resolve that issue and move forward.

I think of all the things that have been accomplished in this body but how little people know about it. In an odd way, but for days after some of the positive issues are out there. I hope the press covers them. We will see. But we live in a world where it is better to talk about the negative because that seems to be what thrives. I hope that changes.

Let me end by sharing a couple of other quick thoughts. There are a lot of great stories about being here in the Senate. Someone asked me one day: Do you write these down? And I said no. I remember one day in Sitska, AK, and I was headed to the airport. I got to the airport, and the attendant was checking my ticket, and he said: Oh, wait, Mr. Begich. We have something for you.

It was a wrapped gift at the airport. I said: Great.

Now, people who care about the TSA, please ignore what I am about to say. They just handed it to me. I took it. I opened it, and it was one of those empty books that say: Please write down your thoughts and your notes. They are incredible thoughts.

I remember I was coming through—people will remember when it snowed like crazy. Well, people from DC thought it snowed like crazy, I did not. I knew one thing, and that is about how the plows work, being a former mayor. I thought to myself, I can’t leave my car on the street because they will plow me in, especially in this place. I attempted to. So I and my son Jacob—we got our snow shovels, did our shoveling, and then drove the car to another area. Then I realized—we were dressed in what I call Alaska good garb. And then I realized that I had to get back to the house because I had this snow shovel and he had a snow shovel. It was on the other side of the Capitol. So what did we do? People who know me know I don’t really follow all the rules around this place. We started walking through the Capitol with our snow shovels over our shoulders. The place was empty. I realized what an incredible place this is. First, we were allowed to walk through with snow shovels. It was dead silent. If my son Jacob saw that desk over here, Why did I pick that desk? A lot of people don’t know this story. Why did I do that?

One day I came in here late at night with my son, and we sat right there. I know the security guards probably didn’t see us. We took a photo. Yes, I broke the rules. I am the only Senator of my son sitting there, and I will cherish that photo forever.

As my son once said—and I said it on this floor one time—about how important it is to get things done and the battle we were having—I remember I actually quoted my son on the floor, and I think I shocked somebody. I was talking to him about something, and he said: Dad, just suck it up. I thought, only from a young kid do you hear what you like it.

Now, I didn’t forget her; I just wanted to wait until the end. I know I am breaking the rules, but my wife is right there. I am pointing to her. Yes, I am, Sergeant at Arms. Too bad. I am acknowledging her. She has been incredible. She has allowed me to do my public service, to fly those 20 hours every weekend to and from Alaska. She has taken care of Jacob when I couldn’t. I love her dearly. Thank you.

Mr. President, I went earlier—I fear at times that our elections are almost becoming like parliamentary elections in the other countries where people are voting for or against a leader not based upon what a leader has done individually—such as Senator Landrieu and all the things she has done for Louisiana. Lord knows—but, as Senator Begich just mentioned, there was not a bill or an issue where he didn’t find an Alaska connection and where he didn’t make a difference for the people of his great State.

So I know I am just the first of many who want to say to my colleague, to my friend, to a great Senator, Godspeed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. Franken. Mr. President, I was a part of that class. I was a little late getting here, my colleagues will recall. But I was part of that class and campaigned with the class, and I remember being with Mark Udall and Tom Udall and Mark Begich at a campaign event, and they kind of looked at me and said: So your dad wasn’t like a public servant.

I said: No.

And they said: Well, that is unusual. No, no, that is fine.

What a lot of people don’t know about Mark is his father died very famously in a plane crash.

Mark is the only Member of this body, I believe, who did not graduate from college, did not go to college.

There are a lot of things about Mark—and Mark Warner just referred to it—he was a chief executive.
We need more mayors here. Sometimes we say we need more diversity. Sometimes we say we need more women. God knows we need more satis- rists—but mayors, wow. Having that mayor’s perspective—Cory Booker looking like a little smug—is very useful.

Mark Enzi, a mayor—am I forgetting a mayor?

Mr. BEGICH, Tim Kaine, Richmond.

Mr. FRANKEN, Bob Corker.

Whom are you pointing at? Tim, were you a mayor?

Mr. Kaine, Richmond.

Mr. FRANKEN. Oh, Richmond, you just kept saying Richmond. I don’t know anybody named Richmond.

Mr. WARNER. He was also a lieutenant-governor.

Mr. FRANKEN. So he was a lieutenant-governor too—OK. So he is the most qualified.

This is what it is like when we are together. Being a Senator, a lot of people ask: Is being a Senator as much fun as working on “Saturday Night Live?”

The answer of course is no. It is not close, but it is the best job I have ever had.

It means so much to us what we can do for our State, and no one knows more about his State—and I know Mary Landrieu is sitting here, no one knows more than Mary and Mark—and that it is an incredibly long flight he took every weekend to go back to Alask- a.

Minnesota had a happy warrior, one of the great, great Senators who has ever served this body, Hubert Hum- phyre. We may have noticed during Mark’s speech he teared up a few times, the most when he was talking about his wife.

That is good for you. That works out well.

But Hubert Humphrey said: “A man who has no tears has no heart.”

This man has a tremendous heart. Humphrey was a happy warrior, and this guy is a happy warrior—and you brought joy, humor, and optimism to this body, and I thank you, my friend, for that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sen- ator from Louisiana.

Ms. LANDRIEU. I rise to say a word about my dear friend Mark Begich and to add some words on behalf of him.

We saw, when he presented himself in his final remarks to this body, his com- passion, and his sense of humor were clear in relation to his family, his son, and to us—because he was truly an amazing friend to many. He is always in a good humor, always upbeat.

As the Senator from Virginia said, we could never quite understand it, but he was—and still is—an amazingly op- timistic and positive person.

Having served as mayor, as a small business owner, as a passionate cham- pion for Alaska, what he didn’t men- tion—I thought I might because it might be too hard for him to remember today—but I want this body to remem- ber that Mark comes from a disting- guished line of public service.

A lot of us say that, but in Mark’s case his father literally gave his life to Alaska. His plane went down on Octo- ber 16, 1972. The plane has never been found.

So when Mark walked in the first day I met him, I don’t know what I was expecting, but I was expecting someone to have a heavy burden on his shoul- ders because of that. As the eldest daughter of nine children, I take re- sponsibility so much for my brothers and sisters, and I don’t know how I could have gotten through this without both parents literally lifting me up every day.

So as I have sat across from Mark all these years in very close leadership meetings on Tuesday mornings—and he has walked in with such optimism, such extraordinary confidence in himself, in what he is doing, and in encour- aging us—I was always just so struck by the fact that he grew up with a large family, six children. His mother was widowed at a young age. He took on so much responsibility, and yet he came to the Senate ready to serve.

I know his father is truly honored that he didn’t get bitter, he wasn’t angry. He grew up to be a man who ac- cepted that as God’s will, which is a hard thing to accept.

He did so much for the community that his father loved and the State that his father loved. I wanted to add that to the RECORD because a lot of people want to see this. It is not one- dimensional robots and that there are no other dimensions to our lives and our family.

But it always struck me, Mark, that you have been such a man of courage, such a great inspiration to your fam- ily, and truly an inspiration to all of us.

I know your parents are very proud, both of them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sen- ator from Oregon.

Mr. MERKLEY. I wish to add a word to honor my good friend Senator Mark Begich. I think there is a special connection with those of us who were elected on the same day.

We share something else in common, which is on that election day in No- vember 2008 neither one of us knew if we had won. We both had to wait some length of time—in my case 2 days and in Senator Begich’s case a couple of weeks. And I wonder to the future: Are you going to serve or are you not going to serve and how will you utilize that opportunity.

There is another connection that comes from being western Senators. When we talk about salmon—and Mark Begich mentioned a while ago “Frankenfish.” Well, we are very con- cerned. We have a collective concern about the health of our salmon runs.

It is not just a fishing economy, al- though that is very much a part of the health of our States. It is about the soul of our States, the traditions of our State, the natural resources of our States.

When we talk about timber, we have a connection. Sitka spruce is a common tree in our State of Oregon.

When we get concerned about the rescues off the Oregon coast because the water is so cold may not be in it for very long without dying—takes it much more important to have ad- vanced helicopters, and just last night we were able to keep a key helicopter on the coast due to Senator Mark Begich’s considerable involvement and advocacy. Thank you so much for doing that.

Why is our water so cold off the coast of Oregon? Because it is coming down with the currents from Alaska. In so many ways our States are tied to- gether.

As I have served this first 6 years, I have turned to my friend from Alaska for advice and counsel time after time. His seasoned policy judgment and his core political instincts are on a par with any other Senator in this Cham- ber and certainly far in advance of my own.

I say to the Senator, I appreciate your friendship. I appreciate you shar- ing your judgment, and I appreciate your buoyant spirit that reminds us, when we are discouraged, that so much can be accomplished. What an honor it is to have a seat in the Chamber of just 100 Senators, where we can add our voice to a conversation about truly how to make this a better world.

Thank you, my friend, for your serv- ice. We will miss you greatly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KING). The Senator from Michigan.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I just want to add my words to what my other colleagues have said about some- one I am going to miss dearly. Senator Mark Begich and I worked together on many things. When I passed the reins from the steering and outreach com- mittee and suggested to our leader that he should seriously consider Senator Begich for that responsibility, he made us all proud as part of the leadership in presenting a very important perspec- tive every single day.

I have frequently referenced an en- ergy committee trip I took to Alaska with Senator Begich where—I thought Michigan was big. Michigan is big. But we not only had to travel a long way to get to Alaska, once we were in Alaska we not only had to travel a long way from one end to another.

I remember I ran into a number of people from Michigan because in our Upper Peninsula we also have a lot of snow, and we have a lot of people who were working there. But everywhere we went we traveled to Native Amer- ican villages. We flew to Barrow. We were in every part of the State. Some areas you could only get into by heli- copter.

I would get there—we went to a Native village that needed a new post office. Senator Begich took me out. We had boots on because there was water coming up. We looked at this little,
tiniest post office that was maybe a little bigger than a closet, not much. We came out. The whole community was there to urge us to support this post office.

To see not only the information, the depth of passion Beighch had about that before we got there, but the way he interacted, his commitment to them—everywhere we went he knew about that community, the leaders in the community. He had a relationship with them.

This is somebody who loves Alaska. In his bones, in your DNA, Mark, is your State. I love seeing that. It was so inspirational to see that. I know the Senator has wonderful family support at home. It has been my pleasure to be at your home for dinner and to watch your son. He is growing up. I know we have a lot more that we will benefit from, from your leadership. I know you have a lot more to contribute to Alaska, to our country.

Just the other day we were leaving with incredible respect from colleagues and love and affection. We wish you every Godspeed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. BOOKER. Mr. President, I rise to add my sense of gratitude and appreciation to someone who has become a dear friend. I am his newest colleague and have had the privilege of working with him for these past 15 months. I just want him to know and state very publicly that he was one of the anchors to me as I was getting to know a very different place from being a mayor of a big city.

Your sense of fierce pragmatism was a light to me, coming down into a place known for partisanship and gridlock, and demonstrated to me your ability to bring people together and get things done, but even more than that, being a model for me, a role model for me in the early stage of my career in the Senate.

I have to confess, and do it with pride, that I love this country with the depth and the core of my being. My parents taught me that sense of pride. But you expanded that, incredibly, by bringing me out to Alaska. Of all my experiences in these 13 months, that was one of the highlights. It taught me a lot when I saw that a Senator still had such a powerful touch and connection and knowledge and love of the people of that State. You have made me love Alaska even more and know Alaska in my heart.

What was extraordinary to me, in knowing you in your short career, was how much you got accomplished, how steadfast you were in pursuing the issues of that State. You have made me love Alaska even more and know Alaskans care about and that you knew so well when you were a mayor and fitting them into this vast Federal landscape and making sure Alaskans are heard. I think you are one of the best at doing that. You stepped out on so many different issues. I remember the Native American corporations and how you would reach out in a number of areas with Senators throughout the Senate and try to reach some compromise there.

I have a large Native American community. We, too, have the same kinds of issues on that front that you do. We have many Native American tribes. As the Senator knows well, it was my father and my uncle who stood up in the 1960s and 1970s to make sure the Natives got a fair shake in Alaska. Mark—that is the way he serves when it comes to Native Americans, caring about them, caring about their issues, going up to the North Slope where it is cold.

My understanding is that during this campaign he got frostbite on one occasion being out in that terribly tough environment. Thank you for that and for working with me and working with everyone else who tries to make sure Native people get justice. They look to Washington for justice. They look for that justice at the Supreme Court. They are not getting much of it over there at the Supreme Court any more. We are the last refuge. We served together on the Indian Affairs Committee.

One final thing to talk about. I have been working on what I believe is the chemical substances act, the last couple of years with Senator Vitter. We have tried to do everything we can to bring people—extraordinary piece of legislation—12 Republicans, 12 Democrats on this piece of legislation.

We have been working to make it better. We have had Senators start joining us on both sides of the aisle. Mark, you were one of the key people to work on that. As Senator Warner and I will tell you, you were one of the leaders. You were one of the leaders. You were in all of those leadership meetings. Whenever I told you there was a problem, you would surface it, whether or not it was going to blow up the meeting. You stuck in there when it came to truly caring about issues and caring about getting things done.

I think if anything is your hallmark, it is wanting to put aside the partisanship and try to get things done. So that is something that you should be tremendously proud of.

Just as a final word, I love your State of Alaska. I have climbed your highest mountain. My cousin, Mark Udall, has also done the same thing, climbed Mount McKinley, which has now entered his name, called Denali. I remember going up to your State as a State attorney general. It was the only State in the Nation that put in money for our conference of attorneys general and put us on an 8-hour train across Alaska so we could see all of Alaska.

Alaska is a terrific State. You and I have some disagreements on what we
Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, we have heard a lot of people honoring our wonderful colleague Senator Begich today. We are all going to miss him dearly. We are especially going to miss him in Minnesota. I have heard many positive statements about Alaska today, but no one can come from a State where they can say they have one of the main streets in Anchorage named after them; that is, Minnesota Street in Anchorage.

That is why there are many Minnesotans. Believe it or not, it was not cold enough in Minnesota so they moved to Alaska. One of those people who moved to Alaska was Mark’s dad. Mark’s dad actually grew up about 30 miles away from Minnesota. It is rough-and-tumble country up in the Iron Range of Minnesota. Mark still has relatives in northern Minnesota, and particularly he has an uncle named Uncle Joe—Joe Begich—who served in the legislature for many years and also is a Korean War veteran and was truly the heart and soul of the Iron Range delegation in the Minnesota State legislature.

For any of our colleagues who think Mark Begich is a character, they should meet his Uncle Joe. I know Uncle Joe. I hope he is watching because I am going to trip up there. But wherever you land, our door will always be open to you.

Thank you and God bless you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, we have heard a lot of people honoring our wonderful colleague Senator Begich today. We are all going to miss him dearly. We are especially going to miss him in Minnesota. I have heard many positive statements about Alaska today, but no one can come from a State where they can say they have one of the main streets in Anchorage named after them; that is, Minnesota Street in Anchorage.

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The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

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Thank you and God bless you.
prospect of ever having to use taxpayer dollars to rescue big banks from their own bad decisions.

This morning, Senators from both parties—SHERROD BROWN, a Democrat from Ohio, and DAVID VITTER, a Republican from Louisiana—called for this provision to be taken out of the spending bill. Here is what they said:

If Wall Street banks want to gamble, Congress should force them to pay for their losses... put taxpayers on the hook for another bailout. Congress should not gamble on a possible government shutdown by attempting to tuck this controversial provision into a spending bill that has been butted up against the wall. This provision has no place in a must-pass spending bill.

Conservative activists have jumped in as well. They are raising their voices today to say that this provision has no place in a must-pass spending bill. Here is what one front-page contributor on the conservative blog RedState said this morning:

I have no way to refute the basic point that Democrats are making about the Choombus bill right now. In fact, I might even say that I agree. ... what possible good faith reason can Republicans have for threatening to gum up the whole works over doing a favor to Wall Street? Generally speaking, if Nancy Pelosi is opposed to something then instinctively I know I should be for it. Beyond that I haven't the slightest clue why the proposed tweaking would be anything resembling a bill the Republicans should die for.

These conservative activists are right. If you believe in smaller government, how can you support a provision that would expand a government insurance program and put taxpayers on the hook for the riskiest private activities? If you thought the Ex-Im Bank exposed taxpayers to risk—even though it has never had a loss—how can you support a provision to prevent another calamity such as the one that cost taxpayers billions of dollars just 6 years ago?

House Republican leaders are moving quickly to try to jam this bill through today before their own Members have had a chance to digest this Wall Street bailout provision. The fact sheet that Republican appropriators sent around to their Members explains the provision in question would “protect farmers and other commodity producers from having to put down excessive collateral to get a loan, expand their businesses, and hedge their production.” Whatever you think about the bill, that description is flatly wrong. In fact, that description applies to yet another Wall Street reform rollback that the Republicans are pushing right now, which is attached to a completely different bill.

Now, I don’t know if Republican leaders in the House are deliberately trying to confuse their Members into voting for a government bailout program or whether they just can’t keep straight all their efforts to gut financial reform. Republican leaders are about to bring this bill up for a vote. So here is the bottom line. A vote for this bill is a vote for future taxpayer bailouts of Wall Street. When the next bailout comes, a lot of people will look back to this vote to see who was responsible for putting the government back on the hook to bail out Wall Street.

To Republican leaders in the House, I would ask you say you are against future bailouts on Wall Street. I have heard you say it again and again for 5 years. So why in the world are you spending your time and your energy fighting for a provision written by Citigroup lobbyists that would increase the chance of future bailouts? Why, in the last minute as you head out the door and a spending bill must be passed, are you making it a priority to do Wall Street’s bidding? Whom do you work for—Wall Street or the American people?

This fight isn’t about conservatives or liberals. It is not about Democrats or Republicans. It is about money, and it is about power right here in Washington. This legal change could trigger more taxpayer bailouts and could ultimately threaten our entire economy, but it will also make a lot of money for Wall Street banks. According to Americans for Financial Reform, this change will be a huge boon to just a handful of our biggest banks: Citigroup, JPMorgan, Bank of America.

People are frustrated with Congress. Part of the reason, of course, is gridlock. But mostly it is because they see a Congress that works just fine for the big guys but won’t lift a finger to help them. If big companies can deploy their armies of lobbyists and lawyers to get Congress to approve for special deals that benefit themselves, then we will simply confirm the view of the American people that the system is rigged.

This is a democracy. The American people sent us here—Republicans, Democrats and Independents. They sent us here to stand up for them, to stand up for taxpayers, to protect the economy. Nobody sent us here to stand up for Citigroup.

I urge my Republican colleagues in the House to withhold their support from this package until this risky giveaway is removed from the legislation. It is time for all of us to stand up and fight.

Mr. President, I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill was read and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, with amendments, as follows:

(A) In the case of a corporation, to hold at least 50 percent (by vote or value) of the capital structure of the entity.

(4) Definition of executive orders addressing the crisis in Ukraine.

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

Sec. 2. Definitions.

Sec. 3. Statement of policy regarding Ukraine.

Sec. 4. Sanctions relating to the defense and energy sectors of the Russian Federation.

Sec. 5. Sanctions on Russian and other foreign financial institutions.

Sec. 6. Codification of executive orders addressing the crisis in Ukraine.

Sec. 7. Major non-NATO ally status for Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova.

Sec. 8. Increased military assistance for the Government of Ukraine.

Sec. 9. Expanded nonmilitary assistance for Ukraine.

Sec. 10. Expanded broadcasting in countries of the former Soviet Union.

Sec. 11. Support for security, democracy, and civil society organizations.

Sec. 12. Report on non-compliance by the Russian Federation of its obligations under the INF Treaty.

The following is the table of contents for this Act:

(a) Short title.—This Act may be cited as the “Ukraine Freedom Support Act of 2014”.

(b) Table of contents.—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

Sec. 2. Definitions.

Sec. 3. Statement of policy regarding Ukraine.

Sec. 4. Sanctions relating to the defense and energy sectors of the Russian Federation.

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Sec. 11. Support for security, democracy, and civil society organizations.

Sec. 12. Report on non-compliance by the Russian Federation of its obligations under the INF Treaty.

In this Act:

(1) ACCOUNT; CORRESPONDENT ACCOUNT; PAYABLE-THROUGH ACCOUNT.—The terms “account,” “correspondent account,” and “payable-through account” have the meanings given those terms in section 5318A of title 31, United States Code.

(2) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.—The term “appropriate congressional committees” means—

(A) the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate; and

(B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Financial Services of the House of Representatives.

(3) CONTROL.—The term “control” means—

(A) in the case of a corporation, to hold at least 50 percent (by vote or value) of the capital structure of the entity.

(B) in the case of any other entity, to hold interests representing at least 50 percent of the capital structure of the entity.

(4) DEFENSE SERVICES.—Defense service; training.—The terms “defense article”, “defense service”, and “training” have the