

In electing a Governor of one party and a legislature led by another the message Vermonters have sent us tonight is clear: work together.

Vermonters are saying they want us to work for them, not against each other.

They are saying we need to listen to one another and prove to the rest of the nation that in Vermont we can and will rise above partisan politics.

We must come together for the future of our state in order to strengthen our economy, make Vermont affordable and protect the vulnerable in all 251 communities in Vermont.

Whether you're from Brighton or Brandon, Alburgh or Albany—we all want the same thing.

We want the kids in every community to get a great education, learn a trade, pursue the career of their dreams, buy a home, start a family and retire right here in the state we love.

This is the challenge we face together. And tonight, I humbly accept that challenge once again.

I'd also like to thank my opponent, Christine Hallquist, for stepping up and running an energized and historic campaign.

While we may not have agreed on many issues, we did agree from the start that this race would be about the things we felt mattered most to the people of Vermont.

While across the nation other races in other states turned negative and uncivil, in Vermont, we rose above it.

The news out of Vermont this election was clear: we can disagree, we can debate—and we can do it with passion—but in this state, we can do it respectfully.

It wasn't perfect. And at times we were reminded that we're not immune to the hate and bigotry that is all too present around the country, but by and large, this campaign was marked by the type of civility Vermonters, and Americans for that matter, deserve in our public process.

There was probably no better example of that than Zac Mayo and Lucy Rodgers of Cambridge, two candidates, ending a debate last month by sitting together to perform a musical duet.

For this, and for stepping up, and putting yourself out there, I'd like to thank all candidates tonight.

From the top of the ticket all the way down, it's not easy to put yourself out there—win or lose. So, I thank you for your contribution to the conversation and commitment to making Vermont a better place.

I'd also like to note that the issues that have been raised in this campaign due to Christine's historic candidacy are front and center.

I want you to know that as long as I'm Governor, I'll continue to make sure our state lives up to our motto of freedom and unity as well as our reputation of tolerance and compassion by being the most welcoming in the nation, while defending all Vermonters from hate and bigotry.

This will remain one of my administration's top priorities—no exceptions.

Today, Vermonters spoke loud and clear.

So, tonight, I'll reaffirm my commitment to the three principles on which my administration bases every decision we make:

First, we're going to continue to make Vermont more affordable.

I travel the state every day, I see the struggles our neighbors face and I know that the high cost of living, doing business, energy, healthcare, education and taxes are forcing too many to look elsewhere for opportunity.

We should all find that unacceptable. So, as I've done for the past 18 years, I'll spend the next two, working to reverse that trend.

Second, if we're going to grow our economy, we must bring more into the workforce and attract more people to our state.

We need more kids in our schools, more workers for our businesses, more proud, first time homeowners right here in Vermont.

We need a bigger labor force to support the public investments we care about because if we don't—if we can't grow our economy—then we're faced with two options: raise taxes or make cuts to programs which could harm the most vulnerable, neither of which is acceptable.

That's why I ask legislators, in fact, all elected officials to work with me on a plan to grow our workforce to increase our working age population because our future literally depends on it.

Third, we're going to protect our neighbors. We'll continue to address the opioid crisis, those suffering from mental health issues and find ways to make sure all Vermonters have access to affordable healthcare.

We'll take care of our elderly and our veterans—who have given so much to us—our children, and those who need us most, when they need us most because it's what we do in Vermont.

And finally, if we're going to accomplish any of this, we must continue to rise above partisanship and politics of hate and division.

Our time to make a difference for those who have elected us, is far too short. We can't allow ourselves to fall victim to pettiness, political games and angry rhetoric.

Now more than ever, we must be better role models because our children are watching, and they want to be just like us.

We must be better, kinder and more respectful to each other and take the time to listen.

This is the challenge ahead. This is my vision for our future.

It is the greatest honor of my life to have the trust of Vermonters to carry out this work on their behalf.

Thank you again from the bottom of my heart and as I've done throughout my entire life, I will do my very best not to let you down.

#### TRIBUTE TO LLOYD SQUIRES

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, small business are at the heart of many communities around the country, but in a small State like Vermont, local businesses and their owners truly bring people together. Lloyd Squires and his bustling Burlington bagel business, Myer's Bagels, is one example. For the past 22 years, Lloyd has dedicated his life to running this Vermont establishment, making more than 3,000 hand-rolled bagels every day.

Lloyd grew up in Montreal and struggled with homelessness as a teenager. However, his life turned around at age 15 when Myer Lewkowicz, the owner of the Montreal-famous St-Viateur Bagel, offered Lloyd a job that allowed him to finish school, put a roof over his head, and learn from Myer's teaching. Myer had moved to Montreal and started his bagel business in the 1950s, having survived the Buchenwald concentration camp. Lloyd worked side-by-side with Myer for 15 years until Myer passed away. To honor his mentor, Lloyd opened up Myer's Bagels in Burlington, VT, in 1996.

Lloyd has worked tirelessly over the last two decades to develop his growing

business. Before Lloyd received his green card, he would drive the 4-hour roundtrip from his home in Montreal to Burlington, VT, each day. Lloyd lives much closer now, but still drives 4 hours each day to deliver bagels around the region. Lloyd gives 1,200 bagels away each week to local charities. When asked, Lloyd will tell you that his favorite part about running his business and working incredibly long hours is being able to talk to his customers and develop close relationships with the community.

I am proud to recognize the business and community that Lloyd Squires has helped create in Vermont over the past 20 years.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a Burlington Free Press article titled, "A day in the life of Lloyd Squires, Vermont's 'best' bagel maker." It shares Lloyd's hard work and the story of how he has gone from being homeless as a teenager to a cornerstone of our community.

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

[FROM THE BURLINGTON FREE PRESS, NOV. 23, 2018]

#### DAY IN THE LIFE OF A BAGEL MAKER

(By Evan Weiss)

Lloyd Squires, 54, wakes up in his South Burlington home as he does every day: without an alarm. He puts on a layer of Under Armour, a Montreal Canadiens T-shirt and a matching Canadiens hat.

He likes hockey. He'd fallen asleep around 9:30 the night before, watching his team lose to the Sabres.

He rarely gets four hours of sleep.

2:00 a.m.

Lloyd, the founder and co-owner of Myer's Bagels, drives to a gas station and picks up a cup of coffee.

In Burlington, Kountry Kart Deli is busy making sandwiches for a less-thansober crowd. It is late for them, early for Lloyd.

2:10 a.m.

He turns off Pine Street and arrives at Myer's, backing into a spot that directly faces the shop. I tell him I think that says something about him, that most people would pull straight in. He says he likes to shine his headlights on the bakery because it's been broken into three times this year. If there's ever danger, he says later, there's a machete hidden inside.

He unlocks the door and a large banner welcomes us in cursive: Myer's Bagels. A Taste of Old Montreal.

Myer Lewkowicz, the namesake for the shop, was a survivor of Buchenwald concentration camp. He moved to Mile End, Montreal's historically Jewish neighborhood, in 1953 and cofounded the famous St-Viateur Bagel in 1957.

In 1980, Lloyd was 15 and homeless, sleeping in a park for five days. He took an overnight factory job and went to school during the day. After his third shift, walking by St-Viateur at 3 a.m., Myer asked what he was doing out so early every morning. He offered Lloyd a job on the spot, a job Lloyd credits with saving his life: 13-hour days, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, so he could stay in school.

Later, Myer would offer Lloyd the day shift, which he happily accepted. He'd soon discover that the "day shift" was 3 a.m. to 4 p.m. six days a week.

2:11 a.m.

"First thing I do is put on the radio. First person gets to choose the station for the day." Lloyd chooses country music.

2:12 a.m.

He turns the faucet to fill the kettle. Bagels are traditionally made by boiling before baking (though some commercial bakers will use steam to save time and money).

2:14 a.m.

He re-activates the fire with paper and Middlebury-sourced wood.

New York-style bagels, the most common variety, are usually machinerolled, boiled in tap water and baked in a gas oven.

Montreal-style bagels are traditionally hand-rolled, boiled in honey water and baked in a wood-fired oven.

2:15 a.m.

He mixes Red Star yeast with a bucket of water and gets the flour ready.

2:25 a.m.

He throws all of the ingredients into a 50-year-old Canadian mixer. He says he has a new \$20,000 model waiting in the wings, but he likes the old one better—it's the same kind he learned on at St-Viateur.

He likes reminiscing about his time there. Myer, he says, once bought football tickets for six employees. They all showed up to St-Viateur, excited, and stuffed into Myer's car. He drove two blocks, parked and told them they were all taking the subway: "I'm not paying for parking." Myer later helped Lloyd buy his first house.

Lloyd worked at St-Viateur for 15 years, half of his life at that point, and only left after Myer died of cancer.

2:32 a.m.

Lloyd makes coffee, so some will be ready when the shop opens at 4 a.m.

The fire is already roaring.

3:06 a.m.

He pours the requisite honey into the kettle.

3:27 a.m.

The gluten-free bagels are "dropped" first. Lloyd created his own GF flour mix and is the only one who makes it in the bakery. In total, he has 42 bagel recipes.

His favorite is "Montreal Spice Whole Wheat . . . which we don't sell. I make them just for me."

3:30 a.m.

The first batch of dough is ready. On a normal day, the bakery will go through four of these 140-pound masses.

3:32 a.m.

The rolling begins.

The room already smells of honey and toasted sesame seeds.

3:40 a.m.

The boiling begins.

As Lloyd drops the first gluten-full bagels, he says he sees money differently. "When I bought a car, I went, 'That's 15,000 bagels. I have to make those!'"

3:52 a.m.

Baker Matt Audette, 25, covers the boiled bagels in rosemary. They go in the oven immediately. Matt was born and raised in Vermont, but came from a pretzel-baking job in Washington, D.C. He likes the early hours.

4:02 a.m.

17-year-old Kyle McGuire has worked at Myer's for two months, and Lloyd is by his side, training him to roll. When Kyle is done with his shift, he'll go home to shower and head to Colchester High School, where he's a senior.

Lloyd says he trained 100 bakers at St-Viateur; 75 are still there.

4:08 a.m.

The shop has been open for eight minutes. Everyone is working quickly before the morning rush.

4:09 a.m.

The second batch of dough goes in the mixer.

4:16 a.m.

The ready bagels are tossed into a long metal tray called the chute.

Lloyd organizes them.

4:34 a.m.

Matt ensures the boiled bagels are fully covered. The honey in the water helps make everything stick.

4:58 a.m.

The first customers arrive, tired and hungry.

5:06 a.m.

Lloyd moves to the station where his team slices bagels headed for bags. He explains that each bagel has to be cut with a knife because the hand-rolling process results in varying shapes unfit for a standard slicer. There were three main jobs at St-Viateur, he says: bagging, rolling and baking. Myer had told Lloyd that as he worked his way up, he'd make more money. Lloyd retold this story, laughing, because he learned that the increased pay didn't come from a better hourly rate, but from the longer hours required: baggers worked 20, rollers worked 40 and bakers worked 75.

5:18 a.m.

Batch two is ready for rolling. There are five ingredients in the dough:

-King Arthur's Sir Lancelot High-Gluten Flour

-Malted Barley Flour ? Sugar

-Water

-Yeast Lloyd estimates that 3,000 to 4,000 pounds of King Arthur flour and 400 pounds of Green Mountain Creamery cream cheese are consumed during an average week.

5:30 a.m.

Lloyd finally sits down for breakfast: a plain bagel with lox, scallion cream cheese and tomatoes. He washes it down with a Natalie's orange juice and is done by 5:35 a.m. It's the only non-bathroom break he takes during his 8.5 hours in the bakery.

5:38 a.m.

The chute is already littered with seeds beneath the wire baskets. Over the course of the day, three to five pounds of seeds will end up there. They'll be collected and thrown in the fire because they still have oil.

"It flavors the oven," Lloyd says.

5:39 a.m.

He mans the oven, which he built with three friends over five 18-hour days, using 3,700 fire bricks. He'll occasionally make pizza with his dough, adding crushed tomato, garlic and 15-year-aged provolone, which he'll top with his Montreal spice mix. It's not on the menu, but he'll make it for party-sized orders.

6:36 a.m.

Dough number three is thrown in the mixer.

It's clear that the machine is old: a clamp and bag of flour keep it closed.

6:40 a.m.

A rush of customers begins.

6:47 a.m.

Lloyd rolls with Kyle again.

Matt and Kyle explain how Lloyd can roll a bagel and throw it perfectly into place anywhere across the table, or even into the oven.

6:55 a.m.

Lloyd rolls alone again.

I clock him at roughly a baker's dozen per minute. He says he could get up to 38, if needed, though he's recovering from an eye injury. He's worked with people who could do 40 to 45, no problem.

7:32 a.m.

Matt calls out, "Fresh rosemary!"

Two customers grin and peer over to see the bagels lobbed into the chute.

The bagels are flipped and flung using a long wooden paddle called a shebah. The spelling of this word varies. When asked why it's called a shebah, Lloyd says, "That's what he called it."

"He" means Myer.

Lloyd used to buy the paddles in Montreal, but now commissions them from Sterling Furniture Works across the street. They start as blonde, unvarnished wood. Over time, they develop a dark patina in the oven, the far edge turning black.

7:36 a.m.

Kyle asks Lloyd, "How's it going?"

Lloyd replies, "Living the dream."

He always responds, "Living the dream" or "Rolling in the dough," Kyle says.

They both laugh.

7:50 a.m.

The rolling continues. Lloyd estimates they've made 110 dozen bagels thus far.

They bake between 250 and 300 dozen on an average day, he says, which is 3,000 to 3,600 bagels for those of us who don't think in dozens.

8:08 a.m.

One burnt bagel comes out of the oven. It goes into the fire next to the seeds.

Lloyd says Myer couldn't stand seeing anything wasted because of his time in the Holocaust. According to the St-Viateur website, Myer once spoke to a high school class and said, "At Buchenwald, all I dreamt of was a piece of bread."

8:10 a.m.

Kyle leaves, but before he does, out of earshot of Lloyd, he says, "He's a really awesome boss."

8:16 a.m.

Lloyd takes the last sip of his gas station coffee, over six hours after he bought it.

A group of visiting Austrians, who stopped by the day before, say hi. One takes a picture, and Lloyd gives her a free bagel.

8:20 a.m.

Lloyd hands a bag to someone from a local non-profit. He estimates that on an average week, he donates 100 dozen to local charities, including the Flynn Center for the Performing Arts and Resource's YouthBuild.

8:23 a.m.

A police officer arrives for breakfast.

8:24 a.m.

There's a line, and the tables are full. Lloyd won't tell you, but Myer's has been named best bagel shop in Vermont by Epicurious, among others.

Why? It could be because people love Lloyd; he prefers phone orders to web orders because he likes talking to his customers and seeing how they're doing. It could be because he learned from Myer Lewkowicz, one of the Montreal-style originators. It could be because St-Viateur has greatly expanded its bagel production while Myer's is still only made in one bakery, one batch at a time. It could be all three.

8:34 a.m.

The third batch of dough is ready. Lloyd cuts into it and it looks like a sushi chef cutting into a side of tuna.

8:50 a.m.

An ex-Montrealer, who now owns a business in Winooski, greets Lloyd in French. Lloyd later says that the man, Marcel, was his first-ever customer in 1996.

9:00 a.m.

A group of people watch Lloyd roll his bagels. I ask what it's like to always be watched. He says, "I like to talk to people."

9:05 a.m.

Trisha Ubermuth, 25, stands on a milk crate to organize the bagels.

In the past, Lloyd has told the story that she once came in as a child and declared she'd work there one day. It's not true, but Lloyd tells me that bagels are, in fact, a family business.

His sister, mother and nephew still work at St-Viateur. His daughter works for his cousin who runs his own bagel shop, Brossard Bagel, just outside of Montreal.

9:07 a.m.

Lloyd gives a free, hot poppy seed bagel to Marcel, knowing it's his favorite.

9:31 a.m.

The rush slows. Everyone works at the same pace.

10:31 a.m.

Lloyd finally leaves, but he's not done. Ahead of him, he's got over four hours of driving through Northern Vermont with seven bagel drop-offs on the way. He doesn't dread it though, it's a pretty drive. And, "I love getting out and meeting people."

He's got another bagel in hand for lunch. "My car is covered in sesame seeds," he says.

7:15 p.m.

He finally gets home after only stopping for a break at Picasso in Stowe. He's used to long drives.

When he first opened Myer's in 1996, he commuted from Montreal, leaving at midnight every "morning." He got his green card in 1997. After three years of the 100-mile commute, and a car accident caused by sleeping at the wheel, he moved to Vermont. He then worked 15-hour days, seven days a week for seven years.

"I've never worked less than 65 hours a week," he says.

He's barely gotten outside of Vermont and Montreal because of the schedule. Now, fortunately, he gets a day off on the weekend. He's recently been to both Connecticut and Boston.

He hopes one day to retire in Nova Scotia. But, first, he's going to open a new take-and-bake bagel business with his friend Sid Berkson in Enosburg Falls.

And, he's still got a bakery to run.

9:30 p.m.

He drinks chamomile tea and falls asleep, again, to hockey. The next morning, he wakes up without an alarm at 1:15 a.m. It's Saturday, and there will be twice as many customers. He looks forward to meeting them.

#### TRIBUTE TO JOHN J. SULLIVAN

Mr. LEAHY, Mr. President, earlier this month, Marcelle and I, with Marcelle's brother, Claude Pomerleau, attended the Kennedy Center Honors Dinner at the State Department. We were moved by Deputy Secretary of State John J. Sullivan's remarks, which touched on his deep admiration for foreign service and his great appreciation of American arts and culture. I wanted to share with the Senate his remarks, which were filled with historical references and bits of humor.

I ask unanimous consent that Deputy Secretary of State Sullivan's remarks be printed in the RECORD.

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

CENTER DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN J. SULLIVAN

REMARKS AT THE 2018 KENNEDY CENTER HONORS

DECEMBER 2, 2018, WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEPUTY SECRETARY SULLIVAN: Good evening. It's an honor for my wife, Grace Rodriguez, and me to welcome you to the Department of State. Secretary Pompeo asked that I extend his sincere regrets he's unable to be with us tonight because of his travel to Buenos Aires for the G20 summit. It's a real privilege to be asked to stand in for the Secretary of State at a very special event like this. Deputy secretaries are usually delegated humbler duties.

I'd like to begin by thanking Kennedy Center Chairman David Rubenstein, Kennedy

Center President Deborah Rutter, Event Chair Suzanne Niedland for their service and leadership. And thanks to all of you in attendance tonight for coming to honor the esteemed recipients of this year's Kennedy Center Honor.

Gathered as we are in the Department of State, I must note with a heavy heart the passing last night in Texas of President George H.W. Bush, my former boss many years ago. President Bush cherished this place and this institution. He was, of course, the U.S. permanent representative in the United Nations in the early 1970s, and later our first representative to the People's Republic of China. And since we're gathered in the Benjamin Franklin Room, I also note that President Bush shares a distinction with Franklin: They both served as our nation's representative to a vitally important country but without holding the title of ambassador. 1974, when President Bush was named the chief of our liaison office in Beijing, the United States did not have diplomatic relations with China. Two hundred years before, when Franklin was sent on a commission to France and then appointed our minister in Paris, the Court of Versailles would not accept an ambassador from a self-declared republic like ours. Only sovereign monarchs exchanged ambassadors until well into the 19th century.

I've thought a lot about Franklin during my service as deputy secretary of state. We host many special historic events here in the Benjamin Franklin Room, including a luncheon earlier this year for President Macron of France during his state visit to the United States, and I'm often asked to provide remarks. The speechwriters who prepared a first draft appropriately note the venue, and refer to Franklin as the first American diplomat, our minister to France. But they also inevitably described him as, quote, "the father of the Foreign Service." And that's always struck me as a stale, patriarchal language unsuited for the 21st century, and unlikely to inspire young Foreign Service officers. But my effort to craft an alternative that would motivate a new generation to careers in American diplomacy—those efforts have failed recently. I spoke to a group of eminent retired U.S. diplomats here in this room; they were confused and appalled when I referred to Franklin as the original gangster of the Foreign Service. (Laughter.)

So I've shifted my thinking to alternatives to enliven the way we convey the remarkable life of Franklin. I had the idea of bringing Franklin's story to life on the stage, perhaps even a musical. (Laughter.) Who would want to see that? Imagine, a musical about one of America's founding fathers. (Laughter.) You laugh, but in fact, there was a Broadway musical about Franklin, Ben Franklin in Paris, staged in 1964, and it faded quickly into obscurity. (Laughter.)

But I'm serious about promoting and honoring America's diplomats past and present, whether it's Franklin, President Bush, or our current friends and colleagues at this department who are working to promote and protect America's interests, America's values, and American citizens at hundreds of posts, embassies, consulates, and missions around the world, many in dangerous and difficult circumstances. Their work is made easier by the worldwide popularity—indeed, the pervasive influence—of the best of American arts and culture, which is what we're here to celebrate tonight.

It is through the arts that we, the American people, tell our story. We express the richness of our culture and artistry when we export it to the rest of the world. And the impact cannot be overstated. Music, theater, cinema—every medium we celebrate tonight (inaudible) United States shows to the world

who we are. The work of the American artists gathered here in this room is a powerful form of diplomacy. Your influence is felt around the world.

The Kennedy Center Honors program recognizes these exceptional artists who have contributed so much to our culture and our world. The program is in its 41st year, and its honorees include some of the most iconic figures in the arts. This year's honorees certainly fall squarely into that category.

Cher, our first honoree, needs no introduction. She's commonly referred to as the, quote, "goddess of pop," unquote, and I tested that assertion with a Google search, whose results showed that to be true. (Laughter.) But I use the word "commonly" with a purpose, because that is too common a title for such an extraordinary talent and person. She's achieved towering success in music, on television, on stage, and in films. The accolades included here are too many to name. Her voice and her music—"I Got You Babe," "If I Could Turn Back Time," "Believe"—I could go on, to name just a few—those songs are loved worldwide and have made her a global superstar and a household name.

Composer and pianist Philip Glass is our second honoree. He's no stranger to State Department programs and proudly represented the United States as a Fulbright Scholar in Paris in the 1960s. Since then, Mr. Glass has only gone on to compose more than 25 operas, 10 symphonies, as well as concertos, film soundtracks, and countless other works. Truly in a league of his own, he's the recipient of the U.S. National Medal of the Arts, and next month the Los Angeles Philharmonic will present the world premiere of his 12th symphony.

Our third honoree is another legend, Reba McEntire. And I am not ashamed to say as a humble bureaucrat, I can't believe I got to shake Reba McEntire's hand. (Laughter.) I'm telling you, it's unbelievable. Thank you, Mike Pompeo. (Laughter.) Her songs—"Fancy," "Is There Life Out There," "I'm a Survivor"—have given her worldwide fame. She's recorded 25 number-one singles and sold over 56 million albums. But she's achieved great success in other fields, including on television and in movies. All you have to do is say her first name, and the world knows exactly who you're talking about.

Wayne Shorter, the famous jazz saxophonist and composer is next. He deservedly has been called—and again, I quote—a genius, trailblazer, a visionary, and one of the world's greatest composers. He's played with Miles Davis, Joni Mitchell, Steely Dan, Carlos Santana—the list goes on. He's won 11 Grammy Awards, including a lifetime achievement award, but admirably, he does not rest on his laurels. He's now working on his first album.

Finally, we honor the co-creators of Hamilton, and I hope they will consider my suggestion of Franklin: An American Musical. I'm just saying, Hamilton's secretary of treasury; versus the secretary of state. (Laughter.) Just think about that. These individuals—Lin-Manuel Miranda, Thomas Kail, Andy Blankenbuehler, and Alex Lacamoire—together they wrote, acted in, directed, choreographed, and arranged what has become the best known, groundbreaking stage production of our time. They are trailblazers who have created art that defies categorization, breaks down barriers, and brings American history to life.

My youngest son, Teddy, is a senior at Hamilton College and among the show's biggest fans. He likes to wear his college sweatshirt around Miami—excuse me, around Manhattan—and engage the tourists who ask where do they paraphernalia like