

The United States, led by then-President Bill Clinton and by a guy who was serving as the chairman, I think, of the Foreign Relations Committee, Joe Biden, sort of made common calls with the President of Colombia, who was a very brave person, and said to the Colombians: You can do this. Stabilize your country. Make it a more livable, decent place to live. We can help because we are complicit in their misery, too, given our addiction to drugs.

Well, guess what. They started something called Plan Colombia, and for 20 years it has worked slowly. Slowly. An example of what we did is we provided Apache helicopters. Why did we do that? So that the Colombian police and the Colombian military would have the mobility they need to go across the country and go after the bad guys and take them on. That was just one of the many things that was happening in Plan Colombia.

But again, it is like Home Depot. You have Home Depot, Madam President, in your State, and we have them in mine. What is their saying? "You can do it, and we can help." So we said: Colombia, you can do it, and we can help. We are complicit in your misery, and we can help. And we have.

About a year or so ago, the President of Colombia won a Nobel Peace Prize. The leftist guerillas are—it is not perfect, but they are part of the government. Are drugs still a problem there? Yes, they are, but not like before. It is a country with a relatively bright future and one that we can be proud to call our friend and ally.

When we looked for a way to help in Central America—the Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador—we went to Colombia, and we said: Maybe it is possible to have a Central American version of Plan Colombia. And now we have that.

What we have done over the last 3, maybe 4 years, we funded those three countries in efforts to address some of the deficiencies that I just described—police who don't police, prosecutors who don't prosecute, judges who don't administer justice, and correctional institutions that don't really correct behavior. We have been doing this now for about 3 years, and our congressional delegation is going to go down there tomorrow and do a little bit of oversight and find out what is working in those three countries and what is not, whether they are meeting their responsibilities, and whether we are meeting our responsibilities.

You know, we can build a wall from sea to shining sea and from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. It can be 30 feet tall. But unless somehow the root causes of that migration—and it ain't coming from Mexico—some but not much. Again, more Mexicans are going back into Mexico than are coming the other way.

We really want to help the people of the Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador address those root causes. You know, they are going to keep coming

up here, and if we lived there, we would want to come too.

You know, for what it is worth, we have had about 80 Presidential declarations of emergencies, I guess, in maybe the last century, and they were for Pearl Harbor, Katrina, 9/11, other disasters, some of them natural disasters, others. Since 2000, there has been an 80 percent reduction in illegal migration at the borders. Most of it is coming from these three countries, not Mexico. So we will see what happens with the declaration of emergency that the President is going to declare.

I think you have to be careful. To my Republican friends, I say this lovingly to you on Valentine's Day: The idea of a President invoking his powers, using his powers in this way, I am frankly not convinced that—while there certainly are challenges at the border, I have explained where I think the real challenges are, the real causes.

Someday, we will have a Democratic President, and he or she will be considering a range of options of what to do, and somebody is going to suggest: Well, in the earlier administration, the Trump administration, they declared it. So they will say: Well, I will just declare a national emergency and do what I want to do. That is a slippery slope, and I think that is one we need to be very careful about going on.

#### REMEMBERING JOHN DINGELL

Mr. CARPER. The last thing I would like to do, if I could, is I want to talk a little bit about John Dingell. I don't know if our Presiding Officer ever had a chance to meet him or know him. She says no—nods no.

I had the pleasure of knowing him I guess since 1982, 1983, when I was elected to the House. I was a Representative, and he was already there. I was the new guy, and I had been a treasurer of Delaware and a naval flight officer before that, and I finally retired from the Navy as a captain a few years ago.

He was so nice to me. He was a big guy, a giant of a man and kind of gruff. He was kind of gruff, and I can't imagine how the pages would have reacted to him if he yelled at them or frowned at them or growled at them. But for reasons that aren't all clear, he was really kind to me. I think in his heart that is what he was.

I like to work out. I like to run. I like to work out in gyms. They have a gym over at the House in the basement of the Rayburn Building. It is a pretty nice gym. We have one here. It is small by comparison. It is modest. I usually go home at night, but occasionally I would spend the night in DC when I was in the House, and the next morning I would go to the gym, and I would either go run out on the Mall, or I would lift weights or ride the bike or something in the gym. When I finished up, before I took a shower and got dressed, I would go in the steam room—the gym had a steam room in it—and a lot of times, John Dingell was in there.

I remember sitting there with him repeatedly over the years—not hundreds of times but many times. Sometimes there were several people there. We talked. Sometimes it was just the two of us. He gave me really good advice. He was like a mentor.

The day I was sworn in as a Congressman from Delaware, I was the dean of our delegation because we only had one, so I didn't really have like a big brother or a big sister in my delegation to look up to in the House. There was nobody else but me. I was brand new. John Dingell was nice, along with a bunch of other folks too. They kind of stepped up and gave me some of the guidance that I needed.

He was an interesting fellow because he chaired the Energy and Commerce Committee the whole time I was in the House and a long time after that, and he always looked out for his bread and butter. In Michigan, that is automobiles. This was a big deal. It was then, and it still is. So he always wanted to make sure that they had the predictability that they wanted and needed and that they could be successful. If I were the Senator or Representative from Michigan, I would want that too. But he also was really good on clean air issues, clean water issues, natural resource issues, open space issues, and agricultural issues.

I remember once on one of those mornings, we were talking about whether it is possible to be a good steward of the environment, mindful of air, water, open space, public health—is it possible to do all those things and also look out for job creation and job preservation, whether it is in Michigan or some other place?

My staff has heard me say this, I am tempted to say, a million times. Folks on the Environment and Public Works Committee, where I am a senior Democrat now, have heard me say this more often than they want to. I have always said it is possible to have clean air, clean water, better public health, do good things for our planet, and create jobs. They go hand-in-glove.

One of the first people who reminded me of that a long time ago was John Dingell. He supported the Clean Air Act and the Clean Water Act. He supported the Clean Air Amendments in 1990, on which he was nice enough to let me offer a provision that was incorporated into the law. He did a lot to help preserve the auto industry not just in his State but in this country. He was an amazing guy.

Either the day he passed away or before he passed away, with his wife Debbie by his side—she is now a Congresswoman in his old seat—he shared with her some thoughts that he wanted to leave as part of his legacy at 92, and those words—I am not going to read them here today. I think they probably have already been read on the floor or introduced into the RECORD.

I ask unanimous consent that those words be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 8, 2019]

JOHN DINGELL: MY LAST WORDS FOR AMERICA

(By John D. Dingell)

John D. Dingell, a Michigan Democrat who served in the U.S. House from 1955 to 2015, was the longest-serving member of Congress in American history. He dictated these reflections to his wife, Rep. Debbie Dingell (D-Mich.), at their home in Dearborn, on Feb. 7, the day he died.

One of the advantages to knowing that your demise is imminent, and that reports of it will not be greatly exaggerated, is that you have a few moments to compose some parting thoughts.

In our modern political age, the presidential bully pulpit seems dedicated to sowing division and denigrating, often in the most irrelevant and infantile personal terms, the political opposition.

And much as I have found Twitter to be a useful means of expression, some occasions merit more than 280 characters.

My personal and political character was formed in a different era that was kinder, if not necessarily gentler. We observed modicum of respect even as we fought, often bitterly and savagely, over issues that were literally life and death to a degree that—fortunately—we see much less of today.

Think about it:

Impoverishment of the elderly because of medical expenses was a common and often accepted occurrence. Opponents of the Medicare program that saved the elderly from that cruel fate called it “socialized medicine.” Remember that slander if there’s a sustained revival of silly red-baiting today.

Not five decades ago, much of the largest group of freshwater lakes on Earth—our own Great Lakes—were closed to swimming and fishing and other recreational pursuits because of chemical and bacteriological contamination from untreated industrial and wastewater disposal. Today, the Great Lakes are so hospitable to marine life that one of our biggest challenges is controlling the invasive species that have made them their new home.

We regularly used and consumed foods, drugs, chemicals and other things (cigarettes) that were legal, promoted and actively harmful. Hazardous wastes were dumped on empty plots in the dead of night. There were few if any restrictions on industrial emissions. We had only the barest scientific knowledge of the long-term consequences of any of this.

And there was a great stain on America, in the form of our legacy of racial discrimination. There were good people of all colors who banded together, risking and even losing their lives to erase the legal and other barriers that held Americans down. In their time, they were often demonized and tar-

geted, much like other vulnerable men and women today.

Please note: All of these challenges were addressed by Congress. Maybe not as fast as we wanted, or as perfectly as hoped. The work is certainly not finished. But we’ve made progress—and in every case, from the passage of Medicare through the passage of civil rights, we did it with the support of Democrats and Republicans who considered themselves first and foremost to be Americans.

I’m immensely proud, and eternally grateful, for having had the opportunity to play a part in all of these efforts during my service in Congress. And it’s simply not possible for me to adequately repay the love that my friends, neighbors and family have given me and shown me during my public service and retirement.

But I would be remiss in not acknowledging the forgiveness and sweetness of the woman who has essentially supported me for almost 40 years: my wife, Deborah. And it is a source of great satisfaction to know that she is among the largest group of women to have ever served in the Congress (as she busily recruits more).

In my life and career, I have often heard it said that so-and-so has real power—as in, “the powerful Wile E. Coyote, chairman of the Capture the Road Runner Committee.”

It’s an expression that has always grated on me. In democratic government, elected officials do not have power. They hold power—in trust for the people who elected them. If they misuse or abuse that public trust, it is quite properly revoked (the quicker the better).

I never forgot the people who gave me the privilege of representing them. It was a lesson learned at home from my father and mother, and one I have tried to impart to the people I’ve served with and employed over the years.

As I prepare to leave this all behind, I now leave you in control of the greatest nation of mankind and pray God gives you the wisdom to understand the responsibility you hold in your hands.

May God bless you all, and may God bless America.

Mr. CARPER. I will close with this. I went to the funeral. I couldn’t stay the whole time. It was here in DC. I missed STENY HOYER, the Democratic majority leader, and his comments. I was told he was terrific, as were others, as well. But I did get to hear just about everything Bill Clinton said. I was inspired and amused by that. He was funny. He really caught the character of John and his foibles, his strengths, and brilliance.

Before I went to the funeral, I went to a breakfast. A friend at the breakfast was kind enough to share his words with the rest of us. He actually

worked for John Dingell at one time. In an off-the-cuff riff about John Dingell, he shared some of the things he worked on. Later on, I said: Would you share that with me? He was kind enough to do that.

I wish I could say these are my words, but that would be plagiarism. I give him the credit, at least in a left-handed sort of way. This is what my friend gave to me. I just want to close with these words from my friend about John Dingell:

This morning as I was reading the obituaries detailing Congressman DINGELL’s life and accomplishments, I started thinking of all the aspects of daily life that he had a direct and meaningful impact on for almost 60 years.

He went on to say what some of them were.

The air we breathe, the water we drink. The health of rivers and lakes. The wildlife that exists and depends upon those spaces. The food we eat. The pills we take. The products we use. The electricity that powers our economy. The efficiency of almost every product that uses electricity. The phones we use. The health insurance we count on in a medical crisis. The regulation and cleanup of hazardous waste. The cars we drive, of course! And a host of other things.

On this Valentine’s Day—when we give thanks for our loved ones, our families, and those who are special in our lives—I also give thanks for John and the many blessings that he has left us and this country.

With that, I will say I appreciate the opportunity to share these words.

God bless.

Thank you.

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#### ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 7 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 7 a.m. tomorrow morning.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 6:29 p.m., adjourned until Friday, February 15, 2019, at 7 a.m.

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#### CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate February 14, 2019:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WILLIAM PELHAM BARR, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE ATTORNEY GENERAL.