



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 116<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 165

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 2019

No. 146

## House of Representatives

The House met at 9 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker.

### PRAYER

Reverend Kyle Wright II, Holy Cross Lutheran Church and School, Collinsville, Illinois, offered the following prayer:

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, amen.

I thank and praise You, Heavenly Father, for moving each and every one of these men and women to serve this country which You sustain in Your mercy. Watch over them this day that Your will be done in their discussions, decisions, and, most of all, their actions.

You are the God of all power and might who, out of love for Your creation, established order from chaos, peace from discord, and life from death.

For the sake of Christ Jesus our Lord, forgive us of our pride, our disobedience, and our poor stewardship of what You have placed into our care. According to Your mercy, open the eyes and hearts of Your people so they may know the depth of Your love found only in Christ Jesus.

Dear Lord, I commend to Your care our Congress, our government, and our Nation, as You judge and keep us according to Your just mercy.

In Jesus Christ our Lord, amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House her approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

### PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. STAUBER) come

forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. STAUBER led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

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

### WELCOMING REVEREND KYLE WRIGHT II

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SHIMKUS) is recognized for 1 minute.

There was no objection.

Mr. SHIMKUS. Madam Speaker, I rise to thank and welcome Pastor Wright. Pastor Wright serves as pastor of my home congregation, Holy Cross Lutheran Church and School in Collinsville, Illinois.

He received his undergraduate degree from Concordia University in Austin, Texas, and a master of divinity from Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne, Indiana. He is currently pursuing a master of sacred theology at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri.

He has served as a pastor for the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod since 2006. During that time, he has also served as a resource hospital chaplain, hospice chaplain, and on multiple boards.

His wife, Keri, is the help, support, and love of his life. They have four beautiful daughters. Katie is 12; Gwen, 10; Lilli, 10; and Magie, also 10.

Yes, you heard it right, triplets.

### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair will entertain up to five further requests for 1-minute speeches on each side of the aisle.

### IN RECOGNITION OF THE SEPTEMBER 13, 2018, MERRIMACK VALLEY GAS EXPLOSIONS

(Mrs. TRAHAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mrs. TRAHAN. Madam Speaker, I rise in recognition of a tragic anniversary that the residents of the Merrimack Valley will never forget.

Tomorrow marks 1 year since a cascade of explosions in Lawrence, Andover, and North Andover, Massachusetts, damaged over 130 homes and businesses, burning several to the ground.

At least 20 people were sent to the hospital. A Lawrence police officer, Ivan Soto, lost his home while aiding his community. Shakira Figueroa was seriously injured, and a young man, Leonel Rondon, lost his life.

An NTSB investigation revealed a series of failures by the gas company as it replaced pipelines in the area. Oversight allowed the full flow of high-pressure gas to enter a low-pressure distribution system.

In April, I introduced the Leonel Rondon Pipeline Safety Act to prevent this type of disaster from ever happening again. We owe it to the Sotos, the Figueras, the Rondon, and the many other families who suffered on September 13 to pass strong pipeline safety legislation this year.

### THANKING THE ST. LOUIS COUNTY VOLUNTEER RESCUE SQUAD

(Mr. STAUBER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. STAUBER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my gratitude for the St. Louis County Volunteer Rescue Squad, located in northern Minnesota, and their quick response to an emergency that took place in my district a little over a month ago.

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



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At the end of July, a group of Girl Scouts traveled to northern Minnesota to experience the beauty and magnificence of the Boundary Waters Canoe Area. Their trip unexpectedly hit a rough patch when severe thunderstorms rolled in and lightning struck close to their campsite. A few of the girls reported feeling something from the ground, potentially a ground current, and needing precautionary medical attention.

The Boundary Waters Canoe Area is very remote, making any rescue attempt more complex and rigorous. Nevertheless, the St. Louis County Volunteer Rescue Squad members immediately sprang into action, navigating five portages by motorboat and then canoe, escorting the girls back to safety.

Mr. Speaker, I am thankful that the Northland has such a capable and well-trained group of individuals dedicated to the safety of our neighbors and visitors. Due to their hard work over the years, many emergencies have been averted and lives have been saved.

#### HONORING THE LIFE AND SERVICE OF MARCA BRISTO

(Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend, we lost my dear friend, Marca Bristo, an inspiring civil rights activist from Chicago.

Marca had a diving accident when she was young that left her paralyzed from the chest down. She never allowed her disability to define her. Instead, her disability became her superpower.

Marca dedicated her life to changing laws and bringing attention to the disparities faced by people with disabilities in the most basic services. She was instrumental in bringing wheelchair ramps to Chicago public buses.

She didn't do this by just writing letters or holding meetings. Marca went as far as chaining herself to a bus to force the Chicago Transit Authority to make mass transit more accessible.

She worked with the broader civil rights communities to pass key legislation like the Americans with Disabilities Act. The organization she founded, Access Living of Metropolitan Chicago, will carry on with her legacy.

I send our heartfelt thoughts to her son and her daughter.

Rest in power, Marca Bristol.

#### HONORING THE SIMPSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Mr. COMER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COMER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize the Simpson County Historical Society and its long-reaching influence on Simpson County and the surrounding communities.

Since its founding in 1959, Simpson County Historical Society has been a

valuable asset to the First District of Kentucky. Through the collection and preservation of historical property and genealogical records, the society has been able to maintain an extensive archive for the benefit of future generations.

I applaud the work the society has done over the last 60 years, and I am pleased to say that, as of Thursday, September 12, they will have expanded to a newer, larger facility enabling them to increase their research capabilities and broaden their effect on local education and cultural development.

I join with the residents of Simpson County and the local community, as well as those who have benefited from the work of the Simpson County Historical Society, in honoring their incredible dedication to the preservation and promotion of history. I wish the historical society the best as they begin a new phase of their own history and express my gratitude for their service to the First District of Kentucky.

#### WE NEED A RESET

(Mr. BLUMENAUER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, we have a crisis in housing, in homelessness, growing wealth inequality, and it is all not an accident. It is the result of deliberate discrimination and policy failure.

The Federal Government, for years, intervened in housing for White veterans, for middle-class homeowners, for developers and property owners, but shut out poor and, especially, people of color—African Americans, most notably. Trump is making it worse.

Tonight, 550,000 people will go to sleep homeless. We have a gap of 7 million affordable rental units, and income inequality grows. We need a reset.

Last week, I released this report, "Locked Out: Reversing Federal Housing Failures and Unlocking Opportunity," which details solutions for our most vexing housing policy challenges. It is available on blumenauer.house.gov website.

We must be bold, transformative, and ambitious in solving these challenges. We can't afford another generation of small-scale thinking and large-scale failure.

#### CELEBRATING THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE JEFFERSON COUNTY COURTHOUSE

(Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Jefferson County Courthouse in Pennsylvania's 15th Congressional District.

Since its opening in 1869, the Jefferson County Courthouse has undergone serious renovations and changes, but its impact on the community remains steadfast. County Commissioner Jack Matson said: "You really can't be a resident of Jefferson County and not have the courthouse affect your daily lives."

Tomorrow, the Jefferson County community will come together to celebrate this milestone on the courthouse grounds in Brookville. The programming will include tours of the courthouse, a performance by the Punxsutawney Area High School marching band, a reenactment of the trial of abolitionist Judge Elijah Heath, and the dedication of a World War II monument. The evening will conclude with the lighting of the bell tower and a special rig designed by students at the Jefferson County-Dubois Area Vocational-Technical School.

Jefferson County Commissioner Jeff Pisarcik said it best when he said: "It's not our building; it's everybody's building that lives in Jefferson County."

#### HONORING THE SERVICE OF TOM FERRARESE

(Mr. MORELLE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. MORELLE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor my longtime friend and Monroe County Board of Elections commissioner, Tom Ferrarese, as he begins his retirement.

For more than two decades, Tom has served our community with distinction at the Board of Elections, working tirelessly to expand access to voters, safeguard our elections, and uphold the democratic process.

Tom has been a passionate political and community activist, working diligently to advance the ideals of the Democratic Party, not just through his work at the board, but through his extensive volunteer and community advocacy on behalf of LGBTQ individuals.

It has been a true privilege to work alongside Tom, and our entire community is grateful for his many years of service. I wish him nothing but a well-deserved rest, relaxation, and best wishes in retirement.

□ 0915

#### RECOGNIZING U.S. SPACE COMMAND

(Mr. LAMBORN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LAMBORN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize our newest combatant command: U.S. Space Command, which was stood up on Monday in Colorado Springs.

President Trump's decision to stand up SPACECOM could not be more timely. In recent years, Russia and China have reorganized their militaries and

pursued capabilities to threaten our space assets. Fortunately, our Nation has no shortage of innovative and brilliant men and women in uniform.

Our newest combatant command will harness the creative dynamo of these space warfighters. Congress will give them the authorities and funding they need to triumph in this newest contest of arms. With the infrastructure, industrial base, and personnel already located at Peterson and Schriever Air Force Bases in Colorado Springs, SPACECOM can seamlessly transition into a fully functioning combatant command immediately. This is a great and exciting milestone for our Nation.

#### ARCTIC CULTURAL AND COASTAL PLAIN PROTECTION ACT

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and to insert extraneous material on H.R. 1146.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BLUMENAUER). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 548 and rule XVIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 1146.

The Chair appoints the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. CASTEN) to preside over the Committee of the Whole.

□ 0916

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 1146) to amend Public Law 115-97 (commonly known as the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act) to repeal the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge oil and gas program, and for other purposes, with Mr. CASTEN of Illinois in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIR. Pursuant to the rule, the bill is considered read the first time.

General debate shall be confined to the bill and amendments specified in section 2 of House Resolution 548, and shall not exceed 1 hour equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Natural Resources.

The gentleman from California (Mr. HUFFMAN) and the gentleman from Alaska (Mr. YOUNG) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Today the House of Representatives will take a historic vote to roll back one provision of the Republican tax law that was rammed through the last Con-

gress on a party line vote. In addition to the tax breaks to millionaires, billionaires, and multinational corporations, there was a provision that mandated oil and gas development in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Today we will take up bipartisan legislation to repeal this drilling mandate, protecting, not just the Arctic Refuge, but the wildlife and the indigenous people who depend on this sacred natural landscape.

I introduced H.R. 1146 earlier this year with my Republican colleague BRIAN FITZPATRICK because we believe, as do 182 other cosponsors of this bill, that there are some places that are simply too important, too special, too sacred to be spoiled by oil and gas development. This is the same basic proposition that we were presented with yesterday when the House passed bipartisan legislation to protect our coasts from offshore drilling. Because the north coast of California is too special to have its fisheries and coastal economy put at risk for the profit of big oil. Because places like the Lowcountry of South Carolina are too special to be spoiled by oil spills. Today we are here to show that the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, the largest wildlife refuge in the United States is also too special.

The refuge is home to more than 200 different wildlife species, and that includes the Porcupine caribou herd that is a vital source of subsistence for the indigenous Gwich'in people. The refuge is a special place where veterans recovering from PTSD find themselves again. We have heard these voices and many others during Natural Resource Committee deliberations on this bill in a hearing earlier this year. And I thank all of those who testified and have spoken out to help us bring this bill to the floor today.

The question before us is: Will the Federal Government protect this special place and the communities that depend on it or will our Federal Government be responsible for its destruction by auctioning it off to big oil? During this debate, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle are going to ask us and ask the American people to trust this administration to do the right thing.

They are going to say that drilling can be done responsibly. They will ask us to trust a Secretary of the Interior who the GAO has determined violated Federal spending laws during the Trump government shutdown. A secretary who violated his ethics pledge by meeting with his former clients at the U.S. Oil and Gas Association as they were pushing for more drilling on American public lands. And a secretary who continues to shill for his former lobbying clients at every turn.

They will ask us to trust this administration where the leading Department of the Interior official pushing for drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge just left public service days ago to start a new job at an oil

and gas company with interests, believe it or not, in Arctic oil and gas development in Alaska. You can't make this stuff up. They will ask us to trust a President, who, armed with a Sharpie, overrules scientists and threatens the jobs of scientists when they speak out.

We need to reject this agenda of big oil and protect America's Arctic from oil and gas drilling. It is time to pass H.R. 1146 and repeal the Trump administration tax laws drilling mandate.

Mr. Chairman, I urge adoption, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. YOUNG asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, I listened to the presentation of the author of this bill. I have been in this House 48 years. We have been arguing about this ANWR for 40 of those years. We have passed it out of the house 14 times. And by the way, it was established by a Democrat President and a Democrat House to allow the 1002 areas to be explored if Congress said so. And that is what we have done.

Now we have a sponsor from California who doesn't know beans about this business talking about big oil and about Trump. This has been a policy of this Nation to allow drilling there if the Congress spoke, and we did so. Under the tax bill, yes, but 13 times before that this House passed the legislation to have the 1002 explored.

Just keep in mind, we are talking about an area of a 19-million-acre refuge and areas left inside, the 1002 area—the map behind me, if anybody can see that little tiny red dot, 2,000 acres, less than the size of Dulles Airport, less than the size of the Capitol grounds. And yet, we are trying to say, no, no development. We are trying to say that is not right, this is the last pristine area. May I say again, it is not the last pristine area.

We have had approximately 30 years of development in Prudhoe Bay, the same type of terrain, same species of animals, same amount of caribou. In fact, we have more now than we had before after we started drilling. So this bill is a sham. And I listened to this with great interest. I always understand what they are trying to do, and it is also a sham to this Congress. This Congress spoke. It is a sham to this Nation. We are taking time away from what should be done in this Nation. We have sat, frankly, 2 years in this House and have done nothing.

Unfortunately, we have heard also this is a cultural bill, and the Gwich'in supposedly is all this gentleman listens to, doesn't listen to the Inupiat. That to me is important. The people that live there want the drilling. The people at least 150 miles away don't want the drilling, but that is who they are listening to.

So, again, my colleagues, this bill is the wrong step forward for this Nation.

It is not about big oil. It is about the State of Alaska. It is about my constituents, not California; they have enough problems of their own. Just read the papers. So I am suggesting, with respect, this bill should not go anywhere. It may pass today, because there are a lot of people on that side who don't believe in oil. I understand that. But it is wrong to undo what Congress has done. And now I will suggest, respectfully, it is dead. You are wasting our time. It will not go anywhere, that is why I am not going to get really excited and go over there and—never mind.

I would suggest, respectfully, I am going to see the death of this bill a long time before this gentleman is ever in this House again.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for his restraint. One of the arguments my friend from Alaska invariably makes when we talk about this issue is the proposed drilling area is just a tiny little piece of a great big refuge in a great big State. And it is typically characterized as just a little 2,000-acre postage stamp.

We need to dispel this very inaccurate and disingenuous characterization. It may be 2,000 acres of hard footprint, but it is not 2,000 acres of development all in one place. It is spread out across the coastal plain, which is the beating heart of America's largest wildlife refuge. And if you want to see what this footprint really looks like, it is not so tiny, folks. When you look at the hundreds of miles of roads and the gravel mining and the gravel pads and the oil rigs and other infrastructure that have to go in, it looks a lot differently than what has been characterized.

So this picture depicts what the true footprint of this little postage stamp development in the Arctic refuge looks like. And I think by any fair measure, it would absolutely despoil the beating heart of America's largest wildlife refuge.

Mr. Chair, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER), my friend and great champion of our public lands and of the Arctic refuge.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentleman yielding and allowing me to speak on this.

I was on the Ways and Means Committee that passed the grotesque Republican tax cut. This provision was never debated on a bill that never had a hearing wedged in. The math doesn't work out. It portends that we are going to have hundreds of millions, a billion or more in savings. It is not going to happen. We are talking about a relatively small amount of money, which I am convinced, despite my good friend from Alaska's assertion, this is going to move forward.

The American public opposed it. It is the wrong thing to do. We need to be moving in the other direction in terms of keeping the oil up there in the

ground for climate, but also, for the environment there. I had a chance to visit that area with Governor Inslee and other colleagues and am really impressed with the nature of that. I saw that caribou herd.

This is a treasure. It is much more fragile than one would think, and we are bound and determined to work to support the environmental values, the desire of the American people, our challenges for climate, and to unwind this egregious provision in the Republican tax bill, which, mark my words, will, in fact, be substantially adjusted, if not in this Congress in a subsequent Congress.

I appreciate my friend's forthright approach here. I appreciate the fact that we are focusing the American public on the outrageous provision, that we are fighting to protect the Arctic Wildlife Refuge and dismissing this egregious provision in the Republican tax scam.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. WESTERMAN).

Mr. WESTERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Alaska for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle proclaim that they are concerned about the environment, but that does not mean that I am not concerned about the environment or that my colleagues on this side of the aisle are not concerned about the environment.

One of our earliest and most recognized conservationists, Gifford Pinchot, stated that when conflicting interests must be resolved that we should strive to do the greatest good for the greatest number for the long run. Pinchot also wrote that conservation is the application of common sense to the common problems for the common good.

Mr. Chairman, this bill today lacks common sense. I have been to the North Slope of Alaska. We can develop clean, safe, low-cost energy in the world and conserve our public lands and the environment. I would argue that because of our technology and innovation and using clean fuels like natural gas that has allowed the United States to decrease our global greenhouse gas emissions more than any other country in the world.

As we look at this bill today, and we look at the history of what has happened, in 1980 a Democratic-held Congress passed the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, and President Carter signed it into law. That act set aside more than 1.5 million acres for responsible oil and gas development in ANWR itself, nearly 20 million acres in total.

Such a large commitment less than a decade after the Arab oil embargo made logical sense at the time.

□ 0930

However, it took until 2018 for Congress to uphold its word, finally ap-

proving a limited exploration project on 2,000 acres in ANWR. This constitutes less than one ten-thousandth of the total acreage and one one-hundredth of the initial exploration.

The CHAIR. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman.

Mr. WESTERMAN. Mr. Chair, in the face of increasing belligerence from Russia and China and an unstable Middle East, Members of this House have a choice. We can choose dirtier foreign energy over responsibly developing a tiny parcel of land already set aside for production.

That inaction, Mr. Chair, is one that demands common sense. It is in the common interest to protect domestic energy. Realistically, 2,000 acres is a small price to pay for our security.

Mr. Chair, I urge my colleagues to vote for the greatest good for the greatest number and to vote for the long run. I urge my colleagues to vote for common sense and vote "no" on H.R. 1146.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New Mexico (Ms. HAALAND), the chair of the National Parks, Forests, and Public Lands Subcommittee of the Natural Resources Committee.

Ms. HAALAND. Mr. Chair, as a 35th-generation American, I rise in support of H.R. 1146.

The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge was set aside to protect its unique wildlife, wilderness, and resources. It sustains the Gwich'in Tribe and has for centuries. It is why they call it "the sacred place where life begins."

Oil and gas drilling puts at risk the Porcupine caribou herd, which has sustained tribes for centuries and centuries. It also threatens wolves, polar bears, and migratory birds that live in the refuge. It will release carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, exacerbating the effects of global warming, which have affected Alaska far more than any State in this country.

Republicans slipped this drilling provision into their tax cut bill last Congress. I might add that no tribes had an opportunity to voice their opinions on any of that. Now, this administration is rushing ahead without adequate environmental review or Tribal consultation.

Americans want a smart approach to sustainable energy development, not a careless rush to sell off one of our most iconic and sacred places for short-sighted, destructive fossil fuel production.

Mr. Chair, I urge my colleagues to stand with the Gwich'in, speak up for the animals that live in the refuge, and support this important legislation.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. KEVIN HERN).

Mr. KEVIN HERN of Oklahoma. Mr. Chair, I thank my colleague from Alaska for yielding.

Mr. Chair, how long must we rely on foreign adversaries for fuel? Utilizing

our domestic resources is essential to a strong economy. Energy dominance on the world stage is our end goal. We will never get there if we continue to cut off access to our own resources.

The truth is, oil and gas production in ANWR benefits our country as a whole, but it is also a key industry for the people of Alaska.

The community of Kaktovik sees the energy sector as a significant source of employment, revenue, and reliable energy. The people, including the local Tribe of Alaska Natives, are incredibly supportive of the continuation of oil and gas production in their community. These people were never consulted by my colleagues at any point in the development of this bill.

Neither was our colleague DON YOUNG, who has represented the needs of the people of Alaska for more than 40 years, who has more experience than everyone who wrote this bill combined. DON YOUNG, the dean of the House, the longest serving Member in Congress, should have been the first person consulted about this legislation was never sought out. Instead, they consulted a Tribe 350 miles away that has nothing to do with oil and gas in ANWR.

To put this in perspective, I live in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Omaha, Nebraska, is about 380 miles away. Can anybody tell me what my opinion would matter in Omaha, Nebraska? I don't spend time there. I don't know what the people there want.

The only assumption we can make as to why a Tribe over 350 miles away was consulted instead of the local community is that my colleagues knew they wouldn't find support in Kaktovik.

This should be an easy decision. There is no reason to vote "yes" on this bill.

Mr. Chair, I urge my colleagues to think about the future of our country and vote "no" today on H.R. 1146.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, I know the gentleman does not mean to disrespect or trivialize the interests of an indigenous tribe that for hundreds and hundreds of years has depended on the Porcupine caribou herd, where its calving grounds and the heart of its migratory road is right in the refuge we are talking about. I know the gentleman doesn't mean to disrespect them by suggesting that their voices don't matter, but we believe that the Gwich'in people's voice does matter. Mr. Chair, you are going to hear us stand up for their interests consistently on this issue.

Mr. Chair, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. LEVIN).

Mr. LEVIN of California. Mr. Chair, I rise today in support of H.R. 1146, the Arctic Cultural and Coastal Plain Protection Act.

After almost 40 years of protection, the Trump administration and the fossil fuel lobbyists that have taken up residence at the Department of the Interior opened up the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas development. The timing of this decision could not be more irresponsible.

The last thing we should be doing is expanding fossil fuel development in the Arctic, where temperatures are rising twice as fast as the rest of the United States. But we know that this administration isn't concerned about protecting our environment or addressing the climate crisis, so it is not surprising that it is willing to sacrifice the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge's diverse habitat in an attempt to help its Big Oil friends turn an even bigger profit.

The American people disagree. The vast majority of Americans oppose drilling in this iconic landscape, and I am proud to stand with them.

We should be reducing our dependence on fossil fuels, embracing renewable energy, and leading the world in combating climate change, not going backward.

Mr. Chair, I strongly support the Arctic Cultural and Coastal Plain Protection Act, and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. LAMBORN).

Mr. LAMBORN. Mr. Chair, environmentally responsible development of ANWR will increase America's energy security and independence, create jobs, and provide affordable, reliable energy for consumers while providing much-needed revenue to both the State of Alaska and the Federal Government.

While congressional authorization is required by law for any leasing in ANWR, I, along with my Republican colleagues on the Natural Resources Committee, believe that Alaska Natives should be able to exercise their right to develop minerals on their lands if they so choose.

As the gentleman from Alaska has pointed out, Native Alaskans who actually live within ANWR fully support responsible development of their local energy resources.

Who do we listen to? The people who actually live there or extreme environmental activists here in Washington?

The oil and gas sector has historically served as a significant source of employment, revenue, and reliable energy for Alaska and Alaska Natives, and supports over 110,000 direct and indirect jobs.

Mr. Chair, I encourage my colleagues to oppose this legislation, which, fortunately, will never become law.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, I yield myself such time as I might consume.

Mr. Chair, listen to "the people who actually live there." I wish we had seen that same concern yesterday when we had a chance to vote on banning offshore drilling in places where Governors, mayors, and overwhelming majorities of actual residents don't want to see their pristine coastlines and their coastal economies despoiled by oil and gas development.

I am afraid that my friends sometimes have a selective sense of hearing, but the one consistent voice that always seems to be heard is that of Big Oil.

Mr. Chair, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. LOWENTHAL), my friend and the chair of the Energy and Mineral Resources Subcommittee.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Mr. Chair, I thank Representative HUFFMAN for his leadership on this very, very important bill.

I would like to discuss briefly one idea, and that is the idea that you hear around that if we are going to protect ANWR, that somehow is going to hurt our ability to become energy independent, that we cannot be energy independent unless we open up ANWR, and that right now, we have to really worry because we are going to become, by not opening ANWR, more beholden to the Russians, to Saudi Arabia.

This is all going to be whether we open up ANWR or not? This is absolute nonsense.

Republicans and this administration no longer care about energy independence. Let's be clear. They do not care about energy independence, and they haven't for years, ever since they voted to lift the oil export ban.

For so many years, we said that we care about energy independence, and we are not going to export our oil and gas. If energy independence was the goal, we wouldn't be letting companies send American-produced oil all over the world, particularly when we are still importing from other countries, yet that is exactly what is happening today.

We export over 3 million barrels a day. Yet at the same time, we are importing 7 million barrels a day.

If oil development, what we are hearing today, is really about making America energy independent, instead of exporting those 3 million barrels, we could keep them here at home.

If Republicans want to put the export ban back in place, then we should have a real discussion. I would love to have that discussion, but they know that their friends in the oil and gas industry would never let them have that discussion because this is all about profits.

The CHAIR. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Mr. Chair, this is all about profits. It is not about energy independence.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. DUNCAN).

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Chair, I stand in opposition to this legislation, as it hamstring U.S. energy production and goes against the will of the people.

Tax reform not only delivered on the tax cuts for the country and propelled our record-breaking economy, but it paved the way to further energy dominance by authorizing the development of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Specifically, there is an area in the NPR that has reserves designated in 1980 by a Democratic Congress to be opened up for gas and oil lease sales.

Before tax reform and the opening of ANWR, 92 percent of the 19.5 million

acres could not even be legally touched. This area was set aside by the 1980 Congress and was limited to 2,000 Federal acres. That is just 0.0001 percent of ANWR.

I heard an analogy the other day. It is like the size of a football on a football field. It is a very, very small spot. I heard another analogy, the size of a postage stamp on a wall.

This was set aside for energy production. It has the resources, and it is time for us to develop those resources because the failure to develop the resources we have in this country to meet the energy needs of our Nation means that we continue to be dependent on other nations.

We think about the Middle East when we think about that, but as I told a story yesterday, the New England States get natural gas from Russia. An LNG tanker that showed up at Boston Harbor provides natural gas to an American State.

That means they are relying on Russia. That is hard for me to fathom when we have an abundance of natural gas in this country, when we have an abundance of oil in this country both offshore and onshore.

These are American resources that should be developed, with a very minimal impact on the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. It is time for America to develop the resources God gave us when He blessed this great Nation, develop these resources in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. It is the law of the land right now. It is time to develop.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, I yield myself such time as I might consume.

Mr. Chair, we have addressed this postage stamp canard that we often hear. This is the postage stamp. It is spread out throughout the coastal plain of the Arctic Refuge. It is the world's biggest postage stamp, if it is a postage stamp, and it would certainly despoil the beating heart of America's largest wildlife refuge.

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Let me just briefly address this other canard, the idea that Congress set aside the 1002 area of the refuge for oil and gas development. If we actually read the law, it was set aside for a study by the Department of the Interior that would determine if it makes sense to open up the beating heart of America's largest wildlife refuge to oil and gas development.

And here is an inconvenient fact: The Department of the Interior actually found that this is a uniquely vital natural resource that could be dramatically harmed. That is why, for over 40 years, Congress has declined to take the step that that law envisioned of opening it up to oil and gas development. That is, until the last Congress, when it was slipped in on a party-line vote against the wishes, frankly, of even many of my friends across the aisle.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. BARRAGÁN).

Ms. BARRAGÁN. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in support of H.R. 1146 and protecting one of our Nation's greatest treasures from becoming the spoils of an industry that recklessly puts profits ahead of risks to the environment.

After nearly four decades of protection, earned by virtue of its diverse wildlife habitats and scenic wonders, the Trump administration wants to sell off the heartbeat of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to the highest bidders. Buried in the small print of a tax giveaway, the President removed critical habitat protections with the stroke of a pen, leaving more than 250 wildlife species, like the polar bear, exposed to potential disaster at the hands of the oil industry.

This action is not only a complete failure of the government's stewardship of these natural habitats, but completely unnecessary, considering the United States is already the world's largest producer of petroleum. Why threaten a fragile ecosystem that is already under terrible threat from climate change?

We owe it to the planet, to future generations of Americans, and to the two-thirds of American people who are opposed to drilling in this iconic landscape to pass this protection act.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, as painful as it is to listen to all of that nonsense on the other side, I am glad to have logical people speak on this side.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SHIMKUS).

Mr. SHIMKUS. Mr. Chairman, it is great to be out here with my friends on both sides of the aisle. As many know, I have announced I am not going to run for reelection. One of the successes is because of what Chairman YOUNG was able to do in the last Congress.

Mr. Chairman, I have been to the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. I don't want to debunk the view. Alaska is bigger than the whole continental United States. The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge is a small area where no one is at. I have been there. I hope you get there. It is a flat coastal plain. This would be like putting a drilling rig that is the size of a football field on the State of South Carolina. We can't debunk those arguments.

My father-in-law worked on the pipeline. He was a communications microwave guy. There are thousands of jobs.

Also, an insidious part of this plan is we know that the pipeline has to have oil in it to flow. We know that we need to continue to have exploration up there so that there is enough oil to keep that pipeline operating.

My friends in the environmental left organizations want to shut down the pipeline. This will make sure it doesn't get shut down.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GRIJALVA), the chair of the House Natural Resources Committee.

Mr. GRIJALVA. Mr. Chairman, I thank the distinguished chairman of

the Water, Oceans, and Wildlife Subcommittee for the time and for his longstanding leadership on this issue. And also, I thank the 182 Members of Congress who support H.R. 1146.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today to strongly support this legislation, H.R. 1146, a bill to protect the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge from the irreversible impacts of oil and gas drilling.

This bill would undo a particular terrible provision that was slipped into the 2017 Republican tax bill with no debate in this Chamber, no amendments in this Chamber, and no votes in this Chamber.

The Republican Party was not content with merely giving trillions of dollars of tax cuts to the wealthiest companies and individuals in this country, tax cuts that have driven us deeper into debt without any of the positives the bill sponsors promised; at the same time they were handing out trillions of dollars to their friends and donors, they threw in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for their oil and gas buddies. They promised that this would be done right, as if destroying a pristine wilderness and threatening the survival of an entire Tribe's way of life can ever be done right.

But then the Trump administration took over. Since then, we have had rushed environmental reviews so they could try to get a lease sale done in 1 year, 2 years quicker than the schedule laid out in the tax bill.

We have seen evidence of the concerns of career scientists being ignored or overridden, and we have seen the Assistant Secretary in charge of making this lease sale happen jump ship and, after a long 3-day cooling off weekend, start at an oil company that has leases right next to the refuge.

The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge should never have been opened, and even those who want to see it develop should recoil at the idea that this is now in the hands of Donald Trump and his buddies.

The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge has nothing to do with national security, has nothing to do with gas prices, and has nothing to do with energy independence. It has to do with greed, plain and simple.

This administration simply can't stand the idea that there are some places that the oil and gas industry shouldn't be allowed to destroy. They can't believe that there are some places that deserve to be protected. They can't imagine there being anything more important than profits.

I don't agree. At some point, we have to say: Stop. You have enough.

We are the number one producer of oil and gas in the world, and production is going up.

The administration is repealing regulations left and right and reduced land or wildlife protections on over 150 million acres of public land. The oil and gas industry has enough. They shouldn't get the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge as well.

Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to vote for this legislation.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. STAUBER).

Mr. STAUBER. Mr. Chairman, I thank Chairman YOUNG for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today in opposition to this Democratic messaging bill, H.R. 1146, a harmful attempt to undermine responsible energy development.

Throughout the history of our country, we have observed a pattern of politicians in Washington and the East and West Coasts legislating based on what they think is best for the folks in the rest of the country. As we have listened to debate today, we can clearly see that this Washingtonian habit is alive and well.

My good friends on the other side of this issue think they know better than the Alaska Natives living within ANWR; they think they know better than those who would benefit from job growth; they think they know better than the unions; and they think they know better than the people closest to the project.

I urge my colleagues to take a step back and look at the unsettling trend that is occurring throughout this country of outsiders with a tenuous grip on the truth imposing their will on the people really impacted by these local projects.

For instance, in my home State of Minnesota, the same thing is happening with the replacement of Line 3. People from the Twin Cities who are unimpacted by this project are launching efforts right here in this Chamber to stop the replacement and stop the job growth and economic development that would accompany it. Instead of putting our laborers, operating engineers, teamsters, and construction workers to work, they support legislation that is undermining these jobs.

These projects are meant to develop our natural resources to ensure our energy independence and not reduce our reliance on foreign and hostile nations to this country. We responsibly develop our energy with the strongest environmental standards and labor standards in the world.

Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to oppose this bill. Let's listen to those affected directly by these projects and do what is right.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN).

Mr. LEVIN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I thank my colleague, the gentleman from California, for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I am proud to rise in strong support of this bill as someone who has had the privilege of spending 2 weeks in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge 15 years ago. It was a life-changing trip.

ANWR's beauty and majesty are almost beyond description. Paddling down the Kongakut River and along the shore of the Beaufort Sea, my companions and I experienced an astound-

ing wealth of plants and animals in a mix unique to the region, a truly iconic corner of our Earth.

Anyone who says it is an empty place or that there is nothing there is committing a sacrilege as far as I am concerned. It is a sacred place to me, and it is no wonder that it is a sacred place to the Gwich'in people.

The Arctic is warming twice as fast as the rest of the United States. Drilling in ANWR would exacerbate that regional effect as well as hastening catastrophic warming, generally.

In short, we must prevent this administration's reckless effort to open up ANWR to oil and gas development to prevent dangerous biological, cultural, and climate impacts. We simply cannot allow this to happen on our watch.

I would point out that, when I paddled down the Kongakut River, I visited these places that are planned for drilling. We were literally hiking along the plain and we came upon these drill pads. It would be outrageous to drill in these places where there are nesting grounds for birds and homes to other animals that just don't exist anywhere else.

I invite any of my colleagues who have the ability to travel on their own power paddling and hiking to join me in going back to ANWR. I don't think they would want to drill there if they did.

Mr. Chairman, I thank Congressman HUFFMAN for his leadership on this, and I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, it is an honor now to yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Wyoming (Ms. CHENEY).

Ms. CHENEY. Mr. Chairman, I thank my colleague from Alaska for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong opposition to this legislation.

I wish I could say that I am surprised by the bills that are being brought before us this week, but I am not. The Democratic war on our economy, on America's families, and on fossil fuels continues.

Mr. Chairman, energy independence is crucial for our economy and our security. I stand in strong solidarity with my friend and colleague from Alaska, someone who is a mentor not just to me, but to all on our side of the aisle.

Partly, I stand in solidarity with him because I, like Mr. YOUNG, represent my entire State. Like Alaska, Wyoming is no stranger to outsiders thinking they know what is best for us.

The legislation we have before us today echoes the majority's goal of making the Green New Deal a reality, fundamentally changing our way of life by making us increasingly dependent on foreign sources of energy.

Yesterday, Mr. Chairman, I joined my colleagues, Whip SCALISE and the House Committee on Natural Resources ranking member, Mr. BISHOP, to introduce the American Energy First Act.

Our bill would end unnecessary overreach from Washington bureaucrats and enable States to manage energy production on lands within our borders. Our all-of-the-above pro-energy legislation would help put our families to work, further our energy independence, and put our national security at the forefront.

Wyoming prides itself on our fossil fuels. We know that our economy and that our security depends on these. We consider our fossil fuels to be national treasures, and, Mr. Chairman, we thank God for our fossil fuels.

Mr. Chairman, I stand here today to oppose this misguided anti-energy independence and anti-national security agenda that the Democratic majority has continued to put before us, and I urge my colleagues to oppose this bill.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, this is not about energy independence. If my friends across the aisle were concerned about energy independence, they certainly wouldn't have lifted the crude oil export ban in the previous Congress. And if they wanted to talk about putting that crude oil export ban back in place, we would have something to work together on and we could actually take a step towards energy independence.

But the truth is we are awash in oil right now. We are exporting millions of barrels of oil a day while we continue to import all that big bad imported oil that sometimes my friends across the aisle are concerned about.

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What this is really about, is money and profits for Big Oil. They make a lot more money when they can export that oil on the world market. That is why, when we talk about developing the coastal plain of the Arctic refuge, no one should be confused by these claims that that oil would go to American consumption. It won't.

It will find top dollar on the global export market because that is where Big Oil can make the most money, and that is what the agenda we have heard about is really all about.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, I am happy to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. GRAVES).

Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the Representative from Alaska for yielding me the time.

I want to say it again. I want to thank the gentleman from Alaska, the sole Member representing all Alaskans in the House of Representatives, who joins with his Senators, the entire Alaska delegation, in opposing this bill.

I heard Mr. STAUBER come down earlier and talk about how we don't need people from other States, from California coming in and imposing their beliefs on Alaska. We have a Constitution. We have a structure here where



Members from the State of Alaska, residents from the State of Alaska, they elect their Representatives. And their Representatives are unanimously supporting the development in the ANWR. They unanimously support it.

Why do we have this structure where other people come in? It is fascinating to me that we can be here and have folks from California sit there and all the time ask for exemptions, ask for exceptions, ask for their own conditions or rules in California, and then they now come in and they know better, and they need to tell Alaskans what needs to be done.

I just heard allegations that this was about oil company profits and other things. This is about what the citizens of Alaska want, what their elected Representatives are doing to represent their own constituents.

Now, to give you an idea of how much of a farce this whole thing is, do you realize that this is the third bill that is using the same funding stream to pay for everything? We have taken \$1 and we paid \$3 with it. How do you do that? This entire thing is a farce.

To take it a step further to let you know what a farce this is, when this bill came up in the Natural Resources Committee, I offered an amendment that said that if this bill results in greater greenhouse gas emissions, then this bill doesn't take place. It is not enacted.

Do you know that my Democrat friends voted against it, meaning they want greater emissions and greenhouse gases, my environmentalist friends? This whole thing is a farce. This is going to result in greater dependence upon foreign oil imports.

The CHAIR. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana. Mr. Chair, I thank Mr. YOUNG for yielding me more time.

This is going to result in greater dependence on imports of energy. We have seen it over and over again. We had career officials sit right in front of us in the Natural Resources Committee and testify that when you stop domestic production, that you become more dependent.

Look upon my friend's own State of California that has become increasingly dependent upon oil from Saudi Arabia, increasing their imports of oil from Saudi Arabia. Look at our friends up in the northeast that had to import natural gas from Vladimir Putin's Russia and burn heavy heating oil to help to warm the homes in the northeast because they similarly cut off their energy supplies.

This makes no sense whatsoever. We are doing it under the auspices of an environment that this very bill threatens.

Mr. Chair, I urge rejection of this legislation, and rejection of this entire farce process.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

We just heard some pretty high sanctimony about the need to listen to the people who actually live there. That might be convincing but for the fact that just yesterday, my friends voted to override the wishes of the people who actually live on the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts, the wishes of their Governors, their mayors, overwhelming majorities of their populations, who don't want to wreck their pristine coastlines and put their coastal economies at risk because of oil development.

So, again, let's not pretend that this is about listening to local voices. This is about listening to one voice, and that is the voice of Big Oil.

Let's take it back to Alaska. Even in the hotbed of oil development, as my friends would tell it, in the village of Kaktovik, a 2016 poll in that community indicated that that community itself is divided on the question of whether oil and gas development should proceed.

So, again, let's not be selective or hypocritical about the voices we claim to care about. Certainly, the voice of Big Oil is well-represented here today in this debate.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. UPTON).

Mr. UPTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the bill. I served as the former chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee and now serve as the top Republican on the Energy Subcommittee.

In those years, I helped develop, promote, and implement a North American energy independent plan, and it includes all of the above—yes, renewable energy as well.

I can remember the gas lines. I can remember paying higher prices for natural gas. I can remember \$4 and \$5 per gallon gas prices. And I can remember sending \$1 billion every day to the Middle East.

I smiled this last weekend when I filled up for \$2.25. I smile now when I know that we can export rather than import oil from places that may not be so friendly to the United States.

So if this bill passed, as well as the other two that passed yesterday and somehow became enacted into law, we have this thing called supply and demand. And guess what? Our consumers will pay much higher gas prices and we will lose out. So I would urge my colleagues to vote "no."

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. LAMALFA).

Mr. LAMALFA. Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank my colleague from Alaska, the Dean of the House here, Mr. YOUNG, for his strong efforts for many years on opening up this important piece of en-

ergy for our country and for our whole grid.

It is fascinating to listen to the debate here. Every piece of land, everything we would ever go to develop, whether it is for a pipeline, for energy, for forestry, the moment somebody approaches that resource, these God-given resources we have all over this country, it now becomes this pristine, untouchable, non-usable land that we shouldn't have anything to do with as humankind.

Salvage logging after a fire, oh, we can't do that. We have to sue over that. So we hear a lot about Big Oil.

How about big enviro? There are a lot of people who make a lot of money, six-digit numbers and more, in this town, a lot of dollars that come in by invoking a picture of an animal who probably was a victim of a fire in a forest because we are not managing that.

We have 47,000 acres of burning fire right in my district, in Plumas County in northern California, because we are not allowed to go out and manage these lands.

Almost everybody here in this Congress that lives more than a few hundred miles away flew here by a jet to get to this place to do this session. So where is the hypocrisy being talked about with the amount of energy everyone uses?

Energy has to come from somewhere, Mr. Chairman, for us to live as we do, to keep the lights on in this place, to keep it cool in here, to keep it warm in the winter—especially in the northeast where it is extremely cold. Oil is needed. Energy is needed.

We need to develop it in this country. We hear: We are exporting oil. We are importing oil. Well, there are different types of oil for different types of purposes, too. You have different types of food you exchange for different recipes. We have different types of oil and different types of energy.

Do we want to be relying on or have our European allies relying on Iranian oil? Is that what we are asking here? Do we want them to be relying upon Russian natural gas in our European theater? No. We need to be part of that matrix, the United States. If we are an exporter or self-sufficient, we need to be active on this.

The CHAIR. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman from California.

Mr. LAMALFA. Mr. Chair, we know how to ecologically do it well. This isn't 1850. We are not going to go out and do horrible environmental damage. We know how to do this right and we will be responsible. When that resource is done being used someday, we are going to put it back how it was.

We need to develop within our own country under our own rules, instead of having the arrogance of relying on other countries who do it without rules, such as China, such as the Middle East, and others that don't have



our best interests or even the environment at heart.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time. I am prepared to close.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chair, I insert in the RECORD a Statement of Administration Policy on this bill which indicates that the President's advisers would recommend that we veto it, even though it is unlikely that it will ever get to his desk.

#### STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY

H.R. 205—PROTECTING AND SECURING FLORIDA'S COASTLINE ACT OF 2019—REP. ROONEY, R-FL, AND 18 COSPONSORS

H.R. 1146—ARCTIC CULTURAL AND COASTAL PLAIN PROTECTION ACT—REP. HUFFMAN, D-CA, AND 182 COSPONSORS

H.R. 1941—COASTAL AND MARINE ECONOMIES PROTECTION ACT—REP. CUNNINGHAM, D-SC, AND 51 COSPONSORS

The Administration opposes H.R. 205, the Protecting and Securing Florida's Coastline Act of 2019, H.R. 1146, the Arctic Cultural and Coastal Plain Protection Act, and H.R. 1941, the Coastal and Marine Economies Protection Act. These bills would undermine the Administration's commitment to a prosperous American economy supported by the responsible use of the Nation's abundant natural resources. Development of our resources enhances our energy security and energy dominance, and produces high-paying American jobs; provides increased revenue to the Treasury, States, tribes, and local communities; and is a critical source of conservation funding.

H.R. 1146 would prohibit the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Land Management from administering an oil and gas leasing program in the Coastal Plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) in Alaska. The bill would repeal a provision of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017 that directed the Secretary of the Interior to establish a program for the development of the Coastal Plain that would allow the use of no more than about 0.01 percent of the total acreage of ANWR for surface development of production and support facilities. The Administration supports environmentally responsible energy development in the Coastal Plain, also known as the 1002 Area, of ANWR. Such development is expected to increase America's energy security and independence, create jobs, and provide affordable, reliable energy for consumers while providing much-needed revenue to both the State of Alaska and the Federal Government.

Similarly, H.R. 205 and H.R. 1941 would both restrict future oil and gas development in the Federal waters of the U.S. Outer Continental Shelf (OCS). H.R. 205 would amend the Gulf of Mexico Energy Security Act (GOMESA) to make permanent the current temporary leasing moratorium on offshore leasing in the Eastern Gulf of Mexico, off the west coast of Florida. H.R. 1941 would amend the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (OCSLA) to permanently remove from consideration acreage for offshore leasing on both the Atlantic and Pacific OCS. Both of these bills would undermine OCSLA, which established a periodic, multi-stage planning process involving State and tribal consultation and a thoughtful comparison and balancing of the benefits and impacts to all the regions of the OCS. These bills would permanently constrain this careful administrative process. Under the bills, large swaths of the OCS would be off limits for resource development without the benefit of periodic assessments of the potential economic, social, and

environmental effects of development, as required by existing law. Excluding these areas from leasing consideration could place more pressure for development on other OCS areas and constrain our ability to meet national energy needs as required by OCSLA.

Additionally, each of these bills would eliminate the potential for future direct revenue that would otherwise be provided to the Treasury, and through revenue sharing, to the States, tribes, and counties where the development activities occur. In Fiscal Year 2018, energy development on Federal and Indian lands and waters generated approximately \$9 billion in direct revenue from royalties, bonus bids, and rents. Of that revenue, \$1.78 billion was disbursed to 35 States. The top States receiving Fiscal Year 2018 revenues were New Mexico (\$634.9 million); Wyoming (\$563.9 million); Colorado (\$112.5 million); Louisiana (\$91 million); and Utah (\$76 million). Additionally, more than \$1 billion was disbursed to Indian tribes and individual Indian mineral owners; \$1.22 billion to the Reclamation Fund; \$970 million to the Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF); \$150 million to the Historic Preservation Fund; and \$3.5 billion to the general fund of the Treasury.

Prohibiting energy development in new Federal areas would hinder future administrations' efforts to make up for revenue lost as production declines from leases in aging energy fields. Such restrictions will tie the hands of future administrations and reduce their ability to enhance energy security through strong domestic energy production and to ensure affordable energy for American families.

If these bills were presented to the President, his advisors would recommend he veto them.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, I also insert in the RECORD a letter in strong opposition to this bill signed by over 20 entities, including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Consumer Energy Alliance.

SEPTEMBER 5, 2019.

U.S. CONGRESS,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: We rely on American made energy to power our daily lives, communities and to grow a more prosperous future. Americans deserve clean, safe, reliable, abundant and affordable energy so that our families, communities and businesses can all share the opportunities American energy creates. Our country cannot afford to block access to new energy supplies and risk losing our energy advantage. That's why we ask you to oppose legislation being considered by the U.S. House of Representatives next week that would slow scientific surveys and prevent access to new sources of American offshore energy in the Outer Continental Shelf.

For more than seven decades, energy development in the Gulf of Mexico has worked collaboratively alongside tourism, fishing and Defense Department training activities. But H.R. 205 would permanently extend the eastern Gulf of Mexico moratorium on oil and natural gas activities. The Congressional Budget Office conservatively estimates that this could cost taxpayers \$400 million in revenue over the next 10 years. Similarly, H.R. 1941 would block offshore energy development in the Pacific and Atlantic planning areas, and H.R. 1146 would lock up energy resources in the Alaskan Coastal Plain.

Congress should support progress. Modern energy technologies have enabled an impressive record of environmental stewardship and innovation. But when the government chooses to arbitrarily and permanently close

off areas to exploration and potential development, we simply increase our dependency on foreign sources. This reality is visible in places like California and Massachusetts. Despite abundant offshore oil and natural gas resources, California imports 57 percent of its oil supply, a staggering 37 percent of which comes from Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, to meet energy needs each winter, Massachusetts imports liquefied natural gas from Russia.

American energy is produced with a smaller carbon footprint under significantly stronger environmental protections than energy produced anywhere else in the world. We ask you to embrace these homegrown opportunities that benefit American families, create high-wage jobs, strengthen the U.S. economy and protect our environment.

Next week, the House of Representatives is expected to consider legislation undercutting domestic energy security and economic opportunity by limiting American energy access. We urge you to reject these bills and instead stand up for energy produced in America, by American workers for the benefit of American families.

Sincerely,  
American Chemistry Council, American Council of Engineering Companies, American Forest & Paper Association, American Gas Association, American Iron and Steel Institute, American Petroleum Institute, American Pipeline Contractors Association, Consumer Energy Alliance, Distribution Pipeline Contractors Association, Energy Equipment and Infrastructure Alliance, Independent Petroleum Association of America.

International Association of Drilling Contractors, International Association of Geophysical Contractors, Laborers' International Union of North America, National Association of Manufacturers, National Ocean Industries Association, National Utility Contractors Association, Offshore Marine Service Association, Portland Cement Association, Power and Communication Contractors Association, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, U.S. Oil and Gas Association.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, I also insert in the RECORD a letter of opposition from the Laborers' International Union of North America.

LiUNA!,  
September 9, 2019.

Hon. NANCY PELOSI,  
Speaker, House of Representatives,  
Washington, DC.  
Hon. KEVIN MCCARTHY,  
Minority Leader, House of Representatives,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR SPEAKER PELOSI AND MINORITY LEADER MCCARTHY: On behalf of the 500,000 members of the Laborers' International Union of North America (LiUNA), I want to express our opposition to H.R. 205, which would permanently extend the moratorium on oil and gas leasing in the Eastern Gulf of Mexico; H.R. 1146, to once again prohibit oil and gas drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR); and, H.R. 1941, which would bar offshore drilling along the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts.

Once again, jobs of LiUNA members who work in the energy sector are being targeted for elimination by environmental radicals for purely political purposes. There is absolutely no chance for these "message bills" to be enacted into law this Congress. So, instead of working to enact real job creating infrastructure legislation, union members see their jobs once again being denigrated and belittled.

Energy independence is central to the future of the American economy and our standard of living. Unfortunately, the enemies of job creation continue to try to wall off and strand our domestic energy resources

from development; killing jobs, prolonging our energy dependence on unfriendly foreign regimes, and saddling middle-class and lower-income families with rising energy costs.

LiUNA members, in Alaska and elsewhere, know first-hand that when done responsibly, with union-trained workers, energy development can coexist with environmental stewardship. LiUNA and the other building trades unions invest significant resources into the training of our members that help develop the knowledge and skills they need to work safely and productively while constructing energy and other infrastructure to the highest standards.

For the hard-working members of LiUNA and other building trades unions, these jobs put food on their families' tables and roofs over their heads. These jobs enable them to put their children through college, to save for retirement, and to spend money in business establishments that employ others.

I urge you to vote against these ill-conceived bills.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

TERRY O'SULLIVAN,  
General President.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, I insert in the RECORD a letter from the president of Voice of the Arctic Inupiat, which is in strong opposition to this legislation.

VOICE OF THE ARCTIC INUPIAT  
Point Hope, AK, March 20, 2019.

Congressman JARED HUFFMAN,  
Washington, DC.

REPRESENTATIVE HUFFMAN, Voice of the Arctic Inupiat (VOICE) strongly opposes H.R. 1146 amending Public Law 115-97 to repeal the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) oil and gas leasing program. Beyond the fact that your bill would repeal an opportunity that the Inupiat people have fought for decades to achieve, we are struck by the lack of knowledge displayed in this legislation, which completely ignores the existence of the Inupiat people, and especially the people of Kaktovik. The Native Village of Kaktovik is a federally recognized tribe and the Kaktovikmiut have occupied the Coastal Plain for at least 11,000 years.

The Coastal Plain is home to more than just caribou and none of the Coastal Plain is wilderness. It is not a place without people; it never has been—it has been continuously occupied by the Inupiat people and our ancestors for millennia, and we find it insulting that you fail to acknowledge this history. Currently, the Coastal Plain is the home of a community of over 200 people. People who live, hunt, fish, raise their families, and hope for a secure economic future for their children. People who walk in the footsteps of their ancestors all over the land that Congress, without our permission, designated as the 1002 Area of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. People that you have completely disregarded because they generally do not agree with you. In light of this, Congressman, your concern about human rights seems a bit pale.

When we, Indigenous peoples, use terms like self-determination, sovereignty, economic equality, cultural survival, and traditional lands, they are more than just buzzwords. These are objectives that have long been denied us and for which we have had to fight for generations. It is not for you to ignore those ideas, nor the people fighting for them, in favor of those who are more aligned with your political agenda. To us, this issue goes beyond politics to the very sustainability of our communities, culture, and economy.

The Arctic Cultural and Coastal Plain Protection Act undermines the wishes of those

of us living closest to ANWR and negates years of work by local stakeholders toward ensuring a sustainable economy for the people and communities of our region. We hope this letter might help you better understand the realities of life in the Arctic. H.R. 1146 preaches a "moral responsibility to protect this wilderness heritage as an enduring resource to bequeath undisturbed to future generations of Americans", but fails to acknowledge the basic needs of future generations of Arctic Inupiat. Our regional government, the North Slope Borough (NSB), is responsible for more territory than any other local government in the nation. The NSB receives over 96% of its revenue from property taxes levied on industry infrastructure on the North Slope, which enables them to provide services that were never accessible before in the Arctic. The Borough School District provides vocational and academic education for people of all ages; NSB health clinics provide modern medical services to residents in even the smallest and most remote of villages. The Municipal Services Department operates water, sewage, and electric utilities, plows roads and runways, and maintains landfills. Other NSB departments provide housing, police and fire protection, search and rescue, and other critical services to our communities. Altogether, the NSB is the single largest local employer on the North Slope, employing over 63% of the workforce. These benefits of modern American civilization, common in the rest of the nation, have been built on the foundation of the North Slope oil industry.

It is hypocritical of you, Congressman, to stifle the efforts of Kaktovik to secure jobs, a local economy, and income for their community while your state makes billions of dollars off the development of its own oil and gas resources. If you are concerned about the impacts of resource development, we suggest that you focus on your own state of California, which despite its green image, produces the dirtiest crude in America and has some of the largest refineries on the West Coast, which in addition to refining much cleaner Alaska North Slope Crude, also imports and refines oil from foreign countries like Saudi Arabia and Angola. The message this bill sends is that you prioritize the leisure whims of your California constituents above the needs of the Native people of Kaktovik.

H.R. 1146 cites climate change as one of the main drivers of the bill. In reality, climate change—and the world's response to it—add additional layers to existing burdens that we, the Arctic's Indigenous people, are facing. We agree that climate change has deeply affected our traditional Inupiat ways of life. We do not agree that the solution to that problem is to create more wilderness that hinders our ability to provide for our people and respond to the impacts that we are facing. It is unfair for you to ask that we, as Indigenous peoples, carry the burden of climate change and the burden of mitigation so that you can fly back and forth to your home district with an easy conscience.

Even with the services our local government provides, many of the people in the Arctic live in conditions that fall below acceptable standards of living, despite being citizens of one of the richest countries in the world. We are concerned and puzzled, then, by your focus on protecting eco-tourism and this idea of pristine, unspoiled wilderness—at the expense of an economy to sustain our children—that rich elites across America "cherish." While we are certainly used to this harmful narrative by now, it does not seem in line with your democratic values. For our part, we do not see any contradiction between developing our resources and at the same time protecting our environment

and wildlife. These are not diverging priorities but an integral piece to balance in the Arctic.

The bill as introduced further ignores the historical and cultural trauma that is a part of this land and the Kaktovikmiut who inhabit it. The people of Kaktovik, in recent memory, have suffered through three forced relocations at the hands of the American military. Then, in 1980, the federal government took 23 million acres of land—without consent, consultation, nor a treaty between parties—and gave the people of Kaktovik back 92,000 acres of land immediately surrounding their village. A mere fraction of their traditional and ancestral lands. The "deal" was that this land was locked up, the Kaktovikmiut were unable to access Native allotments, cultural sites, and subsistence areas in the newly expanded Refuge in the summer months. No, they now live with extreme restrictions on how they can use their own lands as a result of the changes made by the federal government in how the land is designated, lands that the Inupiat people have been stewards over for thousands of years. Do you consider these human rights violations, Representative Huffman? We hope, at the very least, that this does not diminish "the integrity of the National Wildlife Refuge System," which in itself operates on the mistaken Western idea that Indigenous peoples are incompetent at managing their own lands.

The views of the Inupiat who call ANWR home are frequently ignored, and your bill reinforces the perception that the wishes of people who live in and around the Coastal Plain are less important than those who live hundreds and thousands of miles away. Mr. Huffman, you do not have to tell the Inupiat people, who have lived on this land for generations, the importance of our homelands—we see it, we know it, we depend on it, we are a part of it. We have something very important in common, that often gets lost in this debate—this false dichotomy of "for" vs. "against", republican vs. democrat, economy vs. environment—we all share a commitment to protecting this land and we would welcome the opportunity to work collaboratively with you and the Gwich'in people, to whom we have extended many invitations for discussion, to protect this balance between responsible development and environmental protections that is integral to our way of life and the long-term sustainability of our culture.

The Inupiat people have existed, and even flourished, in one of the most severe climates in the world for generations. We understand the balance needed to sustain our way of life and our communities; this priority is currently dependent on successful and safe oil and gas developments. We are confident that the health of the Porcupine Caribou Herd can be maintained given our success in maintaining the health of three other caribou herds that migrate within our region. We respectfully request that you remove your bill from consideration and come visit our communities to better understand the needs of our people and our communities. We would welcome the opportunity.

Taikuu,

SAYERS TUZROYLUK,  
President, Voice of the  
Arctic Inupiat.  
REX A. ROCK SR.,  
Chairman.  
JOHN HOPSON JR.,  
Vice Chairman.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Utah (Mr. BISHOP), the former chairman of the committee and ranking member at this time.

Mr. BISHOP of Utah. Mr. Chair, I was hoping the gentleman would insert me as well.

Mr. Chair, I appreciate the opportunity of being here. We are here today on day two of the Democrat week of energy proposals. And once again, we will quote Earl Weaver when he went out to the umpire and said:

Is this as good as it gets, or are you going to get better?

I will say the same thing on this bill as we did yesterday. Is this as good as it gets, or are you actually going to get better?

This is the same concept we had with the first bill that we did. We voted second, but we actually discussed it as the first bill yesterday, in which we did things that are basically illogical, not for science reasons. Science was essentially taken out and shoved into a trash can, but, actually, we did it for political reasons.

It is signified by the amendments that the Rules Committee, unfortunately, made in order in which we made amendments in order to have all sorts of studies on the issue.

In the real world, you would try and do a study, come up with results, and then come up with the policy. That is not what we did yesterday. We decided on a policy, and then we are going to institute a lot of non-comprehensive, skewed studies to try and see if we can come up with arguments in favor of the policy we already did. It is backwards.

It is okay to do it. You have the votes to do it. That is fine. Just don't have the audacity to say that this administration doesn't trust science or that we don't trust science over here, when you also put an amendment in there to deny any kind of seismic research, which would give you the data we haven't had since the 1980s, but only some of that seismic data. It is a skewed approach to it.

But the most significant issue is the one that Mr. HUFFMAN has raised several times today in which he was right—slightly off center with it—but he is actually right.

Yesterday, many of the arguments that were made were that the States and State populations in these areas want a kind of moratorium on drilling in their areas. I get that. Listening to those people is a good thing to do. But where the gentleman got it wrong, though, is that they weren't talking to the States who were wanting that. We are not talking about the areas within their States or even the water that abuts their States as legally theirs. They wanted the ability to control what happens on Federal waters, which is not part of the State's concept.

Once again, if you would allow me the ability to have control of what happens on Federal lands in my State, in the State, we might have an apples-and-apples situation, but that ain't it.

There is also the concept that there was not consultation with Native Americans who live in Alaska and that, once again, is actually inaccurate.

There have been consultations going on since the gentleman was playing volleyball in college. And they will continue to go on from that side.

In fact, that is where the difference comes. The people in Alaska who live there don't want this bill. And, once again, they don't want it because it is impacting their State, their property, their land, which is not what was happening yesterday, where States were trying to impact what was happening on Federal water.

It was sad that when we had the hearing on this bill, the Democrats did not invite those residents of this area to testify. We did. And when they came in March to testify, the Tribal leaders from the only village in this coastal plain, the one that is closest to this area, simply said they were against this bill.

Their exact words were: "The Arctic Inupiat will not become conservation refugees. We do not approve of efforts to turn our homeland into one giant national park, which literally guarantees us a fate with no economy, no jobs, reduced subsistence, and no hope for the future of our people."

□ 1015

That is what they want in their area. When some of the other speakers said there is no consultation, that is not true.

Mr. YOUNG is saying exactly what the constituents want in their area. Even though this land is controlled by Fish and Wildlife, the mineral resources are not Federal. These people who are testifying that they don't want this bill own a majority or a significant portion of those mineral rights. It is their mineral rights, and they should have the ability to say what they want, too. They have spoken clearly year after year.

That is where the difference of yesterday and today is significant, and the gentleman is glossing over that. That is significant.

These people need to have the ability to control their own destiny. They are not trying to control something that is not within the State. It is their resources. It is their area.

We have had this debate before. We had it when I first came here. It is going to continue on ad nauseam.

The problem is this is not a good energy position for the future. What we produced yesterday as Republicans is a program that increases jobs, increases the economy, and makes this country stronger. The stuff the Democrats are putting on in their energy week is disjointed, discombobulated, and doesn't actually help anyone at all.

Once again, Mr. Chair, I agree with Mr. YOUNG. Trust his people on what they want to do with their resources—not Federal—their resources.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, it is important to remember that we are talking about a Federal wildlife refuge, America's Arctic refuge.

Mr. Chair, you would lose sight of that, perhaps, listening to the pretzel

logic we just heard from my friend who at the end of the day cannot square the selective concern for local voices when it comes to drilling in a Federal refuge and yet the flouting of local voices when it comes to drilling, in the Federal interest, the Outer Continental Shelf on the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts. The disconnect is dizzying.

Mr. Chair, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Colorado (Ms. DEGETTE), who is one of the Members of Congress who has actually spent some time in the Arctic refuge.

Ms. DEGETTE. Mr. Chair, in 2017, with little debate, the Republican-led Chamber quietly approved a provision to open up the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling. ANWR is our Nation's largest wildlife refuge, and it is the ancestral home to the Gwich'in people and current home to more than 250 species of wildlife, including threatened species like polar bears that raise their cubs there.

As the chairman said, I have traveled to this special place. I have met with the Gwich'in people. I saw the pristine beauty of the coastal plain, and I saw thousands of Porcupine caribou in their annual migration process. I know how important this refuge is to our entire ecosystem.

Instead of protecting this important environment, this administration is going to open it up to drilling and allow it to be destroyed for an indeterminate amount of oil. Why? The American people are overwhelmingly opposed to this plan. They want this land preserved, not destroyed.

This bill, H.R. 1146, will block the administration's disastrous plan and protect the refuge.

Mr. Chair, I strongly urge all of my colleagues to support it.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GOSAR).

Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Chair, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I rise in opposition to this unwarranted legislation. Like the two bills we debated yesterday, this bill is another attempt to hinder American energy dominance and our national security.

As someone who has visited the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, I know the support that responsible energy production in section 1002 has among the local population.

Responsible energy production will provide much-needed employment opportunities to the local population as well as critical tax revenue for local government services. Not only does energy development in section 1002 have the support of inhabitants in the region, but it also has the support of our colleague, Congressman DON YOUNG, and Alaska's two Senators. In addition, the majority of Alaskans support it; every Alaskan Governor since 1980 has supported it; 100 percent of Alaska's congressional delegation since 1980 has supported it; and the Natives who live right there, the village of Kaktovik,

the Inupiat, the proper Tribe that is closest to them and the only Tribe within section 1002, support it.

This bill follows a bad pattern of how Democratic members on the Natural Resources Committee operate. They do not care that local representatives and residents oppose this legislation. They believe that Washington, D.C., and extremist national environmental groups know best and everyone else should just go along with their extremism. And it double-crosses the tax bill passed just last year.

Section 1002 has the potential to benefit greatly our country's energy security. Estimates from the U.S. Geological Survey believe section 1002 contains more than 12 billion barrels of oil, not to make mention of natural gas.

Once again, Mr. Chair, we have an example of the other side putting left-wing extremism and their environmental donors ahead of local voices, our national security, and the needs of the American people. I am a firm believer in an all-of-the-above approach to responsible energy production and multiple use. Our public lands, like section 1002, have nearly unlimited potential to power our country.

Further, we can do all this while protecting the environment. Section 1002 is a small sliver in this area, 2,000 acres, in fact.

Mr. Chair, I urge my colleagues to oppose this legislation.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, does the gentleman from California have the right to close?

The CHAIR. The gentleman from California has the right to close.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Chair, this is a sham bill. I have heard people say there was no consultation. There has been consultation. The gentleman from California has driven a wedge between two groups of Alaska Natives, one that lives there, resides there, and is directly affected, and the other one is 400 miles away. We had testimony from that group.

By the way, I am a Gwich'in. I may not be one, but my daughters are. My wife was. She would turn over in her grave right now if she heard this nonsense about the Gwich'in.

You invited a group in Alaska. This used to be the House of the people. Instead of people putting their nose in my business, I am going to put it in your business. I will figure out a way to do that because this is wrong. This has been debated for 40 years, an area set aside by this Congress for exploration.

By the way, we gave the Alaska Natives who live there at Kaktovik 70,000 acres of land for their social and economic well-being, and you are taking it away from them. You talk about a cultural aspect, you are hurting those people, and you don't care. I remember who you represent, and I understand that. You are a lawyer.

To me, to have this type of bill on the floor is not only a waste of time for this House body but a bad thing for this Nation, but worse than that is going back on their word.

I represent the whole State of Alaska. The people who live there, live on the Arctic slope, want this legislation, not the Gwich'in. Yes, they are being, very frankly, shilled and used for a sham, and that is a shame.

You can be what you want to be. You can stand there holier-than-thou. You are doing something wrong to this Nation, the Alaska people, and the Alaska Native. You listen to one side.

Mr. Chair, I urge a "no" vote on this legislation, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Chair, I have a lot of respect and affection for the dean of the House. I am sorry that we are on opposite sides of this issue. I am also sorry that it seems when it comes to oil and gas development in the Arctic refuge, he is listening to only some of the voices in the Alaska community.

Mr. Chair, this week, dozens of indigent Gwich'in leaders flew all the way to Washington, D.C., as they have done many, many times over the years, long before I started working on this bill. They do that because the Arctic refuge is not simply a policy issue for them. It is not about energy supplies, geopolitics, profits, or scoring political points. It is about their entire way of life.

Those of us on the floor today don't worry that our entire history and our entire culture hinge on the outcome of this vote. But for the people in the gallery today, the Gwich'in who are in the gallery behind me right now, that is exactly what is at stake.

For those on the other side who would have us destroy this wild and sacred area for some petroleum profits, I would ask them this: Why now? Why do we need to do this now? Because once it is done, it is done. The coastal plain will never be the same again after the drill rigs roll in.

If we wait, if we conserve, if we protect, and if we treat this special area with the care it deserves, then it will still be there, wild and undisturbed for future generations to enjoy. Or maybe my grandchildren will still be debating Congressman YOUNG's great-great-grandchildren over this same issue on this very floor.

Do you know what? That is fine. I don't mind the debate. That is what this country is all about. But recklessly throwing open one of the most special places in this country because a few oil companies want even higher profits and President Trump wants a win? That is not fine. That is not worth it.

Mr. Chair, I urge my colleagues to protect the Arctic, stand with the Gwich'in people, and vote "yes" on the Arctic Cultural and Coastal Plain Protection Act.

Mr. Chair, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIR. The Chair would remind Members to avoid referencing occupants of the gallery.

All time for general debate has expired.

Pursuant to the rule, the bill shall be considered for amendment under the 5-minute rule.

In lieu of the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Natural Resources, printed in the bill, the amendment in the nature of a substitute consisting of the text of Rules Committee Print 116-30, modified by the amendment printed in part C of House Report 116-200, shall be considered as adopted. The bill, as amended, shall be considered as an original bill for purpose of further amendment under the 5-minute rule and shall be considered as read.

The text of the bill, as amended, is as follows:

H.R. 1146

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

*This Act may be cited as the "Arctic Cultural and Coastal Plain Protection Act".*

#### SEC. 2. REPEAL OF ARCTIC NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE OIL AND GAS PROGRAM.

*Section 20001 of Public Law 115-97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note) is hereby repealed.*

#### SEC. 3. INSPECTION FEE COLLECTION.

*Section 22 of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (43 U.S.C. 1348) is amended by adding at the end the following:*

*"(g) INSPECTION FEES.—*

*"(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Secretary of the Interior shall collect from the operators of facilities subject to inspection under subsection (c) non-refundable fees for such inspections—*

*"(A) at an aggregate level equal to the amount necessary to offset the annual expenses of inspections of outer Continental Shelf facilities (including mobile offshore drilling units) by the Secretary of the Interior; and*

*"(B) using a schedule that reflects the differences in complexity among the classes of facilities to be inspected.*

*"(2) OCEAN ENERGY SAFETY FUND.—There is established in the Treasury a fund, to be known as the 'Ocean Energy Safety Fund' (referred to in this subsection as the 'Fund'), into which shall be deposited all amounts collected as fees under paragraph (1) and which shall be available as provided under paragraph (3).*

*"(3) AVAILABILITY OF FEES.—Notwithstanding section 3302 of title 31, United States Code, all amounts deposited in the Fund—*

*"(A) shall be credited as offsetting collections;*

*"(B) shall be available for expenditure for purposes of carrying out inspections of outer Continental Shelf facilities (including mobile offshore drilling units) and the administration of the inspection program under this section;*

*"(C) shall be available only to the extent provided for in advance in an appropriations Act; and*

*"(D) shall remain available until expended.*

*"(4) ADJUSTMENT FOR INFLATION.—For each fiscal year beginning after fiscal year 2020, the Secretary shall adjust each dollar amount specified in this subsection for inflation based on the change in the Consumer Price Index from fiscal year 2020.*

*"(5) ANNUAL FEES.—Annual fees shall be collected under this subsection for facilities that are above the waterline, excluding drilling rigs, and are in place at the start of the fiscal year. Fees for fiscal year 2020 shall be—*

“(A) \$25,300 for facilities with no wells, but with processing equipment or gathering lines;

“(B) \$40,700 for facilities with 1 to 10 wells, with any combination of active or inactive wells; and

“(C) \$75,900 for facilities with more than 10 wells, with any combination of active or inactive wells.

“(6) FEES FOR DRILLING RIGS.—Fees shall be collected under this subsection for drilling rigs on a per inspection basis. Fees for fiscal year 2020 shall be—

“(A) \$73,700 per inspection for rigs operating in water depths of 500 feet or more; and

“(B) \$40,700 per inspection for rigs operating in water depths of less than 500 feet.

“(7) FEES FOR NON-RIG UNITS.—Fees shall be collected under this subsection for well operations conducted via non-rig units as outlined in subparts D, E, F, and Q of part 250 of title 30, Code of Federal Regulations, on a per inspection basis. Fees for fiscal year 2020 shall be—

“(A) \$29,172 per inspection for non-rig units operating in water depths of 2,500 feet or more;

“(B) \$25,366 per inspection for non-rig units operating in water depths between 500 and 2,499 feet; and

“(C) \$9,834 per inspection for non-rig units operating in water depths of less than 500 feet.

“(8) BILLING.—The Secretary shall bill designated operators under paragraph (5) annually, with payment required within 30 days of billing. The Secretary shall bill designated operators under paragraph (6) within 30 days of the end of the month in which the inspection occurred, with payment required within 30 days after billing.”

#### SEC. 4. DETERMINATION OF BUDGETARY EFFECTS.

The budgetary effects of this Act, for the purpose of complying with the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010, shall be determined by reference to the latest statement titled “Budgetary Effects of PAYGO Legislation” for this Act, submitted for printing in the Congressional Record by the Chairman of the House Budget Committee, provided that such statement has been submitted prior to the vote on passage.

The CHAIR. No further amendment to the bill, as amended, shall be in order except those printed in part D of House Report 116-200.

Each further amendment printed in part D of the report may be offered only in the order printed in the report, by a Member designated in the report, shall be considered as read, shall be debatable for the time specified in the report equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, shall not be subject to amendment, and shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 1 OFFERED BY MR. YOUNG

The CHAIR. It is now in order to consider amendment No. 1 printed in part D of House Report 116-200.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, I have an amendment at the desk.

The CHAIR. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

On page 1, line 6, strike “Section” and insert the following:

(a) Section

On page 1, after line 7, insert the following:

(b) TRIBAL CONSULTATION REQUIREMENT.—The repeal made by subsection (a) shall not take effect until—

(1) the Secretary of the Interior completes a thorough consultation with the Inupiat people regarding the effect of this Act on the

quality of life, human rights, and future of the Inupiat people; and

(2) by formal action Kaktovic Village approves of such repeal.

The CHAIR. Pursuant to House Resolution 548, the gentleman from Alaska (Mr. YOUNG) and a Member opposed each will control 5 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, we discussed before that this bill was written by the gentleman from California. It only impacts Alaska and impacts it only, and I am the only Congressman. I strongly oppose this legislation.

My amendment, very frankly, was to try to solve one of the problems, the lack of consultation with the people in Kaktovik, the Inuits, and only listen to one side, the Gwich'in.

This amendment says, yes, they will have to consult with the Inuits, and they have to consult with the people of Kaktovik, and it would require them to understand that if they didn't agree with it, very frankly, this would not go forth.

It is a good amendment. If the gentleman says this is culturally real, you have to listen to both sides. You have divided us. This amendment solves that problem.

Adopt this amendment and make this bill a little bit better but not totally good.

Mr. Chair, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, I claim time in opposition.

The CHAIR. The gentleman from California is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, unfortunately, this amendment is a stall tactic to delay the bill's protections for the Arctic refuge from taking effect until the Secretary of the Interior—a walking conflict of interest who became the subject of investigations into ethical violations just 4 days into his job—has conducted a “consultation” process and received formal action from one village, the village of Kaktovik. I wish that same concern for Native American community consultation had existed before the Republican tax bill was amended to insert this drilling mandate without any consultation with Native American Tribes, certainly not the Gwich'in people who may technically live a little further away from the drilling area, but we are talking about people who for millennia have depended on the Porcupine caribou herd that absolutely depends on this pristine beating heart of America's Arctic refuge.

□ 1030

So again, we are cherry-picking, I am afraid, which voices matter, which voices get to be listened to, and certainly putting this Secretary of the Interior in charge of that process would be a cruel joke.

Mr. Chair, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. YOUNG. Again, might I may say, Mr. Chairman, this bill has been de-

bated. It passed out of this House 14 times—14 times—with consultation.

And with all due respect to my friend from Gwich'in, I would like to take a count of the caribou they have harvested in this last year and the year before. It is a very small number. The people who live there, right on the shores and with them, are saying this is okay.

We developed Prudhoe Bay. We have more caribou now than we have ever had.

This is, again, a sham. It is such a dishonest presentation of something that is not fact at all. But, again, in society, people can do that. I understand that.

But we ought to understand one thing: This bill should never have come to the floor.

Number two, it is not the first time. There was consultation. We did pass it—again, 14 times—out of this House, even when you were in control, and now it is the wrong thing to do. The Senate didn't pass the bill once, and Bill Clinton beat it to death.

So I am just saying, again—not much use talking about it much more—that we can go ahead and vote on this today, but this amendment solves one of the problems: true consultation with two groups of individual Alaska Natives, both having some say in it, one totally not listened to because you have never asked them, and that is an unfortunate thing.

Mr. Chair, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, let's do be careful about the facts.

More caribou than we have ever had before? That is certainly the case for the Porcupine caribou herd, precisely because it has had the benefit of the wilderness management of the coastal plain of the Arctic Refuge so critical to its migratory pattern and its calving.

Throughout the rest of the Arctic, caribou are in real trouble. Herds are declining, and a very recent study has confirmed that. So let's take note of the fact that we have one place where caribou are thriving. Let's not wreck that place with oil and gas development.

Mr. Chair, I yield to the gentleman from New Mexico (Ms. HAALAND), chair of the Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests, and Public Lands.

Ms. HAALAND. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this amendment. As a 35th-generation American, it is well known that I am deeply committed to ensuring proper consultation with Indian Tribes about Federal policies and laws that impact them.

But this amendment isn't really about Tribal consultation. If it were, Republicans would have insisted on this provision before the Arctic Refuge was added to the tax bill and opened up for drilling. And they would also be insisting on consultation with all Tribes, including the Gwich'in people, who get sustenance from the Porcupine caribou

herd that will be directly impacted by drilling on the coastal plain.

Just because certain Alaska Natives don't "live there" doesn't mean they don't have ancestral ties to the land. And, in fact, this land is imperative to their present and future existence. The real purpose of this amendment is to delay protecting the refuge until this administration is able to give it away to oil and gas companies, when it will be too late.

If we stop the leasing process first, I would fully support a thorough consultation with the Inupiat and Gwich'in people and would look for ways to improve the quality of life of the people of Kaktovik without drilling the Arctic Refuge. We can't drill first and ask questions later, because there is no going back.

Mr. Chair, I urge a "no" vote on this amendment.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chair, I am urging a "yes" vote on this amendment and "no" on the legislation itself.

And, again, I think the gentleman from California (Mr. HUFFMAN) has done a great disservice to the people of Alaska, especially the natives. He has divided us, and that is not right.

The floor of this House has divided a culture, different cultures, Alaska Natives, and it is for that I am deeply regretful. It shows what you can do when you interfere with other people's districts.

This House used to be a House of the people. Now it is a House of what? What have they done in 2 years? Nothing.

Now they are trying to undo what was done legitimately in 40 years. And so I understand it. You have the votes. I understand that. It is not going to become law. I hope you understand that.

And we are going to have a sale—I hope you understand that—and then my people that I represent will, in fact, get their just due. I know that.

Mr. Chair, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, as I said, this amendment is a delay tactic to ensure that the current administration will lock in a lease sale before protections can go into place or before they are finally run out of office.

It does not require consultation with the Gwich'in people, many of whom are here today. These are the folks who consider the coastal plains sacred. They have relied on the Porcupine caribou since time immemorial for their cultural, spiritual, and physical sustenance, as well as food security.

There was no demand for Tribal consultation prior to this little provision being slipped in to the tax giveaway in the previous Congress. What we are hearing today is a very selective interest in consultation that would place the entire process in the hands of a Department of the Interior whose only interest is serving the interests of big oil.

Mr. Chair, I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on this amendment and "yes" on the underlying bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIR. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alaska (Mr. YOUNG).

The question was taken; and the Chair announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

The CHAIR. Pursuant to clause 6 of rule XVIII, further proceedings on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alaska will be postponed.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 2 OFFERED BY MR. GOSAR

The CHAIR. It is now in order to consider amendment No. 2 printed in part D of House Report 116-200.

Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk.

The CHAIR. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

At the end of the bill, insert the following:  
**SEC. 5. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

Section 2 of this Act shall not be effective until the Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with the Secretary of Labor, finds that the repeal under section 2 will not adversely affect jobs available to Native Americans, other minorities and women.

The CHAIR. Pursuant to House Resolution 548, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GOSAR) and a Member opposed each will control 5 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Chairman, I rise today to offer an amendment that allows the section 2 moratorium in this bill to go into effect when the Department of the Interior, in consultation with the Department of Labor, certifies that the anti-energy moratorium in the bill will not kill a substantial number of Tribal, minority, and women jobs.

We heard arguments from Democratic Members on the other side of the aisle against a similar amendment that this amendment doesn't matter and is meaningless. How callous that response. Tell the opponents of this amendment to tell that to the single mother working to put food on the table for her two children that her job doesn't matter.

How about the minority family who just moved into a new neighborhood so their kids could go to better schools? Tell those hardworking minority parents these jobs don't matter.

Tell those local Tribe members, the Inupiat, the only Tribe within the 1002 section who want these jobs, whose prosperity comes to their community with these jobs, that these economic benefits don't matter.

Under the current administration, unemployment has reached record lows. In August, the national unemployment rate sat at 3.7 percent, with the unemployment rate for African American workers sitting at 5.5 percent, breaking the previous record of 5.9 percent, which was set in May of 2018.

According to a recent report by The Washington Post, a bastion of conserv-

ative dictation, nearly 90 percent of the jobs added under this administration have gone to minority communities. This can be attributed to, for the first time, a majority of new hires are people between the ages of 25 and 54 and are from minority communities.

According to statistics published by the American Petroleum Institute, minorities will comprise one-third of the total workforce in the oil and gas sector by 2030. Women already comprise more than 15 percent of the oil and gas workforce.

These are good-paying jobs, \$90,000 and above, that hardworking families depend on. This legislation puts these employment opportunities and associated economic benefits at risk.

America's energy renaissance has boosted the economies of previously left-behind towns in areas and sections of this country and has turned them into vibrant communities.

Mr. Chairman, this is a commonsense amendment, protects minority Tribal members and women jobs, and puts the interests of the American workforce first.

Mr. Chair, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, I claim the time in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIR. The gentleman from California is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, this amendment, I am sorry to say, is another delay tactic in order to buy this administration more time to jam through a lease sale.

We know that former Assistant Secretary Joe Balash said earlier this year that the leased sale will happen in 2019 and that the administration is running over all opposition in order to make that happen, ignoring concerns of wildlife biologists about impacts from seismic testing and oil development itself.

Now, I said "former Assistant Secretary" when I referred to Mr. Balash, because he left the Department of the Interior. Just days ago, he was a top official—remember—pushing for drilling in the Arctic Refuge, and he left to take a job with an oil company that stands to profit from the Trump administration's oil giveaway bonanza.

You can't make this stuff up, folks. Anyone who thought Teapot Dome was the high watermark of corruption at the Department of the Interior I hope is paying attention to the incredible craven levels of corruption that we are seeing today. These are the folks who this amendment would entrust with the authority to call the shots on whether drilling should proceed.

Unfortunately, this is not a serious proposal. I urge my colleagues to oppose it, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Chair, how offensive. How offensive that argument, particularly when you look at the Department of Labor. Hardly a bastion in regards to the corruptness, at least in this administration.



Amazing. Amazing that jobs that we see the empowerment of people, taking them away from the victims, victimhood, that Democrats so desperately need, particularly, the Native Americans who are empowered right here with the money and the jobs to lift them out from the poverty that they actually see.

Amazing. Absolutely amazing.

So it seems to me that when you start looking at this application in consultation with the Department of Labor, makes a big, big difference.

Now, when you look at this, American oil and gas production is nearly responsible for 10 million jobs. That is a huge amount of sector. And we discussed earlier that 90 percent of these jobs in this sector are going to women and minorities. That is a fabulous number. That is the American Dream.

This is a commonsense application that Congress has got to get used to to understand the ramifications, the true ramifications of our intent.

Mr. Chair, I ask everybody to vote for this amendment, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chair, the impacts on jobs for Native Americans, for minorities, for women, this should not be used as a pretext for more oil and gas drilling, especially in a pristine place like the Arctic Refuge. These are frontline communities that often bear the brunt of pollution and environmental justice impact. And it is deeply cynical to try to suggest that their interest would be a reason to push for more drilling in a place like the Arctic Refuge.

Mr. Chairman, if my colleagues want to work on jobs and the economic interest of these communities, we have got a lot to work together on, but we should do that in a way that looks to the future.

Squeezing a little more fossil fuel out of a special place like the Arctic Refuge is not the future. Developing clean renewable energy resources absolutely is the future. I hope some day we can get to the point of working together to create great, well-paying jobs in those future interests instead of trying to look backward to the era of fossil fuels, which I hope we can bring to an end as quickly as possible.

Mr. Chair, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIR. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GOSAR).

The question was taken; and the Chair announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

The CHAIR. Pursuant to clause 6 of rule XVIII, further proceedings on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Arizona will be postponed.

AMENDMENT NO. 3 OFFERED BY MR. GOSAR

The CHAIR. It is now in order to consider amendment No. 3 printed in part D of House Report 116-200.

Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Chair, I have an amendment at the desk.

The CHAIR. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

At the end of the bill, insert the following:  
**SEC. 5. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

Section 2 of this Act shall not be effective until the Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with the Secretary of Labor, finds that the repeal under section 2 will not adversely affect Caribou herd populations.

The CHAIR. Pursuant to House Resolution 548, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GOSAR) and a Member opposed each will control 5 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arizona.

MODIFICATION TO AMENDMENT NO. 3 OFFERED  
BY MR. GOSAR

Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Chair, I ask unanimous consent that my amendment be modified in the form I have placed at the desk.

The CHAIR. The Clerk will report the modification.

The Clerk read as follows:

Modification to Amendment No. 3 Offered by Mr. GOSAR:

Strike "Secretary of Labor" and insert "Director of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service".

The CHAIR. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman of Arizona?

There was no objection.

The CHAIR. The amendment is modified.

The gentleman from Arizona is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

The modified amendment allows section 2 of the bill to go into effect when the DOI, in consultation with the Fish and Wildlife Service, certifies that section 2 of the bill will not harm the caribou herd population.

It has been proven that, over time, the caribou herds of the North Slope can coexist and even thrive with energy development that takes place there.

Many of my Republican colleagues and Members of the Western Caucus have seen this firsthand. We have seen the great lengths that industry and regional governments, Alaska Natives and others have gone through to protect the caribou.

□ 1045

In March of this year, the Tribal administrator of the Native village testified: "Through the use of science and traditional knowledge, best practices have been implemented to reduce or avoid impacts; such as, adequate pipeline height to not impede migrating caribou, sufficient distance between pipeline and road to avoid deterring crossing caribou, specifications on road height and slope, thoughtful design on road placement to avoid funneling migrating caribou, aircraft altitude guidelines, time-area closures, and other restrictions on operations.

"These safeguards have worked to protect caribou across the North Slope,

and we are confident that, through coordination with the people of Kaktovik, these mechanisms can be successfully applied to oil and gas programs in the coastal plain."

In fact, I have seen that the pipelines that go through the area occupied by the caribou herd are now 10 to 15 feet in the air, allowing the herds to easily pass underneath them to facilitate migration and breeding. And this was done voluntarily, at the industry's expense.

Statistics have shown that the caribou herds that inhabit areas in and around areas where oil and gas production is taking place have actually grown in size; whereas, herds that have inhabited areas where no oil and gas activity has taken place have actually declined.

Yes, we have heard the false narrative from the other side today and over the years that caribou populations are declining and oil and gas production is to blame. That is simply not true.

For example, the Porcupine herd located within the proposed development has fluctuated greatly, even without the oil and gas development taking place. From 1989 to 2001, the Porcupine herd population decreased by nearly one third, even while no oil and gas production was taking place on the lands they inhabited.

This stands in stark contrast with the central Arctic caribou herd which inhabits lands adjacent to ANWR, where oil and gas development takes place.

The central Arctic herd grew from 5,000 caribou in 1975, about the time development began, to almost 32,000 in 2002.

In short, oil and gas production has proven to be good for the central Arctic caribou herd, and breeding caribou have even been found to migrate toward the pipelines due to the heat they put off.

The other side uses the caribou herds that live in the ANWR region as political pawns to try and prevent energy development in the area.

Again, statistics show that the caribou herd populations can benefit with responsible oil and gas development.

This amendment challenges the false narrative that has clearly been disproven with the population explosion of the central Arctic caribou herd in oil-and-gas-producing areas.

Further, this commonsense amendment provides further protection for caribou herds by ensuring this bill won't negatively impact these populations.

Mr. Chair, I urge everybody to vote for this amendment, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIR. The gentleman from California is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, this is, unfortunately, another delay tactic intended to enable this administration to



rush through oil lease sales in the Arctic refuge.

And now I am afraid my friends across the aisle are really stretching. This argument that oil development is good for caribou is something we have heard before. It has been debunked every single time we hear it.

But, if you really want to see the craven nature of this proposal, focus on the fact that the person who would make the decision, who would strike that balance between oil drilling and caribou protection, is none other than the Secretary of the Interior, David Bernhardt, an oil and gas lobbyist who temporarily left the payroll of the oil and gas industry for a little time in public service and has never stopped representing their interests. And we all know that, a year and a half from now, he will be right back on Big Oil's payroll.

So this is not a serious argument. This is a delay tactic.

Mr. Chair, I urge a "no" vote on this amendment, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Chair, once again, we are going to debunk the flawed science that the other side looks at.

Mr. Chair, I have two different articles that have been peer reviewed, and I include them in the RECORD.

CARIBOU CALVES AND OIL DEVELOPMENT—DO THEY MIX?

(By Patti Harper)

One thing's certain about day-old caribou calves. "They are incredibly cute," says Steve Arthur, a biologist with the Alaska Department of Fish and Game in Fairbanks. Arthur and his research partner, Patricia Del Vecchio, have gotten up close and personal with newborn calves of the Central Arctic caribou herd each June since 2001, in an effort to address an important question: What is the effect of oil field development on wildlife?

Arthur says data they have collected suggest that when cows are displaced from preferred calving areas, their calves are smaller at birth and may not grow as fast or survive as well. It's an important finding because some of the calving and summer ranges of the Central Arctic caribou herd overlap areas of oil development on Alaska's North Slope.

The herd's size increased from approximately 5,000 caribou in 1975, about the time development began, to almost 32,000 in 2002. But Arthur says no easy answer can be gleaned about whether development has affected the herd from looking at changes in the overall number of caribou, because many factors affect growth or decline of caribou populations. Previous researchers have drawn contradictory and controversial conclusions about whether and how much caribou are affected, he said.

When the study started, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) and other management agencies had been encouraging oil field developers to minimize impacts and activities in calving areas, but wanted better data. "My interest is in trying to cut through some of the controversial aspects of some of the previous work that has been done and come up with something concrete and measurable," Arthur said. The goal has been to identify and measure the mechanisms through which development disturbance might affect the caribou population, such as by reducing body condition, reproductive success or calf survival.

The Bureau of Land Management and ConocoPhillips contributed major funding for the project, and the National Park Service and U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service also provided support.

Arthur and his team spent five years measuring calves, and radiotracking cows and calves, to learn more about such things as preferred calving areas, feeding ranges, and calf survival. Each year, they captured 60 to 65 calves during the two-week calving season in June, fitted them with radio collars, weighed them and measured metatarsus (lower leg bone) length. These calves were then located by radio signal every two weeks through October, and the following March and June, to find out how many calves survived. Calves were captured, weighed and measured when they were three and nine months old. Over the course of the study, 58 cows were fitted with Global Positioning System (GPS) collars that provided locations for them every five hours from May through October, and every two days from November through April.

The work was exciting, but it wasn't easy. The team had to hope for good flying weather during what could be a somewhat wintry and blustery June. It was important, Arthur says, to measure calves within a couple of days of their birth. Having some older than others would make it difficult to compare data. Also, at three days old, calves can run pretty fast, making them difficult to catch. The newborns were caught by hand—the helicopter landed, Arthur or Del Vecchio jumped out, grabbed a calf, collared and measured it, and then left as quickly as possible so its mother, watching from nearby, could return.

Netting rather than drug-darting was used to capture older caribou because animals from the herd are an important food source for residents of the area. Skilled net-gunners leaned from low-flying helicopters to release the nets. Caribou caught in the nets were then hobbled and blindfolded to calm them and again, the process of collaring, weighing and measuring took just a few minutes before the caribou were released.

In their recently published interim research technical report, "Effects of Oil Field Development on Calf Production and Survival in the Central Arctic Herd," Arthur and Del Vecchio compare what happened to calves that were born in two different calving areas, an area that is in a mostly undeveloped area east of Prudhoe Bay, and an area west of Prudhoe Bay that has seen increasing development since the late 1980s. In the western area, calving has shifted south since development began, though the researchers point out that it is unclear if the shift resulted from development, increased herd size, or other factors.

The researchers found that newborns from the western area on average weighed a little less and were slightly smaller than those from the eastern area, and that these differences persisted through at least the first nine months of life. They also found that calves that were heavier in September were more likely to survive the following winter. However, statistically, survival rates did not differ between the areas—depending on the year, 53 to 87 percent of calves that were alive at the end of the calving period survived to the end of their first year. The researchers say it is hard to detect small differences in survival rates, and other research has shown that small differences can have significant effects on caribou population trends.

Arthur and Del Vecchio conclude that the differences in size and mass of calves may be largely influenced by the quality of habitat and forage available to cows during the calving period. "Thus, displacement of car-

ibou cows from preferred calving habitats may reduce fitness and survival of calves," they wrote.

As oil exploration and production continue, the approach set out in this research may help to provide solid answers to the question of whether development does or does not adversely affect caribou populations. Arthur and Del Vecchio explain it this way in their interim report: "If further increases in levels of anthropogenic disturbance cause caribou to reduce their use of preferred habitats, it should be possible to detect effects of these changes by measuring birth weights and growth rates of calves. If similar changes do not occur in less-disturbed areas, then this may be taken as evidence of possible effects of disturbance."

Del Vecchio is headed back to the field this June to take final measurements on calves born in 2006, and to recover radio collars used in the study. Then, she and Arthur will take another look at the data and write their final report.

The study collected lots of data. So, when they're finished with the project report, Arthur, Del Vecchio and others will look at other ways to use that data. Arthur says the techniques to analyze GPS data have not kept up with the ability to gather it, so they may be developing new techniques. They hope to look more closely at where caribou move and what habitat they use in relation to oil field infrastructure.

Dave Yokel, wildlife biologist with the Bureau of Land Management, said he's looking forward to that sort of analysis. "We hope we can use the results to mitigate any impacts on the Teshepuk (caribou) herd from development in the NPRA (National Petroleum Reserve Alaska)," he said. To do that, the BLM needs to know more about the impacts on caribou of movement through infrastructure.

Looking back over his experiences in the field, Arthur says he is struck by the resilience of the calves. "The thing that impresses me is how these little calves are so helpless and weak and they're born in these really harsh conditions—and yet most of these little guys still make it."

[From the ANWR Information Brief]

DO THE CARIBOU REALLY CARE?

Are caribou affected by oil development on the North Slope? It would appear not, based on the growing population of herds that use land in the existing oil fields in northern Alaska. The population of the Central Arctic caribou herd, which migrates north each summer into the oil fields near Prudhoe Bay, has been growing about 8.5 percent per year. Alaska Dept. of Fish and Game biologists counted 31,857 caribou in aerial surveys of this herd in July 2002. In July 2000, fish and game biologists counted 27,128. In 1997, the count was 19,730.

Caribou herd populations rise and fall with natural cycles, but one explanation biologists have for the increasing population of the Central Arctic Herd is good calf production and survival, and high survival of adults.

Pregnant caribou cows in the Central Arctic herd bear their calves on lands within or near operating oil fields. Some calves are born within a few hundred meters of oil field roads.

The Alaska Dept. of Fish and Game findings are backed by the Argonne National Laboratory. Argonne found no evidence that oil development harmed the Central Arctic Herd in the lab's work on the Environmental Impact Statement for an extension of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System federal right-of-way.

## ARCTIC CARIBOU HERDS

Caribou herds rise and fall in natural cycles, and it is interesting that while populations have been rising in the Central Arctic Herd (see chart) which use lands in the North Slope oilfields, populations have been declining in the Porcupine herd (see chart) which do not use lands where there is oil and gas development. The Central Arctic Herd increased to 32,000 animals in 2002, up from 27,000 in 2000. The Porcupine herd was estimated at 123,000 in 2001, 129,000 in 1998 and 152,000 in 1994. In 1989, the population was counted at 178,000. Most recent survey taken in 2002.

## CENTRAL ARCTIC, PORCUPINE CARIBOU MINGLE

There is now evidence that caribou mix between all of the North Slope caribou herds, the Porcupine, Central Arctic and Western Arctic herds. Using analysis of DNA, researchers from the University of Alaska, Texas A&M University and the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture found that caribou in the three herds are genetically related. This reflects migration of animals between the herds over many generations.

## THE TRUTH ON ARCTIC CARIBOU

Caribou use of the 1002 Area of ANWR varies dramatically from year to year. In 1995, 92% of the Porcupine Caribou Herd used this area to calve. In 2000 none did so.

In some years, the Porcupine Herd calves only in Canada.

Choice of calving area depends on snow melt and early growth of forage plants.

Caribou live a boom and bust cycle, due to predation, weather, and overhunting.

During the summer, caribou frequently use oil field roads and gravel pads as insect relief habitat: they stand on the elevated gravel pads because fewer mosquitoes and flies harass them there.

North slope oil facilities are specifically designed to allow caribou migration with elevated pipes to allow caribou to freely walk underneath and limited use of service roads.

With 30 years of contact with oil development to go by, the industry has shown that caribou and oil fields can successfully co-exist. The Central Arctic Herd, which calves in the vicinity of the Prudhoe Bay, Kuparuk, and Milne Point oil fields, has increased 900% from an estimated 3,000 animals in the early 1970s to 32,000 in 2002.

## ANWR FACTS:

Refuge totals 19.6 million acres.  
8 million acres designated Wilderness;  
Coastal Plain, 1.5 million acres, set aside by Congress for study of oil potential;  
Only a small percentage of Coastal plain, about 2,000 acres, would be impacted by oil development;

## THE COASTAL PLAIN IS NOT A PRISTINE WILDERNESS:

About 40 guide outfits offer hunting and recreation services in the coastal plain; A community, Kaktovik, exists in the Coastal Plain; Military installations operate on the Plain now and in the past.

Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Chair, once again, we see the caribou herds that have been associated with oil and gas drilling actually expanding from 5,000 to 32,000.

Facts are hard to come by when they don't benefit you in the discussion. It is simply untrue what they have been trying to narrate in this respect.

This truly shows that you can work hand in hand, being environmentally friendly and having energy independence, empowering local communities and Tribes, looking at this in a comprehensive fashion.

This is a commonsense amendment. This is not about delay. This is about proper orientation, whether it be jobs associated with it or whether it be the numbers of critical habitat and numbers of populations within that critical habitat.

The facts just don't stand up for the other side.

Mr. Chair, once again, this is a very good amendment. Once again, when we want to start talking about facts, facts that are exploited by the other side that are truly false, we have to start looking at, didactically, the facts.

When a herd goes from 5,000 caribou to 32,000 when it is associated with oil and gas drilling in that area, where a herd declines by one third where there is no drilling there, there has got to be some kind of a prospect here.

Heat doesn't just rise. It is associated with the protection.

So, when you start looking at what industry and the individuals have done to promote these herds, this is a stellar amendment.

Mr. Chair, I hope that everybody votes for this, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Chair, well, again, this canard that oil and gas drilling is good for caribou is right out of the "thank you for smoking" playbook. It is just not true.

And rather than subscribe to these alternative facts, we need look no further than the latest credible science that we have—it is from the 2018 Arctic Report Card—which found that caribou populations across the Arctic have actually declined by 56 percent over the last two decades. Yet, there is one exception to that trend, and that is the Porcupine caribou herd, which has shown strength.

This is good news. It shows the importance of the National Wildlife Refuge system and the wisdom of protecting this area in the first place.

There is one place in the Arctic where caribou are thriving. It is a place where we haven't done oil and gas development.

Let's not wreck the coastal plain of the Arctic refuge. If we care about caribou, then, by all means, absolutely vote "no" on this amendment and vote "yes" on the underlying bill.

Mr. Chair, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIR. The question is on the amendment, as modified, offered by the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GOSAR).

The question was taken; and the Chair announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Chair, I demand a recorded vote.

The CHAIR. Pursuant to clause 6 of rule XVIII, further proceedings on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Arizona will be postponed.

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE CHAIR

The CHAIR. Pursuant to clause 6 of rule XVIII, proceedings will now resume on those amendments printed in part D of House Report 116-200 on

which further proceedings were postponed in the following order:

Amendment No. 1 by Mr. YOUNG of Alaska.

Amendment No. 2 by Mr. GOSAR of Arizona.

Amendment No. 3, as modified, by Mr. GOSAR of Arizona.

The Chair will reduce to 2 minutes the minimum time for any electronic vote after the first vote in the series.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1 OFFERED BY MR. YOUNG

The CHAIR. The unfinished business is the demand for a recorded vote on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alaska (Mr. YOUNG) on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the noes prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will redesignate the amendment.

The Clerk redesignated the amendment.

## RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIR. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 193, noes 230, not voting 15, as follows:

[Roll No. 526]

## AYES—193

Aderholt	Gallagher	Marshall
Allen	Gianforte	Massie
Amodei	Gibbs	Mast
Armstrong	Gohmert	McCarthy
Arrington	Gonzalez (OH)	McCaul
Babin	Gonzalez (TX)	McClintock
Bacon	Gonzalez-Colón	McHenry
Baird	(PR)	McKinley
Balderson	Gooden	Meadows
Banks	Gosar	Meuser
Barr	Granger	Miller
Bergman	Graves (GA)	Mitchell
Biggs	Graves (LA)	Moolenaar
Bilirakis	Graves (MO)	Mooney (WV)
Bishop (UT)	Green (TN)	Mullin
Bost	Griffith	Newhouse
Brady	Grothman	Norman
Brooks (AL)	Guest	Nunes
Brooks (IN)	Guthrie	Olson
Buchanan	Hagedorn	Palazzo
Buck	Harris	Palmer
Bucshon	Hartzler	Pence
Budd	Hern, Kevin	Perry
Burchett	Herrera Beutler	Peterson
Burgess	Hice (GA)	Posey
Byrne	Higgins (LA)	Ratcliffe
Calvert	Hill (AR)	Reschenthaler
Carter (GA)	Holding	Rice (SC)
Carter (TX)	Hollingsworth	Riggleman
Chabot	Hudson	Roby
Cheney	Huizenga	Rodgers (WA)
Cline	Hunter	Roe, David P.
Cloud	Hurd (TX)	Rogers (AL)
Cole	Johnson (LA)	Rogers (KY)
Collins (GA)	Johnson (OH)	Rose, John W.
Comer	Johnson (SD)	Rouzer
Conaway	Jordan	Roy
Cook	Joyce (OH)	Rutherford
Costa	Joyce (PA)	Scalise
Crawford	Katko	Schweikert
Crenshaw	Keller	Scott, Austin
Curtis	Kelly (MS)	Sensenbrenner
Davidson (OH)	Kelly (PA)	Shimkus
Davis, Rodney	King (IA)	Simpson
DesJarlais	King (NY)	Smith (MO)
Diaz-Balart	Kinzinger	Smith (NE)
Duncan	Kustoff (TN)	Smucker
Dunn	LaHood	Spano
Emmer	LaMalfa	Stauber
Estes	Lamborn	Stefanik
Ferguson	Larsen (WA)	Steil
Fleischmann	Latta	Steube
Flores	Lesko	Stewart
Fortenberry	Long	Stivers
Fox (NC)	Loudermilk	Taylor
Fulcher	Lucas	Thompson (PA)
Gaetz	Luetkemeyer	Thornberry

Timmons  
Tipton  
Turner  
Upton  
Wagner  
Walberg  
Walden  
Walker

Walorski  
Waltz  
Watkins  
Weber (TX)  
Webster (FL)  
Wenstrup  
Westernman  
Williams

Wilson (SC)  
Wittman  
Womack  
Woodall  
Wright  
Young  
Zeldin

□ 1119

Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ and Mr. TED LIEU of California changed their vote from “aye” to “no.”

Mr. LONG changed his vote from “no” to “aye.”

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

AMENDMENT NO. 2 OFFERED BY MR. GOSAR

The CHAIR. The unfinished business is the demand for a recorded vote on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GOSAR) on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the noes prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will redesignate the amendment.

The Clerk redesignated the amendment.

RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIR. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The CHAIR. This will be a 2-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 184, noes 237, not voting 17, as follows:

[Roll No. 527]

AYES—184

NOES—230

Adams  
Aguilar  
Allred  
Amash  
Axne  
Barragán  
Bass  
Beatty  
Bera  
Beyer  
Bishop (GA)  
Blumenauer  
Blunt Rochester  
Bonamici  
Boyle, Brendan F.  
Brindisi  
Brown (MD)  
Brownley (CA)  
Bustos  
Butterfield  
Carbajal  
Cárdenas  
Carson (IN)  
Cartwright  
Case  
Casten (IL)  
Castor (FL)  
Chu, Judy  
Cicilline  
Cisneros  
Clark (MA)  
Clarke (NY)  
Clay  
Cleaver  
Cohen  
Connolly  
Cooper  
Courtney  
Cox (CA)  
Craig  
Crist  
Crow  
Cuellar  
Cunningham  
Davids (KS)  
Davis (CA)  
Davis, Danny K.  
Dean  
DeFazio  
DeGette  
Lynch  
DeLauro  
DelBene  
Delgado  
Demings  
DeSaulnier  
Deutch  
Dingell  
Doggett  
Doyle, Michael F.  
Engel  
Escobar  
Eshoo  
Español  
Evans  
Finkenauer  
Fitzpatrick  
Fletcher  
Foster  
Frankel  
Fudge  
Gallego  
Garamendi  
Garcia (IL)  
Garcia (TX)  
Golden  
Gomez  
Gottheimer

Green, Al (TX)  
Grijalva  
Haaland  
Harder (CA)  
Hastings  
Hayes  
Heck  
Higgins (NY)  
Hill (CA)  
Himes  
Horn, Kendra S.  
Horsford  
Houlahan  
Hoyer  
Huffman  
Jackson Lee  
Jayapal  
Jeffries  
Johnson (GA)  
Johnson (TX)  
Kaptur  
Keating  
Kelly (IL)  
Kennedy  
Khanna  
Kildee  
Kilmer  
Kim  
Kind  
Kirkpatrick  
Krishnamoorthi  
Kuster (NH)  
Lamb  
Langevin  
Larson (CT)  
Lawrence  
Lawson (FL)  
Lee (CA)  
Lee (NV)  
Levin (CA)  
Levin (MI)  
Lewis  
Lieu, Ted  
Lipinski  
Loebach  
Lofgren  
Lowenthal  
Lowey  
Luján  
Luria  
Malinowski  
Maloney, Carolyn B.  
Maloney, Sean  
Matsui  
McAdams  
McBath  
McCollum  
McGovern  
McNerney  
Meeks  
Meng  
Moore  
Morelle  
Moulton  
Mucarsel-Powell  
Murphy  
Nadler  
Napolitano  
Neal  
Neguse  
Norcross  
Norton  
O'Halleran  
Ocasio-Cortez  
Omar  
Pallone  
Panetta

Pappas  
Pascarella  
Payne  
Perlmutter  
Peters  
Phillips  
Pingree  
Plaskett  
Pocan  
Porter  
Pressley  
Price (NC)  
Quigley  
Raskin  
Richmond  
Rooney (FL)  
Rose (NY)  
Rouda  
Roybal-Allard  
Ruiz  
Ruppersberger  
Rush  
Ryan  
Sablan  
San Nicolas  
Sánchez  
Sarbanes  
Scanlon  
Schakowsky  
Schiff  
Schneider  
Schrader  
Schrier  
Scott (VA)  
Scott, David  
Serrano  
Sewell (AL)  
Shalala  
Sherman  
Sherrill  
Sires  
Slotkin  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (WA)  
Soto  
Spanberger  
Speier  
Stanton  
Stevens  
Suozi  
Swalwell (CA)  
Takano  
Thompson (CA)  
Thompson (MS)  
Titus  
Tlaib  
Tonko  
Torres (CA)  
Torres Small  
(NM)  
Trahan  
Trone  
Underwood  
Van Drew  
Vargas  
Veasey  
Vela  
Velázquez  
Visclosky  
Wasserman  
Schultz  
Waters  
Watson Coleman  
Welch  
Wexton  
Wild  
Yarmuth

NOT VOTING—15

Abraham  
Castro (TX)  
Clyburn  
Collins (NY)  
Correa

Cummings  
Duffy  
Gabbard  
Marchant  
McEachin

Radewagen  
Reed  
Rice (NY)  
Wilson (FL)  
Yoho

Walden  
Walker  
Walorski  
Waltz  
Watkins  
Weber (TX)

Webster (FL)  
Wenstrup  
Westernman  
Williams  
Wilson (SC)  
Wittman

NOES—237

Adams  
Aguilar  
Allred  
Amash  
Axne  
Barragán  
Bass  
Beatty  
Bera  
Bishop (GA)  
Blumenauer  
Blunt Rochester  
Bonamici  
Boyle, Brendan F.  
Brindisi  
Brown (MD)  
Brownley (CA)  
Bustos  
Butterfield  
Carbajal  
Cárdenas  
Carson (IN)  
Cartwright  
Case  
Casten (IL)  
Castor (FL)  
Chu, Judy  
Cicilline  
Cisneros  
Clark (MA)  
Clarke (NY)  
Clay  
Cleaver  
Cohen  
Connolly  
Cooper  
Courtney  
Cox (CA)  
Craig  
Crist  
Crow  
Cuellar  
Cunningham  
Davids (KS)  
Davis (CA)  
Davis, Danny K.  
Dean  
DeFazio  
DeGette  
Lynch  
DeLauro  
DelBene  
Delgado  
Demings  
DeSaulnier  
Deutch  
Dingell  
Doggett  
Doyle, Michael F.  
Engel  
Escobar  
Eshoo  
Español  
Evans  
Finkenauer  
Fitzpatrick  
Fletcher  
Foster  
Frankel  
Fudge  
Gallego  
Garamendi  
Garcia (IL)  
Garcia (TX)  
Golden  
Gomez  
Gottheimer  
Green, Al (TX)

Grijalva  
Haaland  
Harder (CA)  
Hastings  
Hayes  
Heck  
Herrera Beutler  
Higgins (NY)  
Hill (CA)  
Himes  
Horn, Kendra S.  
Horsford  
Houlahan  
Hoyer  
Huffman  
Jackson Lee  
Jayapal  
Jeffries  
Johnson (GA)  
Johnson (SD)  
Johnson (TX)  
Kaptur  
Katko  
Keating  
Kelly (IL)  
Kennedy  
Khanna  
Kildee  
Kilmer  
Kim  
Kind  
Kirkpatrick  
Krishnamoorthi  
Kuster (NH)  
Lamb  
Langevin  
Larsen (WA)  
Larson (CT)  
Lawrence  
Lawson (FL)  
Lee (CA)  
Lee (NV)  
Levin (CA)  
Levin (MI)  
Lewis  
Lieu, Ted  
Lipinski  
Loebach  
Lofgren  
Lowenthal  
Lowey  
Luján  
Luria  
Malinowski  
Maloney, Carolyn B.  
Maloney, Sean  
Matsui  
McAdams  
McBath  
McCollum  
McGovern  
McNerney  
Meeks  
Meng  
Moore  
Morelle  
Moulton  
Mucarsel-Powell  
Murphy  
Nadler  
Napolitano  
Neal  
Neguse  
Norcross  
Norton  
O'Halleran  
Ocasio-Cortez  
Omar  
Pallone

Panetta  
Pappas  
Pascarella  
Payne  
Perlmutter  
Peters  
Peterson  
Phillips  
Pingree  
Plaskett  
Pocan  
Porter  
Pressley  
Price (NC)  
Quigley  
Raskin  
Richmond  
Rooney (FL)  
Rose (NY)  
Rouda  
Roybal-Allard  
Ruiz  
Ruppersberger  
Rush  
Ryan  
Sablan  
San Nicolas  
Sánchez  
Sarbanes  
Scanlon  
Schakowsky  
Schiff  
Schneider  
Schrader  
Schrier  
Scott (VA)  
Scott, David  
Serrano  
Sewell (AL)  
Shalala  
Sherman  
Sherrill  
Sires  
Slotkin  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (WA)  
Soto  
Spanberger  
Speier  
Stanton  
Stefanik  
Stevens  
Suozi  
Swalwell (CA)  
Takano  
Thompson (CA)  
Thompson (MS)  
Titus  
Tlaib  
Tonko  
Torres (CA)  
Torres Small  
(NM)  
Trahan  
Trone  
Underwood  
Van Drew  
Vargas  
Veasey  
Vela  
Velázquez  
Visclosky  
Wasserman  
Schultz  
Waters  
Watson Coleman  
Welch  
Wexton  
Wild  
Yarmuth

NOT VOTING—17

Abraham  
Beyer  
Castro (TX)  
Clyburn  
Collins (NY)  
Correa

Cummings  
Duffy  
Gabbard  
Huizenga  
Marchant  
McEachin

Radewagen  
Rice (NY)  
Turner  
Wilson (FL)  
Yoho

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE CHAIR

The CHAIR (during the vote). There is 1 minute remaining.

□ 1126

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

AMENDMENT NO. 3, AS MODIFIED, OFFERED BY  
MR. GOSAR

The CHAIR. The unfinished business is the demand for a recorded vote on the amendment, as modified, offered by the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GOSAR) on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the noes prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will redesignate the amendment, as modified.

The Clerk redesignated the amendment, as modified.

## RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIR. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The CHAIR. This will be a 2-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 187, noes 237, not voting 14, as follows:

[Roll No. 528]

AYES—187

Aderholt	Gallagher	McClintock
Allen	Gianforte	McHenry
Amodei	Gibbs	McKinley
Armstrong	Gohmert	Meadows
Arrington	Gonzalez (OH)	Meuser
Babin	Gonzalez-Colón	Miller
Bacon	(PR)	Mitchell
Baird	Gooden	Moolenaar
Balderson	Gosar	Mooney (WV)
Banks	Granger	Mullin
Barr	Graves (GA)	Newhouse
Bergman	Graves (LA)	Norman
Biggs	Graves (MO)	Nunes
Bilirakis	Green (TN)	Olson
Bishop (UT)	Griffith	Palazzo
Bost	Grothman	Palmer
Brady	Guest	Pence
Brooks (AL)	Guthrie	Perry
Brooks (IN)	Hagedorn	Peterson
Buchanan	Harris	Posey
Buck	Hartzler	Ratcliffe
Bucshon	Hern, Kevin	Reed
Budd	Herrera Beutler	Reschenthaler
Burchett	Hice (GA)	Rice (SC)
Burgess	Higgins (LA)	Riggleman
Byrne	Hill (AR)	Roby
Calvert	Holding	Rodgers (WA)
Carter (GA)	Hollingsworth	Roe, David P.
Carter (TX)	Hudson	Rogers (AL)
Chabot	Hunter	Rogers (KY)
Cheney	Hurd (TX)	Rose, John W.
Cline	Johnson (LA)	Rouzer
Cloud	Johnson (OH)	Roy
Cole	Johnson (SD)	Rutherford
Collins (GA)	Jordan	Scalise
Comer	Joyce (OH)	Schweikert
Conaway	Joyce (PA)	Scott, Austin
Cook	Keller	Shimkus
Costa	Kelly (MS)	Simpson
Crawford	Kelly (PA)	Smith (MO)
Crenshaw	King (IA)	Smith (NE)
Curtis	King (NY)	Smucker
Davidson (OH)	Kinzinger	Spano
Davis, Rodney	Kustoff (TN)	Stauber
DesJarlais	LaHood	Steil
Duffy	LaMalfa	Steube
Duncan	Lamborn	Stewart
Dunn	Latta	Stivers
Emmer	Lesko	Taylor
Estes	Long	Thompson (PA)
Ferguson	Loudermilk	Thornberry
Fleischmann	Lucas	Timmons
Flores	Luetkemeyer	Tipton
Fortenberry	Marshall	Turner
Fox (NC)	Massie	Upton
Fulcher	McCarthy	Wagner
Gaetz	McCauley	Walberg

Walden  
Walker  
Walorski  
Waltz  
Watkins  
Weber (TX)

Webster (FL)  
Wenstrup  
Westerman  
Williams  
Wilson (SC)  
Wittman

Womack  
Woodall  
Wright  
Young  
Zeldin

□ 1133

So the amendment, as modified, was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Stated against:

Mr. HARDER of California. Mr. Chair, had I been present, I would have voted "nay" on rollcall No. 528.

The Acting CHAIR (Mr. BUTTERFIELD). There being no further amendments, under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. CASTEN of Illinois) having assumed the chair, Mr. BUTTERFIELD, Acting Chair of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 1146) to amend Public Law 115-97 (commonly known as the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act) to repeal the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge oil and gas program, and for other purposes, and, pursuant to House Resolution 548, he reported the bill, as amended by that resolution, back to the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

## MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I have a motion to recommit at the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes, in its current form.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Curtis moves to recommit the bill, H.R. 1146, to the Committee on Natural Resources with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendment:

At the end of the bill, add the following:

## SEC. \_\_\_\_ EFFECTIVE DATE.

Section 2 of this Act shall take effect on the date the President certifies that the enactment of this Act will not result in a net increase of Russian oil and gas imports into the United States.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Utah is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his motion.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, we are all familiar with the famous line from Thomas Jefferson, "The government closest to the people serves the people best." So how is it that we are here today considering a bill that has been opposed by every member of the Alaskan delegation since 1980? Not just the Alaskan delegation, but every Governor of Alaska since 1980 and even the gubernatorial candidates last year, two Republicans, an independent, and a Democrat, opposed this bill.

## NOES—237

Adams	Green, Al (TX)	Pappas
Aguilar	Grijalva	Pascrell
Allred	Haaland	Payne
Amash	Hastings	Perlmutter
Axne	Hayes	Peters
Barragán	Heck	Phillips
Bass	Higgins (NY)	Pingree
Beatty	Hill (CA)	Plaskett
Bera	Himes	Pocan
Beyer	Horn, Kendra S.	Porter
Bishop (GA)	Horsford	Pressley
Blumenauer	Houlahan	Price (NC)
Blunt Rochester	Hoyer	Quigley
Bonamici	Huffman	Raskin
Boyle, Brendan F.	Jackson Lee	Richmond
Brindisi	Jayapal	Rooney (FL)
Brown (MD)	Jeffries	Rose (NY)
Brownley (CA)	Johnson (GA)	Rouda
Bustos	Johnson (TX)	Roybal-Allard
Butterfield	Kaptur	Ruiz
Carbajal	Katko	Ruppersberger
Cárdenas	Keating	Rush
Carson (IN)	Kelly (IL)	Ryan
Cartwright	Kennedy	Sablan
Case	Khanna	San Nicolas
Casten (IL)	Kildee	Sánchez
Castor (FL)	Kilmer	Sarbanes
Chu, Judy	Kim	Scanlon
Cicilline	Kind	Schakowsky
Cisneros	Kirkpatrick	Schiff
Clark (MA)	Krishnamoorthi	Schneider
Clarke (NY)	Kuster (NH)	Schrader
Clay	Lamb	Schrier
Cleaver	Langevin	Scott (VA)
Cohen	Larsen (WA)	Scott, David
Connolly	Larson (CT)	Sensenbrenner
Cooper	Lawrence	Serrano
Courtney	Lawson (FL)	Sewell (AL)
Cox (CA)	Lee (CA)	Shalala
Craig	Lee (NV)	Sherman
Crist	Levin (CA)	Sherrill
Crow	Levin (MI)	Sires
Cuellar	Lewis	Slotkin
Cunningham	Lieu, Ted	Smith (NJ)
Daids (KS)	Lipinski	Smith (WA)
Davis (CA)	Loeb sack	Soto
Davis, Danny K.	Lofgren	Spanberger
Dean	Lowey	Speier
DeFazio	Luján	Stanton
DeGette	Luria	Stefanik
DeLauro	Lynch	Stevens
DeBene	Malinowski	Suozzi
Delgado	Maloney,	Swalwell (CA)
Demings	Carolyn B.	Takano
DeSaulnier	Maloney, Sean	Thompson (CA)
Deutch	Mast	Thompson (MS)
Diaz-Balart	Matsui	Titus
Dingell	McAdams	Tlaib
Doggett	McBath	Tonko
Doyle, Michael F.	McCollum	Torres (CA)
Engel	McGovern	Torres Small (NM)
Escobar	McNerney	Trahan
Eshoo	Meeks	Trone
Espallat	Meng	Underwood
Evans	Moore	Van Drew
Finkenauer	Morelle	Vargas
Fitzpatrick	Moulton	Veasey
Fletcher	Mucarsel-Powell	Vela
Foster	Murphy	Velázquez
Frankel	Nadler	Visclosky
Fudge	Napolitano	Wasserman
Gallego	Neal	Schultz
Garamendi	Neguse	Waters
Garcia (IL)	Norcross	Watson Coleman
Garcia (TX)	Norton	Welch
Golden	O'Halleran	Wexton
Gomez	Ocasio-Cortez	Wild
Gonzalez (TX)	Pallone	Wilson (FL)
Gottheimer	Panetta	Yarmuth

## NOT VOTING—14

Abraham	Cummings	McEachin
Castro (TX)	Gabbard	Radewagen
Clyburn	Harder (CA)	Rice (NY)
Collins (NY)	Huizenga	Yoho
Correa	Marchant	

This week, many of my friends across the aisle sought to protect their coastlines by banning offshore energy development. They know what is best in their States. Apparently, the same standard of local control does not apply to Mr. YOUNG, who is the only person in this body elected by the residents of Alaska.

Not only is this bill opposed by the entire Alaskan delegation, it is opposed by the local Alaska Native population and written without their consultation.

As a Member who represents Bears Ears, I hear from my colleagues all the time how important it is to have Native American consultation, and they are right. However, with local Alaska Native opposition to this bill and no consultation, there seems to be a double standard.

In fact, just 3 days ago, I sat in a hearing where BLM was criticized for not working with the Native population. They held 11 hearings, 7 listening sessions—apparently, not enough.

Unless I missed 18 trips of my colleagues to Alaska, we are working with a double standard.

Those of you from States with very little Federal ownership have a difficult time understanding what it is like being from a State or county with 90 percent Federal ownership. Imagine being a local elected official maintaining roads, police, fire, sewers, and parks when only 10 percent of your property generates property tax.

At the end of the day, Mr. YOUNG and the native Alaskans, not the rest of us, should be determining the fate of Alaska.

Mr. Speaker, I have heard the argument that this development will contribute to climate change. Really? I am listening. This is one Republican who believes the climate is changing and man is influencing it, but I am baffled why so many of my colleagues will give a pass to a human rights-violating dictator in China and deny the local native Alaskans the right to have a living off the land.

If we were serious about climate change, I have an idea. Let's take all the natural gas we are putting back into the ground in ANWR and send it to China and India. We would do more to reduce global carbon emissions than by implementing the entire Green New Deal.

I have heard the term "science denier" tossed around, but I ask, who is denying science the most? Those who ignore 85 percent of carbon coming from outside the United States, or those who think that impacting 0.01 percent of ANWR will destroy the Alaskan environment?

Let's put this in perspective. ANWR is less than 5 percent of Alaska. This project is less than 0.01 percent of ANWR. For perspective, that is like taking a janitorial closet in the Capitol of 175 feet and putting HVAC in it to keep us warm and cool. That is the perspective.

When the other side is ready to fight climate change, Republicans stand ready. This is not one of those times.

To start, my friend GREG WALDEN and his colleagues on the Energy and Commerce Committee seem to have the ability to generate a bill almost daily that would truly impact the true problems with climate change.

Mr. Speaker, this motion to recommit will prevent the bill from taking effect until the President certifies that it will not result in a net increase of Russian oil and gas imports into the United States.

The answer to climate change is not making the U.S. more reliant on foreign fossil fuels. A vote for this MTR is a vote to support local Alaska Natives.

I repeat, the answer to climate change is not making the U.S. more reliant on foreign fossil fuels. The last time I checked, Ryan Zinke was the only one riding a horse.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support of the motion to recommit, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, for those who have flights to catch and would like to get out of here, I think I have some good news. I think we can keep this pretty short and pretty simple because this is a very simple bill. It reflects the proposition that there are some places that are simply too special, that are too unique, that are too environmentally vital, and that are too sacred to indigenous people to wreck them with oil and gas development. Surely, that is something that most Americans and even most people in this body, regardless of their party, could agree upon.

In fact, we saw bipartisan votes yesterday that reflected the same proposition that the pristine coasts of the Atlantic, the Lowcountry in South Carolina, and the beautiful California coast are places too special to wreck them with new oil and gas development. If my colleagues believe in this simple proposition, then, surely, it must apply to America's largest wildlife refuge and to the beating biological heart of that refuge, the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. That is the simple thing that this bill is all about.

Unfortunately, this motion to recommit is an attempt to distract us from that, to delay protections against this drilling, so that this administration can rush a lease plan forward. Frankly, by that time, it is too late. You can't go backward once you open a place like this up to drilling.

Now, my friends' concern for the local voices, some of whom in Alaska want to see drilling, would be a lot more persuasive if, yesterday, we hadn't had a vote where my friends across the aisle thumbed their nose at the local voices in California, South

Carolina, Florida, and other places that don't want offshore drilling. So let's be consistent about what local voices matter, and let's acknowledge the reality that the only voice they really are hearing is that of Big Oil.

The truth is that this bill will not affect or impact our role in global energy markets in the slightest. The minority seems to believe that we can provide enough oil, if we just drill everywhere, to let everyone in the world break free of Russian gas or Saudi Arabian oil.

The truth is that we are, right now, the largest oil producer in the world. We produce over 12 million barrels of crude oil every single day, and we are not going to be able to corner the market. I certainly don't think, in light of that fact, that we should put at risk America's coastal jobs or our biggest wildlife refuge in the Arctic under this misguided notion of so-called energy dominance.

Now, I want to just close with two things. First, for those who may still have some fiscal sensibility, I think there are still a few in this House who would like to talk about fiscal issues. Last week, Taxpayers for Common Sense said in an op-ed: "Drilling in the Arctic Refuge will be difficult and costs from mistakes high. Right now, oil and gas is plentiful and prices are low, so this isn't the time to develop marginal areas. It's not like the oil is going away. So without huge returns, this action will put taxpayers on the hook for a lot of risk with little potential reward. In the current fiscal and energy climate, if drilling proposals in the Arctic Refuge move forward, the joke's on us."

Let the joke not be on us, colleagues.

Finally, I want to close by pointing out that there are some people who have traveled thousands of miles to be with us today, all the way from Alaska, the Gwich'in people, an indigenous community that since time immemorial have depended on the Porcupine caribou herd and its migratory route and its calving grounds that are absolutely in the heart of the coastal plain of the Arctic Refuge. Many of them are here today.

And, ladies and gentlemen, none of us here on this floor have to worry about what our ancestors and what our family depend on for our way of life, for our culture, for what is sacred for them, depending on the outcome of this vote. For Gwich'in people, that is exactly what is at stake.

So, colleagues, let's do the right thing for the environment. Let's recognize that some places are too special to wreck with oil and gas drilling. Let's do right by the Gwich'in people. Vote "no" on this motion to recommit and "yes" on the underlying bill.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, the Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the minimum time for any electronic vote on the question of passage.

This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 189, nays 229, not voting 14, as follows:

[Roll No. 529]

YEAS—189

Aderholt	Gooden	Nunes
Allen	Gosar	Olson
Amodel	Granger	Palazzo
Armstrong	Graves (GA)	Palmer
Arrington	Graves (LA)	Pence
Babin	Graves (MO)	Perry
Bacon	Green (TN)	Posey
Baird	Griffith	Ratcliffe
Balderson	Grothman	Reed
Banks	Guest	Reschenthaler
Barr	Guthrie	Rice (SC)
Bergman	Hagedorn	Riggleman
Biggs	Harris	Roby
Bilirakis	Hartzler	Rodgers (WA)
Bishop (UT)	Hern, Kevin	Roe, David P.
Bost	Herrera Beutler	Rogers (AL)
Brady	Hice (GA)	Rogers (KY)
Brooks (AL)	Higgins (LA)	Rose, John W.
Brooks (IN)	Hill (AR)	Rouzer
Buchanan	Holding	Roy
Buck	Hollingsworth	Rutherford
Bucshon	Hudson	Scalise
Budd	Hunter	Schweikert
Burchett	Hurd (TX)	Scott, Austin
Burgess	Johnson (LA)	Sensenbrenner
Byrne	Johnson (OH)	Shimkus
Calvert	Johnson (SD)	Simpson
Carter (GA)	Jordan	Smith (MO)
Carter (TX)	Joyce (OH)	Smith (NE)
Chabot	Joyce (PA)	Smucker
Cheney	Katko	Spano
Cline	Keller	Staubert
Cloud	Kelly (MS)	Stefanik
Cole	Kelly (PA)	Steil
Collins (GA)	King (IA)	Steube
Comer	King (NY)	Stewart
Conaway	Kinzinger	Stivers
Cook	Kustoff (TN)	Taylor
Crawford	LaHood	Thompson (PA)
Crenshaw	LaMalfa	Thornberry
Curtis	Lamborn	Timmons
Davidson (OH)	Latta	Tipton
Davis, Rodney	Lesko	Turner
DesJarlais	Long	Upton
Diaz-Balart	Loudermilk	Wagner
Duffy	Lucas	Walberg
Duncan	Luetkemeyer	Walden
Dunn	Marshall	Walker
Emmer	Massie	Walorski
Estes	Mast	Waltz
Ferguson	McCarthy	Watkins
Fitzpatrick	McClintock	Weber (TX)
Fleischmann	McHenry	Webster (FL)
Flores	McKinley	Wenstrup
Fortenberry	Meadows	Westerman
Fox (NC)	Meuser	Williams
Fulcher	Miller	Wilson (SC)
Gaetz	Mitchell	Wittman
Gallagher	Moolenaar	Womack
Gianforte	Mooney (WV)	Woodall
Gibbs	Mullin	Wright
Gohmert	Newhouse	Young
Gonzalez (OH)	Norman	Zeldin

NAYS—229

Adams	Blunt Rochester	Cartwright
Aguilar	Bonamici	Case
Allred	Boyle, Brendan	Casten (IL)
Amash	F.	Castor (FL)
Axne	Brindisi	Chu, Judy
Barragán	Brown (MD)	Cicilline
Bass	Brownley (CA)	Cisneros
Beatty	Bustos	Clark (MA)
Bera	Butterfield	Clarke (NY)
Beyer	Carbajal	Clay
Bishop (GA)	Cárdenas	Cleaver
Blumenauer	Carson (IN)	Cohen

Connolly	Kennedy	Pressley
Cooper	Khanma	Price (NC)
Costa	Kildee	Quigley
Courtney	Kilmer	Raskin
Cox (CA)	Kim	Richmond
Craig	Kind	Rooney (FL)
Crist	Kirkpatrick	Rose (NY)
Crow	Krishnamoorthi	Rouda
Cuellar	Kuster (NH)	Roybal-Allard
Cunningham	Lamb	Ruiz
Daids (KS)	Langevin	Ruppersberger
Davis (CA)	Larsen (WA)	Rush
Davis, Danny K.	Larson (CT)	Ryan
Dean	Lawrence	Sánchez
DeFazio	Lawson (FL)	Sarbanes
DeGette	Lee (CA)	Scanlon
DeLauro	Lee (NV)	Schakowsky
DelBene	Levin (CA)	Schiff
Delgado	Levin (MI)	Schneider
Demings	Lewis	Schrader
DeSaulnier	Lieu, Ted	Schrier
Deutch	Lipinski	Scott (VA)
Dingell	Loeb sack	Scott, David
Doggett	Lofgren	Serrano
Doyle, Michael	Lowenthal	Sewell (AL)
F.	Lowe	Shalala
Engel	Luján	Sherman
Escobar	Luria	Sherrill
Eshoo	Lynch	Sires
Espallat	Malinowski	Slotkin
Evans	Maloney	Smith (NJ)
Finkenauer	Carolyn B.	Smith (WA)
Guest	Maloney, Sean	Soto
Fletcher	Matsui	Spanberger
Foster	McAdams	Speier
Frankel	McBath	Stanton
Fudge	McCollum	Stevens
Gallego	McGovern	Suozzi
Garamendi	McNerney	Swalwell (CA)
Garcia (IL)	Meeks	Takano
Garcia (TX)	Meng	Thompson (CA)
Golden	Moore	Thompson (MS)
Gomez	Morelle	Titus
Gottheimer	Moulton	Tlaib
Green, Al (TX)	Mucarsel-Powell	Tonko
Grijalva	Murphy	Torres (CA)
Haaland	Nadler	Torres Small
Harder (CA)	Napolitano	(NM)
Hastings	Neal	Trahan
Hayes	Neguse	Trone
Hick	Norcross	Underwood
Higgins (NY)	O'Halleran	Van Drew
Hill (CA)	Ocasio-Cortez	Vargas
Himes	Omar	Veasey
Horn, Kendra S.	Pallone	Vela
Horsford	Panetta	Velázquez
Houlahan	Pappas	Visclosky
Hoyer	Pascarell	Wasserman
Huffman	Payne	Schultz
Jackson Lee	Perlmuter	Waters
Jayapal	Peters	Watson Coleman
Jeffries	Peterson	Welch
Johnson (GA)	Phillips	Wexton
Johnson (TX)	Pingree	Wild
Kaptur	Pocan	Wilson (FL)
Keating	Porter	Yarmuth
Kelly (IL)		

NOT VOTING—14

Abraham	Cummings	McCauley
Castro (TX)	Gabbard	McEachin
Clyburn	Gonzalez (TX)	Rice (NY)
Collins (NY)	Huizenga	Yoho
Correa	Marchant	

□ 1154

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Stated for:

Mr. McCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea" on rollcall No. 529.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. BISHOP of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—aye 225, noes 193, not voting 14, as follows:

[Roll No. 530]

AYES—225

Adams	Grijalva	Panetta
Aguilar	Haaland	Pappas
Allred	Harder (CA)	Pascarell
Amash	Hastings	Payne
Axne	Hayes	Perlmuter
Barragán	Heck	Peters
Bass	Higgins (NY)	Phillips
Beatty	Bera	Pingree
Beyer	Himes	Pocan
Bishop (GA)	Horn, Kendra S.	Porter
Blumenauer	Horsford	Pressley
Blunt Rochester	Houlahan	Price (NC)
Bonamici	Hoyer	Quigley
Boyle, Brendan	Huffman	Raskin
F.	Jackson Lee	Richmond
Brindisi	Jayapal	Rooney (FL)
Brown (MD)	Jeffries	Rose (NY)
Brownley (CA)	Johnson (GA)	Rouda
Bustos	Johnson (TX)	Roybal-Allard
Butterfield	Kaptur	Ruiz
Carbajal	Keating	Ruppersberger
Cárdenas	Kelly (IL)	Rush
Carson (IN)	Kennedy	Ryan
Cartwright	Khanna	Sánchez
Case	Kildee	Sarbanes
Casten (IL)	Kilmer	Scanlon
Castor (FL)	Kim	Schakowsky
Chu, Judy	Kind	Schiff
Cicilline	Kirkpatrick	Schneider
Cisneros	Krishnamoorthi	Schrader
Clark (MA)	Kuster (NH)	Schrier
Clarke (NY)	Lamb	Scott (VA)
Clay	Langevin	Scott, David
Cleaver	Larsen (WA)	Serrano
Cohen	Larson (CT)	Sewell (AL)
Connolly	Lawrence	Shalala
Cooper	Lawson (FL)	Sherman
Courtney	Lee (CA)	Sherrill
Cox (CA)	Lee (NV)	Sires
Craig	Levin (CA)	Slotkin
Crist	Levin (MI)	Smith (NJ)
Crow	Lewis	Smith (WA)
Cunningham	Lieu, Ted	Soto
Davids (KS)	Lipinski	Spanberger
Davis (CA)	Loeb sack	Speier
Davis, Danny K.	Lofgren	Stanton
Dean	Lowenthal	Stefanik
DeFazio	Lowe	Stevens
DeGette	Luján	Suozzi
DeLauro	Luria	Swalwell (CA)
DelBene	Lynch	Takano
Delgado	Malinowski	Thompson (CA)
Demings	Maloney	Thompson (MS)
DeSaulnier	Carolyn B.	Titus
Deutch	Maloney, Sean	Tlaib
Dingell	Matsui	Tonko
Doggett	McAdams	Torres (CA)
Doyle, Michael	McBath	Torres Small
F.	McCollum	(NM)
Engel	McGovern	Trahan
Escobar	McNerney	Trone
Eshoo	Meeks	Underwood
Espallat	Meng	Van Drew
Evans	Moore	Vargas
Finkenauer	Morelle	Veasey
Fitzpatrick	Moulton	Velázquez
Foster	Mucarsel-Powell	Visclosky
Frankel	Murphy	Wasserman
Fudge	Nadler	Schultz
Gallego	Napolitano	Waters
Garamendi	Neal	Watson Coleman
Garcia (IL)	Neguse	Welch
Garcia (TX)	Norcross	Wexton
Golden	O'Halleran	Wild
Gomez	Ocasio-Cortez	Wilson (FL)
Gottheimer	Omar	Yarmuth
Green, Al (TX)	Pallone	

NOES—193

Aderholt	Bilirakis	Calvert
Allen	Bishop (UT)	Carter (GA)
Amash	Bost	Carter (TX)
Amodel	Brady	Chabot
Armstrong	Brooks (AL)	Cheney
Arrington	Brooks (IN)	Cline
Babin	Buchanan	Cloud
Bacon	Buck	Cole
Balderson	Bucshon	Collins (GA)
Banks	Budd	Comer
Barr	Burchett	Conaway
Bergman	Burgess	Cook
Biggs	Byrne	Costa



Crawford	Johnson (SD)	Rodgers (WA)
Crenshaw	Jordan	Roe, David P.
Cuellar	Joyce (OH)	Rogers (AL)
Curtis	Joyce (PA)	Rogers (KY)
Davidson (OH)	Katko	Rose, John W.
Davis, Rodney	Keller	Rouzer
DesJarlais	Kelly (MS)	Roy
Diaz-Balart	Kelly (PA)	Rutherford
Duffy	King (IA)	Scalise
Duncan	King (NY)	Schweikert
Dunn	Kinzinger	Scott, Austin
Emmer	Kustoff (TN)	Sensenbrenner
Estes	LaHood	Shimkus
Ferguson	LaMalfa	Simpson
Fleischmann	Lamborn	Smith (MO)
Fletcher	Latta	Smith (NE)
Flores	Lesko	Smucker
Fortenberry	Long	Spano
Fox (NC)	Loudermilk	Stauber
Fulcher	Lucas	Steil
Gaetz	Luetkemeyer	Steube
Gallagher	Marshall	Stewart
Gianforte	Massie	Stivers
Gibbs	Mast	Taylor
Gohmert	McCarthy	Thompson (PA)
Gonzalez (OH)	McCaul	Thornberry
Gooden	McClintock	Timmons
Gosar	McHenry	Tipton
Granger	McKinley	Turner
Graves (GA)	Meadows	Upton
Graves (LA)	Meuser	Vela
Graves (MO)	Miller	Wagner
Green (TN)	Mitchell	Walberg
Griffith	Moolenaar	Walden
Grothman	Mooney (WV)	Walker
Guest	Mullin	Walorski
Guthrie	Newhouse	Waltz
Hagedorn	Norman	Watkins
Harris	Nunes	Weber (TX)
Hartzer	Olson	Webster (FL)
Hern, Kevin	Palazzo	Wenstrup
Herrera Beutler	Palmer	Westerman
Hice (GA)	Pence	Williams
Higgins (LA)	Perry	Wilson (SC)
Hill (AR)	Peterson	Wittman
Holding	Posey	Womack
Hollingsworth	Ratcliffe	Woodall
Hudson	Reed	Wright
Hunter	Reschenthaler	Young
Hurd (TX)	Rice (SC)	Zeldin
Johnson (LA)	Riggleman	
Johnson (OH)	Roby	

## NOT VOTING—14

Abraham	Correa	Marchant
Baird	Cummings	McEachin
Castro (TX)	Gabbard	Rice (NY)
Clyburn	Gonzalez (TX)	Yoho
Collins (NY)	Huizenga	

□ 1202

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. VELA. Mr. Speaker, at the end of a long vote series today, I unintentionally voted nay for H.R. 1146, the Arctic Cultural and Coastal Plan Protection Act, on rollcall number 530. Had I been able to correct my vote at that time, I would have voted "aye."

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Miss RICE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was necessarily absent from votes on Thursday September 12, 2019. Had I been present, I would have voted "nay" on rollcall No. 526; "nay" on rollcall No. 527; "nay" on rollcall No. 528; "nay" on rollcall No. 529; and "yea" on rollcall No. 530.

## DIRECTING THE CLERK TO PROVIDE AUDIO BACKUP FILE OF DEPOSITION OF ROGER J. STONE JR.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I send to the desk a resolution (H. Res. 553) directing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to provide a copy of

the on-the-record portions of the audio backup file of the transcribed interview of Roger J. Stone Jr. conducted by the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence on September 26, 2017, to the prosecuting attorneys in the case of the United States of America v. Stone, No. 1:19-cr-00018-ABJ (D.D.C.), and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

## H. RES. 553

Whereas on September 26, 2017, Roger J. Stone Jr. appeared in Washington, DC, and was interviewed by the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives in connection with that Committee's investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 United States election;

Whereas the Department of Justice requested in a December 14, 2018, letter to the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence that the Committee provide a transcript of its September 26, 2017, interview with Mr. Stone, as well as any other written submissions or correspondence from Mr. Stone or his attorneys before and after his interview;

Whereas on December 20, 2018, pursuant to a bipartisan Committee vote on that date authorizing the release of Executive Session materials, the then-Chair and ranking minority member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence jointly sent the Department of Justice the transcript of Mr. Stone's September 26, 2017, interview, as well as an enumerated list of related materials;

Whereas on January 24, 2019, Mr. Stone was indicted by a grand jury on seven counts, including one count of obstruction of an official proceeding, in violation of sections 1505 and 2 of title 18, United States Code, and five counts of making false statements in violation of sections 1001(a)(2) and 2 of title 18, United States Code;

Whereas the Department of Justice requested via letter on August 20, 2019, that the House voluntarily provide to it a copy of the on-the-record portions of the audio backup file of Mr. Stone's September 26, 2017, transcribed interview;

Whereas by the privileges and rights of the House of Representatives, an audio backup file of Mr. Stone's transcribed interview may not be taken from the possession or control of the Clerk of the House of Representatives by mandate of process of the article III courts of the United States, and may not be provided pursuant to requests by the court or the parties to *United States of America v. Stone* except at the direction of the House; and

Whereas it is the judgment of the House of Representatives that, in the particular circumstances of this case, providing a copy of the on-the-record portions of the audio backup file of Mr. Stone's transcribed interview to the prosecuting attorneys in the case of *United States v. Stone* would promote the ends of justice in a manner consistent with the privileges and rights of the House: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives directs the Clerk of the House to provide for use at trial a copy of the on-the-record portions of the audio backup file of the transcribed interview of Roger J. Stone Jr. that was conducted by the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House

of Representatives on September 26, 2017, to the prosecuting attorneys in the case of *United States of America v. Stone*, No. 1:19-cr-00018-ABJ (D.D.C.).

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Miss Kaitlyn Roberts, one of his secretaries.

## LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. SCALISE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), for the purpose of inquiring of the majority leader the schedule for the week to come.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, the House will meet at 12 p.m. for morning-hour debate, and 2 p.m. for legislative business, with votes postponed until 6:30 p.m. On Wednesday and Thursday of next week, the House will meet at 10 a.m. for morning-hour debate, and 12 p.m. for legislative business. On Friday, the House will meet at 9 a.m. for legislative business, and last votes are expected no later than 3 p.m.

We will consider several bills under suspension of the rules. The complete list of suspension bills will be announced by the close of business tomorrow.

The House, Mr. Speaker, will consider a clean continuing resolution to fund the government past September 30. While the House did its work, and sent 10 appropriation bills to the Senate, funding 96 percent of the government—the first time that is been done in over three decades—I am disappointed that the Senate failed to pass a single appropriation bill. Not one.

Not only that, they haven't filed any until just the other day when we got back from the summer break.

I am disappointed that the Senate failed to introduce a single appropriation bill for the first time in more than three decades. So that while we were very successful, the Senate failed to move forward.

Therefore, as we wait for them to complete their work so that we can begin conference negotiations, a continuing resolution will be necessary to prevent another government shutdown like the one we experienced earlier this year.

In addition, the House will consider H.R. 1423, Forced Arbitration Injustice Repeal Act, called the FAIR Act, and the legislation would eliminate forced arbitration in employment, consumer, and civil rights cases so that Americans, as they have under the Constitution, would have the right to seek redress of grievances through the courts.



This would restore access to justice for millions of Americans who are currently locked out of the court system and are forced to settle their disputes against companies in a private system of arbitration.

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, as it relates to the funding of government, I know that it is important that as we finally got an agreement a few months ago to come up with a 2-year budget process where we agreed on numbers of funding, especially for the Defense Department which needs that certainty, they don't want these short-term CRs. They need the long-term certainty so they can go out and acquire the kind of equipment we need to keep our men and women in uniform safe to effectively do their jobs in a safe manner.

One of the things I would point out, as the gentleman talked about the Senate process, let's be clear that the House bills that were passed out moved on a very partisan basis. There were no bipartisan agreements as you passed the bills out of the House.

The Senate does work differently. The Senate has to have a 60-vote margin to get any bills moved, so they have been in negotiations to try to get, not a partisan agreement but a bipartisan agreement, and, unfortunately, so far, they have had a lot of problems with some of the Senate Democrats who try to put poison pills in those budget talks that would ultimately not yield something that can get signed into law and would not comply with the 2-year budget agreement that we reached.

So I would encourage both on our side, there should have been a bipartisan agreement on the bills that are moved through, and at least there are some talks going on, but they haven't resulted in bipartisan legislation that can get signed by the President.

The Senate needs to do the same thing. And so we are beyond the time for partisan differences. Now is the time where we need to come together and agree on those things that we can put in a bill that can get signed into law. Drop this idea of these poison pills that everybody knows will gum up the works. Let's get the certainty that we deserve for a full budget process for the year.

We are not there yet. If we have to do a short-term budget agreement or short-term CR, then that is one thing that we may consider next week. We haven't seen the final details, of course. It would have to be clean with no poison pills attached to it. But, hopefully, that yields talks that are truly bipartisan, which we haven't, unfortunately, seen to this point.

So I would hope that we can get beyond that next week. It gives us more time to have real negotiations that can result in something that can get signed into law and give certainty to our men and women in uniform and all of the other agencies that rely on us doing that work on a bipartisan basis.

I would like to shift gears and ask the gentleman about the United

States-Mexico-Canada Agreement, USMCA. I yield to the gentleman if he has something to add to that.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I understand the gentleman said a lot of things about reaching bipartisan agreements and all of this sort of stuff, and the Senate needed 60 votes. They didn't introduce a bill. Not a single appropriation bill was introduced.

□ 1215

They had the same 60-vote requirement last year, and they passed a lot of bills last year. The reason they didn't pass bills is that the President of the United States wouldn't come to the table and agree on caps. They could have done the same thing we did.

We are an independent branch of government. We are the Article I branch of government. We appropriate money. We spend money. But the Senate has not done its work.

If you brought the bills to the floor and couldn't get 60 votes, we get it. But I will tell my friend that there is great frustration. For the first time since my friend has been a Member of the Congress, we passed 96 percent of the funding for government by June 30, otherwise known as 3 full months before the end of the fiscal year, giving the Senate a lot of time.

But, no, we had to wait and wait and wait until the President sent down Secretary Mnuchin, and we finally made an agreement on 302(a)s, in other words, the caps, what we were going to spend.

With all due respect to all this talk about bipartisanship and that we need to work together, that is, of course, true. It was not true in the Congresses when my friend's party was in the majority. The Republicans passed partisan bills, and they went over to the Senate. The Senate didn't take them, and we went back and forth.

There has been no back and forth. We did our work, and although the Republicans disagreed with the numbers publicly, privately, very frankly, a lot of my friend's Members told me the numbers were pretty good numbers, and they liked them, including defense. We passed a Defense bill with a substantial increase for our troops, readiness, operations, and training.

I say that to Mr. Whip not to criticize my friend but to simply say that of all this verbiage about being nice to get together and do something, the regular order is we pass bills, the Senate passes bills, and then we have a conference. Unfortunately, we have gotten away from that, which I think is very bad for the House, the Senate, and the American people.

We cannot go to conference if the Senate doesn't even pass a bill, doesn't even introduce a bill, waiting on the President of the United States to say, "Simon says."

We can't get a bill supported by 90 percent of the American people, comprehensive background checks, which

90 percent, a majority of my friend's party, a majority of my party, and a majority of independents thinks makes common sense. We passed it in February, and we can't even have it on the floor in the United States Senate.

Not only are they not doing appropriations bills, but they are not doing any other bills either. They spend all their time on judges.

We are a little frustrated on this side because we have done our work. Ninety-six percent of government is funded, and, yes, there could have been differences of opinion. They should have passed bills and said, no, we don't agree.

Mr. Speaker, the problem they would have had, I tell my friend, is that they didn't want to have bipartisan bills because, yes, it would have required them to get 60 votes, and they didn't want to make the compromises necessary to get 60 votes.

We are here, just a little more than 15 days before the end of the fiscal year, and the Senate has not passed a single bill while we have funded 96 percent of government. This CR is necessary. Nobody wants to shut down government, I hope. Hopefully, the CR will not have anything that either party will disagree with, and we will extend some things that need to be extended because we haven't acted upon them in a timely fashion. But I am hopeful that the CR will get to the Senate, that we will pass the CR, that there will be no drama, and then, as the gentleman suggests, and I agree with him, that we will sit down in a bipartisan way and try to reach agreement on each 1 of the 12 appropriations bills and either put them separately or in a minibus or omnibus and pass them to fund the government and not have what we had last year and into the first part of 2017, a shutdown of the Government of the United States. That was not good for the people of our country, not good for our government employees, and not good for the Congress of the United States to be unable to do its work, resulting in a shutdown of government.

I appreciate the gentleman's sentiment about doing things in a bipartisan way, but you can't do things in a bipartisan way if they don't come to the floor. If the leader over there doesn't have 60 votes, then he needs to reach a compromise because we need to get our business done. We passed all of our bills. Some were not partisan, I think, in many ways, but there was a determination not to vote for them because we hadn't reached a caps number. I think that was unfortunate because I think, as someone who served on the committee for 23 years, Mr. Speaker, we passed our bills in many, many instances—most instances—in a bipartisan fashion.

I didn't want the comment to go not responded to, in terms of the Senate's refusal and unwillingness to act and do its business. And here we are, not a single bill—not one—has been passed through the committee.

The gentleman's party has the majority on the committee. At least my friend could report them out of committee and then work on getting 60 votes.

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, there were a number of items that my friend brought up. I will start with the government shutdown that the gentleman referred to last year. When we were in the majority last year, we passed bipartisan bills to fund over 70 percent of the government prior to October 1—no shutdown—more than 70 percent of the government that we worked with Democrats and President Trump to get an agreement on, including defense, so our men and women in uniform did not have that uncertainty and had that full year of funding. All of that was worked out.

Clearly, we had a difference of agreement over the Homeland Security Department because of funding for border security. The government shutdown was clearly over whether or not we were going to have a secure border and all the things that were involved, including physical barriers. We resolved it, and the President was able to get over \$4.5 billion of new money to continue putting that physical security in place to secure our Nation's border. That took a few more months, but we resolved it.

Keep in mind, over 70 percent of the government was fully funded prior to the end of the fiscal year, working with Republicans and Democrats in the House and Senate.

As the gentleman brags about passing over 96 percent of the bills out of the House, it has to be noted that the majority didn't work with Republicans to do it. The easy thing is just to say that we will just talk amongst ourselves, knowing it will never get signed into law. Of course, a partisan bill is not going to get signed into law when you have a President of the different party or when you have a Senate controlled by a different party.

The Senate works differently than us. We can have that debate for another day. We would probably both agree on a lot of the differences we have with how the Senate operates. But because of their 60-vote requirement, they know nothing is going to pass unless they have Republican and Democratic agreement in those negotiations.

Let's be clear about what is bottling up those negotiations. There are Senate Democrats in Democratic leadership on the Democratic side who are offering up things that everybody knows are poison pills that would not get signed into law.

They are at an impasse. They need to break that impasse. That is their issue. But, Mr. Speaker, you can talk to some of the Senate Democrats who are trying to offer up things that everybody knows will not happen or become law or pass over there, but both sides need to come together.

Mr. Speaker, when you pass an NDAA bill—and the gentleman from Maryland

knows this. The National Defense Authorization Act is a bill that a Republican-controlled House or a Democratic-controlled House, no matter who has been in charge, we have come together always. Every single year that we have moved an NDAA, it has been bipartisan. This is the first year that the majority broke from that.

The majority passed a partisan bill on defense knowing it was never going to become law but not working with Democrats and breaking the tradition that every year we have followed, that Republicans and Democrats would come together and say that we have all of these other differences—and there are a lot of differences that we have that we need to work through. We might get some; we might not get others. But we put defense on the side and said that this is one where we will come together, Republicans and Democrats in every year we did it, including last year when we were in the majority.

This year, the majority did not. They broke that tradition. It is unfortunate because, again, that will never become law.

My friend can brag they got it done, but they got something done that will never get signed into law and broke a tradition that we have always had that that bill was bipartisan, making sure that we work together to take care of our men and women in uniform in a way that they deserve and in a timely way.

I would hope that we would get those things done before October 1. But we all know what came out of this House is not what is going to be a final product.

Let's work better to get these addressed, working with Members of both parties and the President, who, by the way, did agree with us on the numbers. We are in agreement. The House, the Senate, and the White House have finally agreed on the numbers.

Now it is up to us in the Congress to come to an agreement. It is not just, hey, we passed our bill with just members of our party. It is going to have to mean people work together through those differences as we have done in the past.

Sometimes we disagreed. Seventy percent of government was funded last year prior to October 1. Ultimately, we got agreement on the rest.

Does the gentleman have anything else to say on that before I move on?

Mr. HOYER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCALISE. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, the defense bill passed this House with almost every Republican voting against it. It was a bill that provided \$733 billion, a figure that the Joint Chiefs of Staff suggested publicly. It was a figure that I know personally was a figure that was deemed acceptable by the leadership of the authorizing committee and the appropriating committee on the

Republican side. The rhetoric was totally partisan.

We have now made a deal, and we are now going to save defense because we did \$5 billion more. The figure last year, of course, was somewhere around \$700 billion, a little over.

I will tell my friend that we believe on our side of the aisle that the opposition to the defense bill was totally partisan, no attempt at bipartisanship. Yes, the Republicans had some success in getting bipartisan bills through. Why? Because we were prepared to vote in a bipartisan way.

That is the difference. We were prepared to vote in a bipartisan way. We were prepared to accept my friend's party was the majority.

Mr. Speaker, we understand when you are in the minority you work to get the best objective you think is possible. We did that, and the gentleman, Mr. Speaker, says that they got bipartisan bills done because Democrats voted for them, including me. But I know the number was an acceptable number, and it was a number suggested by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Yet we heard rhetoric after rhetoric of how this was letting down the Defense Department.

What did they do? They made a deal, not \$733 billion, \$738 billion. My goodness, what an extraordinary difference. They voted against funding the men and women in uniform, funding operations, and funding overseas contingencies.

I hope that we get off this. If you want to talk bipartisan, act bipartisan, Mr. Speaker. Talk is cheap. It was clear that Democrats, in fact, when the Republicans were in the majority, did vote on a number of occasions, not every occasion, for bipartisanship. But you can't have bipartisanship if you don't introduce a bill.

Mr. Speaker, the Republicans have the majority in the United States Senate on the committee. They don't need 60 votes in the committee. They don't need 60 percent. They don't need two-thirds. All they need is a simple majority to pass a bill out of committee, as the gentleman pointed out when he said we did fund some pieces of government before. Why? Because we got bipartisan agreement.

□ 1230

And I have never seen, as I say, in three decades, the Senate fail to even introduce an appropriation bill prior to the end of July.

I hope the Senate will move with some degree of alacrity. I hope that we will get to agreement on these 12 bills. I hope that we will fund the government and not have a shutdown, as we had the last time. The first time it has ever happened in a new Congress where the government was shutdown—all over the wall—which a number of Republicans have said is not a useful thing to do.

I won't name them. I am sure the minority whip, the Republican whip,

knows a lot of them. They served in this body. Some are chairman of committees over there now.

So I am hopeful that we will move together on the appropriations process and do our business, do it on time, as we have done here in the House so that the American people can be well-served.

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, let's be clear on the funding of government. From last year, we did fund over 70 percent of the government, and we didn't play a partisan game with our Nation's defense.

This bill, the NDAA, you can talk about what both sides should do.

Mr. HOYER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCALISE. Let me make this point, because you have made some points that aren't completely accurate.

The number we agreed upon—but if you say, Okay, we agree on a certain spending level, that is one part of the debate. But you then go put policies in the bill at that level that undermine, not only our beliefs of what is best for national defense, but what the President needs to do to be able to do his job to secure our border. You did that in the bill knowing that that would make it partisan. It was a bipartisan bill, and then you added provisions, like things that would undermine the ability to secure America's border in that bill knowing it was partisan.

If you took that out, you knew it would have been a bipartisan bill, but you left it in. And that is a pattern we have seen from Speaker PELOSI's majority this year.

We had a bill in the Committee on Energy and Commerce to lower drug prices—a major problem in this country. Republicans and Democrats worked for months and came up with a bill in the committee of jurisdiction to solve the problem and lower drug prices.

And you know what happened? It was a unanimous vote—unanimous vote.

People looking at Congress going, Wow, here in the year 2019, on a major issue like lowering drug prices, Republicans and Democrats came together and figured out a way to lower drug prices, and the vote was unanimous.

You would figure we would put that on suspension the next day to pass it out, so we could get it signed by the President as soon as possible and lower drug prices as soon as possible.

And you know what happened? It just happened a few months ago. As that bill came out of committee unanimously to lower drug prices, the Speaker made a decision that she was going to put a poison pill in it—after it came out of committee, before it was voted on on the House floor—knowing what that would do.

And it immediately became a partisan bill because you put something in that you knew was not going to get Republican support. And so the bill passed out of the House. And you can brag you passed it, but it is not going to go anywhere.

It will not become law, but we had a bill that was unanimous out of committee to lower drug prices. It would be signed into law today if you wouldn't have done that. But you wanted to play political games, and it has happened over and over.

And so you can talk about what you passed, but when there was a bill that was unanimous out of the committee of jurisdiction, where doctors, people in the healthcare professions, people in business, people on both sides of the aisle that know this issue figured out a way to put all of their differences aside and pass a bill to lower drug prices, you had to make that partisan after it came out of committee unanimously.

That is what has been done over and over that undermines the ability for us to get our job done. We could have gotten that done. It could be signed by the President today, and we could all hail that as a major accomplishment.

That is just one example, and it is happened over and over again, and it shouldn't happen that way.

So, yes, we need to move this process along, but we move it along by working together. Defense could have been done in a bipartisan way. The things that were added in that you knew would make it partisan shouldn't have been put in that bill. It had never happened that way before, ever.

We had always passed a bipartisan NDAA bill through the House, and this is the first year that didn't happen. Drug pricing could be solved, but it hasn't happened yet. It should happen. I hope we get it done, but it should have been done in a partisan way when the committee figured out a way to do it unanimously.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE) for yielding.

We can discuss all sorts of bills, but we discussed the appropriations process. And the gentleman expressed how they were able to pass 70 percent of funding of the government because they had the Defense bill and the Labor-Health, which are the two biggest bills, passed and signed by the President.

Why were they able to do that, Mr. Speaker, when it requires 60 votes in the Senate? They didn't have 60 votes in the Senate because Democrats acted in a bipartisan way to affect that end.

This year, we have had no opportunity to do that. We have had no opportunity to conference on our bills. Republicans lead the Senate, passed your bills, and if you can't get 60 votes, yes, you would have to compromise in the Senate.

You didn't compromise when you were in charge, frankly, on an awful lot of things that had closed rules, more than any other Congress, so we didn't have an opportunity to even amend.

But that aside, when you claim that you passed those bills you did, and the only reason you could do it is because

the Democrats acted in a bipartisan fashion because you did not have the votes to pass them on your own, you needed Democratic votes. Democrats gave you those votes because we knew that in order to get things done you had to move in a bipartisan fashion.

That is the only way you were able to do it. We have not been given the opportunity in the United States Senate because there are no bills yet to consider, except for the last 3 days the bills came forward.

But for the first 9 months of the year, no bills came forward, Mr. Speaker, not one.

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I would hope those Senators on both sides of the aisle, as they are having negotiations—and, yeah, they don't have a bill, but they are negotiating. And there are Senators that know that some of the provisions they are insisting upon are things that will not become law because they undermine our Nation's security. And yet, they keep insisting. And so they are not at an agreement, but they need to keep working just like we need to work in a bipartisan way on those issues. And they will get resolved if we do that.

And, again, I think if you go look at the example of what the House Committee on Energy and Commerce did on lowering drug prices, it is a great model to follow.

That bill should have been brought to the floor. That bill should not have been changed by the Speaker at the last minute to become partisan, and now it is not law.

I would like to move on to something that has been troubling that we have been seeing out of the Committee on the Judiciary, and that is this drum-beat towards impeachment. It seems like there is an infatuation by this majority to impeach the President of the United States, whether or not the facts are there. And so there was the Mueller report that went on for years.

And all of these members—chairs of your own committees—saying there was evidence that they had, and it was going to show the President colluded here and there. And then it turned out to be false; there was no collusion.

We know that. The report showed that. Russia tried to interfere with our elections when Barack Obama was President. Maybe they should be investigating why he didn't do more to stop the Russians from trying to interfere with our elections, but there was no collusion.

So instead of saying, Okay, that is it, move on—as the American people would like to see us do—maybe that committee that has jurisdiction over the border, over immigration law, that has serious problems that should be worked out in a bipartisan way, and could be worked out in a bipartisan way, but it is not, because the committee of jurisdiction is infatuated with impeaching the President.

In fact, the chairman of the committee just said today: This is formal

impeachment proceedings. The chairman of the committee said that today, as they are having a hearing on impeaching the President without even evidence to impeach him. There is nothing to impeach him on. They have Articles of Impeachment drawn up with blanks that they are just looking around to fill in on this witch hunt, and they are just going to look and look and look.

Imagine if somebody said, We are going to target a person and we are going to try to indict him. We don't have anything to indict him on, but we are going to write up an indictment and then look around and look around and hope to find something.

And that is what is going on in the Committee on the Judiciary. So they had this hearing today. They changed the rules. They had this big drama. The media is all covering it. The chairman says: This is formal impeachment proceedings.

And then you look at the rules that they brought forward. The rules that they brought forward allow the chairman to do things he can already do. It was a farce. It was a farce to try to appease the radical left base that wants to impeach the President, even though there is nothing to impeach him on. And instead of just giving it up and focusing on their job, the things they should be focused on, they are just going to keep meandering around on this witch hunt.

And I know some in your majority—maybe even the majority leader himself—are trying to distance themselves from it because they know the American people think that it is lunacy to be wasting time trying to impeach the President, even though there is nothing to impeach him on and just driving around on a witch hunt.

And so I guess the real question is, if the chairman of the committee—your chairman—today, said: This is formal impeachment proceedings. He talked about, hopefully, by the end of the year they will vote on Articles of Impeachment—“hopefully,” by the end of the year.

There is nothing to impeach him on, and yet they are going to actually go out on a witch hunt and say, We are going to look for something, and by the end of the year, we hope to impeach the President.

So I would ask the gentleman: Are you all bringing Articles of Impeachment to the floor? Is the chairman rightly going down an impeachment road? And what exactly are those articles?

What are the Articles of Impeachment, if the committee today—your chairman of your committee—said: This is formal impeachment proceedings? What exactly is the gentleman planning on impeaching the President of the United States on? And are you, if he brings those Articles of Impeachment out of committee—blanks that haven't even been filled in—if they bring them to the floor, or

if they move them out of committee by the end of the year, as the chairman hopes, is the gentleman prepared to bring that to the floor of the United States House of Representatives?

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the committee spoke about their process. Their process has been a fact-finding process. That is our responsibility as a Congress. That is his responsibility and the committee's responsibility as a committee.

The majority party claims that they have an agenda for the people, and the people believe we ought to exercise our responsibility. That is what the committee is doing. I do not want to anticipate what the committee's findings will ultimately be nor what the committee's actions will finally be. We will wait to see. But it is exercising its responsibility as a coequal branch of government as provided in the Constitution.

I am not going to get into an argument, Mr. Speaker, about the premises in the Mueller report, other than to say I disagree with the characterization made by the Republican whip. That will be for another day to argue that.

The committee is doing its duty and it will continue to do so. And if it decides that that requires further action, my presumption is it will pursue that as well.

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman, but I don't think the question has been answered. Because the gentleman says the committee has a responsibility, and I agree. But the committee has a responsibility to be responsible, and it is highly irresponsible. It is reckless and dangerous for the committee to start impeachment proceedings when there is nothing to impeach the President on.

We were in the majority when the President of the United States was somebody we had a lot of disagreements with. We never filed Articles of Impeachment or talked about impeaching the President because there was nothing to impeach the President on. We never did that.

We might have disagreed with them on a lot of things, but there were no committee hearings where the chairman said: This is formal impeachment proceedings, with nothing to impeach the President on.

If he does something years down the road when he gets reelected, you know, this is not the time to go and try to harass the President when there is nothing that you have found—and you have looked. There has been this witch hunt going on for years.

It didn't yield what you were hoping for it to yield. We all should have applauded when the Mueller report said that there was no collusion. But instead of closing it out, there is still—I guess he says, by the end of the year he wants to move Articles of Impeachment. So I guess that means they have

drafted it up and are hoping to find something to fill in the blanks.

But that is irresponsible of that committee to be moving down a course of impeachment when there is nothing to impeach the President on, and especially, when there is so much other work that needs to be done by that committee.

We have a border that is out of control right now; thousands of people coming across every day. Good thing the President of the United States has actually worked in agreement with Mexico. The President was able to achieve that recently, where the Mexican President said that he is going to start putting thousands of troops at the Mexican southern border.

And you know what? It is starting to yield results. But we still have human trafficking coming across our border. We still have drugs coming across our border. And there has been requests made to get more funding to secure that border, to put technology in place, to put other tools in place so that our border patrol agents can do their job securing America's border. And that is the committee of jurisdiction, and they are not bringing bills out of committee to solve that.

They are filing Articles of Impeachment or hoping to move Articles of Impeachment in the next 3 months. And there is not even anything filled in, because there is nothing the President has done to be impeached upon.

This is a serious responsibility the committee has, and, yet, they are acting in such a reckless fashion such to appease the radical left base, who wants to impeach the President, even though there is nothing to impeach him on.

But everybody else in America says, Do your job and focus on the things that are in front of you and drop this daily harassment and drumbeat of impeachment and witch hunts.

□ 1245

It is time to move on and do the work of the committee instead of focusing on impeaching a President, even though there is nothing to impeach him on.

If there is something, show us what it is. But to recklessly say in an open hearing that they are going to impeach the President and move Articles of Impeachment to this House floor by the end of this year, on what?

This has to end. We have to focus on the things that need to be fixed by that committee and this Congress and drop this witch hunt.

Look, at some point, the other side is going to have to figure out which way they want to go because some people in the gentleman's radical base might want to impeach no matter what, but everybody else knows it is the wrong thing to do. Everybody else knows it is irresponsible for that committee to act that way.

I would hope that y'all would make the right decision and say that you are

going to move forward on the things that need to be addressed by the committee. If there is something that comes up, sure, they go look at it, but there is not anything. If there was, they would have filed it already. But to say they are going to file it even if there is nothing, that is dangerous, reckless, and irresponsible.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I didn't want to get into this debate, and I don't want to prolong it, but I do not want the premises articulated by the whip, Mr. Speaker, to stand unobjected to.

In my view, Mr. Speaker, the Mueller report is replete with instances of cooperation by members of the Trump team with the Russians, page after page after page. As a matter of fact, one of them was Page, of collusion.

Now, "collusion" is not a legal term. "Conspiracy" is the legal term. Mr. Mueller said we didn't look at collusion because it was not a legal premise.

In fact, Mr. Mueller made it very clear that the reason they didn't find criminal wrongdoing was because they believed, under Justice Department rules, a President cannot be indicted during the course of his term. They did not absolve him.

Whether it was obstruction of justice, using a foreign government that is, essentially, not our ally, not our friend, or meeting with Putin secretly and not allowing the American people or the Congress to know what was said, my friend's premise that there is no smoke, no fire, is wrong.

Very frankly, as someone who has served here a long time and who has seen some of the most irresponsible attacks on the President during the Obama administration—hearings, over and over and over again. A tragedy in Benghazi—seven hearings, seven hearings, all concluded nothing there, so they had an eighth hearing.

The gentleman talks about Judiciary. Eight hearings on Benghazi, four lives lost tragically, with an attempt over and over and over again to be made a political issue. The eighth found nothing there either.

When I see this wringing of hands, Mr. Speaker, I am not impressed. I have been here for a long time. I have seen irresponsible action, and the American people have seen it.

The Judiciary Committee is doing what it pledged to do when they all raised their hands to defend and support the Constitution of the United States of America.

The President would like us to think everything is fake news. The gentleman hasn't used "fake news" but "the witch hunt."

"Poor me. I am the victim of all these people," when, daily, the President says things that are demonstrably not true.

Mr. Speaker, the Judiciary Committee will continue to pursue its duties, as it needs to do.

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, if you talk about Benghazi, there are a lot of serious questions that have not been answered yet.

Mr. HOYER. Eight hearings, all Republican-led.

Mr. SCALISE. Eight hearings, and maybe more should have been had, to investigate why those deaths happened that should not have happened.

Mr. HOYER. And all found nothing there.

Mr. SCALISE. It shouldn't have happened. It should have been stopped.

Mr. HOYER. All found nothing there, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SCALISE. It was unwarranted, what happened there. Fast and Furious, a lot of questions raised.

There were multiple times when the President took action where, ultimately, he was found to be out of compliance with the law, where courts reversed what the President did. We never moved Articles of Impeachment for that. That doesn't warrant high crimes and misdemeanors.

Surely, we investigated those things, and in most cases, it turned out we were right.

With Benghazi, those questions still haven't been answered, about why they died and shouldn't have, because everybody knew the dangers.

Mr. HOYER. Eight hearings found nothing there.

Mr. SCALISE. Found nothing there?

Mr. HOYER. All led by Republicans.

Mr. SCALISE. Found out that Americans died when it was known that it was dangerous where they were. Why weren't planes circled? You could have flown jets over there in 15 minutes to scare away the people who were attacking that Embassy and killing Americans.

We looked into it, and it raised a lot of questions.

Mr. HOYER. Eight times you looked into it.

Mr. SCALISE. Maybe it should have been more to look into why those Americans died so that it doesn't happen again. Things like that, which shouldn't have happened, we should find out what went wrong. Why did people miss telltale signs and let those people die who shouldn't have died?

Yes, those hearings were warranted, but we never filed Articles of Impeachment. We never said we were going to move to impeach so now let's go figure something out, see if we can find something, and even if we don't find something, we are still going to do it.

That is reckless. They took an oath, absolutely, like all of us, to uphold this Constitution and protect this country.

We have a border that is not secure. We have thousands of people coming over every single day, including people who are bringing drugs, trafficking humans, young kids who are being abused. We all know what is happening.

That is the committee of jurisdiction, and they are ignoring it. They haven't produced a single bill to go and solve that problem.

Are they okay with what is going on at the border? They don't think that legislation is warranted to address it, to close the asylum loopholes that everybody knows are a magnet that is bringing people over here illegally, coming through other countries that are offering them asylum to come here illegally? But we don't want to fix that problem because the committee is focused on impeachment.

We will see what they do. But the American people are watching, too, and the American people are tired of those kinds of games—every single day, focusing their energies and taxpayer dollars on attacking the President, on attacking his family, on attacking his Cabinet members and people who did business deals with him 20 years ago who are getting subpoenaed and who have nothing to do with his Presidency just because they want to harass the President because they don't like the fact that he was duly elected in 2016.

The American people did duly elect him President, and he is doing his job. He is carrying out his mission despite all that.

Shame on that committee for continuing to abuse their power by going after something whether it is there or not. Every prosecutor knows you don't try to go find something on somebody. You should follow the facts. If the facts lead you to a dead end, then you end. You don't keep looking. It is not there.

They want to keep doing it and abusing their power. But there is accountability that happens, too. That is why we have elections.

If that is what the committee wants to do, and if that is what the leadership of this House Democratic Caucus wants to do, people are watching.

I want to talk about one final thing, and that is USMCA, an opportunity for us to get something big done for this country.

I had a meeting yesterday with Ambassador Lighthizer, the U.S. Trade Representative, who I know has been meeting with Speaker PELOSI and her team. In fact, a few weeks ago, the Speaker, through her trade working group on USMCA, sent a letter to Ambassador Lighthizer, identifying some areas that they would like addressed in the USMCA trade agreement.

I understand that, last night, Ambassador Lighthizer sent a reply, including things that he has worked with the Democratic majority on, to try to address some of those issues and ultimately get this done.

I say this in the most sincere way: I really do think USMCA is something that we can do together, that we can get an agreement with our friends from the north and south. Canada and Mexico have both come to the table and agreed to make NAFTA work better for American workers, for American industries, for our dairy farmers that can't sell their products into Canada right now that will be able to have better open markets, better working conditions.

Clearly, we want to make sure there is enforcement, and I know that is being worked through, to put belt and suspenders.

At the end of the day, every day we wait means more jobs we are missing out on creating for our economy. I know that there is still the opportunity to get this done, maybe in the next few weeks.

We have a whip team that has been put in place specifically for USMCA. I know there are a lot of Democrats that have been working with Ambassador Lighthizer as well, to try to get this done.

I would ask the gentleman if he has any idea of where that process is on his side, if there is any idea of a timeline to finally bring this to the floor, pass this important agreement that would send a message not only to our friends from the north and south, Canada and Mexico, but to our friends all around the world, to Japan and other countries that want to get trade agreements with America but this is holding back because they want to see if this can get done.

Then, ultimately, let's shift our focus to China and all the countries around the world that want China to have to comply with the rules that everybody else has to comply with, to finally get these tariff fights over so we can have an even stronger economy.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, we have said all along that we want to get to yes on the USMCA. Frankly, we think it is an improvement over NAFTA, which needs improving.

As the gentleman may know, the Speaker and I were here when we voted on NAFTA. We both voted for it.

There were some promises made and side agreements that the rights of workers and the environment would be protected. Unfortunately, that did not turn out to be true, so that, in adopting a change to NAFTA, we want to make sure that the promises made in the agreement are promises that can be enforced.

As the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has often said, the commitments in a trade pact aren't worth the paper they are written on if they can't be enforced.

Mr. Speaker, that has been the posture of the Speaker, myself, and of so many others, that enforcement is critical. Unfortunately, the NAFTA enforcement mechanisms have been a failure.

In 25 years, as I am sure the whip knows, the U.S. has taken only one successful enforcement action under the NAFTA dispute resolution procedure, and none in the past 20 years. Not a single enforcement has prevailed. We have been completely unable to enforce its labor provisions, not one successful enforcement action.

We want to get to yes. And, yes, I want to say that Ambassador Lighthizer is somebody who we respect

and think is operating in good faith. We think he is a positive interlocutor. He is somebody who we can work with and have been working with.

On the other hand, we sent a letter 6 weeks ago, and as the gentleman pointed out, we got an answer yesterday. So, it is taking some time for our task force to get answers to questions and to determine how we can move forward to ensure that the matters included in the agreement become reality, not simply words on paper.

That is important for workers. It is important for our environment. Very frankly, it is also important in terms of trying to contain drug prices, here and around the world.

The gentleman talked about prescription drugs. That is one of the items that is still in dispute. We want to get to yes. We think this is an improvement on what exists.

Therefore, I am hopeful that we will be able to get to an agreement. We believe it will require that the agreement be opened and that enforcement be included so that, as the chamber said, it can really be enforced.

If that happens, I am hopeful that we can pass that agreement, with the agreement of our friends in labor, with our friends at the Chamber of Commerce, and in a bipartisan way on this floor. Let's hope that happens.

But we have made it very, very clear that, if it is just words on paper and not enforceable, it is not a good agreement for America or America's workers.

But I hope that we can move forward and achieve an agreement on this issue so that we can pass it.

□ 1300

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I share the gentleman from Maryland's optimism about the ability to get there, to get this done, to get to "yes." And with the provisions that are already in place on enforcement, if there is a way to make them stronger, I know that that is something that Ambassador Lighthizer has been working with the gentleman's team on.

That is why, while the letter was sent 6 weeks ago, Ambassador Lighthizer started going to work right away, sitting down with folks on both sides, including Democratic leadership in the House, to address those as best as both sides could get agreement; and that is where the letter, I think, finally lays out the remedies to those issues that were brought up.

It is my hope that, as that is reviewed, we get to a place where we can find agreement and then get it passed. Mexico has already passed it. Canada is waiting on us. And I think we would send a strong signal to the world that, not only is America the best place to do business, with the strongest economy in the world, but we are also able to reach better trade deals, both for Americans and for our friends. Then there are a lot more folks in line waiting for us to be a part of those kind of deals, too.

So I look forward to the ability to keep working on that. I would love the ability to work with the gentleman as the Republican whip, the leader, laying out a floor schedule for when that comes, and we can celebrate something big for this country and the workers of America.

I thank the gentleman for his work and for this discourse, and I yield back the balance of my time.

#### HOUR OF MEETING ON TOMORROW, AND ADJOURNMENT FROM FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 2019, TO TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 2019

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet at 9 a.m. tomorrow, and further, when the House adjourns on that day, it adjourn to meet on Tuesday, September 17, 2019, when it shall convene at noon for morning-hour debate and 2 p.m. for legislative business.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PHILLIPS). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Ms. Byrd, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed a bill of the following title in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 178. An act to condemn gross human rights violations of ethnic Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang, and calling for an end to arbitrary detention, torture, and harassment of these communities inside and outside China.

The message also announced that the Secretary of the Senate be directed to request the House to return to the Senate the bill (S. 1790) "An Act to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2020 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe military personnel strengths for such fiscal year, and for other purposes."

#### PERMISSION TO EXTEND REMARKS

Ms. LEE of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein extraneous material notwithstanding the fact that it exceeds two pages and is estimated by the Director of the Government Publishing Office to cost \$2,433.98.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

#### CONGRATULATING ELKS LODGE 2839

(Mr. VAN DREW asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. VAN DREW. Mr. Speaker, Elks Lodge 2839, in greater Cape May, South Jersey, recently won first place in the Division IV ENF Chairman's Challenge at the National Convention. It was also named number one in the entire State of New Jersey.

Anne Krause, the lodge's ENF chairperson, is truly a dedicated member whose leadership has helped make this Elks Lodge the very best of its kind.

Elks Lodges help our community by offering programs to keep children healthy and to keep them drug-free. They also meet the needs of veterans and help improve the quality of their life, work that is so much needed in today's times.

In addition to these services, Elks Lodges have a generous charitable foundation that gives millions of dollars in scholarships each year to help shape the future of the community of our children.

I feel very lucky to have such a well-run community center as a place for people to come to gather, to grow closer in our beautiful district.

To all the members and staff of Elks Lodge 2839: Congratulations on your awards, and thank you for all you bring to our community. South Jersey is proud of you; New Jersey is proud of you; and the United States of America is proud of you.

God bless you.

#### HONORING THE LIFE AND SERVICE OF MARCA BRISTO

(Mr. LANGEVIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LANGEVIN. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to celebrate the life of Marca Bristo, whose unyielding commitment to advancing disability rights improved the lives of millions.

As the founder of Access Living and a leader of the National Council on Disability, the National Council on Independent Living, and the United States International Council on Disabilities, Marca fought passionately to ensure that people with disabilities have the same rights as their able-bodied peers, including the right to live independently in the community.

She was a crusader for the Americans with Disabilities Act, and her steadfast advocacy was instrumental in the passage of this landmark civil rights legislation.

Her work tearing down barriers cleared the way for people with disabilities to pursue their own dreams, which, ultimately, also helped me realize my dream of becoming a United States Congressman.

Marca's legacy is the continued improvement of the lives of people with disabilities. She made a difference, and my condolences go out to her entire family and her friends.

#### CONTINUATION OF THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN TERRORIST ATTACKS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 116-62)

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1622(d), provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, within 90 days before the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. Consistent with this provision, I have sent to the *Federal Register* the enclosed notice, stating that the emergency declared in Proclamation 7463 of September 14, 2001, "National Emergency by Reason of Certain Terrorist Attacks," is to continue in effect beyond September 14, 2019.

The threat of terrorism that resulted in the declaration of a national emergency on September 14, 2001, continues. The authorities that have been invoked under that declaration of a national emergency continue to be critical to the ability of the Armed Forces of the United States to perform essential missions in the United States and around the world to address the continuing threat of terrorism. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to continue in effect the national emergency declared on September 14, 2001, in response to certain terrorist attacks.

DONALD J. TRUMP.

THE WHITE HOUSE, September 12, 2019.

#### ISSUES OF THE DAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2019, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOHMERT) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. GOHMERT. Mr. Speaker, there is a lot going on today, a lot going on this week. I wish I could say it was all good, but we spent until 10 p.m. the night before last working on bills that would find ways to take people's guns away and, unfortunately, not give them the kind of due process that we think the Constitution affords people.

During my days as, well, a prosecutor and as a felony judge, thousands of criminal cases went through my court. I don't remember anywhere a criminal defendant bought his gun at a sporting goods store, gun store, applied for a gun. That is not the way criminals work.

And so I didn't see anything in our hours and hours and hours of com-

mittee hearings trying to amend bad bills with good amendments that the majority didn't allow to be passed. We thought they might be joining us on some. They said they would look at some, but, basically, defeated every amendment.

Today, we met in the Judiciary Committee at 8 a.m. to take up a semi, sort of, kind of, a bit of an impeachment resolution. We had amendments that would have made a bad resolution a little better—still not good—but we had a hard time figuring out, on the Republican side: What is this?

It sounds like—in Texas, we would say we're fixing to do something. A lot of times people say, "I am fixing to do that," but it means it may get put off and I may not really be serious, because if I was really serious, I would do it right now.

But this resolution—and I have it here—it, in the first paragraph, talks about the committee making discovery requests. But the second paragraph is really the one that deals with allegations that would be an impeachable offense, or offenses—at least, it is supposed to.

And so it says: "Whereas, Special Counsel Robert Mueller's report released on April 18, 2019, found that the Russian Government interfered in the 2016 election in 'sweeping and systematic fashion.'"

Okay. But the Mueller report made very, very clear, and those who investigated, I thought, made it very clear there was no collusion or, to use the legal term, conspiracy by anyone in the Trump campaign with the Russian Government—none. That part didn't happen.

Even though we have networks like CNN and MSNBC, and I don't know who all else, but for 2 or 3 years they have talked about the crimes of this President and their collusion with Russia.

Well, when people who have law degrees talked about collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia, that immediately sent up red flags with me because that is not—"collusion" is not a legal term that is used in talking about crimes; it is conspiracy. And so it immediately begins to raise questions.

Are they really serious about some type of crime? Because if they were, they would use words that are used in criminal terminology.

But here, this is a completely deceptive allegation when it comes to President Trump because they take this initial allegation and say Mueller found that the Russians really were trying to interfere in our 2016 election.

Okay. But it didn't involve anybody in the Trump campaign. That was clear.

So they tried to brush over that and make it sound like, yeah, even though there was nobody, President Trump or the Trump campaign who were involved at all, but we are going to kind of word this, put it in the same sentence so that it kind of sounds like,



yeah, President Trump was involved with Russia, because then it jumps into another gear.

It says, “that there were at least 10 separate episodes of President Trump using his official powers to”—and here is the word—“thwart or attempt to thwart the special counsel’s investigation.”

□ 1315

And that is also very troubling language for those of us that have dealt with legal terminology in criminal cases. I don’t know of anybody that has dealt with criminal cases. I didn’t hear from anybody on the committee that has ever heard of a crime involving thwarting. We are familiar with obstruction of justice. But these are the kind of games you play with words when you know, yes, there is no evidence a crime was committed, but maybe if we use different terminology it will sound like some kind of bad crime was committed. And clearly, we are not going to be able to remove a President from office with the Senate understanding that even the Mueller report, even the Mueller special counsel team that had all these people that hated Donald Trump, they still couldn’t find anything that would be indictable.

Now, some say, Well, but there was obstruction of justice. We even had one, I would say, incompetent law professor come before our committee and say she could guarantee that she could get a conviction and win on appeal. Well, I have tried enough cases in State and Federal court and in the Army that I know—and I have told people that were looking for lawyers in my days as a judge—I couldn’t recommend a lawyer, but I would warn people—if you ever hear a lawyer who tries cases who says they can guarantee you a win in a trial, then that lawyer is either totally incompetent or is one of the biggest liars in the legal profession. I don’t know which one this professor was. I got the impression she just really didn’t know what she was talking about, because no one swears. Oh, yes, I can guarantee you, you know, I can win this case at trial and on appeal. That is not a good lawyer. That is somebody who doesn’t know what they are talking about.

What we have found now after thousands and thousands of interviews, subpoenas, documents, millions of documents, there was no crime. And the reason there was no obstruction of justice by President Trump or anybody that was assisting him is because the President made very clear as soon as he heard about some collusion, conspiracy, whatever you want to call it with Russia to rig the election, he knew he never colluded. He knew that he never conspired, nor did anybody in his campaign conspire with Russia to affect the election. That never happened, and he knew it.

But he could see from what these 17 or so people on the special counsel’s

team were trying to do. They were trying to frame him. And this guy that was dishonored and was no longer respected by MI6 that he used to work for in England and there was information that he was discredited, not just his information, but he had been discredited, but that is who was hired by Fusion GPS, that was hired apparently by the Clinton campaign and the Democratic National Committee to try to dredge up dirt on candidate Donald Trump so that they could rig the election against Donald Trump.

And we have gotten to the bottom of it, almost. We know that Christopher Steele is the one that didn’t just collude, he conspired with people in Russia who he ultimately had to admit, yes, it is quite possible they could have been working for Vladimir Putin. So Christopher Steele, it appears most likely he was the one that was conspiring with people from Russia, sounds like Putin’s agents, to try to destroy Donald Trump.

And there has been noise made about, oh, gee, you know, Russia really wanted Donald Trump to win. That is not the way Vladimir Putin thinks. He wants the old Soviet empire back. It really bugs me when educated people say, you know, he is such a complicated guy. No, he isn’t. He is one of the most easily discernable people in the world. He wants the old empire back. He is a former KGB guy, and he will do whatever it takes to try to get it back. I don’t think he cared so much who won the election. He wanted to divide America, and lo and behold, he was able to see the Fusion GPS, Christopher Steele, the Clinton campaign, DNC, they were able to take all this information that were nothing but lies in the dossier—they have even given dossier a bad name—and divide America.

And at least one political party in America has been totally willing to be complicit to help divide America over a bunch of lies in a dossier that was created as political fodder when it became very clear very quickly to those who had paid for the dossier that it was not only not verifiable, the person that gathered the information didn’t really know the people, the Russians that gave him the lies about Donald Trump, and that got taken before a FISA court to get a warrant to spy on a campaign; to wit, the Trump campaign. That is scary stuff; when one administration can use the powers of the office of President, the Intel community, the FBI, the Department of Justice, use all those powers to destroy another campaign. And as Newt Gingrich has pointed out, if Ms. Clinton had won, we would have never known how corrupted and weaponized the DOJ and FBI had become.

And I know there are some of my friends here in Congress on our side of the aisle that think Michael Horowitz is doing a good job, because look at all the evidence of wrongdoing, bias, all this that he has found. Well, if you look at the most recent report, just

like the first one, in the first report Horowitz found—and he was a good Obama appointee as inspector general there at the Department of Justice, good Democrat, good appointee.

And so he does his digging, finds hundreds of pages of the most outrageous political bias—it’s actually a personal hatred for Donald Trump and absolute love and affection for candidate Hillary Clinton—so much overwhelming bias, and every conclusion that these biased, prejudiced, bigoted investigators had was 100 percent consistent with all of their conclusions. That speaks for itself.

Now, if half of their conclusions had gone against their bias and prejudice, bigotry, then you would say, well, you know, maybe it really didn’t affect the outcomes of their investigations. But when every conclusion is consistent with the bias and prejudice, even though it is clear, like in the case of the investigation into the Clinton emails, you had Strzok and Page examining emails, and they were making the calls on whether documents are classified, knowing full well if they said something was classified that Hillary Clinton was being set up legitimately to be indicted and convicted. So they wanted Hillary Clinton to win. They wanted to do whatever they could to stop Donald Trump from winning, and if he didn’t win, as they said, they needed an insurance policy, you know, just in case he won.

And Horowitz did a grave injustice within the Justice Department, and he says there is no indication that all that bias had anything to do with the outcomes of the cases. That is just garbage. He is being disingenuous. He wasn’t doing his job in his conclusions. And I know there were a lot of Republicans that said, Yes, okay, but, boy, when he investigated, when that report comes out on Comey, it is going to end up sending him to prison.

Well, Comey did leak information that he should not. He did keep documents that he was not permitted to keep. He secreted them, kept them after he had left government service. He is not allowed to do that. And the biggest thing about those and whether or not they were felonies that would put him in jail would be: Was this information classified and at what level?

And we find out, you know, on page one and two of the Horowitz IG report, the FBI investigated, and the FBI determined that this wasn’t classified; the FBI this and that. And you have to wait 40 pages to see who he means by the FBI. Well, it turns out, the two most important people, because they had the most experience in analyzing documents to determine their classification level, it was a couple named Peter Strzok and Lisa Page. And he has the gall, Horowitz does, to even point out—to try to get more credibility to Strzok and Page’s work on deciding whether Comey should go to prison, because they were classified at a high level. He said, Oh, but they had

more experience, because they did all this work on the Clinton emails determining whether those were classified or not.

For heaven's sake, somebody needs to wake up. Michael Horowitz does not need to be doing the investigation. Maybe let him do the investigation, but he doesn't need to be doing the reports. In a lot of places people would say he doesn't know sic 'em from come here when it comes to proper conclusions. It is outrageous.

And he justified not having them re-examined because time was of the essence 2 years ago in 2017, back before Strzok and Page were fired. But not to worry, because a guy named Bill Priestap was going to rubber stamp whatever Strzok and Page decided on classifications.

There was another unit chief. Didn't give us that name. That tells you something right there.

But Priestap was supposed to have the final decision, apparently rubber stamp whatever our experienced Strzok and Page decided when they knew full well if they classified things at a certain level that it meant Jim Comey was going to prison.

So they did Comey a favor. And so then Horowitz, he didn't want to have them rereviewed for proper classification away from the bias of Strzok and Page and Priestap that—you know, there were reports of him going to London trying to help out Steele's credibility.

So Horowitz said time was of the essence, so nobody reconsidered the classification that the bigoted bias and prejudice of Page and Strzok would not be determinative.

And I know that people, Republicans, many of them are saying, well, look, there is no question that McCabe lied, perjured, he should end up going to prison. But I am telling you as a history buff, a historian, if you would, it is true. History is often the best indicator of what someone will do in the future.

□ 1330

The indications are that Obama's IG, Horowitz, will find some terrible things, but he will do it in such a way that he will give not only Comey, Strzok, and Page a get-out-of-jail-free pass, but he will do that with McCabe and with anybody else he is investigating, because that is his history. He knows which side his bread is buttered on and who is doing the buttering, who got him in the position he is in.

We end up now being told, well, this isn't a formal impeachment hearing, the investigation we started today in the Judiciary Committee. Then, toward the end of our hearing, we heard from two different Democrats who wanted to go on record to make it very, very clear that this was an impeachment hearing, an impeachment investigation.

That is what it is. It is not just a resolution for investigative procedures, as it says here on the resolution.

There was so much fraud involved in this case. I am not talking about from anybody with the Trump campaign. I am talking about a guy like James Comey who should have known better. He swore and apparently verified the application and affidavit information to go before the FISA court so he could get a warrant to spy on the Trump campaign, all while he was lying to the President about him not being under investigation and also trying to set the President up by doing little memos.

I hope and pray one of the things that comes out of all this Department of Justice, FBI, and intel abuse is a practice the FBI has had for years. It is section 302, where FBI agents, after they do an interview, they sit down and type up their own version of what they think or what they recall a witness said. Most of the ones I have seen over the years in my different roles in the justice system appear to be very accurate. But it is a problem when every other local and State law enforcement entity I am aware of, when they want credibility for a statement, they record it.

I saw it from juries in my court. "Look, you are telling us this is what the defendant said. Why didn't you record it so we could see for ourselves, hear for ourselves, see the body language?"

That is why local governments all over the country have come up with billions of dollars altogether so that they can make sure that they get video and audio of someone being questioned, so there is no question what they say.

But not at the FBI. Oh, no. They will talk to a witness and then write out their own version of what is said. Thankfully, most of them do a great job, but it also allows unscrupulous FBI or DOJ officials, as now we have seen existed under the Obama Justice Department, it allows them to twist the FBI's or the DOJ's version of what a witness says and use that, as they have thousands and thousands of times, I don't know how many times, to convict people, saying, "This is what he said because I wrote it down in my own notes after I did the interview."

"Really? Well, let's see the video. Let's hear the audio."

"Well, we don't do that at the FBI. We only write down our version of what is said because we really would rather you hear our version and not the defendant's version of what he said, because we get more credibility than any defendant."

At least that used to be the way it was. But I hope one of the things that will come out of all of this is, in order for the FBI to get back the credibility they used to have as the greatest law enforcement agency in the world, they are going to need to start doing audio and video so that we can see what a witness said, hear what they said for ourselves, and so that juries can hear that and judges can see and hear that. But we don't have that here.

People like the biased Strzok and Page, who hated Trump and loved Hillary Clinton, when you talk about obstruction of justice, I don't know how you can be more obstructive than to get a subpoena for emails and then BleachBit, take all the stuff off so nobody can ever see and then beat up with hammers cellphones and whatever you need to, to destroy the evidence. That would seem to be a classic case of obstruction.

Fortunately, for people involved with Hillary Clinton, it was Strzok and Page on the job, so they didn't see anything, didn't hear anything that might resemble something that should be prosecuted.

But we end up today with this resolution that the majority passed without allowing any amendments, and they used this word "thwart," that the President used his official powers to thwart or attempt to thwart. Nobody has ever been convicted of thwarting.

You just can imagine, say the Democrats got exactly what they wanted and were able to impeach or charge President Trump with thwarting an official investigation. It goes to the Senate. They get what they want, and President Trump is removed. Years down the road, they say, "You used to be President. You were removed? What were you removed for?"

"Well, I was a thwarter, apparently. I have been branded a thwarter."

Maybe we ought to put a "T" on their head so everybody knows: Here comes a thwarter.

The only thing he was thwarting, if at all, is massive injustice from the Justice Department. He knew he had not conspired with anybody in Russia, nor had anybody in his campaign.

The evidence has borne that out. Even Mueller, Weissman, the people who hated the President, had to come around to saying they couldn't find any evidence of them conspiring with Russia.

Nonetheless, we still have to go through this hearing today, and I am sure there will be other hearings.

The truth is, President Donald Trump never obstructed or thwarted justice. He knew that if there was true justice, this effort to frame him for colluding with the Russians would be found false and would be found to be a frame-up job. He wanted justice.

The DOJ could never convict someone of obstructing justice when all they did was what they could to ensure that an injustice did not occur. They were seeking justice to make sure there wasn't a successful frame-up. That is not obstructing or thwarting justice. That is seeking justice. But there certainly were people inside the DOJ who were doing what they could to inflict an injustice on President Trump.

So here we go into this impeachment exercise that started today.

I think about those in England who would say, "God save the Queen," "God save the King." God save this Republic.

We are in a lot of trouble when we have caught the Justice Department red-handed trying to impose a massive injustice, conspiring to do so, even having an Acting Attorney General who we found out from the emails this week—and some of us knew this because we knew from other information that Rosenstein, the Acting Attorney General, did not just once say sarcastically: I will wear a wire. I can get into the White House. I will wear a wire and record the President.

Then, they could try to remove him under the 25th Amendment for not being competent. They formulated a response to act like he was being sarcastic when everybody there knew he was not being sarcastic.

Apparently, from what I understood, the reason he brought that up is because others there in the meeting were mad at him. They said: You have been helping the President instead of helping us get the President. You wrote that memo that gave him a basis to fire Comey. Whose side are you on?

That is the kind of context where Rosenstein says: Look, I will wear a wire if you want.

He wanted to show that he was an Obama team player, a Sally Yates team player, a Loretta Lynch team player, that he was not a Trump team player: I will even wear a wire and go in.

That wasn't the only place he brought it up. He brought it up at another meeting, such that McCabe went back and told people: You know, Rosenstein brought it up again. He still says he is willing to wear a wire.

That is because Rosenstein was trying to convince them he was a good team player and would go set up and try to frame the President to help remove him from office.

That is not all that has gone on this week. We had the vote today. The House has voted to eliminate the tiny, little part of ANWR where Jimmy Carter said that drilling would be allowed.

Now, this is Jimmy Carter who says everybody is supposed to wear a cardigan and turn your temperature in winter way down, wear a sweater, you know, shiver a little bit. It is okay because we are going to save energy.

Even he said it is right that part of ANWR, that tiny, little part of that huge area, nothing is there, so it is not going to affect any wildlife, really, so that can be an area that can be drilled.

Since then, Democrats have done all they could to put it off-limits. Sometimes you see these pictures of all this wildlife, this beautiful, pristine area. Well, if that is what you see, that isn't the part of ANWR where drilling would be allowed.

We can get a little perspective on the size. There was another poster up here somewhere. It has a map of how big Alaska is, and then it has the size of ANWR. Then there is a red dot that you can't see more than a few feet away that is the tiny, little part, comparatively, where drilling would be allowed.

There are people here in this body who are absolutely wonderful people, friends on both sides of the aisle. Some of my Democratic friends, I know they would never lie to me. They are honest people. We just have disagreements on things.

One of the most honorable people I ever knew in this body was chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee back initially when Democrats took the majority in January 2007. He wanted socialized medicine. We disagreed on that. But I knew the man's heart. He wanted to help poor people.

□ 1345

That is why he didn't want to pass the cap-and-trade bill, because he knew it would cause the price of energy to skyrocket. And he knew it was a tough blow to the Nation's poor, to our senior citizens on Medicare, but especially on Social Security, a fixed income. If you start skyrocketing the price of energy to those folks, it is devastating.

That is why John did not want to pass the cap-and-trade bill. He wanted to do everything he could to help poor people. That was his nature. He knew if you start doing this kind of stuff for the rich with energy prices—gasoline, electricity, propane, and those things going up—it is an inconvenience, but for those on a fixed income, it is absolutely devastating.

America, under the Trump administration, has been allowed to gather up more of our own blessed energy sources. The economy gets better. More people are working now than ever. Unemployment is the lowest it has ever been for minorities since they started recording those numbers. It is fantastic. Energy prices have come down low, and it has been stabilized because we are finding so much of our own energy and using it.

We disagree about a lot of things on both sides of the aisle. I don't know anybody who serves in this body on either side of the aisle who doesn't want a clean environment. But those who know our history of the world know that, if you have a struggling economy, the number one thing that suffers, besides the people, is the environment.

In China, that government, as big and totalitarian as it can be, they know if people get laid off and are not working, they could have another revolution, and they don't want that. They are more concerned about people being busy and working and having money than they are about the environment.

In India, they are scared of death of too many people not being able to work or have income.

We get all of this pollution from the other side of the world. I heard today that 85 percent, somebody said, of the pollution that we have in our atmosphere is coming from these other countries. When those countries' economies are struggling, there is more pollution. That is just the way it works, because you just can't help afford to clean up the environment like we are and have been in the United States.

We need a vibrant economy to continue to clean up our environment. We have lakes that were dead, now brimming with activity and with wildlife. These are good things. In Texas, it seems like our air gets cleaner every year.

I asked my staff to find a picture, as best they could, that would reflect what we are talking about in ANWR in that tiny—well, relatively speaking, tiny area of ANWR where drilling would be allowed. This is from Google Maps. This isn't actually the area, but it looks like most of the area where drilling would be allowed.

From time to time, there will be wildlife across this area, in the area where drilling would be allowed, but they can't stay because they can't live there in that area. There is just not enough to sustain life there.

As Jimmy Carter figured out, it is an ideal place to drill, and that is why they designated it for that. But we have been waiting over 40 years to use that as a place to even further reduce our cost of energy, which will also allow us to export energy, which means European countries don't have to be blackmailed or extorted by Russia.

There is one country that hopes the Democrats are very, very successful—well, of course, the OPEC nations. But Russia is probably the most hopeful that the Democrats are successful in preventing us from getting the energy that we have been blessed with in this area where you don't have caribou or things, wildlife, like you do in other parts of ANWR. They don't want us to drill because they know we will be able to get energy to Europe. And we won't blackmail Europe. We won't extort Europe the way that Putin often has, countries that he supplies natural gas to.

If we export that, we can help give more freedom to the world. We can bring down our own prices even further. Why wouldn't we do that?

This picture was near the proposed exploration area. It is from Google Maps. It is taken on Dalton Highway, just south of Prudhoe Bay. It is facing east towards the coastal area of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. So it is not right in the refuge, but it is a very fair representation of the coastal areas found within the refuge.

It is actually a more accurate depiction of the proposed exploration area than the images that we have been seeing around here about the mountains and rainbows and all the herds of animals. This is much more representative than any of those types of pictures.

I want to touch on one more thing about the Russians meddling in our election.

Sean Hannity had a great article 1½ years ago, February of 2018. In there, he quotes from President Obama. President Obama said: "There is no serious person out there who would suggest somehow that you could even rig America's elections. There's no evidence that that has happened in the

past or that there are instances in which that will happen this time.”

That was at the height of the 2016 election.

He goes on to say: “And so I invite Mr. Trump to stop whining and go try to make his case to get votes.”

President Trump did nothing. It turns out they knew that the Russians were trying to meddle in our election. So why wouldn't Obama try to stop the Russians from meddling in our election? He did nothing.

There is speculation that he knew Hillary Clinton was going to win, and he was afraid if they started admitting what they knew was true—that Russia was trying to meddle in our elections—and then Hillary Clinton won, it might make her victory look suspect if they talked about the effort they knew Russia was engaged in to affect our election.

But the truth is that Putin wants to divide America as much as he can. Divide and conquer is what he hopes to do. And he has been successful.

The Russians that they had who gave their lives to Christopher Steele, the discredited former MI6 guy, that he provided to Fusion GPS that apparently the Clinton campaign and the DNC had hired, it has done what they wanted. It has done what Putin wanted. It has adversely affected the President of the United States. It has divided our country, and it has pitted family against family.

Someone once said that the last phase of a civil war involves guns, but we have been in a nonfirearm civil war for a while now. And this Mueller investigation—the whole Russia dossier, the lies in there about candidate, now President, Trump—the Russians, just like Putin wanted, have been successful in dividing this country.

As of yesterday, being 9/11, we can disagree, like John Dingell and I did, but I loved the guy. He was a brilliant, caring, honorable man of integrity. We have those on both sides of the aisle. You have some that you have got to be careful on both sides. But there are people on both sides of the aisle; and we can work together because they are honest, honorable people, and we can disagree when we need to.

I need to touch on, before we finish the week here, of course, we have seen in the news Afghanistan peace talks with the Taliban broke down. The Taliban continue to kill Americans, and they are going to continue to kill Americans. It is who they are. It is what they are.

In my trips to Afghanistan and other places, I made friends with some of those Muslims who were part Afghan, Muslims who were part of the Northern Alliance. It is no longer called the Northern Alliance. But these were Muslim friends of the United States. They just wanted their freedom. They are Muslims, but they did not want ruthless totalitarians like the Taliban running their country.

The enemy of our enemy were people we could work with. Unfortunately, our

intelligence was not sophisticated enough, plugged in enough, so that a day or so before 9/11, when Ahmad Shah Massoud, sometimes called the Lion of Panjshir because he was such a hero—he was a great warrior, soldier; he was a great politician, beloved in Afghanistan. The Taliban wanted to kill him, but he had good security.

The Taliban, they may be crazy, they may be haters and want to kill all Americans, but they are not stupid at all. They knew that if the United States figured out that the 9/11 attack had originated in Afghanistan with al-Qaida and the Taliban, that the United States would come to Afghanistan, and we would look for an Afghan leader that the people would rally behind, who could lead the country to destroy the Taliban. And they knew that would most likely be the Lion of Panjshir, the hero of the Afghan victory over Russia, Ahmad Shah Massoud.

A day or so before 9/11—I think it was around 36 hours or so before—they had gotten Massoud to agree to an interview. His security people checked out the reporter, known reporter, the cameraman there, let him in, and, when they start the interview, the cameraman blows up the bomb in his camera and kills Massoud.

If our intelligence people had been on top of their game, they would have known something was about to happen. Something was about to happen for them to kill Massoud now, this national hero.

Ahmad Shah Massoud has a brother, Ahmad Zia Massoud, and I think of him as a friend. I hope he thinks the same way. He fought with and under his older brother. His brother used him as a diplomat, but he was one of many of the Northern Alliance.

The movie “12 Strong” shows General Dostum that we got after 9/11, getting around October, got other tribal groups to agree to fight with Dostum as the leader. Some of them weren't happy, but they agreed. And we provided air cover, and we provided weapons for them.

□ 1400

We have 300 or so, as I have understood it, special ops, Special Forces, CIA, in there, and only our guys could call down bombs and direct them at specific targets.

Between the weapons we provided the Afghans, the bomb support from B-52s 40,000 or so feet up, the Northern Alliance, our Afghan Muslim allies, they destroyed the organized Taliban, within—some say, maybe it was March, but February, March of 2002. Without a single American casualty, we defeated the Taliban.

Then I think it was a mistake. We were considered heroes. We came in. We helped get rid of the Taliban that a majority of Afghanistan did not want running the country. And then we came in and started what appeared to be occupying. And that probably could have been okay if we could have helped

them get a new government going and then get out.

Condoleezza Rice, as I have heard from others, relied on recommendations to use a guy named Zalmay Khalilzad, a Pashtun. You can be Pashtun and not be Taliban. He is not Taliban. But you can't be Taliban and not be Pashtun, as I understand it.

And anyway, she relied heavily on him. I talked to a guy who said he was part of the inner circle, and the decision was: What kind of government are we going to give Afghanistan now that we have destroyed the Taliban? Unfortunately, that shouldn't have been our decision, but there were people who said, Look, this is a Tribal country and nothing would fit this area better than to have strong local and state or province governments, and then it is a Federalist society where the national government is kind of an umbrella, but the real power is in the provinces and the local government.

That is not what we did. The wrong people were listened to. And we pushed a constitution through that gives the power to the President, almost making him a dictator. The President is elected in Afghanistan, but then he appoints the governors. He appoints the mayors. He appoints the police chief. It just cut the local folks and the province folks out of governing themselves.

And as my friend Massoud said: You know, look, we know you are going to end up having to pull out some day, so please help us get an amendment to our constitution that allows each province to elect its own governor and allows each city and town to elect their own mayor. Let us pick our own police chiefs, not somebody that Karzai, and now Ghani who is President would pick, but let us pick our own leaders.

And the reasoning I thought was very sound. He said, when America leaves Afghanistan with this strong central government where the President has all power, all I have got to do is either knock off or corrupt the President, and they are right back in charge of Afghanistan.

The Taliban hate Americans, so they are going to come kill a bunch more once they take back over Afghanistan. And then you are going to have to come back and Americans die all over again for nothing.

If you will simply allow us to have that local provincial power so we elect our own leaders and not have them appointed from Kabul, then, yeah, maybe the Taliban gets one or two provinces, but the rest of us can rise up like we did before and defeat the Taliban again, and you don't have to have Americans die like you have for all of these years.

That made sense. But the only trouble is, the guy that helped get Afghanistan this ridiculous constitution that has created basically a totalitarian Presidency, that is who was negotiating with the Taliban. There are rumors that he wanted to be President of Afghanistan at one time himself, but

regardless, this guy, he gave the Bush administration bad advice. He gave the Obama administration bad advice.

They were trying to cut a deal with the Taliban. The Taliban, you can cut a deal with them and then they are going to cut your throat the first chance they get.

It makes no sense. But we have people from the Bush administration through the Obama administration. Khalilzad is still being listened to, and he wanted to do this deal with the Pashtun brothers, the Taliban.

We don't need to be dealing with our enemies. We need to be dealing with our allies. And this was one of the great dangers, by rejecting those who lost family members, risked their own lives to help us take out the Taliban, eliminate the organized Taliban originally, without a single loss of American life, why wouldn't we want to put them in positions of power? They can get elected, if we just—I said to Massoud: What makes you think we could help you amend your constitution?

And he said: You are still paying for most of our government operations. If you threaten to pull out all of that money prematurely, yeah, we will change the constitution. But we need your help to do it, so you don't have to keep losing American lives here in Afghanistan.

It made so much sense. But, unfortunately, the deep state just continues to be deep and Khalilzad has been part of that from the beginning. He seemed like a nice guy when I met him in Iraq back in 2005. He seemed like a nice guy. He is just the wrong person to be listened to.

Americans have continued to be killed while he has been wanting to have peace talks with the Taliban, not with the northern or former Northern Alliance people who risked their lives and lost family members fighting with us and for us. Oh, no, we are not going

to deal with them. We are going to leave them. And all of the former Northern Alliance, they know that when we leave and we cut a deal with the Taliban or leave things so that the Taliban can take right over again, they are all going to be killed.

Then there isn't going to be anybody in Afghanistan who will be able to stand up and fight against the Taliban. On top of that, even if there were, they wouldn't want to cut a deal with us, because they will have seen the way the Northern Alliance risked lives and lost lives to help us defeat the Taliban.

What do we do? Do we leave them high and dry? Do we allow the Taliban to come in and kill them when we go? No. No. We need to be talking to our friends who fought with us and got rid of all of the organized Taliban by February or March of 2002 before we became occupiers, more or less.

There needs to be a Federalist system there, and we need our friends, our allies who fought the Taliban and don't want them back in positions of authority. And I think President Ghani would be willing to do that, but, you know, deep state just keeps getting deeper. We need to negotiate with our friends, so they are in a position to help our enemies not get back in control to kill Americans again.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

REQUESTING RETURN OF S. 1790, NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2020

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following privileged message from the Senate:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate be directed to request the House of Representatives to return to the Senate the bill (S. 1790) entitled "An Act to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2020 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activi-

ties of the Department of Energy, to prescribe military personnel strengths for such fiscal year, and for other purposes."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the request of the Senate is agreed to, and S. 1790 will be returned to the Senate.

There was no objection.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 178. An act to condemn gross human rights violations of ethnic Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang, and calling for an end to arbitrary detention, torture, and harassment of these communities inside and outside China; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs; in addition, to the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence; and to the Committee on the Judiciary for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Cheryl L. Johnson, Clerk of the House, reported that on September 11, 2019, she presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bill:

H.R. 831. To direct the Secretary of Transportation to request nominations for and make determinations regarding roads to be designated under the national scenic byways program, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. GOHMERT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 9 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, September 13, 2019, at 9 a.m.

BUDGETARY EFFECTS OF PAYGO LEGISLATION

Pursuant to the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010 (PAYGO), Mr. YARMUTH hereby submits, prior to the vote on passage, the attached estimate of the costs of H.R. 1146, the Arctic Cultural and Coastal Plain Protection Act, for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

ESTIMATE OF PAY-AS-YOU-GO EFFECTS FOR H.R. 1146 (RULES COMMITTEE PRINT 116-30)

	By fiscal year, in millions of dollars—											
	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2019–2024
NET INCREASE OR DECREASE (–) IN THE DEFICIT												
Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Effects .....	0	0	–95	500	–100	–100	201	–99	–104	–104	–104	205

Components may not sum to totals because of rounding.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2069. A letter from the Alternate OSD FRLO, Office of the Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting the Department's final rule — Recoupment of Nonrecurring Costs (NCs) on Sales of U.S. Items [Docket ID: DOD-2018-OS-0088] (RIN: 0790-AK24) received August 23, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C.

801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Armed Services.

2070. A letter from the Special Agent, Chief, Policy Branch, Department of the Army, Department of Defense, transmitting

the Department's final rule — Individual Requests for Access or Amendment of CID Reports of Investigation [Docket ID: USA-2019-HQ-0016] (RIN: 0702-AB00) received September 5, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Armed Services.

2071. A letter from the Under Secretary, Bureau of Industry and Security, Department of Commerce, transmitting the Department's final rule — Addition of Certain Entities to the Entity List and Revision of Entries on the Entity List [Docket No.: 190814-0013] (RIN: 0694-AH86) received September 5, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2072. A letter from the Secretary, Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting the Commission's guidance and interpretation — Commission Interpretation and Guidance Regarding the Applicability of the Proxy Rules to Proxy Voting Advice [Release No.: 34-86721] received August 23, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

2073. A letter from the Secretary, Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting the Commission's guidance — Commission Guidance Regarding Proxy Voting Responsibilities of Investment Advisers [Release Nos.: IA-5325; IC-33605] received August 22, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

2074. A letter from the Deputy Assistant General Counsel for Regulatory Affairs, Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, transmitting the Corporation's final rule — Benefits Payable in Terminated Single-Employer Plans; Interest Assumptions for Paying Benefits received September 5, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Education and Labor.

2075. A letter from the Program Analyst, National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Federal Motor Vehicle Safety Standards; Electric-Powered Vehicles; Electrolyte Spillage and Electrical Shock Protection [Docket No.: NHTSA-2019-0009] (RIN: 2127-AM10) received August 30, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

2076. A letter from the Director, Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Air Plan Approval; Minnesota; Flint Hills Sulfur Dioxide (SO<sub>2</sub>) Revision [EPA-R05-OAR-2018-0731; FRL-9998-49-Region 5] received September 11, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

2077. A letter from the Director, Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Air Plan Approval; Texas; Control of Air Pollution from Motor Vehicles [EPA-R06-OAR-2018-0811; FRL-9997-58-Region 6] received September 11, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

2078. A letter from the Chief of Staff, Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule — Electronic Delivery of MVPD Communications [MB Docket No.: 17-317]; Modernization of Media Regulation Initiative [MB Docket No.: 17-105] received August 23, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

2079. A letter from the Associate Chief, Auctions Division, Office of Economics and Analytics, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule — Incentive Auction of Upper Microwave Flexible Use Service Licenses in the Upper 37 GHz, 39 GHz, and 47 GHz Bands for Next-Generations Wireless Services; Notice and Filing Requirements, Minimum Opening Bids, Upfront Payments, and Other Procedures for Auctions 103; Bidding in Auction 103 Scheduled to Begin December 10, 2019 [AU Docket No.: 19-59] [GN Docket No.: 14-177] received August 23, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

2080. A letter from the Under Secretary, Bureau of Industry and Security, Department of Commerce, transmitting the Department's final rule — Temporary General License: Extension of Validity, Clarifications to Authorized Transactions, and Changes to Certification Statement Requirements [Docket No.: 190814-0012] (RIN: 0694-AH86) received September 5, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2081. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Export Administration, Bureau of Industry and Security, Department of Commerce, transmitting the Department's final rule — Addition of Certain Entities to the Entity List, Revision of Entries on the Entity List, and Removal of Entities From the Entity List [Docket No.: 190808-0011] (RIN: 0694-AH50) received August 23, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2082. A letter from the Senior Attorney-Advisor, Federal Highway Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — FAST Act Section 5516 "Additional State Authority" Implementation [Docket No.: FHWA-2018-0042] (RIN: 2125-AF86) received August 27, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2083. A letter from the Attorney Advisor, Office of Chief Counsel, Federal Railroad Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — System Safety Program [Docket No.: FRA-2011-0060, Notice No. 11] (RIN: 2130-AC81) received August 29, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2084. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Establishment of Class E Airspace; Endicott, NY; Correction [Docket No.: FAA-2019-0347; Airspace Docket No.: 19-AEA-6] (RIN: 2120-AA66) received September 6, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2085. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airspace Designations; Incorporation by Reference [Docket No.: FAA-2019-0627; Amendment. No.: 71-51] (RIN: 2120-AA66) received September 6, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2086. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; The Boeing Company Airplanes [Docket

et No.: FAA-2018-1012; Product Identifier 2018-NM-132-AD; Amendment 39-19708; AD 2019-16-05] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received September 6, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2087. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; The Boeing Company Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2019-0187; Product Identifier 2018-NM-172-AD; Amendment 39-19715; AD 2019-16-12] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received September 6, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2088. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Airbus Helicopters Deutschland GmbH Helicopters [Docket No.: FAA-2019-0643; Product Identifier 2019-SW-013-AD; Amendment 39-19719; AD 2019-10-51] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received September 6, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2089. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Bombardier, Inc., Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2019-0322; Product Identifier 2019-NM-039-AD; Amendment 39-19722; AD 2019-16-09] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received September 6, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2090. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; The Boeing Company Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2019-0608; Product Identifier 2019-NM-084-AD; Amendment 39-19713; AD 2019-16-10] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received September 6, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2091. A letter from the Chairman, Surface Transportation Board, transmitting the Board's final rule — Regulations Governing Fees for Services Performed in Connection With Licensing and Related Services-2019 Update [Docket No.: EP 542 (Sub-No. 27)] received August 23, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2092. A letter from the Regulations Policy Coordinator, Office of Regulations Policy and Management, Office of the Secretary (OOREG), Department of Veterans Affairs, transmitting the Department's final rule — Rental and Utility Assistance for Certain Low-Income Veteran Families (RIN: 2900-AQ40) received August 30, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

2093. A letter from the Chief, Publications and Regulations Branch, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's IRB only rule — Domestic Partnerships and S Corporations Filing Under Proposed GILTI Regulations [Notice 2019-46] received August 30, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2094. A letter from the Chief, Publications and Regulations Branch, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's IRB only



rule — Implementation of Nonresident Alien Deposit Interest Regulations (Rev. Proc. 2019-23) received August 30, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi: Committee on Homeland Security. H.R. 3356. A bill to provide PreCheck to certain severely injured or disabled veterans, and for other purposes (Rept. 116-203, Pt. 1). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

### DISCHARGE OF COMMITTEE

Pursuant to clause 2 of rule XIII, the Committee on Veterans' Affairs discharged from further consideration. H.R. 3356 referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

### CONSENSUS CALENDAR

Under clause 7 of rule XV, the following motion was filed with the Clerk: Motion No. 8, September 12, 2019 by Ms. Speier on H.R. 1773.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. KIM (for himself, Ms. DEAN, and Ms. TORRES SMALL of New Mexico):

H.R. 4295. A bill to direct the Secretary of Defense to carry out a pilot program under which the Secretary determines the exposure of certain children of members of the Armed Forces to perfluoroalkyl and polyfluoroalkyl substances; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Ms. SCHAKOWSKY (for herself, Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. TED LIEU of California, Mr. GRIJALVA, Ms. DELAULO, Mr. HUFFMAN, Mr. PRESSLEY, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Ms. JUDY CHU of California, Ms. SPEIER, Ms. JAYAPAL, Ms. DEGETTE, Ms. PINGREE, Ms. MATSUI, and Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ):

H.R. 4296. A bill to amend title VI of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to ensure the safe use of cosmetics, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on Education and Labor, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. GOMEZ (for himself, Mr. AGUILAR, Ms. BASS, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. CARBAJAL, Mr. CÁRDENAS, Mr. CASTRO of Texas, Mr. CISNEROS, Mr. CORREA, Mr. COSTA, Mr. COX of California, Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois, Ms. DELAULO, Mr. GALLEGO, Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois, Mr. GONZALEZ of Texas, Ms. HAALAND, Mr. HARDER of California, Ms. HILL of California, Mr. KENNEDY, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. TED LIEU of California, Ms. MATSUI, Mr. MCGOVERN, Ms. MOORE, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ, Ms.

OMAR, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. PETERSON, Mr. POCAN, Mr. ROUDA, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. SOTO, Mr. SUOZZI, Mr. SWALWELL of California, Mr. TAKANO, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Mr. VELA, Ms. SÁNCHEZ, Mrs. TORRES of California, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. KHANNA, and Mr. LOWENTHAL):

H.R. 4297. A bill to amend the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 to treat attendance at an institution of higher education the same as work for the purpose of determining eligibility to participate in the supplemental nutrition assistance program; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mrs. HAYES (for herself, Mrs. MCBATH, Ms. SCANLON, Ms. FINKENAUER, Mr. SABLÁN, Ms. DELBENE, Mr. LANGEVIN, Ms. MENG, Mr. LUJÁN, Ms. LEE of California, Ms. MOORE, Mr. POCAN, and Ms. PORTER):

H.R. 4298. A bill to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 to restore Federal Pell Grant eligibility for certain periods; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Ms. VELÁZQUEZ (for herself, Mr. LAMBORN, Mr. TONKO, and Mr. LOWENTHAL):

H.R. 4299. A bill to reauthorize through 2024 the National Geological and Geophysical Data Preservation Program Act of 2005; to the Committee on Natural Resources.

By Ms. DEAN (for herself, Mr. TURNER, Ms. BASS, and Mr. STIVERS):

H.R. 4300. A bill to provide federal housing assistance on behalf of youths who are aging out of foster care, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Ms. GABBARD (for herself, Mrs. MCBATH, and Mrs. HAYES):

H.R. 4301. A bill to require the Secretary of Education, in consultation with Attorney General and the Secretary of Health and Human Services, to publish an annual report on indicators of school crime and safety that includes data on school shootings, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. SHERMAN:

H.R. 4302. A bill to authorize public housing agencies to share certain data regarding homeless individuals and families for the provision of housing and services, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Ms. WILSON of Florida (for herself, Ms. DELAULO, Ms. BONAMICI, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER, Mrs. DAVIS of California, Mr. SABLÁN, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. TONKO, Ms. DEGETTE, Mr. COX of California, Ms. SPEIER, Mr. LAWSON of Florida, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Ms. MATSUI, Mr. DESAULNIER, Mr. SARBANES, Ms. VELÁZQUEZ, Mr. PAYNE, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Mr. BISHOP of Georgia, Mr. RUSH, Mr. RICHMOND, Mrs. DEMINGS, Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois, Mrs. HAYES, Mr. CLAY, Mr. LEVIN of Michigan, Mr. CICILLINE, Ms. MOORE, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Mr. COURTNEY, Ms. KELLY of Illinois, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. ESPAILLAT, Mr. DAVID SCOTT of Georgia, Mrs. DINGELL, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. SOTO, Mr. CRIST, Ms. CASTOR of Florida, Ms. FRANKEL, Ms. FUDGE, Mrs. BEATTY, Mr. BROWN of Maryland, Ms. BASS, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. EVANS, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Ms. ADAMS, Mr. JEFFRIES, Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, Mr. MORELLE, Mr. BUTTERFIELD, Mr. LEWIS, Mr. CUMMINGS, Ms. LOFGREN, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. KHANNA, Mr. GARAMENDI, and Mr. SUOZZI):

H.R. 4303. A bill to designate the Commonwealth of the Bahamas under section 244 of

the Immigration and Nationality Act to permit nationals of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to be eligible for temporary protected status under such section, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary, and in addition to the Committee on the Budget, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. PALAZZO (for himself, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. GUEST, Mr. KELLY of Mississippi, Ms. ESHOO, Ms. HILL of California, Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, and Mr. FOSTER):

H.R. 4304. A bill to amend title 51, United States Code, to allow the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to accept in-kind consideration for certain leases, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science, Space, and Technology.

By Mr. STIVERS (for himself, Miss RICE of New York, Mr. RUTHERFORD, Ms. SHERRILL, Mr. DUNN, Mr. CISNEROS, Mr. WALTZ, Ms. SLOTKIN, Mr. ROY, and Mr. JOYCE of Ohio):

H.R. 4305. A bill to direct the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to carry out a pilot program on dog training therapy; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. DEFAZIO (for himself and Mr. MALINOWSKI):

H.R. 4306. A bill to require the Administrator of the Federal Railroad Administration to conduct an evaluation of the safety, security, and environmental risks of transporting liquefied natural gas by rail, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. PETERS (for himself, Mrs. RODGERS of Washington, Mr. HECK, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. HILL of California, and Mr. GALLAGHER):

H.R. 4307. A bill to amend title 49, United States Code, relating to certain requirements for the engineering phase of fixed guideway capital investment grants, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. MORELLE (for himself, Ms. HILL of California, Ms. SÁNCHEZ, Mr. KING of New York, Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York, Mr. BRINDISI, and Mr. NADLER):

H.R. 4308. A bill to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 to establish an emergency grant aid program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BEYER (for himself, Mr. KATKO, and Mrs. NAPOLITANO):

H.R. 4309. A bill to direct the Secretary of Transportation to establish a grant program to facilitate the installation, on bridges, of evidence-based suicide deterrents, including suicide prevention nets and barriers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 4310. A bill to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 to clarify that employment in any position at a nonprofit organization is a public service job for purposes of the public service loan forgiveness program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. COHEN (for himself and Mr. CHABOT):

H.R. 4311. A bill to protect consumers from discriminatory State taxes on motor vehicle rentals; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. DAVIS of California:

H.R. 4312. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to clarify when educational assistance is available for an individual who pursues an approved program of education



leading to a degree while on active duty in the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mrs. DINGELL (for herself and Mr. FITZPATRICK):

H.R. 4313. A bill to authorize the Attorney General to make grants to State and Tribal courts in order to allow the electronic service of certain court orders, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HIGGINS of Louisiana (for himself and Mr. MAST):

H.R. 4314. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize the Secretary of Defense to appoint officers of the Armed Forces as directors of medical centers of the Department of Veterans Affairs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Armed Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. KHANNA (for himself and Mr. PHILLIPS):

H.R. 4315. A bill to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to prohibit a candidate for election to the office of Representative in Congress or Senator from accepting contributions from any political committee other than an authorized committee of the candidate and from establishing a leadership PAC; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. KING of New York (for himself and Miss RICE of New York):

H.R. 4316. A bill to provide for temporary emergency impact aid for local educational agencies; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. LANGEVIN (for himself and Mr. WELCH):

H.R. 4317. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to extend and expand the new energy efficient home credit, to extend the energy efficient commercial buildings deduction, to eliminate the basis reduction for low-income housing properties receiving certain energy benefits, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. O'HALLERAN (for himself, Mr. STANTON, Mrs. KIRKPATRICK, and Mr. GALLEGO):

H.R. 4318. A bill to provide economic stabilization resources to distressed rural communities directly impacted by the closure of an electric generating station, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Natural Resources, and in addition to the Committee on Education and Labor, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. PANETTA (for himself, Ms. JAYAPAL, Ms. BONAMICI, Mr. CARBAJAL, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mr. CLEAVER, Mr. CORREA, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. ESPAILLAT, Ms. GARCIA of Texas, Mr. GRIJALVA, Ms. HAALAND, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Mr. KHANNA, Ms. LOFGREN, Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York, Mr. MCGOVERN, Ms. MENG, Ms. MOORE, Mrs. MURPHY, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Ms. NORTON, Ms. OMAR, Ms. PRESSLEY, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. RUSH, Ms. SANCHEZ, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. SIREN, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Mr. SOTO, Mr. SUOZZI, Mr. SWALWELL of California, Mr. VARGAS, and Ms. VELÁZQUEZ):

H.R. 4319. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to eliminate the annual numerical limitation on U visas, to require the Secretary of Homeland Security to grant work authorization to aliens with a pending

application for nonimmigrant status under subparagraph (U) or (T) of section 101(a)(15) of such Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Ms. PORTER:

H.R. 4320. A bill to ensure that irresponsible corporate executives, rather than shareholders, pay fines and penalties; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 4321. A bill to eliminate lead-based pipe and tap hazards in housing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committees on Financial Services, and Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Ms. SHALALA (for herself, Mr. GAETZ, and Ms. LEE of California):

H.R. 4322. A bill to promote cannabis research, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. STEUBE (for himself and Mr. GAETZ):

H.R. 4323. A bill to provide for the rescheduling of marijuana into schedule III of the Controlled Substances Act; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mrs. TORRES of California (for herself, Mr. SCHNEIDER, Mr. ENGEL, Mrs. MURPHY, Ms. NORTON, Mr. CICILLINE, and Mr. LOWENTHAL):

H.R. 4324. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to expand to all firearms the requirement that Federal firearms licensees report sales of 2 or more handguns to the same unlicensed person within 5 consecutive business days; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VAN DREW:

H.R. 4325. A bill to amend the Commodity Exchange Act to clarify treatment of privileged information after disclosure to the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mrs. WAGNER (for herself, Mr. JEFFRIES, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, and Mr. WALBERG):

H.R. 4326. A bill to amend the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 relating to determinations with respect to efforts of foreign countries to reduce demand for commercial sex acts under the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Ms. WILD (for herself, Mr. QUIGLEY, Mr. FITZPATRICK, Mr. TRONE, Ms. DEAN, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. RASKIN, Mr. CUELLAR, Miss RICE of New York, Mr. DEUTCH, and Mr. MOULTON):

H.R. 4327. A bill to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 to promote comprehensive campus mental health and suicide prevention plans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Ms. FOXX of North Carolina (for herself and Mr. ROUDA):

H. Con. Res. 62. Concurrent resolution requiring the supervisors of employees of Congressional offices to submit reports on the outside compensation earned by such employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. MCGOVERN:

H. Res. 553. A resolution directing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to pro-

vide a copy of the on-the-record portions of the audio backup file of the transcribed interview of Roger J. Stone Jr. conducted by the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence on September 26, 2017, to the prosecuting attorneys in the case of United States of America v. Stone, No. 1:19-cr-00018-ABJ (D.D.C.); considered and agreed to.

By Mr. TIPTON (for himself, Mr. MALINOWSKI, Mr. NEGUSE, Mr. LAMBORN, Mr. FITZPATRICK, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. GOTTHEIMER, and Mr. SIREN):

H. Res. 554. A resolution supporting the designation of September 2019, as "School Bus Safety and Security Month"; to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

By Ms. SPEIER (for herself, Mrs. DINGELL, Ms. MOORE, Ms. PRESSLEY, Ms. ESCOBAR, Mr. QUIGLEY, Ms. MENG, Ms. HAALAND, Mrs. TORRES of California, Mr. FOSTER, Mrs. LAWRENCE, Mr. KHANNA, Ms. NORTON, Mr. ESPAILLAT, Ms. DEAN, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. TONKO, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. BEYER, Ms. LOFGREN, Ms. CASTOR of Florida, Ms. HILL of California, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Ms. STEVENS, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Ms. BROWNLEY of California, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Ms. PORTER, Ms. GARCIA of Texas, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. BROWN of Maryland, Ms. TLAIB, Mr. LEWIS, Ms. JUDY CHU of California, Mr. CICILLINE, and Ms. WEXTON):

H. Res. 555. A resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the relationships between firearm violence, misogyny, and violence against women and reaffirming the importance of preventing individuals with a history of violence against women from accessing a firearm; to the Committee on the Judiciary, and in addition to the Committees on Energy and Commerce, Financial Services, Ways and Means, Education and Labor, Natural Resources, and Veterans' Affairs, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. VEASEY (for himself, Mr. MEEKS, Mrs. BEATTY, Mr. QUIGLEY, Mr. CUMMINGS, Mr. CARSON of Indiana, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Ms. BONAMICI, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. YARMUTH, Ms. BROWNLEY of California, Ms. CASTOR of Florida, Ms. BASS, Mr. TED LIEU of California, Mr. MCGOVERN, Ms. SEWELL of Alabama, Mr. FOSTER, Mr. EVANS, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Mr. SIREN, Mr. DeFAZIO, Mr. VELA, Mrs. KIRKPATRICK, Mr. CLAY, Ms. MOORE, Mr. COSTA, Ms. JOHNSON of Texas, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. BROWN of Maryland, Ms. NORTON, Mrs. DINGELL, Mr. LAWSON of Florida, Mr. MOULTON, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. DAVID SCOTT of Georgia, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Mr. LARSEN of Washington, Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Ms. TITUS, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Ms. JAYAPAL, Ms. SANCHEZ, Mr. RUSH, Mr. CISNEROS, Mr. TAKANO, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. KHANNA, Mr. RYAN, Mr. SWALWELL of California, Mr. CRIST, Ms. MATSUI, Mr. LOEBSACK, Mrs. LOWEY, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Mr. SARBANES, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. ALLRED, Mr. BLUMENAUER, and Mrs. LAWRENCE):

H. Res. 556. A resolution expressing support for designation of the month of September as "National Voting Rights Month"; to the Committee on the Judiciary, and in addition to the Committees on House Administration,

Intelligence (Permanent Select), Oversight and Reform, Science, Space, and Technology, Education and Labor, Ways and Means, Financial Services, Ethics, and Homeland Security, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

133. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Senate of the State of California, relative to Senate Joint Resolution No. 8, memorializing the Congress and the President of the United States to enact legislation, S. 866, known as the IDEA Full Funding Act, during the current session of Congress to fully fund the federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

134. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of California, relative to Senate Joint Resolution No. 3, requesting the Congress of the United States to enact, and the President to sign, legislation that would repeal the Government Pension Offset and the Windfall Elimination Provision from the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

### CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY STATEMENT

Pursuant to clause 7 of rule XII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the following statements are submitted regarding the specific powers granted to Congress in the Constitution to enact the accompanying bill or joint resolution.

By Mr. KIM:

H.R. 4295

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8—The Congress shall have the Power to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

By Ms. SCHAKOWSKY:

H.R. 4296.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3

The Congress shall have Power . . . To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes.

By Mr. GOMEZ:

H.R. 4297.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3

By Mrs. HAYES:

H.R. 4298.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8

By Ms. VELÁZQUEZ:

H.R. 4299.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 1

The Congress shall have Power to . . . provide for the . . . general Welfare of the United States; . . .

By Ms. DEAN:

H.R. 4300.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

This bill is enacted pursuant to the powers granted to the Congress by Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 of the United States Constitution.

By Ms. GABBARD:

H.R. 4301.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The United States Constitution, including Article I, Section 8.

By Mr. SHERMAN:

H.R. 4302.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

U.S. Const. Article 1, Section 8, Clause 18: "The Congress shall have Power . . . To make Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof . . ."

By Ms. WILSON of Florida:

H.R. 4303.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1 Section 8 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. PALAZZO:

H.R. 4304.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

This bill is enacted pursuant to the power granted to Congress under Article I, Section 8, Clause 18 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. STIVERS:

H.R. 4305.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 13

The Congress shall have Power to provide and maintain a Navy.

Article I, Section 8, Clause 12

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years.

Article I, Section 8, Clause 14

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces.

By Mr. DEFAZIO:

H.R. 4306.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 1, Clause 3, and Clause 18 of the Constitution.

By Mr. PETERS:

H.R. 4307.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8

By Mr. MORELLE:

H.R. 4308.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States.

By Mr. BEYER:

H.R. 4309.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, clause 1

By Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 4310.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution under the General Welfare Clause.

By Mr. COHEN:

H.R. 4311.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 3 of the U.S. Constitution, which grants Congress the power to regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes.

By Mrs. DAVIS of California:

H.R. 4312.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

This bill is enacted pursuant to the power granted to Congress under Article 1, Section 8 of the United States Constitution.

By Mrs. DINGELL:

H.R. 4313.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The constitutional authority of Congress to enact this legislation is provided by Article I, section 8 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. HIGGINS of Louisiana:

H.R. 4314.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8

By Mr. KHANNA:

H.R. 4315.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 4, clause 1 of the Constitution reads "The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of choosing Senators."

So, Article I, Section 4, clause 1 allows states to prescribe the "Time, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives," but allows Congress "at any time" to "make or alter such regulations."

By Mr. KING of New York:

H.R. 4316.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the United States Constitution

[Page H3878]

By Mr. LANGEVIN:

H.R. 4317.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 1

By Mr. O'HALLERAN:

H.R. 4318.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8

By Mr. PANETTA:

H.R. 4319.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, clause 18

By Ms. PORTER:

H.R. 4320.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 4321.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8: To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

By Ms. SHALALA:

H.R. 4322.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts, and Excises, to pay the Debts, and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

By Mr. STEUBE:

H.R. 4323.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8

The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and Post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

and Offenses against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings; And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

By Mrs. TORRES of California:

H.R. 4324.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

According to Article 1: Section 8: Clause 18: of the United States Constitution, seen below, this bill falls within the Constitutional Authority of the United States Congress.

Article 1: Section 8: Clause 18: To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

By Mr. VAN DREW:

H.R. 4325.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the United States Constitution.

By Mrs. WAGNER:

H.R. 4326.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 1

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3

Article I, Section 8, Clause 10

Article I, Section 8, Clause 18

Amendment XIII (relating to slavery and involuntary servitude)

By Ms. WILD:

H.R. 4327.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I Section 8

### ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions, as follows:

H.R. 4: Mr. VISCLOSKEY.

H.R. 99: Mr. TIPTON.

H.R. 305: Mr. PALMER.

H.R. 435: Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ and Mr. GRIJALVA.

H.R. 444: Mr. CASE.

H.R. 446: Mr. HASTINGS.

H.R. 473: Ms. VELÁZQUEZ.

H.R. 485: Mr. MAST.

H.R. 487: Mr. STEUBE.

H.R. 573: Mr. BAIRD and Mr. ARMSTRONG.

H.R. 674: Ms. SPANBERGER.

H.R. 707: Mr. POCAN.

H.R. 744: Mr. BILIRAKIS.

H.R. 777: Mr. MARCHANT and Ms. LOFGREN.

H.R. 878: Mr. KENNEDY.

H.R. 891: Mr. CLINE.

H.R. 899: Mr. NORMAN.

H.R. 943: Mr. HILL of Arkansas, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. TAKANO, Mr. PETERS, Mr. AMODEI, Ms. SÁNCHEZ, and Mr. TIPTON.

H.R. 945: Mr. PAPPAS, Ms. BASS, Ms. VELÁZQUEZ, and Mrs. RODGERS of Washington.

H.R. 991: Ms. CLARKE of New York.

H.R. 1043: Mr. SPANO, Mr. SCHIFF, and Mr. AUSTIN SCOTT of Georgia.

H.R. 1052: Ms. MOORE and Mr. ARMSTRONG.

H.R. 1066: Mr. FLEISCHMANN.

H.R. 1109: Mrs. LEE of Nevada.

H.R. 1137: Ms. SLOTKIN.

H.R. 1140: Mr. CÁRDENAS, Mr. LEVIN of California, Mr. GOLDEN, and Ms. JUDY CHU of California.

H.R. 1154: Mr. CLEAVER.

H.R. 1185: Mr. CISNEROS.

H.R. 1220: Ms. DELBENE.

H.R. 1230: Mrs. AXNE.

H.R. 1257: Mr. KIND.

H.R. 1266: Mr. ROSE of New York.

H.R. 1297: Mr. RYAN.

H.R. 1309: Mr. MCEACHIN.

H.R. 1360: Mr. CUNNINGHAM.

H.R. 1379: Mrs. TRAHAN, Mr. COLE, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. LUCAS, Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts, Mr. MEADOWS, Mr. LIPINSKI, and Ms. DEAN.

H.R. 1396: Mrs. BROOKS of Indiana, Mr. CALVERT, and Mr. ROONEY of Florida.

H.R. 1424: Mr. CUNNINGHAM.

H.R. 1488: Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY and Ms. DELBENE.

H.R. 1527: Mr. CUNNINGHAM.

H.R. 1534: Mr. CISNEROS.

H.R. 1551: Mr. SOTO.

H.R. 1570: Mr. KILDEE, Mr. HUIZENGA, Mr. LAMBORN, Mr. BILIRAKIS, and Mr. MEUSER.

H.R. 1610: Mr. LAMB.

H.R. 1646: Ms. CRAIG and Ms. WEXTON.

H.R. 1673: Ms. STEFANIK.

H.R. 1680: Mr. LUETKEMEYER, Ms. BONAMICI, Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, and Mr. EVANS.

H.R. 1692: Mr. LEWIS.

H.R. 1709: Mr. VISCLOSKEY.

H.R. 1713: Mr. RYAN and Ms. JAYAPAL.

H.R. 1750: Mr. CUNNINGHAM.

H.R. 1754: Ms. CRAIG.

H.R. 1766: Mr. SCHRADER, Ms. ESCOBAR, and Mr. SABLAN.

H.R. 1824: Mr. FITZPATRICK.

H.R. 1840: Mr. COURTNEY and Mr. STAUBER.

H.R. 1873: Mr. BURCHETT and Ms.

WASSERMAN SCHULTZ.

H.R. 1944: Mr. CUNNINGHAM.

H.R. 1959: Mr. CLINE.

H.R. 1962: Mr. CUNNINGHAM.

H.R. 1978: Ms. MATSUI, Mr. GOMEZ, Mr.

BLUMENAUER, Mr. CASE, and Mr. GARAMENDI.

H.R. 1982: Ms. JUDY CHU of California.

H.R. 2062: Mr. OLSON and Mr. GONZALEZ of Ohio.

H.R. 2091: Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER.

H.R. 2134: Mr. GRIJALVA.

H.R. 2135: Mr. COSTA, Ms. SHERRILL, and Ms. BROWNLEY of California.

H.R. 2146: Mr. QUIGLEY and Mr. MOULTON.

H.R. 2147: Mr. DEFAZIO, Ms. BROWNLEY of California, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. ROUZER, Mr. KINZINGER, Mr. JORDAN, Mr. MCCLINTOCK, Mr. STEWART, Mr. KELLER, Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, Mr. ROGERS of Alabama, Mr. FORTENBERRY, Mr. CHABOT, Ms. KENDRA S. HORN of Oklahoma, Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. RATCLIFFE, Mrs. MCBATH, Mr. VAN DREW, Mr. KEVIN HERN of Oklahoma, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. MCADAMS, Ms. FUDGE, Ms. MUCARSEL-POWELL, and Mr. TIMMONS.

H.R. 2178: Mr. LUCAS.

H.R. 2191: Mr. CUNNINGHAM.

H.R. 2208: Ms. GARCIA of Texas.

H.R. 2214: Ms. UNDERWOOD.

H.R. 2218: Mr. BAIRD.

H.R. 2222: Mr. CASTEN of Illinois, Ms. PORTER, Mr. MALINOWSKI, Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, and Mrs. WAGNER.

H.R. 2225: Mr. HASTINGS.

H.R. 2256: Ms. UNDERWOOD, Ms. HOULAHAN, and Ms. SCANLON.

H.R. 2279: Mr. RUTHERFORD and Ms. VELÁZQUEZ.

H.R. 2301: Ms. JACKSON LEE.

H.R. 2339: Ms. STEVENS.

H.R. 2382: Mr. LATTI.

H.R. 2398: Ms. PINGREE.

H.R. 2435: Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. HECK, and Mr. CUNNINGHAM.

H.R. 2441: Mr. NADLER and Mr. HIGGINS of New York.

H.R. 2474: Mr. O'HALLERAN and Mr. RICHMOND.

H.R. 2487: Mr. BILIRAKIS.

H.R. 2568: Mr. CUNNINGHAM.

H.R. 2573: Ms. PINGREE, Mr. PAPPAS, Mr. RUTHERFORD, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Mr. BRINDISI, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. LAWSON of Florida, Mr. TIPTON, Mr. FERGUSON, Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. GOLDEN, Mr. LONG, Mr. MULLIN, Mr. STEUBE, Mr. RUSH, Mrs. MILLER, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. FLORES, and Mr. VAN DREW.

H.R. 2628: Mr. ZELDIN.

H.R. 2632: Ms. PRESSLEY.

H.R. 2645: Mr. MEADOWS.

H.R. 2653: Ms. SLOTKIN.

H.R. 2664: Mr. WOODALL.

H.R. 2708: Mr. NORCROSS, Mr. RYAN, Mr. LEWIS, Mrs. BEATTY, and Mr. RICHMOND.

H.R. 2720: Miss RICE of New York.

H.R. 2721: Mrs. AXNE.

H.R. 2775: Mr. AGUILAR.

H.R. 2825: Mr. FORTENBERRY.

H.R. 2846: Mr. HASTINGS.

H.R. 2859: Mr. WITTMAN.

H.R. 2862: Mrs. BROOKS of Indiana and Mr. MORELLE.

H.R. 2985: Mr. WENSTRUP and Ms. MOORE.

H.R. 3006: Mr. MITCHELL.

H.R. 3048: Ms. DELBENE.

H.R. 3062: Mr. HOLDING.

H.R. 3071: Mr. CRENSHAW.  
H.R. 3077: Mr. BAIRD.  
H.R. 3114: Mrs. AXNE and Mr. DAVID SCOTT of Georgia.  
H.R. 3116: Ms. LOFGREN.  
H.R. 3129: Ms. SANCHEZ.  
H.R. 3157: Mr. DESAULNIER.  
H.R. 3172: Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois.  
H.R. 3209: Mr. DAVID SCOTT of Georgia.  
H.R. 3214: Mr. MORELLE.  
H.R. 3222: Ms. DEGETTE, Mr. CASE, Mr. POCAN, and Mr. SUOZZI.  
H.R. 3289: Mr. KING of New York.  
H.R. 3331: Mr. LAMALFA.  
H.R. 3332: Mr. KATKO.  
H.R. 3350: Mr. WITTMAN.  
H.R. 3356: Mrs. AXNE, Mr. BROWN of Maryland, and Mr. WITTMAN.  
H.R. 3369: Mr. KHANNA.  
H.R. 3398: Mr. BEYER, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania, Ms. JUDY CHU of California, Ms. DELBENE, Mr. EVANS, Mr. GOMEZ, Mr. HIGGINS of New York, Mr. HORSFORD, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. LEWIS, Ms. MOORE, Mrs. MURPHY, Mr. PANETTA, Mr. PASCRELL, Ms. SEWELL of Alabama, and Mr. SUOZZI.  
H.R. 3435: Ms. ESCOBAR, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, and Mr. DESAULNIER.  
H.R. 3446: Mr. TONKO.  
H.R. 3450: Mr. GAETZ.  
H.R. 3464: Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ.  
H.R. 3486: Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois.  
H.R. 3495: Mr. BAIRD, Mr. HUDSON, Mr. STEUBE, Mr. BURCHETT, Mr. GOSAR, Mr. BOST, Mr. HORSFORD, Mr. NEGUSE, and Mr. CALVERT.  
H.R. 3502: Mr. PERLMUTTER, Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, Mr. VAN DREW, and Mr. HICE of Georgia.  
H.R. 3510: Mr. STANTON, Mr. LUCAS, and Mr. SCHWEIKERT.  
H.R. 3516: Ms. NORTON.  
H.R. 3529: Mr. COSTA, Ms. BROWNLEY of California, and Ms. SHERRILL.  
H.R. 3545: Mr. KATKO and Mr. DEUTCH.  
H.R. 3555: Ms. SCANLON.  
H.R. 3563: Ms. PRESSLEY.  
H.R. 3569: Ms. NORTON.  
H.R. 3570: Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ and Mr. SIRES.  
H.R. 3593: Ms. BROWNLEY of California and Mr. ENGEL.

H.R. 3630: Mrs. WAGNER and Ms. TLAIB.  
H.R. 3644: Mr. MORELLE.  
H.R. 3654: Mr. VAN DREW, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms. BONAMICI, Ms. SEWELL of Alabama, Ms. PINGREE, Mr. LUETKEMEYER, Mr. GRAVES of Missouri, Mr. YARMUTH, and Mr. BLUMENAUER.  
H.R. 3664: Mr. LUCAS.  
H.R. 3665: Mrs. AXNE.  
H.R. 3681: Ms. BROWNLEY of California.  
H.R. 3685: Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois, Mr. BLUMENAUER, and Ms. PRESSLEY.  
H.R. 3712: Ms. SANCHEZ.  
H.R. 3716: Mr. NEGUSE, Mr. MCADAMS, and Mr. SIMPSON.  
H.R. 3727: Mr. CASE.  
H.R. 3731: Mr. CASE.  
H.R. 3742: Mr. WITTMAN and Mr. OLSON.  
H.R. 3777: Mr. CASE.  
H.R. 3799: Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois and Mr. MEEKS.  
H.R. 3816: Mr. WEBER of Texas.  
H.R. 3824: Mr. LAHOOD.  
H.R. 3851: Mr. PANETTA, Ms. ESHOO, and Mr. CUELLAR.  
H.R. 3917: Mr. KHANNA.  
H.R. 3956: Mr. RUPPERSBERGER and Mr. CUELLAR.  
H.R. 3968: Mr. CRAWFORD.  
H.R. 3971: Mr. CLINE.  
H.R. 3973: Ms. BARRAGÁN.  
H.R. 4014: Ms. HAALAND, Ms. ESHOO, and Mr. POCAN.  
H.R. 4077: Mrs. MCBATH and Mrs. AXNE.  
H.R. 4098: Mr. GOSAR, Mr. CURTIS, Mr. MOONEY of West Virginia, Mr. BROOKS of Alabama, Mr. STEUBE, and Mr. NORMAN.  
H.R. 4107: Mr. POCAN and Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York.  
H.R. 4129: Mr. FITZPATRICK.  
H.R. 4142: Mr. CARBAJAL.  
H.R. 4193: Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. KING of New York, Ms. SLOTKIN, and Ms. BROWNLEY of California.  
H.R. 4219: Mr. FLEISCHMANN.  
H.R. 4226: Mr. HECK.  
H.R. 4230: Ms. BONAMICI and Ms. BROWNLEY of California.  
H.R. 4248: Mr. LAMB.  
H.R. 4249: Mr. RASKIN and Mr. DEUTCH.  
H.R. 4254: Mr. SIRES.  
H.R. 4261: Mr. CLINE.

H.R. 4272: Mr. ENGEL, Mr. BROWN of Maryland, Mr. SOTO, Ms. LOFGREN, and Miss RICE of New York.  
H. J. Res. 7: Mr. PASCRELL.  
H. Res. 49: Mr. ROSE of New York.  
H. Res. 109: Ms. FUDGE.  
H. Res. 146: Ms. LEE of California, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, and Mr. KING of New York.  
H. Res. 326: Mr. LANGEVIN and Mr. SCOTT of Virginia.  
H. Res. 374: Mr. PALMER.  
H. Res. 387: Ms. BROWNLEY of California, Mr. SWALWELL of California, and Ms. WILD.  
H. Res. 454: Mrs. LURIA.  
H. Res. 478: Ms. SLOTKIN.  
H. Res. 493: Mr. HUIZENGA.  
H. Res. 527: Mr. DESAULNIER.  
H. Res. 539: Mr. FITZPATRICK and Mr. COSTA.  
H. Res. 543: Ms. NORTON.  
H. Res. 545: Mr. MCGOVERN and Mr. KILMER.  
H. Res. 549: Mr. VISCLOSKEY.

### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 3 of rule XII, petitions and papers were laid on the clerk's desk and referred as follows:

39. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the City of Miami Commission, relative to Resolution No. R-19-0281, urging the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services to reevaluate and grant Ramon Saul Sanchez's application for permanent resident status; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

40. Also, a petition of House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands, relative to House Joint Resolution 21-4, HD2, To provide mutual consent to amend Article III, Section 303 of the Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in Political Union with the United States of America to limit birth tourism in the CNMI; jointly to the Committees on Natural Resources and the Judiciary.



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 116<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 165

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 2019

No. 146

## Senate

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

### PRAYER

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

Let us pray.

Holy God, Your goodness extends to all generations. Thank You that You can be found by all who truly seek You. You are our God, and we trust Your love, wisdom, and power.

Lord, guide our Senators to protect our goodly heritage of freedom, using them to defend our Constitution from all enemies, foreign and domestic.

Please, God, hear our fervent prayers, for You are our refuge and strength.

Cause us to live now as we shall wish we had done when our time comes to die.

We pray in Your great Name. Amen.

### PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

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

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. BLACKBURN). The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GRASSLEY. I ask unanimous consent to speak in morning business for 90 seconds.

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

### CENTRAL COLLEGE TUITION REDUCTION

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, I have two points I would like to make. I have three bills designed to help students better understand the actual cost of college because it is kind of a complicated thing to determine because there is not enough transparency.

Colleges tend to think that having a high tuition is a reflection of quality, which just means that they all have to offer more scholarships. Between that and the complexity of Federal student aid, price shopping for college is very difficult and some people might think impossible. That is why I was glad to learn that one of Iowa's well-respected private colleges, Central College in Pella, IA, has lowered its tuition from \$38,600 a year to \$18,600 to better reflect the actual cost. Yes, that is right—they reduced their college tuition by \$20,000 a year. Maybe Pella Central College will start a trend.

### REMEMBERING CHUCK GEERTZ

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, on another point, Iowans, and particularly veterans, mourn the loss of Chuck Geertz of Muscatine. Sergeant First Class Geertz was an Active-Duty servicemember for 23 years but continued to serve his Nation after his retirement in 2009, and this is how he did it: through establishing an organization in 2008 called Healing at English River Outfitters or, as he established the acronym, HERO. That organization does great good. It provides veterans and their families with relaxing outdoor activities for physical and mental healing.

Chuck is remembered for his caring spirit and dedication to his community and, most important, his fellow veterans. While he will be missed, his legacy of community service will continue.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

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

### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

### EXECUTIVE SESSION

### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

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

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Michelle Bowman, of Kansas, to be a Member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for a term of fourteen years from February 1, 2020. (Reappointment)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota.

### SOUTH DAKOTA

Mr. THUNE. Madam President, it was a good August. While I head back to South Dakota almost every weekend, August gives me the chance to spend multiple uninterrupted weeks back home visiting with South Dakotans and traveling to the far corners of the State.

August is also fair season in South Dakota, and there is nothing better than a South Dakota fair. This year I got to attend the South Dakota State Fair, the Brown County Fair, the Sioux Empire Fair, the Turner County Fair, and the McCook County Fair, to name a few on the list. As usual, I had a great time at all of them. Of course, the people are the best part of the fair, although I have to say that the fair food is not far behind. I am still enjoying at this late date the Tubby Burger

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



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that I had at the Brown County Fair, and I will tell you that they don't have burgers like that here in Washington, DC.

Agriculture is the lifeblood of South Dakota, and, as always, a lot of my conversations over August were centered on agriculture. Farmers and ranchers have had a very rough few years, and addressing the needs of our agriculture community is one of my top priorities in Congress.

One big concern for our producers is ethanol and biodiesel. While we received some good news this year with the approval of year-round E15 sales, the ethanol industry is still facing significant challenges owing to the excess of small refinery waivers that have been issued—an issue we continue to try to address.

Perhaps the biggest concern for our farmers right now is trade. Multiple protracted trade disputes have exacerbated an already struggling ag economy and have left farmers and ranchers unsure how markets are going to be going forward.

While ranchers received some good news in August with the announcement that the administration has reached a deal to increase U.S. beef sales to Europe, that is just a tiny fraction of what we need to be doing trade-wise. Each time I speak with the President and his administration, I tell them what South Dakota farmers have told me: We need to conclude negotiations on the various trade deals we are working on as soon as possible to open new markets and to expand existing ones and to give agricultural producers certainty about what the playing field is going to look like going forward.

One of my priorities right now is pushing for passage of the United States-Mexico-Canada free-trade agreement. The United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement will preserve farmers' access to two of our Nation's most significant agricultural export markets—Canada and Mexico—and substantially expand market access for U.S. dairy products in Canada. Negotiations on this agreement have already been concluded. We need Democrats in the House to indicate their willingness to take it up and pass it.

August is always a great time to share with South Dakotans what I am working on in Washington and to get their feedback, which is why I am glad I had the opportunity to host several townhall meetings across the State, toured numerous local businesses, and visited nearly every corner of South Dakota.

As South Dakotans know, I am a longtime member of the Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee. I served as chairman of the committee in the last Congress, and I currently chair the Commerce Subcommittee on Communications, Technology, Innovation, and the Internet. This has given me the chance to address a number of issues facing Americans and South Dakotans, from the

frustration of illegal robocalls to the data privacy concerns we all face in the internet age. It has also given me the chance to focus on digital issues that affect rural States like South Dakota, particularly the lack of high-speed internet access in rural areas.

To residents of large cities, being without access to high-speed internet is unthinkable, but for families in rural areas, which lack the telecommunications infrastructure of cities and suburbs, even basic internet access can sometimes be a struggle. Broadband access is frequently just a dream, and that has real consequences for these Americans.

It is not just a matter of being able to stream Netflix without interruption. In our digital economy, a lack of reliable, high-speed internet access means losing out on opportunities to grow your business, it means fewer educational opportunities, and it means fewer healthcare resources in areas that already lack easy access to specialty care services. Telehealth promises to reduce some of the geographic barriers to care for individuals in rural areas, but it depends largely on high-speed internet access. Then there is the rapidly developing field of precision agriculture. Precision agriculture, which uses tools like robotics and remote monitoring to help farmers manage their fields, promises to help farmers substantially increase their yields while reducing their costs. But, once again, it depends on reliable access to high-speed internet.

That is why I have made this issue such a priority. Nationwide, the digital divide is shrinking, as more and more Americans gain access to broadband. In South Dakota, we are ahead of the curb, thanks to people like Sioux Falls Mayor Paul TenHaken, who has worked aggressively to remove barriers to telecommunications investment in cities like Sioux Falls. I was very encouraged by the Federal Communications Commission's recent announcement that it will invest \$705 million over the next decade to bring broadband to rural areas in South Dakota that currently go without.

There is more work to be done, and I am committed to pushing this issue until reliable broadband access is standard in rural America. During the last week of the August break, I brought the Commerce Committee to Sioux Falls to conduct a field hearing on rural broadband. We brought an FCC Commissioner with us so that he could hear directly from South Dakotans who are on the frontlines of rural broadband expansion and leading the innovations that come along with it. It was a great hearing, and I am very encouraged by the progress we are making on this issue. I look forward to doing more work on this issue in the coming months.

I am energized by the time that I spent with South Dakotans during the August break, and I am looking forward to continuing to fight for South

Dakota's priorities here in Washington this fall.

#### TRIBUTE TO BRENDON PLACK

Madam President, before I close, I want to take a minute to recognize one of the people who has been instrumental in helping me serve South Dakotans throughout my time in the Senate.

This week, my whip office chief of staff, Brendon Plack, is leaving my office after 14 years. He has been with me during my entire time here in the Senate, from the very first month on the job, and it is difficult to imagine the office without him.

He started out at the bottom, as the guy who had to drive me to evening events so that I could squeeze in a little more work or a few more phone calls to South Dakota on the way. But he was always cheerful about it, and, even better, he drove well and never ran out of gas. It may not sound like a big deal, but having been subsequently stranded on the way to an event after running out of gas, I appreciate, as always, Brendon's preparedness.

Brendon soon moved up to legislative correspondent, then to legislative assistant, and then up from there to policy director, legislative director, staff director, and chief of staff. He has been an indispensable part of my team.

No job has ever been too big for Brendon, no task too hard. It doesn't matter how long the hours get. He is always willing to put in the work that needs to be done, and he stays cheerful through it all, lifting everyone else up with him.

He is a natural leader who is not only exceptionally talented himself but is great at spotting talent in others. He helped me to put together an outstanding team for the whip office and has helped me to maintain an outstanding team in my personal office.

In politics, as we all know, you meet people who are great at the nuts and bolts of policy and know every detail of an issue, and you meet people who aren't as focused on the details but have an ability to see the big picture and how what we are doing fits into our larger goals. You don't always meet people who can do both, but Brendon has always been able to get into the nuts and bolts of a policy and at the same time see the bigger picture.

One of the things I have appreciated most about Brendon is the fact that no matter what we are doing, South Dakota is at the forefront of his mind. As a native of Madison, SD, and the son of a farmer, Brendon has a keen insight into South Dakotans' priorities. Whether it is tax reform or energy legislation or agriculture, Brendon is always thinking about how we can serve South Dakota on the national stage. He has played a key role in so many of the things I have been able to get done for South Dakota here in Washington.

Now, I have described a pretty outstanding individual, but Brendon is not without his flaws. He is a longtime Vikings fan. Over the past 14 years, I



have tried hard to convince him that he should be rooting for the Green Bay Packers, but so far I haven't gotten anywhere.

Fortunately, our shared appreciation for the tuba has helped us to get over our major disagreements on football. Both Brendon and I are tuba players from way back, although I think he is a little more accomplished at the tuba than I am. I never made it beyond the high school marching band. Brendon went on to Augustana University in South Dakota on a music scholarship and played in the concert band. I just learned that he actually had lost his tuba scholarship—if you can believe this—to dedicate time to my first campaign.

As I said earlier, it is hard to think of my office without Brendon. He will be deeply missed, but I look forward to watching him excel in all his future endeavors. I know that he may enjoy having a little bit more time to spend with his wife Lindsay and his little ones, Timmy and Katie Lou. As we all know, days on the Hill can be very long.

If you ask Brendon how he got into politics, he will tell you about the meeting he attended in college where I was the guest speaker. That meeting, Brendon says, got him interested in politics for the first time. Shortly after, he applied to work on my first Senate campaign, and the rest, as they say, is history.

To hear Brendon tell it, attending that meeting was a lucky day for him, but I know it was an even luckier day for me and for the people of South Dakota.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCOTT of Florida). The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JOHNSON). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

#### APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, there are two possible paths when it comes to the appropriations process in Congress. There is a bipartisan path, where both parties work together in good faith to pass all 12 appropriations bills. Then there is the partisan path, where one party breaks faith with the other, and we end up traveling down a road of brinksmanship. Continuing resolutions become the order of the day, and the risk of a government shutdown increases.

We all know the bipartisan path is far preferable. It both avoids the possibility of another damaging government shutdown, and when we legislate the appropriations bills, we can intelligently allocate our resources for the

future. Continuing resolutions, on the other hand, are blunt objects that simply recycle last year's priorities. It hurts our military; it hurts the middle class; and it hurts the American people.

We are at an important crossroads between those two passes right now. After successfully negotiating the broad outlines of a budget deal earlier this year, we must now agree on the allocations to the 12 appropriations subcommittees. These are known as the 302(b) allocations. This process was completely bipartisan in 2018; these allocations passed the Appropriations Committee unanimously 31 to 0.

This year, the Republican majority, without consulting with Democrats, has proposed taking away \$12 billion from urgent domestic priorities and from urgent military priorities and wasting it—wasting it on President Trump's ineffective and expensive border wall. This is the very wall President Trump promised over and over again that Mexico would pay for when he ran for office and garnered support for it from his constituency.

No Republican—certainly not the Republican leader who knows this place well—could seriously believe Democrats would agree to that: \$12 billion for the wall, stolen from healthcare programs to fight opioid addiction and encourage cancer research, stolen from military families? No Republican could expect Democrats to support that, nor should they. It is terrible policy.

This morning, in the appropriations markup, every single Republican on the committee, including Leader MCCONNELL, voted to move forward on this idea. Republican Senators who oppose the President's emergency declaration voted for it; Republican Senators whose States would lose tens of millions of dollars in military funding voted for it. This is the clearest indication yet that Republicans may well be abandoning a bipartisan appropriations process. They would do so at their peril, as well as the peril of the Nation.

Republicans have started off here on the wrong foot, repeating the exact same mistakes they made at the end of 2018, which resulted in the longest government shutdown in American history—a shutdown that President Trump and Republicans rightly shouldered the blame for.

There is only one bit of good news in this maneuver. There is still time for Republicans to reverse course. The Republican majority should sit down with Democrats on the committee and start over on the 302(b) allocations, figure out an order to bring each bill to the floor, and get a bipartisan process back on track. That is how we Democrats want to do it. That is how we have always gotten appropriations bills done. No one wants to resort to a continuing resolution or, God forbid, another Republican, Donald Trump-inspired government shutdown, but it takes two to tango.

My Republican colleagues must know that what happens in the next few days

and weeks will determine whether we can proceed with a bipartisan appropriations process this fall or not.

I urge Leader MCCONNELL and every single Republican to reverse course—it is certainly not too late—and work with us and get it done. I spoke to Leader MCCONNELL yesterday right here in the well and suggested just that. He seemed open to it. Let's hope our request is heeded.

#### BACKGROUND CHECKS

Mr. President, on guns, yesterday, in an open letter to the Senate, the leaders of 145 companies—some of the most recognizable in our country—added their voices to the millions of Americans who want action on gun violence. Here are the words of these corporate leaders, hardly leftwing radicals: "Doing nothing about America's gun violence crisis is simply unacceptable . . . the Senate must follow the House's lead by passing bipartisan legislation that would update the background checks law, helping to keep guns out of the hands of people who shouldn't have them."

They are correct, and the people who shouldn't have them, almost no one thinks they should. Should felons have guns? Should spousal abusers have guns? Should people adjudicated mentally ill have guns? Yet the enormous loopholes in the law allow them to have guns. Forty percent of the guns sold in America now are sold without background checks because they are sold either online or at gun shows.

These corporate leaders are exactly right. They are not asking for anything radical. They are asking for something that 93 percent of the American people support.

When it comes to gun safety legislation, no policy is a better starting point than universal background checks. We are certainly open to debating the finer points of legislation with our Republican colleagues, but we certainly will not settle for anything less than meaningful action to address gun violence. We know meaningful action begins with closing the loopholes in our background check system so guns don't fall into the wrong hands in the first place.

After saying the issue of gun safety would be front and center when Congress returned, Leader MCCONNELL has given no indication of when the Senate might have a debate. Instead, he has suggested it is up to the White House—a mercurial, inconsistent White House—to determine what, if any, legislation reaches the floor. Meanwhile, after Republicans met with President Trump at the White House this week, a few said President Trump was liable to let Congress take the lead.

Well, Leader MCCONNELL, President Trump, Republican Senators, it is the old Abbott and Costello routine again. They are going like this: Congressional Republicans point at the White House, the White House points at congressional Republicans, and nothing gets done.

We know why nothing gets done. The public overwhelmingly—the vast majority of Americans, the vast majority of Republicans, the vast majority of gun owners, the majority of NRA members—want to close the loopholes, but the NRA has our Republican colleagues quaking in their boots, and they almost always bow down in obeisance to the NRA. The NRA says: Let us look at the legislation. Then it is so weakened, it virtually does nothing. That is not going to happen this time.

We need a vote on H.R. 8—modest, bipartisan, universal background check legislation. Our Republican colleagues should realize this game they are playing of Pennsylvania Avenue hot potato has become a shopworn strategy to delay and kick responsibility around so Republicans can avoid addressing the tough issue—the issue the American people sent us here to take on.

When Leader MCCONNELL says he is just going to do what President Trump wants—how unreliable. President Trump has been all over the lot on gun safety, with no real results in the 2½ years he has been in office. What lack of leadership. Let's just do it. The public wants us to do it.

What is different this time, my colleagues on the Republican side, is the public is so strongly on the side of what we want to do—closing the loopholes—that people will begin to pay a political price for not doing it. It used to be the equation was the other way, a small, dedicated core of advocates, quite extreme, on the pro-gun side had more weight than the vast majority of the American people who cared about this issue but didn't make it high up on their list. What has changed is this: It is one of the most important issues in the country. That is not I saying it; that is what the average citizen is saying.

The idea now of bowing down to the NRA, of not doing anything they don't want you to do is a political loser. I urge my Republican colleagues, for the sake of our country, for the sake of lives, to change their minds and behave differently.

The fact of the matter is this: The issue of gun violence is not going away, and the American people are not going to settle for half measures or half-baked solutions that the NRA crafts.

While we continue to press the White House to make its position public, we urge Leader MCCONNELL to do something very simple: Let us debate H.R. 8, the bipartisan, House-passed universal background checks bill on the floor ASAP.

CHINA

Mr. President, on China, a report in the Wall Street Journal this morning describes how China will seek to narrow the scope of ongoing negotiations with the United States, hoping to focus on trade alone, leaving national security issues for a separate conversation. Of course, in many cases, these two issues are intertwined and indissoluble. Of course, China and the United States

will invariably disagree about which issue is a trade issue and which issue is a national security issue.

Regardless, this transparent attempt by China to dodge a conversation about its predatory actions against American companies should not stand. China has stolen an entire generation of innovation from the United States. Of course they don't want to talk about this topic, and of course they want to defer this conversation to a day in the future that will never come.

Make no mistake about it, what the Chinese are doing is another effort to protect Huawei and similarly large Chinese corporations from further action in the United States. They don't let our best and biggest corporations sell goods in China. Why should we let them sell goods here, particularly when there is a national security risk as there is in Huawei? My late father-in-law, a New York City cabdriver, used colorful language. He said: Do you know what? When it comes to China, we are not Uncle Sam; we are Uncle Sack. Let's stop that already.

President Trump has shown some strength in this issue, but then he also often backs off. We have to be tough on Huawei—very tough on Huawei. That is the best way to teach China that they can't sell whatever they want here in America and not let us sell in China.

I have a concise and pointed request to the White House this morning: Tell China to forget about it. Don't let China exclude our Nation's security and Huawei from the negotiations.

Let me remind President Trump and his advisors that over the past several years, China has endeavored to keep our blue-chip technology companies out of its markets. When it does allow American companies access, it makes the transfer of proprietary intellectual property and technology to Chinese companies a precondition. When American companies don't play by their rules, Chinese companies steal the technology.

President Trump, you have been tougher on China than President Bush or Obama. I give you some credit for that, but it will all come to naught unless we actually take action. Don't let Huawei sell here. Don't let Huawei get the components made in America they need to continue to threaten both our economic and national security.

If China keeps American companies out, we should keep important Chinese companies out, particularly those like Huawei, until China relents. They will if we stay strong and if we stay tough.

President Trump, stay strong on China and on Huawei.

E-CIGARETTES

Mr. President, finally, on some praise for the Trump administration, I don't do it that often, but when it is due it is due. Yesterday, the Federal Drug Administration announced that it plans to pull most flavored e-cigarettes from the market. I have been concerned about the possible danger of e-cigarettes for a long time. I have been one

of the first to bring attention to the fact that the e-cigarette manufacturers aim at kids with both flavors and advertising. I have called for greater scrutiny, asked companies to recall brands of e-cigarettes where the parts are exploding, and have particularly focused on getting the FDA to ban e-cigarettes with flavors that are designed to appeal to teenagers and young kids.

I had several conversations and meetings with FDA Commissioner Scott Gottlieb about this issue. In fact, I brought him some kids from high school in Westchester who said that e-cigarettes were hurting their school and that so many kids were involved. I think it made a good impression—a strong impression—on former Commissioner Scott Gottlieb.

We take wide-ranging steps to prevent tobacco companies from targeting underage children in their markets but so far have done little to prevent e-cigarettes from executing basically the same strategy. It is past time the FDA moved to take these kid-friendly products off the shelves, and I commend the FDA's announcement that it plans to take action.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I appreciate what the Democratic leader just said about the flavored e-cigarettes, and I, too, commended the Trump administration yesterday for taking this action. It is a big deal in our high schools in Ohio and in other venues as well, and this will help to keep a lot of young people from engaging in this, which is bad for their health. Certainly, just like cigarette smoke, it also leads to addictions. I commend him for that.

The Democratic leader also talked about the fact that President Trump has been tougher on China than any previous President in modern times, certainly, and that is also true. Let's all hope the Chinese Government comes to the table in the next few weeks, as they get back to their discussions, ready to actually address some of these issues, particularly, the issue of their subsidies, which are contrary to our laws, but also the international rules, the technology transfer, and the taking of our intellectual property. These are changes in the structure of our trade relationship that are required for us to get to that level playing field that all of us should want.

I also agree about the notion that we should have more reciprocity. If they are keeping our stuff out, we should be able to respond in kind. Ultimately, we all want a resolution to this issue. We want the tariffs to be eliminated, but we want to do it on a basis where there is actually fair trade between our two countries.

With regard to the appropriations process, I, too, am hopeful we can get something done here on a bipartisan basis. The Democratic leader suggested

we might end up with a government shutdown. We should never end up with a government shutdown. It is terrible policy. It hurts government workers. It is bad for taxpayers.

We will be issuing a report from the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations tomorrow in this regard to show how the last three government shutdowns have resulted in tremendous pain, not just to those who get furloughed and those who work without pay but also to the taxpayer, and they are fairly inefficient. Let's not even talk about a government shutdown. Why are we going down this road?

OHIO

Mr. President, in the Senate, this is the first week back in session after what is called the August work period. Today, I want to talk a little bit about my travels around the State of Ohio over the August district work period and talk about what I learned that can help inform us here as to what we can do better in the Congress to help on issues that are important to people I represent in Ohio.

One that was striking for me, and it has been for the last several years, is workforce needs. There aren't enough workers to fill the jobs that are out there. What a great opportunity it is for people to come in out of the shadows and get to work, but also what a necessity it is now for our economy to have these workers. I learned a lot about that and heard a lot about that.

The changing drug crisis. We in Ohio have been hit hard with the opioid crisis, but it is evolving, as always. There is fentanyl, which is a synthetic form of opioids, but now crystal meth is much more powerful and cheaper than ever and is coming in from Mexico, and we need to be responsive to that change.

Challenges in Ag country. Our farmers are hurting. Low prices the last few years have been compounded by terrible weather this year. It was the worst planting in my memory in Ohio. A lot of crops didn't get in at all. Of those that did, about half of them are not in good shape. This is tough on our farmers.

Ways to do a better job in protecting Lake Erie. This is a huge issue for us in Ohio. It is our No. 1 tourist attraction, and it is an incredible source of income in jobs. We have about a \$6 billion fishing industry now in the Great Lakes. The most important lake of all is Lake Erie. As an example, several million people get their drinking water from Lake Erie. I learned a lot about that over the break.

Then, also, there is the importance of our military having the support they need. I went to our military bases around the State and learned about what we can do to help them more, and also I got the opportunity to visit two of our NASA centers in Ohio. One of the 10 NASA research centers is in Cleveland, OH, NASA Glenn. There is Plum Brook Station, where we test equipment heading to the Moon soon.

That was very helpful to understand better about how we can be providing steady funding in the Congress so that we can indeed fulfill our missions that we have always had here in this country, which is to push beyond the bounds and, in this case, to go back to the Moon and have the first woman on the Moon and, then, eventually, to go to Mars and the benefits of that.

It was a busy month. I traveled to 39 different counties in Ohio over the last several weeks and more than 4,000 miles in my pickup truck, which now has over 180,000 miles on it, traveling around our State and to 75 different events.

When I began my second term representing Ohio in 2017, I made it a goal of mine to visit all 88 counties in Ohio during this term. I am happy to report that just during August we achieved that goal. A few years early, we hit all 88 counties. We will continue to go around our State and to see people in every part of our State, hear them out, and, again, to know what the best thing is to do in Congress to be able to help them and their families and to help our State.

I also traveled by train and by ferry in Lake Erie, by bike on charity bike rides, and even by kayak on the Cuyahoga River, to meet with constituents about how Washington can be a better partner for them and their families. I met with a lot of small businesses, and I talked to them about how they are doing. The tax reform and the regulatory relief has really helped, and this is why we have a stronger economy now than anybody projected. It is why we have more jobs being created. It is why we have wages going up for the first time in a decade in Ohio.

Last month, we actually had nationally wage increases of 3.5 percent year to year, well above inflation. That is a welcomed change. Really, in Ohio, after about a decade and half of flat wages and not keeping up with inflation and people feeling like they are working hard and playing by the rules but they couldn't get ahead, now you finally see wages going up. The biggest increases are among lower income and middle-income workers. That is exactly what you want.

I am happy to report that, and I am happy to report that small business owners in Ohio are happy that it is working for them because they expanded their plants and their operations and they hired more people.

What I did hear consistently from employers at every level—and for that matter, from hospitals and nonprofits and from State and local government—is one thing: workforce. They don't have enough qualified workers to fill the jobs they have. Again, it is a great opportunity to bring people off the sidelines—people who are not applying for work, not looking for work—and to raise labor force participation, which economists say is relatively low, and bring them off the sidelines. We also need these people to be able to meet our economic needs.

If you go on OhioMeansJobs.com, this morning, in that website you will see about 150,000 jobs being advertised—150,000 open jobs. When you look at those jobs, a lot of them require skills. They are not the kind of skills you get from a college degree but the kind of skills you achieve somewhere between high school and college—things like welding, machining, coding, other IT jobs, techs for hospitals, and truckdrivers. These jobs are open right now in Ohio. Economists call these jobs “skilled jobs” but, again, they are the kind of jobs that you can get the skills from in short-term training programs.

I have been a big fan of improving those skills, and we have made some progress here. We started a caucus called the Career and Technical Caucus. I am the cochair and cofounder of that. It is to focus on these practical, hands-on, skills-training for jobs that can help us to be able to fill this need.

The openings we have in Ohio are also all around the country. I was pleased that recently the President signed my Educating Tomorrow's Workforce Act into law, which allows States and localities to use Perkins grant funding to establish these career and technical education academies at the high school level, but we need to do more.

One that would really help is if we could pass what is called the JOBS Act. It is legislation I have introduced consistently with Senator TIM KAINE from Virginia. It is really very simple. It says we ought to be able to use Pell grants not just for college but also for these shorter term training programs. In fact, they are much more relevant to what we need right now.

Sadly, most people who get a Pell grant to go to college don't end up with a college degree. I support Pell grants in colleges and universities. It is an important way for lower income students to get access to education. But why not allow those same students to get a shorter term training program under their belt? Right now they can't afford it. If you want to get a welding degree to get an industry-recognized credential to become a welder in Ohio, you can get a job right away—a good-paying job with good benefits. Yet it is costly to go through that program. They are less than 15 weeks. So they don't qualify for Pell.

A student is told: You can go to college and get a history degree, but you can't get a welding certificate and use a Pell grant. That is just wrong. It is unfair. I heard the same thing again and again at visits I made to community colleges around Ohio over August and visits I made to career and technical schools around Ohio, which is why they want the JOBS Act, and they want it now because they know it will help them.

I heard from one student at a welding program at a CTE school who told me she wanted to get an advanced welding certificate so she could get a great job. She knows exactly what she wants to

do, but she can't afford it. This is an 18-year-old in her last year of high school. She is working three jobs right now, but she can't afford the cost. So she is probably going to take a Pell and go to college when she would prefer to take a Pell and get this advanced certificate that is internationally recognized so she can get a good welding job. Again, that is something we should pass here and do it soon.

The Higher Education Act may well be passed this year. It is a perfect vehicle for it. I want to thank Senator LAMAR ALEXANDER, who has been supportive of this commonsense change to be able to get our young people and others the training they need to be able to access the jobs that are out there.

Elsewhere around the State, I did meet with our farmers in several counties. The heavy flooding has led to the worst planting season in our modern history in Ohio. We have helped a little bit because the Department of Agriculture, at our urging, has included Ohio in disaster declarations. So some of these farmers who have not been able to plant are getting low interest loans right now and eventually will get some grant money. That is good.

These farmers also want to have the access to more markets around the world because they know that is going to increase their prices and enable them to get back on their feet after these tough times with the weather.

They are particularly concerned about what is happening with regard to the U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement. Remember, we have this existing agreement called NAFTA, which is with Mexico and Canada, our two largest trading partners. For Ohio, they are by far our two largest trading partners. But right now, the NAFTA agreement is 25 years old, outdated, not keeping up with the times, and not opening up markets enough. So we have this new agreement that has been signed by Mexico and signed by Canada. We are ready to go with it, but it has to be confirmed in the U.S. Congress. Right now, unbelievably, it is being held up, even though our farmers desperately want it. You know who else wants it? Our workers, because it is going to help manufacturing.

The people who are involved in trade understand the importance of Canada and Mexico because they are our largest markets, and it is going to be so helpful for our country and for my State of Ohio if we can get it done. The International Trade Commission, which is an independent body, studied this and said: Yes, it is going to create over 150,000 new jobs in the auto industry. It is great for Michigan, Ohio, and other States. Again, all we have to do is have a vote here in the U.S. Congress to be able to confirm this, and we can put it in place. It will help our economy. It will help create more jobs. It will help create some certainty going forward. We need to get this done.

Many of the things in the agreement are things that Democrats have been

calling for for years—tougher labor standards that are enforceable, as an example. It actually has a minimum wage—40 to 45 percent of vehicles made under USMCA must be produced by workers earning an average of \$16 an hour. It has a 70-percent requirement to use North American steel. It has a number of things that the Democrats have called upon us to do for years.

If we don't pass USMCA, the alternative is the status quo, which is NAFTA. In effect, if you don't support USMCA, it must mean that you support the status quo, which is NAFTA, which, again, so many Democrats have been criticizing over the years. Let's get this done. The 25-year-old NAFTA is not the status quo that anybody should want when we have this better agreement in front of us.

Specifically, if the House of Representatives were to bring the bill to the floor, I believe they could pass it just because of the logic, the fact that this agreement is so much better than the status quo. Then, over here in the Senate, we would have no trouble passing it, in my view.

During my tour over the August break, I also spent time visiting with a lot of groups and organizations that are combating the drug epidemic that has gripped my State of Ohio and our country. As you know, we now have more people in Ohio dying from overdoses than from any other cause of death. It is unbelievable. In 2017, 72,000 people died of overdoses in this country, more than we lost in the entire Vietnam war, just in one year—72,000 Americans.

We have made some progress recently. We should be proud of that. Last year, for the first time in 8 years, we saw a reduction in overdose deaths. It is partly because Congress has stepped up—over \$4 billion in new funding for prevention, longer term treatment programs, recovery programs, and more Narcan for our first responders. This is important, but we also have to realize that the threat is evolving and changing.

One thing I learned when I was home and talking to groups all over the State about this issue is that, yes, the legislation we passed is helping. I got to see how it is helping and to see how my legislation, the Comprehensive Addiction and Recovery Act, is being put to work in Ohio.

The new threat in Ohio is these new drugs that are coming in, particularly crystal meth. The crystal meth coming in from Mexico is more powerful and less expensive than ever. We used to have meth labs in Ohio. You may have had them in your communities as well. You probably will not hear much about meth labs anymore. Why? Because the stuff on the street is even more powerful than you can make in a meth lab, in someone's home, and it is less expensive.

In fact, the law enforcement folks in Ohio are telling me that the meth on the street in Ohio is less expensive

than marijuana, and it has a much more corrosive effect on our communities and a devastating impact on families and individuals, increasing crime. This is the psychostimulant, like cocaine, that is causing more aggressive crimes, in fact.

With regard to the opioid crisis, we need to keep our eye on the ball. We need to continue what we are doing. Congress deserves credit for expanding the treatment, longer term recovery programs, some of the prevention money, the use of Narcan, but at the same time, we have to be more flexible.

The legislation I have introduced—and I hope we will be able to pass—will provide more flexibility to our communities to take that money for opioids and use it for whatever the community needs to address substance abuse.

When I was home, I also heard a lot about Lake Erie, which is our treasure in Ohio. It is the No. 1 tourist attraction in the State. It is the place where Ohioans have come for generations and generations for recreation, for fishing, for swimming. Also, so many Ohioans depend on it for their drinking water.

There are several million Ohioans who require us to have clean drinking water out of Lake Erie, and those individuals are worried. Why? Because in Toledo a few years ago, we actually had a recommendation that we shut down the water system because of the toxic algal blooms that are in Lake Erie. This year was another tough year for the toxic algal blooms, cutting off fishing opportunities and swimming opportunities. We need to do more to address it.

Again, Congress has made progress in this area. We have passed legislation that is helping. We have added more money that is helping. My legislation to deal with harmful algal blooms is giving the Federal Government a bigger role. That is important.

Clearly, we need to do more, and one is to ensure that the Great Lakes Restoration Initiative, Federal legislation, continues to be funded. That is the fight we are having now in the appropriations process. Senator STABENOW and I have introduced legislation to authorize that program going forward and to increase the funding slightly. Why? Because it is working. These are public-private partnerships all around the Great Lakes to deal with the harmful algal blooms, to deal with the pollution, and to deal with the invasive species coming in. It is one of those Federal programs that works well.

We also had the opportunity to go to all of our military bases around the State of Ohio and to go to our two NASA facilities. Again, I am so proud of the individuals in Ohio who are standing up for our troops in their own way—whether it is the Lima tank plant, where I got to visit individuals making our M1 Abrams tanks and our Stryker vehicles, or whether it is at NASA, where we are preparing for the next mission to the moon.

NASA Administrator James Bridenstine came with us to the Glenn

Research Center in Cleveland and the Plum Brook testing facility. We got to see how those scientists and engineers—the best in the world—are working to complete the Artemis Program. Again, this is an ambitious effort to put a woman on the moon and the next man on the moon within the next 5 years, laying the groundwork for our mission to Mars.

It was great to be home. It was great to have the opportunity to visit with folks all over the State of Ohio. We were busy, but it is also great now to have the opportunity to come back refreshed and to talk about how we can make a bigger difference for them here in the U.S. Congress with some of the legislative initiatives I have talked about today.

There is so much we can and should do this fall. I am eager to roll up my sleeves and have a productive session here, working on a bipartisan basis to get things done for the people I represent and for all Americans.

Thank you.

I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

#### VIETNAM HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I think people are surprised when they come to Texas and find out how diverse a State it really is. Not everybody there looks like me or pronounces their last name the same way.

In fact, we are a huge melting pot of people from all over the country and, literally, many from around the world who come to the State because we have a growing economy, creating jobs and opportunity. People can find work to provide for their family and achieve their dreams.

It shouldn't surprise anybody that Texas is increasingly diverse. We have benefited a lot from the variety of folks and cultures and ideas that have come around the world and planted roots in the Lone Star State.

When I ask folks if they know what the second most spoken language in Texas is, they say: Well, that is easy. It is Spanish.

I say: Well, that is right. Let me give you a harder one. What is the third most commonly spoken language in Texas?

After a couple of guesses, they are usually surprised when I say Vietnamese.

It is not in the overall numbers of Spanish or English, to be sure, but we have a vibrant Vietnamese community in Texas that was established after the fall of Saigon and the Vietnam war. Many of them immigrated to the Houston area or to the metroplex area.

Of course, they have faced many of the same struggles as those who have come to America throughout our country's history. In addition to adjusting to a new home, language, and culture, they have dealt with some ugly aspects of their new home: racism and bigotry.

From those challenges and from overcoming those challenges, they

have derived tremendous strength, demonstrated outstanding drive and a desire to succeed.

Our Vietnamese-American communities in Texas are growing and thriving, and they continue to play a very important role in our increasingly diverse State.

I had the chance to meet with a number of my Vietnamese-American constituents during the August break, and we talked about some of the issues that concern them the most.

Just last weekend, in fact, I visited Cali Saigon Mall in Garland, TX, for their annual children's festival. I participated in an on-stage discussion with a number of community leaders. Although the children seemed more interested in the tiger dance or musical performances and the colorful costumes, it was a great opportunity for me to hear from these folks firsthand. We had a serious discussion about the human rights climate in Vietnam, which has continued to decline.

The Vietnamese Government limits political freedom by denying its own citizens their right to vote in free and fair elections. It denies them the freedom of assembly and expression and due process rights—the sorts of basic rights we call human rights here in the United States.

Last year, one of my constituents, a young man named William Nguyen, was unjustly beaten and detained for participating in demonstrations in Ho Chi Minh City. We were fortunate enough to secure his release back home after the government convicted him on trumped-up charges. I was glad to welcome him back to the good old U.S. of A.

Sadly, the people who continue to live in Vietnam have to escape from a brutal Communist regime, which continues to disregard the most basic human rights, threaten religious freedom, and silence the press.

Vietnam remains one of the lowest ranked countries in the world when it comes to freedom of the press. In 2018, Reporters Without Borders ranked Vietnam 176th out of 180 countries worldwide.

It should come as no surprise that Vietnamese Americans who have lived under this type of rule—or who have family members who still do—don't take our freedoms here in America for granted. It is just the opposite. These immigrants are great patriots who fully appreciate the freedoms they enjoy here in America because they realize how close they came to seeing those same freedoms denied in their home country.

With them, I share their concerns about the rising interest here at home in failed ideas, like socialism, and will continue to dispel rumors that socialism can provide more than the free enterprise system, which has created the very prosperity that Vietnamese Americans and other immigrants enjoy here in the United States.

In addition to our efforts to strengthen our own democracy, we need to do

more to strengthen democracies around the world and to protect basic human rights. Earlier this year, I reintroduced the Vietnam Human Rights Sanctions Act to try to do just that. This bill would impose travel restrictions and other sanctions on Vietnamese nationals complicit in human rights abuses against their fellow citizens. These sanctions would not be lifted until the Vietnamese Government releases all political prisoners and stops the use of violence against peaceful demonstrators.

We simply can't avert our gaze and allow these practices to continue without any sort of accountability. I say the same for what is happening now in Hong Kong.

I appreciate the many Vietnamese Americans who have shared their experiences with me on this topic, and I will continue to advocate for a brighter future for the people of Vietnam.

#### TRIBUTE TO SANDY EDWARDS

Mr. President, on one other matter, I want to take a moment to recognize a member of my staff who is nearing her retirement—Sandy Edwards.

Sandy is the regional director in my Austin field office. She has been with me for nearly two decades—first, in my office when I was attorney general of Texas and now in the U.S. Senate, where she serves, as I said, as my central Texas regional director.

Everybody who knows Sandy knows she has the heart and spirit of a public servant. She works hard to make sure that every Texan who contacts my office feels appreciated, understood, and is happy with the support they receive.

She knows that our faces represent what people get for their tax dollars. With Sandy, central Texans have gotten some serious bang for their buck. Over the years, she has, of course, developed countless relationships with people and organizations that are working to improve our Texas communities in Central Texas.

I will never forget one year spending a December evening out in East Austin at an incredible nonprofit called the Community First! Village. We joined formerly homeless people for a Christmas tree lighting and spent a cold, rainy night with them rejoicing at what this organization and the good-hearted people who work there have helped them to achieve.

At one point, in 2012, Sandy had me biting down on a Starburst candy so students attending Girlstart Summer Camp could analyze my dental impression. I never got a report back of exactly how that turned out.

Sandy is not a fair-weather friend. She has also been by my side during some very difficult times. For example, in 2009, following the horrific shooting at Fort Hood, she was there as I fought to find words to provide even an ounce of comfort to the grieving post and the families there. We paid our respects to these American heroes and watched the ramp ceremony as their flag-draped caskets were loaded into a C-17 for their flight to Dover.

Then there was 2013 in West, TX. That is not the region. That is the name of the city. Following a massive fertilizer plant explosion, it tore through a tight-knit community and claimed the lives of 15 people, including most of the town's volunteer fire department. Sandy, of course, was on the ground, as she always is, helping to connect with the first responders and local officials, making sure they had the support we could provide from our office.

She was there during the Bastrop fires in 2011, the Wimberley flooding in 2015, and the deadly hot air balloon crash in Maxwell, TX, in 2016. Sandy has been a gracious helping hand during the tough times and an enthusiastic cheerleader during the good ones. I am sorry to lose such a devoted staffer and friend, and I know my team in Texas will miss her bighearted participation in our team effort.

I don't think it is really a coincidence that Sandy chose the month of September to retire because, of course, this is the start of her beloved Texas Longhorns' football season. I know she is looking forward to attending UT games this fall, along with her husband Stan and perhaps her son Kyle and his wife Brittney. I know for sure she will enjoy spending more time at her family's ranch in the Texas Hill Country.

I come to the Senate floor to publicly express my appreciation, as well as that of my entire staff and I would dare say every single Texan who ever met her, and to thank Sandy Edwards for the lives she has touched and made better. I say, thank you, Sandy, and I wish you a well-deserved next chapter in your life.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. FISCHER). The Senator from Louisiana.

#### ELECTION SECURITY

Mr. KENNEDY. Madam President, \$1 million a minute—not \$1 million an hour or a day or week, \$1 million a minute. That is how much we borrow every minute to operate the Federal Government. It is \$1.4 billion—that is nine zeros—a day. That is how much more we spend than we take in. Some people have said—I have heard Americans say this—that we spend money like a drunk sailor. That is not accurate because a drunk sailor stops when he runs out of money. We just borrow.

We don't just print this money. We issue Treasury notes and Treasury bonds and Treasury securities. We borrow it. Some Americans loan it to us. Some folks in other countries like Japan and China, they expect to be paid back, and we do have to pay them back. In a couple of years, we are going to be spending more in our budget on interest on our debt than we are spending on defense.

Now we are in the middle of putting together a budget for the American people. The first thing we had to do was agree on how much money we are going to spend. They call that the topline number, but that just means how much money we are going to spend

for the next 2 years. You will not be surprised to learn we are going to spend more.

I think it was a bad deal. I voted against it. Our agreement on what we are going to spend in the budget we are putting forward now, according to the CBO, is going to add to our \$22 trillion—that is 12 zeros—deficit. In fact, what we just agreed to, the additional spending, is going to add, according to our Congressional Budget Office, \$12 trillion over the next 10 years.

I voted against it. I lost. The majority rules. Now we are trying to put together a budget with all this extra money, and our challenge is or ought to be: How do we spend the money the American people are going to give us in an efficient way? I think every single Member of the Senate wants to do that.

I want to talk for a few minutes about an issue that is going to come up. It is going to come up through the subcommittee I chair. It has to do with elections, and it has to do with money.

Russia tried to interfere with our election. You can write that down and take it home to mama. It is true. They did it. They didn't change a single vote, but they did try to influence the way Americans did vote. To try to prevent that from happening again in 2018, this Congress gave our States \$380 million to shore up their election systems. They haven't spent all that yet.

This Congress also took other steps. The Senate has unanimously approved two bipartisan election security bills. I think they are both now pending in the House. We passed the Defending the Integrity of Voting Systems Act. That is going to make it a Federal crime to hack any voting system in a Federal election. We passed the Defending Elections Against Trolls from Enemy Regimes Act. We call that the DETER Act. It will bar people who interfere in our elections or attempt to do so from entering the United States. Our Department of Homeland Security, very able women and men, and our cybersecurity advisors there, smart people—they are helping our State and local officials, on a daily basis, guard against threats.

We had a classified briefing. By "we," I mean all Members of the Senate, Republicans and Democrats. "Classified" means it is in our room down in the basement where foreign agents cannot listen in. The FBI Director was there. The Director of National Intelligence was there. Most senior ranking members of our military were there, and the topic was: How did we do in 2018? We know the Russians and others took a run at us in 2016. They didn't succeed, but they tried. How did we do in 2018?

Let me tell you, our men and women at the FBI and in our military and in Homeland Security, they are on it. Our 2018 election went off without a hitch. I am not saying some foreign despots didn't try to influence how we voted, but they didn't change a single vote. Our people did a great job, and every

Senator, Democratic and Republican, in that room, in that classified setting—I can't tell you the details. I wish I could. If I could, you would be impressed. But everybody walked out of there and said: Man, we are on it. The 2018 elections went off without a hitch, and, by God, we are ready for 2020.

We didn't just do that. I am going to go back to what I just said. We gave our States \$380 million. They haven't even spent all of it yet, but there is going to be an effort to spend a whole bunch more to give it to the States. I don't know how much, but at least \$200 million, maybe \$400 million, maybe a billion. If I thought it was necessary, I would vote for it.

Some of my colleagues, in perfectly good faith, think the States need more money, even though they haven't spent what we gave them to begin with and even though all of our intelligence officials say we are ready for 2020. Some of my colleagues, in good faith, think they need more money, but some of my colleagues see this as a first step to nationalizing elections, and that is what worries me.

Do you know what makes our elections safest of all? You can't just hack one system. You have to hack 50. You have to hack 50 because the States run elections, and they do a pretty good job. They do a really good job.

There is an effort—not by all but by some—to get the Federal Government in charge of elections. Do you know how you do that? You don't just jump in and grab them. You sneak up on them. I will tell you how you sneak up on them. You start giving them money, and you get them addicted. You give them a little more money, and you get them addicted. Then, the next thing you know, the Feds are running the elections, and not for all but for some of my colleagues that is what this is about.

This country started out as a self-reliant, tax-averse Union of States. They were very skeptical of the Federal Government. Our original States and all those after them, they insisted on running their own elections, and it has worked. We don't need the Federal Government in charge of elections.

There are some of my colleagues coming this time—and, look, I am not impugning their integrity. They are entitled to their opinion because this is America, but I am entitled to mine. In the effort last year, we were able to beat it back. I am afraid some of my friends on this side of the aisle this time are having second thoughts. I am hearing all kinds of rumors. It is amazing what you can pick up around this place if you just walk around the floor and keep your mouth shut and your ears open. You hear all kinds of stuff.

I am here to say, if we do it, we are going to look back, when the Federal Government is running our elections and screwing them up, and say this is where it began. If you want to put the U.S. Federal Government in charge of your elections instead of the States, if



you think that is a swell idea, I want you to close your eyes for a minute and imagine living in a world designed by the post office because that is what you are going to get.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### RETURN OF PAPERS REQUEST—S. 1790

Mr. KENNEDY. Madam President, as if in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to request from the House of Representatives the return of the papers to S. 1790 to provide for a correction. I further ask that if the House agrees to the Senate's request, upon receipt of the papers from the House in the Senate, notwithstanding passage of the bill, the amendment at the desk be agreed to and the papers be returned to the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

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

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent; the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. ALEXANDER), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. ROBERTS), and the Senator from Florida (Mr. RUBIO).

Further, if present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. ALEXANDER) would have voted "yea" and the Senator from Florida (Mr. RUBIO) would have voted "yea."

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. BOOKER), the Senator from Delaware (Mr. COONS), the Senator from California (Ms. HARRIS), the Senator from Minnesota (Ms. KLOBUCHAR), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS), and the Senator from Massachusetts (Ms. WARREN) are necessarily absent.

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

The result was announced—yeas 60, nays 31, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 280 Ex.]

#### YEAS—60

Barrasso	Boozman	Carper
Bennet	Braun	Cassidy
Blackburn	Burr	Collins
Blunt	Capito	Cornyn

Cotton	Isakson	Romney
Cramer	Johnson	Rounds
Crapo	Jones	Sasse
Cruz	Kaine	Scott (FL)
Daines	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Enzi	Lankford	Shaheen
Ernst	Lee	Shelby
Fischer	Manchin	Sinema
Gardner	McConnell	Sullivan
Graham	McSally	Tester
Grassley	Moran	Thune
Hassan	Murkowski	Tillis
Hawley	Perdue	Toomey
Hoeven	Peters	Warner
Hyde-Smith	Portman	Wicker
Inhofe	Risch	Young

#### NAYS—31

Baldwin	Heinrich	Rosen
Blumenthal	Hirono	Schatz
Brown	King	Schumer
Cantwell	Leahy	Smith
Cardin	Markey	Stabenow
Casey	Menendez	Udall
Cortez Masto	Merkley	Van Hollen
Duckworth	Murphy	Whitehouse
Durbin	Murray	Wyden
Feinstein	Paul	
Gillibrand	Reed	

#### NOT VOTING—9

Alexander	Harris	Rubio
Booker	Klobuchar	Sanders
Coons	Roberts	Warren

The nomination was confirmed.

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the next nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Jennifer D. Nordquist, of Virginia, to be United States Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for a term of two years.

Thereupon, the Senate proceeded to consider the nomination.

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

The nomination was confirmed.

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

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

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

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Thomas Peter Feddo, of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Investment Security. (New Position)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

#### END CHILD TRAFFICKING NOW ACT

Mrs. BLACKBURN. Madam President, this is not the first time I have come to the floor to discuss a situation that is on our Nation's southern border and the need that we as a country have for a stronger, more efficient immigration policy. I have made more than one trip to South Texas this year, and each time I have returned, I have found myself more motivated to cut through the noise, and to get something done.

What should be a practical policy discussion has, unfortunately, turned political, and very real problems have compounded into an unprecedented crisis.

Within these Halls, we have debates over asylum caps and visa requirements. They are indeed important issues, but recent reports on the explosion of human rights violations perpetrated by cartels, coyotes, and international gangs have added some much needed context to these debates.

By now, we have all heard how dangerous the journey to our southern border can be for those who are being brought forward by cartels, coyotes, and international gangs. Traffickers have really built a big business—a very big and profitable business—on moving drugs and desperate human cargo across the border. Sometimes these individuals make it, and sometimes the guides leave their charges to die—to die alone in the desert. Rumors of abuse, assault, and gang rape have manifested and been proven true. Border Patrol agents at most ports of entry administer pregnancy tests to girls as young as 12 years of age.

While we waste time arguing over talking points, monsters—absolute monsters—are dragging children into the crosshairs of an international crisis. While we debate the best way to amend our loose asylum laws, traffickers are finding ways to exploit those laws, using children to force their way back and forth across the border under the guise of parental legitimacy.

"Child recycling" is a crude term but an accurate term, and we define it as when a minor is used more than once by alien adults who are neither relatives nor legal guardians but pose as family members for the purposes of crossing the border. How despicable and how very selfish of them. Child-recycling isn't a myth, unfortunately. It is not an urban legend. It is a definite, well-defined, clear and present danger.

DHS has uncovered more than 5,500 fraudulent asylum claims since May of 2018. I want you to think about that number—5,500 fraudulent asylum claims since May of 2018. Customs and Border Patrol tells us that unaccompanied minors are particularly vulnerable to trafficking and that drug runners and sex predators are rolling the dice on these fraudulent asylum claims to move their products—which, bear in mind, are people and drugs—to move them more efficiently.

Earlier this year, Immigration and Customs Enforcement introduced a pilot program they believed would help determine how serious the child recycling problem is. They began administering DNA tests on all adults accompanied by minors who claimed a familial relationship but lacked the paperwork to prove this relationship. As a safeguard, all swabs were destroyed, and no genetic profiles were collected or stored. The purpose was solely to

prove a DNA match. And thank goodness somebody was watching. The results have been horrifying. One in five claims of kinship is fraudulent. That means one in five children who were brought to the border and then funneled into the pilot program was likely being exploited.

I ask my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to say that finally we have had enough and to voice their support for the End Child Trafficking Now Act. This act requires the Department of Health and Human Services, in conjunction with the Department of Homeland Security, to administer DNA tests for all adults accompanied by minors at a port of entry who claim a familial relationship without sufficient legal documentation to prove the connection.

Refusal of the test will be met with immediate deportation. Fabrication of family ties or guardianship will carry a maximum 10-year penalty, and the child will be processed as an unaccompanied minor under current law. Proven family members and guardians, however, will be allowed to move forward with the immigration process.

The tests themselves are simple—a quick swab of the cheek and a quick wait. I say “quick” because we will be using a new form of genetic testing that can analyze a DNA sample in about 90 minutes.

I will tell you that I am aware that the various factions in this Chamber have vastly different approaches to immigration reform. We should be having a serious discussion about the fundamental flaws in our policies and our plans to fix them. I welcome these discussions, and I look forward to the changes, but I know and my colleagues know that no one bill or package will repair what is broken in our current immigration system. There is no viable quick fix.

We owe it to this country and we owe it to the children who are brought here under duress and under false premises to do whatever we can to prevent what experience and pilot testing have proved we can indeed prevent. Let's make certain that children coming to the southern border are with family and that they are protected.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

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

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### TRIBUTE TO CINDY HASIAK

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, before we vote, I wish to take a moment to recognize a lifelong public servant, Cindy Hasiak, who will be retiring after 32 years in this Chamber, with the Sergeant at Arms and with the Senate doorkeepers.

Cindy came to the Senate in the spring of 1987. In her time here, she has

seen hundreds of Senators pass through these doors. When particular Senators were nowhere to be found, she was usually the one who would have chased them down.

There is also so much work in the Senate that gets done behind the scenes. So much of it is essential to our operations, and all of it is performed flawlessly, quietly, wonderfully by dedicated staffers who rarely get the recognition they deserve. Truly, the Senate would not function without the quiet dedication and steady excellence of folks like Cindy.

As her days of chasing down Senators come to a close, I wish her all the best as she embarks on a well-earned and well-deserved retirement where, luckily for her, she will be close to her family, friends, and loved ones and far from the frenetic demands of wrangling 100 Senators with 100 different schedules.

We all thank her for her dedicated career in public service. She will always, always, always have the gratitude of this grand institution.

I yield the floor.

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

Ms. COLLINS. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. ALEXANDER), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. INHOFE), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. ISAKSON), the Senator from Arizona (Ms. MCSALLY), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. MORAN), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. PERDUE), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. ROBERTS), and the Senator from Florida (Mr. RUBIO).

Further, if present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. ALEXANDER) would have voted “yea,” the Senator from Kansas (Mr. MORAN) would have voted “yea,” and the Senator from Florida (Mr. RUBIO) would have voted “yea.”

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. BOOKER), the Senator from Delaware (Mr. COONS), the Senator from California (Ms. HARRIS), the Senator from Minnesota (Ms. KLOBUCHAR), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS), and the Senator from Massachusetts (Ms. WARREN) are necessarily absent.

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

The result was announced—yeas 85, nays 1, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 281 Ex.]

YEAS—85

Baldwin	Bennet	Blumenthal
Barrasso	Blackburn	Blunt

Boozman	Grassley	Romney
Braun	Hassan	Rosen
Brown	Hawley	Rounds
Burr	Heinrich	Sasse
Cantwell	Hirono	Schatz
Capito	Hoeven	Schumer
Cardin	Hyde-Smith	Scott (FL)
Carper	Johnson	Scott (SC)
Casey	Jones	Shaheen
Cassidy	Kaine	Shelby
Collins	Kennedy	Sinema
Cornyn	King	Smith
Cortez Masto	Lankford	Stabenow
Cotton	Leahy	Sullivan
Cramer	Lee	Tester
Crapo	Manchin	Thune
Cruz	Markey	Tillis
Daines	McConnell	Toomey
Duckworth	Menendez	Udall
Durbin	Merkley	Van Hollen
Enzi	Murkowski	Warner
Ernst	Murphy	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Murray	Wicker
Fischer	Peters	Wyden
Gardner	Portman	Young
Gillibrand	Reed	
Graham	Risch	

NAYS—1

Paul

NOT VOTING—14

Alexander	Isakson	Roberts
Booker	Klobuchar	Rubio
Coons	McSally	Sanders
Harris	Moran	Warren
Inhofe	Perdue	

The nomination was confirmed.

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

The Senator from Louisiana.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

#### MORNING BUSINESS

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

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

#### UNCLAIMED U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I am not going to speak for 10 minutes, but I do want to call attention to an example of breathtaking hypocrisy, and I am not proud of it.

We all understand in a social contract that the price of living in an organized society is giving up some of our hard-earned money. That is why we pay taxes. Nobody likes paying taxes, but we understand that taxes are necessary to pay our teachers, build our roads, defend our country, and help those who are less fortunate than us.

We set up a pretty good apparatus to go after you if you don't pay your taxes. If you don't pay your taxes, or you don't pay them in the right amount, or you don't pay them on time, they have people trained in the IRS—I am not criticizing. They are just doing their job, but they will chase you like a hound from Hades. So you

pay. That is the law, and we are all supposed to abide by it, but what happens when the Department in which the IRS is centered will not follow the same rules? I am talking about the Department of Treasury. The IRS is under the Department of Treasury. Now, what is good for the goose is supposed to be good for the gander.

The U.S. Department of Treasury is sitting on \$26 billion—not million, billion. That is nine zeros of matured, unclaimed savings bonds that belong to the people of this country. They have the names, and they have the addresses. Do you know what they are doing to try to contact these Americans? Nothing. Zero. Nada. Zilch. They just sit there holding on to the money.

We know what a savings bond is. We couldn't have won World War II without savings bonds. A lot of Americans took their hard-earned money, and they bought savings bonds. You know how it works. I am just making these numbers up, but you buy a savings bond. You give the Federal Government 100 bucks. You don't get anything every month. You give up 100 bucks, and in 20 years you go back and redeem your bond and it is now worth \$200. In the meantime, the Federal Government gets this loan to use your money. When that 20 years is up, the bond matures. It doesn't pay interest anymore.

Some people lose their bonds. Some people forget about their bonds. Some people pass on, and their kids inherit their bonds. They are lost, but you can always count on the Department of Treasury to keep a list of who owns bonds and which ones have been redeemed and which ones haven't. The U.S. Department of Treasury has that list, and there are millions of Americans whose names are on that list. They have names and addresses, and they don't do anything to give it back. They just stand there sucking on the teat.

Let me give you some examples. We are talking real money. I will just pick a couple out: New Jersey, \$695 million belongs to the people of New Jersey—not the politicians in New Jersey, not the government, the people—that the Treasury is holding.

Let me see if I can find—Washington State, \$560 million belongs to the people of Washington State—not the big dogs, not the mayors, not the politicians, the real people who get up every day and go to work and pay their taxes. For Hawaii, they have \$113 million. In my State, Louisiana, there is \$337 million. There is \$3 billion belonging to people in California.

We are going to get up in the morning, and the IRS—they are just doing their job. You better pay your taxes. They will take your firstborn. But when they have \$26 billion of the American people's money, you can't find them with a search party. It is not right. It is not right.

I sued them when I was State treasurer, and I got a bunch of other State treasurers to sue them too. I don't like

suing people, but the Department of the Treasury has spent tens of billions of dollars fighting the American people. They just don't want to give the money back—and you wonder why people hate the government.

I have a bill to try to do something about it. It is not personal. I think the world of our Treasury Secretary. I would think a whole lot better of him if he would start writing checks to the American people. I am not going to give up on this issue. All we are asking is that the Treasury Department share the names with the States. Every State has an unclaimed property program. They have a great one in Washington, a great one in Hawaii. Usually it is a State treasurer. They know to give money back to people. They don't charge a fee. Right is right, and this is wrong. The Department of Treasury needs to give the money back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

#### EMERGENCY FUNDING

Mr. SCHATZ. Mr. President, it is not a rhetorical flourish to say that Senate Republicans are being fully obedient to the President of the United States. The evidence of the last few days has confirmed that Republicans are not standing up for American institutions when they are tested, and they will not defend the American people when it counts the most. Through their silence, through their legislative actions, and through their votes, Republicans are allowing funds appropriated to the Department of Defense—funds that address critical military needs in their own home States—to be stolen in order to pay for the President's wall.

Let me explain. The way we do MILCON, military construction, is nonpartisan. It is not bipartisan; it is nonpartisan. That means there is zero politics involved in selecting military construction projects for funding.

The process goes like this: The base commanders decide what projects they need in order to support their missions and military communities. These projects are set up through the chain of command from the base command to the installation command. If the installation command says the project meets the cut and is important enough for military readiness, it is sent to the Service Chief, the Marine Corps Commandant, the Secretary of the Navy, and so on.

From there, each Service Chief decides what projects to present to the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and then the Office of the Secretary of Defense racks and stacks these projects. It is a rigorous process, and not a single Member of the U.S. Senate gets to intervene during this process. They figure out which ones get addressed in the fiscal year, and some projects make the cut and others don't. The only thing we get to decide, once the matrix is sent to us, is how much money we have to deal with all of our military construc-

tion needs. Again, there is zero political involvement—no politicians, no side deals, no partisan uniforms. So by the time the Congress receives the final list of projects from DOD, every project has been thoroughly vetted. We recognize that at that point, every project is essential for the safety and security of the Nation, and every Secretary of Defense, every Secretary of the Army, every Secretary of the Navy, and so on looks us in the eye in the Senate Armed Services Committee and in the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee and says: This is essential. There is not a penny out of place. We need this, and we need this badly.

Shame on the Republicans for allowing this argument over whether to build a border wall to do two things; first, to infect the institution of the Department of Defense with politics and to start to undermine the credibility of the Department and its interactions with the legislative branch; second, and very importantly, to diminish funding for critical military projects.

What kind of projects are we talking about? There are 127 projects that are being raided that we funded. We enacted a law, the President declared an emergency, and the Republicans upheld that emergency. Now these projects are being defunded.

Let me give you a couple of examples out of these 127. This is the form that comes in. These are the words of the Department of Defense.

The first project, Fort Bragg, NC, "Butler Elementary School Replacement." There is a section that is called "IMPACT IF NOT PROVIDED." In other words, this is what happens if we don't provide this funding. This is what the Department of Defense says:

The continued use of deficient, inadequate, and undersized facilities that do not accommodate the current student population will continue to impair the overall educational program for students. If a new facility is not provided, the substandard environment will continue to hamper the educational process and the school will not be able to support the curriculum and provide for a safe facility.

Let me take this example of the Marine Corps Air Station Beaufort, Laurel Bay, SC. The impact if funding is not provided:

[Fire and emergency service] personnel assigned to Laurel Bay will continue to work from a significantly undersized and unsafe facility. Because the structure does not meet seismic requirements, complete structural collapse is probable during a seismic event, causing death or major injury to emergency personnel, and thus preventing timely response to the [Marine Corps] housing community following the event.

Finally, and this is going to be 3 out of 127 projects rated: Fort Greely, AK, "Missile Field #1 Expansion." These are the ground-based interceptors designed to enhance our missile defense in the case of an attack from North Korea, "IMPACT IF NOT PROVIDED." This one is succinct and scary:

Planned enhancements and capabilities of the BMDS to meet emerging threats will not

be available for our Nation's homeland defense.

Those are 3 out of 127 projects.

I just want to ask my Republican colleagues: Where do you draw the line? I understand you can't stand up to the President every time or even most of the time, but my goodness, when they take funding from military families, from bases and installations, from missile defense, from military schools, can't you draw the line there? There has to be a point at which you say enough is enough. There has to be a point when you decide that agreeing with the President under any and all circumstances—and in this case, the most extreme of circumstances—is not how you are going to lead and govern on behalf of your home State.

Let me say this in closing: I still hold out hope for a bipartisan solution to this issue. Democrats and Republicans may have very different goals, and we have different ideas about how to reach them, but there has to be a better way forward than raiding military funds for the wall. If there is anything that can bring the Senate together, it should be ensuring the safety, security, and well-being of our Nation's servicemembers and their families.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, let me thank Senator SCHATZ for his comments. I hope every Senator will follow the points he is making because I think they are critically important.

First and foremost, we are talking about the appropriate power of the legislative branch of government. We have the power to appropriate. We are the article I branch of government. We have appropriated money for border security. We have appropriated money for military construction. Congress clearly intended the monies that we appropriated for military construction to go to our military installations and our military families. We made that conscientious decision.

Now the President is transferring funds from military construction that help our service personnel to the border wall. I say that because it is an unconstitutional grasp of power. It compromises the checks and balances that are in our Constitution. It is an abuse of power, but it is also affecting the quality of life of the men and women who have voluntarily agreed to join our military to protect our country. We can give you many examples.

We are talking about \$3.6 billion of funds that were taken from military construction that are now being used by the President to fund the border wall. It is not Mexico that is paying for this wall; it is the men and women who are serving our Nation who are going to pay for this wall and our military service. That is outrageous, and every Member of the Senate should be concerned about that.

Let me talk about my own State of Maryland and the military construc-

tion projects in Maryland that would be directly affected. There is a road project at Fort Meade for \$16.5 million. Fort Meade is just a few miles away from the Nation's Capital. For any of you who have had the opportunity to travel between Baltimore and Washington, it is about halfway when you come to Fort Meade. You will notice the challenges of trying to get onto Fort Meade's base. The mission being done at Fort Meade is a national security priority for this country, and these roads are critically important for our national security. It has been backed up a long time. Now, thanks to the President—if this goes forward—it will be backed up a lot longer.

The second cut is \$37 million to Joint Base Andrews for a HAZMAT cargo path. This is a matter of safety for the men and women who work at Joint Base Andrews.

I hope all of you are familiar with Joint Base Andrews, which is located just a few miles from here. The Air Force is there. Many of us go through that facility. It is critical that they have the facilities to protect our Nation's Capital and protect the Members and personnel who use that facility. The President, again, is taking away from the safety of the mission at Joint Base Andrews.

The one issue I want to talk about that really highlights the hypocrisy of this transfer is the cut of \$13 million to a child development center at Joint Base Andrews. I want to read for my colleagues the justification given by the Air Force for this request. I am quoting:

The existing child development center was originally constructed as a medical clinic in 1943, renovated to serve many purposes over the last 74 years and is inadequate for current needs. Presently, base child development center has over 37 children on a waiting list for enrollment. The existing facility has suffered from sewage backups, a leaking roof, HVAC failures, along with mold and pest management issues. Work orders continue to pile up despite heavy focus from [engineers], making it more difficult to ensure accreditation each year. The bathrooms are constantly flooding and drainage issues in [the] kitchen result in monthly backups.

The justification continues by saying that the child development center "either needs to be recapitalized due to condition, or taken out of service."

Then they wrote:

IMPACT IF NOT PROVIDED: Not providing this facility forces members to use more expensive, less convenient and potentially lower quality off-base programs. These off-base child development centers typically cost \$9400 more than on-base, creating a severe financial strain on military personnel. Quality of life will be severely degraded resulting in impacts to retention and readiness because Airmen and their families will not have a safe and nurturing environment for child care.

This is the Air Force's justification for this project. As they point out, it will cost military families an additional \$10,000 a year. Who is paying for the wall? Our military families are paying for the wall, not the Govern-

ment of Mexico. That is what is involved here.

We cannot let this go forward. Every Member of this body should be aware of what is happening. I just mentioned three of the projects that are on that list of \$3.7 billion that are being transferred to fund the wall that Congress intentionally provided the money for military families. That is wrong. We should stand up for our military families.

I enjoy the fact that we all say we support our military. We are very proud of their stepping forward to defend us, and now we are telling them they have to pay an extra \$10,000 for childcare. That is what is involved here. I hope every Member of this body will voice their opposition to what the President is attempting to do.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I come to the Senate floor this afternoon with my Democratic colleagues to voice my strong opposition to this administration's move to take money away from our military to fund President Trump's wasteful border wall.

I often say that we make a promise as a nation to take care of our servicemembers and their families sacrificing to defend our freedoms. But the Pentagon's announcement this week that it plans to move billions of dollars away from critical military construction projects across our country is more than a broken promise to our troops; it is an egregious abuse of power that undercuts Congress's constitutional obligation to set our Nation's budget, and it compromises critical national security priorities.

Earlier today, Democrats on our Appropriations Committee and I supported an amendment to the Defense appropriations bill that would prevent the President from undermining Congress's authority. I was very disappointed to vote against that bill because our colleagues on the other side of the aisle would not join us to pass that necessary amendment and stand up against this outrageous plunder.

This Executive overreach is deeply disturbing. It is particularly relevant to my home State of Washington, one of the States most impacted by the Pentagon's reckless decision this week. We learned that efforts to update the pier and maintenance facility at Naval Base Kitsap—a project essential to ensuring the safety and readiness of our military's nuclear submarines—are now deferred indefinitely because the nearly \$89 million that Congress appropriated specifically for that priority are now being moved to build Trump's wall.

As a reminder, this is a wall that the majority of the American people did not ask for and do not want and that President Trump originally claimed Mexico was going to pay for. It is a wall that Congress has time and again decided not to fund on a bipartisan

basis, to the point that President Trump decided to make a bogus national emergency declaration and side-step Congress to raid the Federal coffers for his reckless vanity project.

It is not just Naval Base Kitsap. We also learned that President Trump and the Pentagon are more than happy to fund this wall by slashing other military priorities, like strengthening access to military childcare, repairing vital military assets that were damaged by recent natural disasters, and more that enable our troops and their families to serve our country as we ask them to do.

Here is the bottom line: I—and Senate Democrats—will not stand by while this President steps over Congress to build his wall on the backs of our troops and their families because they deserve a lot better for this country. I will not let up until this is made right. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Ms. DUCKWORTH. Mr. President, in this day and age, it would be easy to grow cynical and simply tune out the noise of a 24-hour cable news cycle that feeds off the latest Trump tweet. From Donald Trump's recent decision to invite the Taliban to join him for a retreat at Camp David for the weekend of the anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks to his earlier statements caught on tape, bragging about sexually assaulting women, I fear that too many—including Members of this Chamber—have become numb to this repeated debasing of the Presidency, numb to a President who lacks even a hint of remorse or shame as he spews lies to the people he was elected to serve.

We cannot afford to be numb. We cannot let this become normal. No, we must hold Donald Trump accountable for his false promises and for his lies. We must ask what happened to Mexico's paying for the wall. Trump promised every American over and over again that they wouldn't have to spend a dime on his wall, pledging that Mexico would pick up the tab 100 percent. He even said, "It's an easy decision for Mexico: make a one-time payment of \$5-\$10 billion."

Of course, it wasn't so easy, and now Trump has done a 180, falsely claiming that he never said Mexico would write that check, trying to gaslight us all with every lie that he tells. We simply can't let him get away with it.

The truth is that Donald Trump already revealed whom he really wants to pay for his wall. He discloses it every time his administration begs Congress to spend billions of your tax dollars building it. He doesn't care that many who live on the border believe building a wall from sea to shining sea is the least effective and most expensive way to secure the border. Trump may not care, but that helps explain Trump's failure to convince Congress to fund his vanity project—even when Republicans controlled both Chambers for 2 years.

His outrageous response to his failure revealed another sad truth: The Presidency hasn't changed Donald Trump one bit. President Donald Trump is the very same old Donald Trump whose true character was revealed on the leaked "Access Hollywood" tapes.

In Trump's mind, when you are the President, you can do anything. Congress didn't appropriate funds for your ineffective wall? Well, just grab funds that Congress authorized for more important programs. Tired of failing to convince Congress to spend American tax dollars on your wall? Well, just declare a fake emergency. Senate Republicans will let you do it.

Listen, Trump's decision to build his vanity wall with funds stolen from military construction projects and Homeland Security initiatives isn't really about border security; it is about politics. If he actually wanted to secure our Nation's border, he wouldn't be stripping away funding from the dedicated men and women who are responsible for defending it: the U.S. Coast Guard. Yet that is exactly what he has done—ripped tens of millions of dollars away from Coast Guard programs. He has ignored that his actions could endanger our national security, and he has ignored that we are right in the middle of hurricane season.

As if that were not bad enough, he has also defunded facilities that are dedicated to cyber warfare operations and bomb defusing training. He is slashing money from schools and childcare centers for our servicemembers' children too.

Donald Trump told us over and over again that Mexico would pay for his wall. That was a lie. Mexico isn't paying for his wall. Our servicemembers and their families are. The families at Fort Campbell are, as their children will now have to keep eating lunch in their school's library because President Trump decided that revving up his political base was more important than upgrading an aging military school. My blood boils when I hear that the children of U.S. servicemembers are being forced to learn in makeshift classrooms within classrooms. No child should have to learn in that kind of environment. In my view, that is the true national emergency.

Let me tell you about three other cases in which the President is stealing money in order to pay for his wall. One is at the Channel Islands Air National Guard Station in California.

The project that is losing funds will supply the Colorado Air National Guard with an adequately sized and properly configured space to support a Space Control Squadron functions in accordance with force structure changes. The facility must provide adequate space to support the squadron's operations, maintenance, security, command and administration, and storage areas. The facility must have an unobstructed view of the southern horizon.

The current situation is that this Space Control Squadron, most likely

happening at Peterson Air Force Base, does not currently exist, and there is no adequate facility located at either Peterson or Buckley Air Force Base for this Space Control Squadron.

The only solution that meets all mission requirements is to construct a new facility on Peterson Air Force Base. If this facility is not provided, the squadron will be unable to beddown the space control mission and equipment, with operational and strategic mission impacts due to inadequate facilities.

This is what he is stealing money from in order to build his vanity wall.

A second project is at Fort Greely, AK. The impact of taking the money from this project will mean that Fort Greely, AK, will not have the enhancements and capabilities for the Ballistic Missile Defense System.

The mission of the Agency is to develop and field an integrated, layered Ballistic Missile Defense System to defend the United States, our deployed forces, allies, and friends against all ranges of enemy ballistic missiles in all phases of flight. This expansion project will provide the BMDS with increased ground-based interceptor capabilities, to allow for operational capability.

What happens if the funds are not provided? The planned enhancements and capabilities of the Ballistic Missile Defense System to meet the emerging threats will not be available for our Nation's homeland defense.

He is stealing money away from our Nation's homeland defense to build his vanity wall.

Finally, at Fort Huachuca, AZ, the current situation is that the facilities do not meet the current mandatory criteria specified for vehicle testing and maintenance facilities. The current facilities date back to the 1930s and 1940s and have surpassed their estimated life expectancies. The facilities violate current antiterrorism/force protection standards. Existing utility systems, such as water, sewer, electric, and gas, require replacement. There are no other suitable buildings on the installation that are available in support of this mission.

If they lose the funding for this project, the personnel will continue to work in substandard and unsafe facilities. The motor pool facilities do not comply with current life, safety building codes and quality-of-life standards. The current HVAC, fire suppression, the existing AT/FP and infrastructure deficiencies jeopardize the personnel's health, security, and safety.

This is what he is taking money from to build this wall. The Senate could put a stop to this. It is up to us and our actions, and this very Chamber will determine whether the children of Fort Campbell, whether the personnel at Fort Huachuca, and whether the staff at Fort Greely, AK, can do their jobs. We can defend the power of the purse or we can be complicit in its destruction.

Look, I am not naive. I know some don't share my outrage, that some believe that overcrowded military schools, a decrease in our national security defense, and our ability to defend against hostile ballistic missiles are not a crisis, let alone a national disgrace. These Trump loyalists cower to his bullying tactics, and in the coming days, they will try to reward his abuse of power. They will not stop Trump and return the stolen taxpayer dollars. Rather, they will argue that we should dig even deeper into the Nation's funds to spend more of your tax dollars to replace the money Trump stole. This is wrong. The Constitution entrusts Congress to authorize and to appropriate funds, not the President.

I urge all of my colleagues to join me in condemning this raid of taxpayer funds. We must block these outrageous cuts that will harm military readiness, weaken our border security, and hurt the families of those who are brave enough to serve.

I yield the floor.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2020

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate having received the papers with respect to S. 1790, notwithstanding the passage of the bill, amendment No. 938 is agreed to, and the measure will be returned to the House.

The amendment (No. 938) was agreed to as follows:

(Purpose: To improve the bill)

In section 6943(a), strike paragraph (2).

After section 6966, insert the following:

#### Subtitle D—Other Matters

#### SEC. 6971. EXCEPTION RELATING TO IMPORTATION OF GOODS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The authorities and requirements to impose sanctions authorized under this title or the amendments made by this title shall not include the authority or requirement to impose sanctions on the importation of goods.

(b) GOOD DEFINED.—In this section, the term “good” means any article, natural or manmade substance, material, supply, or manufactured product, including inspection and test equipment, and excluding technical data.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

#### EMERGENCY FUNDING

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, I start by thanking my friend and colleague the Senator from Illinois, Ms. DUCKWORTH, for her service to our country many years ago in the military, for her serving in Iraq, and now for her serving our country in a different capacity; that of standing up in the U.S. Senate to defend the Constitution and to defend this institution against what is clearly an unconstitutional power grab by the President of the United States.

When I took my oath of office—when we took our oaths of office—we all swore to support and defend the Con-

stitution of the United States. Back in March of this year, 59 Senators kept that promise when we stood together, on a bipartisan basis, to say no to a gross abuse of Executive power—to an unconstitutional power grab—when we said: No, Mr. President, you may not ignore the will of the Congress. You may not ignore the appropriations that were passed by both Houses of Congress and signed by you. You may not ignore them and rob critical military projects across the country to fund an unnecessary wall.

Now, we can all debate—we have debated many times—the merits of this wall, but there really should be no debate about the fact that the way the President has gone about it undermines the Constitution and undermines the powers given in that Constitution to the Senate and to the House. We made that statement on a bipartisan basis back in March—59 Senators.

Mr. President, don't go robbing military construction accounts and defense accounts to finance the wall.

Yet here we are, 6 months later, and the President is attempting to do exactly that. He is diverting important investments in our military in places across Maryland and around the country.

As has been pointed out, the President said repeatedly that Mexico was going to pay for this wall. Instead, taxpayers are having to pay for this wall, and service men and women and the families of service men and women are bearing the brunt of the President's latest raid.

I see the majority leader is on the floor. Just yesterday, the majority leader said he was going to fight the President's effort to take money away from a middle school in Kentucky to build the wall.

I have a question for the majority leader and all of my colleagues who want to fight to protect the projects in their States. Are they willing to stand up for projects in every State that hurt military families?

Here is what the Air Force wrote about a Maryland project. It is one that is not very far away from here—at Andrews Air Force Base. It is an air force base that, I dare say, every Member of this Senate has had the occasion and honor to visit from time to time. I have in my hand the budget request from the Air Force for a project at Andrews to help the service men and women who work there.

Their article reads:

Not providing this facility forces members to use more expensive, less convenient and potentially lower quality off-base programs. These off-base child development centers typically cost \$9,400 more than on-base, creating a severe financial strain on military personnel.

That is what the Air Force writes—an additional \$9,400 a year for military men and women who we know are not getting big paychecks.

That is not all the Air Force wrote. It went on to write in its justification

for this investment: “Quality of life will be severely degraded, resulting in impacts to retention and readiness because Airmen and their families will not have a safe and nurturing environment for childcare.”

That is from the U.S. Air Force.

I invite all of our colleagues to visit that base and look at the current conditions there because here are the current conditions at the current childcare center that the Air Force is seeking to remedy with this investment.

Again, this is a quote right from the Air Force:

The existing facility has suffered from sewage backups, a leaking roof, HVAC failures, along with mold and pest management issues. Work orders continue to pile up . . . making it more difficult to ensure accreditation each year. The bathrooms are constantly flooding, and drainage issues in the kitchen result in monthly backups.

That is from the Air Force. Those are the conditions our men and women at Andrews are currently facing in the childcare center. That is why the Air Force asked for this money that the President is now trying to take away.

It turns out that when you do the math and when you look at the cost, the money being taken away from this childcare center that would address these awful conditions that exist would build about a half a mile of a wall—a wall that is unnecessary. Yet, even if you believe we need to build this long wall, you should agree that we should not be robbing moneys out of the accounts that help the families of our service men and women.

That was one of the projects in Maryland the President raided. He also raided two others, including one to address traffic congestion at Fort Meade, which is the home to many facilities, including, of course, the National Security Agency. In all, \$66 million was robbed from service men and women in the State of Maryland.

That was just Maryland. We have heard about other States. We have also heard about cuts around the world—cuts from a program that was originally known as the European Reassurance Initiative—funds that we were investing, along with our allies, to deter Russian aggression in places like Ukraine. We called it the European Reassurance Initiative. I don't know what is reassuring now about robbing those accounts. That will have a direct negative impact on our national security and the readiness of the U.S. forces and those of our allies.

We are going to have a lot of opportunities in the coming weeks to address this issue. I hope we will address it on a bipartisan basis. I hope we will address it as U.S. Senators who recognize that the President's actions here are a direct assault on article I—that they are a direct assault on the spending powers given to Congress under article I.

We have our differences. We had a markup in the Appropriations Committee today. Members had a chance to



offer their amendments. Some were accepted. Some were rejected. It was the democratic process at work, and that is the same democratic process we used to put these investments for our military families in place in the first place.

The Senate acted. The House acted. In fact, the President signed the bill, and now he comes back to grab that money through this unconstitutional power grab.

I will end with this, because I think all of us recognize the danger and the precedent that will be set here. We may agree or disagree with the President's decision to build a wall, but beware—beware, everybody—of a future President—a Republican or Democratic President or of some other party—using the same mechanism to undermine the Constitution and to undermine article I.

Let's unite as U.S. Senators to stop that from happening.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

## EXECUTIVE SESSION

### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 399.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of John Rakolta, Jr., of Michigan, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the United Arab Emirates.

#### CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

#### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of John Rakolta, Jr., of Michigan, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the United Arab Emirates.

Mitch McConnell, David Perdue, John Cornyn, John Barrasso, Mike Crapo, John Thune, Tim Scott, John Hoeven, Shelley Moore Capito, Kevin Cramer, John Boozman, Steve Daines, Richard Burr, James E. Risch, Roy Blunt, Thom Tillis, Martha McSally.

### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

## EXECUTIVE SESSION

### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 288.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Kenneth A. Howerly, of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Kingdom of Sweden.

#### CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

#### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Kenneth A. Howerly, of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Kingdom of Sweden.

Mitch McConnell, David Perdue, John Cornyn, John Barrasso, Mike Crapo, John Thune, Tim Scott, John Hoeven, Shelley Moore Capito, Kevin Cramer, John Boozman, Steve Daines, Richard Burr, James E. Risch, Roy Blunt, Thom Tillis, Martha McSally.

### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

## EXECUTIVE SESSION

### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 223.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Robert A. Destro, of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor.

#### CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

#### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the

Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Robert A. Destro, of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor.

Mitch McConnell, David Perdue, John Cornyn, John Barrasso, Mike Crapo, John Thune, Tim Scott, John Hoeven, Shelley Moore Capito, Kevin Cramer, John Boozman, Steve Daines, Richard Burr, James E. Risch, Roy Blunt, Thom Tillis, Martha McSally.

### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

## EXECUTIVE SESSION

### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 419.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Brent James McIntosh, of Michigan, to be an Under Secretary of the Treasury.

#### CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

#### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Brent James McIntosh, of Michigan, to be an Under Secretary of the Treasury.

Mitch McConnell, David Perdue, John Cornyn, John Barrasso, Mike Crapo, John Thune, Tim Scott, John Hoeven, Shelley Moore Capito, Kevin Cramer, John Boozman, Steve Daines, Richard Burr, James E. Risch, Roy Blunt, Thom Tillis, Martha McSally.

### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

## EXECUTIVE SESSION

### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 418.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Brian Callanan, of New Jersey, to be General Counsel for the Department of the Treasury.

#### CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

#### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Brian Callanan, of New Jersey, to be General Counsel for the Department of the Treasury.

Mitch McConnell, David Perdue, John Cornyn, John Barrasso, Mike Crapo, John Thune, Tim Scott, John Hoeven, Shelley Moore Capito, Kevin Cramer, John Boozman, Steve Daines, Richard Burr, James E. Risch, Roy Blunt, Thom Tillis, Martha McSally.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the mandatory quorum calls be waived.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

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

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

#### REMEMBERING MICHAEL BAUER

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to my friend Michael Bauer, who died in late August after a battle with cancer.

You couldn't miss Michael—he was the outspoken, critical ally of scores of boards and organizations in the LGBTQ community of Chicago; the first call they made when they needed an effective advocate. When the conversation turned to political friends and foes, issues of the moment and candidates in the hunt, he never had a private thought or waited his turn to share it. And when the music started, Michael was the first on the dance floor.

I met Michael more than 20 years ago as a downstate Congressman running for the U.S. Senate. After an introductory dinner with Michael, his partner, Roger, and my wife Loretta, Michael gave me a passing grade, but I always knew he liked Loretta more.

His name was first on the list of must-calls for political candidates. But if you only knew the public side of Michael, you might not have known the fire inside that drove his life. Over

time we became friends, and that friendship led to trust between us. Michael shared with me the private stories, the journey of his life.

At the center were his parents, survivors of the Holocaust who spent their whole lives facing the memories of friends and family who perished. Michael knew that they were victims of forces they did not have the power to control. He was determined to know more about the cruelty and hate they faced. This search took him to the Holocaust Memorial Museum, where he carefully reconstructed his family's experience. Michael believed that through these efforts, his mother, Tema, now 103, was given back the real story of her life in a war that sent her to slave labor camps. He said with this research his mother's entire memory of the horror of the Holocaust was validated. This search for the truth was personal to Michael as the Jewish son of a survivor and as a gay man who knew the Nazis targeted and murdered homosexuals as well.

Personally facing the massive loss of life in the Holocaust, I think Michael felt a special pain with the AIDS crisis. I remember when he told me that fellow members of a board he served on were still not taking care to protect themselves. He was truly saddened as he feared for their fate.

But if life had been cruel to his family and the world outside could be perilous, Michael had one constant, one protector. He talked to me so many times about Roger, truly the center of his life, his partner, his love, and ultimately his husband. For me, it was a personal insight into a loving relationship at a level I had never before witnessed so closely. I could not imagine Roger without Michael, as now we must.

When it came to the world of politics, Michael willingly, frequently shared his opinion of every candidate and every issue. No one escaped his penetrating, outspoken scrutiny.

But Michael was always ready to help his friends, often in memorable ways. In 2000, with Joe Lieberman as the first Jewish candidate for Vice President, Michael and Roger made a point of heading to Los Angeles for the convention. When they heard I had an event planned there, they insisted on giving me a ride from the hotel. When they arrived in their rented convertible, Michael and Roger were properly dressed in muscle t-shirts and ready to drive through Beverly Hills. As we cruised through Wilshire Blvd and Rodeo Drive, Michael insisted on prepping me for the upcoming Gore-Lieberman campaign—he taught me valuable Yiddish words and phrases. Michael was always there with advice for his friends.

In 1996, we celebrated my first Senate election night together. I remember his trademark smile and the tears in his eyes. After I was elected to the Senate, Michael wasted no time bringing an issue to my attention. It was not an

ask for a job or a contract or anything that would benefit him personally; he asked if I could find time to visit the Howard Brown Health Center on Halsted. Of course I agreed—how could you say no to Michael? The visit led to a conversation where Michael looked me in the eye and said the Howard Brown Center was critical in fighting the AIDS crisis. He told me of friends who were afraid of other health venues and afraid to face the realities of their lives. Howard Brown was their best chance and for some, their only chance. He wanted me to see firsthand the impact of the AIDS crisis in our country.

Michael Bauer used his knowledge and connections to help others, to protect others, to fight a deadly crisis that was burying his friends. In his heart, Michael was a caring, loving person who used his talents and his access to help those on the outside of the halls of power. Loretta and I join Roger, Tema, Michael's extended family and so many friends in mourning the loss of Michael.

Farewell, Michael. You will be missed.

#### REMEMBERING MARGARET BLACKSHERE

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, Margaret Blackshere was a trailblazer as the first woman to serve as president of the nearly 1-million strong Illinois AFL-CIO. In July, she passed away at the age of 79, and I rise today to honor her memory. I share the privilege with countless others to call her a friend.

Margaret and her sister were raised by their single mother, Frances, and Aunt Margie in North Venice, IL. Her mother made sure her daughters knew that they could do anything. There were no boy chores or girl chores; there were just chores. Laundry and rewiring a lamp were normal activities.

She started off studying to be a nun, but she changed course and ended up studying elementary education at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville. Her religious convictions remained an essential part of her life, but education was her calling.

After college, Margaret began teaching in a school in Madison, IL. She and her fellow teachers were making only \$3,000 a year and weren't treated with respect, but they noticed that the steelworkers and mineworkers in the area were respected and doing well because they belonged to a union and worked together to secure better working conditions. Margaret and her colleagues decided they needed to form a union and demand adequate pay from the superintendent. The superintendent refused so Margaret took action and organized a 5-week strike. One small issue—because she and the other teachers were public employees, their strike was illegal. Margaret and her colleagues were jailed, but the jail only had two cells. This meant that every day, Margaret arrived at the jail with her children, ages 3 and 5, and every

night, she went home because there wasn't enough space. Her fellow teachers saw her dedication and elected her president of the teachers' union in Madison.

Margaret went back to Southern Illinois University to earn a master's degree in urban education. She became focused on issues about children living in poverty.

Her work with the union and its attempts to earn greater pay for teachers opened the door to politics. She began working on local election campaigns. It wasn't just about money anymore; it was about having a voice. With her hard work, Margaret was elected vice president of the Illinois Federation of Teachers, IFT, and chair of its legislative committee.

Eventually, Margaret reluctantly gave up teaching, which she loved so much, and became a lobbyist for the IFT. She worked in Springfield to improve the salaries and working conditions of teachers. Margaret also began building networks and alliances. In 1993, the Illinois AFL-CIO needed a secretary-treasurer. Margaret was easily elected because she was respected by so many people from her time campaigning and working for the IFT.

In 2000, Margaret became president of the Illinois AFL-CIO. When Margaret came into office, she inherited a staff of 25. None of them was a person of color. The executive board had no women on it. Illinois AFL-CIO also didn't have health insurance that covered well-baby care or mammograms. Margaret brought these benefits into place. She also transformed the executive board by making it more diverse. Before long, seven African Americans, two Latinos, and eight women had positions on the board.

Under Margaret's leadership, the Illinois AFL-CIO helped lead the fight to raise the State's minimum wage—not once but twice. She led efforts to guarantee women equal pay for equal work, to expand healthcare, and to improve Illinois' workers' compensation system.

Margaret excelled at bringing people of different backgrounds together to achieve goals. She used to say, "If you've got a good cause, people will join it." She helped create Transportation for Illinois with the Illinois Automobile Asphalt and Pavement Association, the Chicago Transit Authority, and other businesses, organized labor, industry, governmental, and nonprofit organizations to support strong transportation investments for Illinois. The groups may have fought each other on a host of issues, but she gave them a unified voice for infrastructure.

Margaret devoted much of her life as well to charitable organizations and served on many boards, including the Illinois branches of United Way and the American Red Cross, Alliance for Retired Americans, Voices for Illinois Children, Unemployment Insurance Advisory Board, and the Federal Reserve

Board of Chicago. She served as an inspiration to the Illinois Women's Institute for Leadership alongside my wife, Loretta, encouraging and training women to become effective leaders in Illinois.

Over the years, Margaret received more awards and accolades than can be recounted here. She was delighted to be the guest of honor for Chicago's St. Patrick Day Parade in 2003. Margaret loved celebrating her Irish heritage.

Loretta and I will miss her great humor and her willingness to always wish others well unless they were playing her beloved St. Louis Cardinals.

Margaret is survived by her two sons, Michael and Thomas; her sister, Patricia; and four grandchildren.

#### FALUN GONG

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, throughout my years in the Senate, I have met with people from around the world who have been persecuted by their own governments, but the stories I have heard from survivors and family members of the victims of China's efforts to silence and eliminate religious minorities continue to shock me. The Chinese Government systematically brutalizes millions of people, including Tibetan Buddhists, Uyghur Muslims, and Falun Gong practitioners.

Those who practice Falun Gong use meditation and are guided by a philosophy of truthfulness, compassion, and tolerance, but because the Chinese Communist Party fears any organized religion or association it cannot control, it views this revival of traditional Chinese religion as a threat to its survival.

Falun Gong practitioners recently marked the 20th anniversary of the beginning of China's campaign of brutality against their community. On July 20, 1999, hundreds of Falun Gong practitioners were arrested in their homes in the middle of the night. Over the following week, as many as 50,000 Falun Gong were reportedly detained. In the years since that initial crackdown, the Chinese Government has relentlessly continued its repression of Falun Gong.

Falun Gong practitioners have been arrested, interred at reeducation camps, beaten, sleep-deprived, starved, sexually assaulted, electrocuted, forced, shackled, and had their limbs slowly broken, until they have renounced their beliefs and practices. They have been ordered to participate in propaganda vilifying their own community. They have had their organs harvested against their will. They have been murdered. We will probably never know how many innocent people have been the victims of these atrocities, since the Chinese Government denies to the outside world that it is happening, while justifying it to their own citizens.

The Chinese Government should immediately cease its arbitrary detention and brutalization of Falun Gong practi-

tioners and other religious and ethnic minorities. It should release political prisoners from reeducation centers, decriminalize religious and spiritual practices, and allow international human rights groups and journalists to interview survivors. It should commit to ending the use of torture, organ harvesting of prisoners, and propaganda against minorities.

The plight of these people in China, the horrors of torture and murder by the government, can seem very far away from Washington, DC, and very far away from my State of Vermont. Yet Vermonters travel to Washington to meet with me and my staff, urging Congress to take action on behalf of Falun Gong. Vermonters are persistent people who rightly refuse to let us forget about Falun Gong and the other victims of China's repression. It is all too easy to ignore crimes against humanity on the other side of the globe, when the victims are people we will never meet, but Vermonters demand that we pay attention. The Falun Gong deserve to be remembered, and they deserve the international community's collective action.

#### ARMS SALES NOTIFICATION

Mr. RISCH. Mr. President, section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act requires that Congress receive prior notification of certain proposed arms sales as defined by that statute. Upon such notification, the Congress has 30 calendar days during which the sale may be reviewed. The provision stipulates that, in the Senate, the notification of proposed sales shall be sent to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In keeping with the committee's intention to see that relevant information is available to the full Senate, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the notifications which have been received. If the cover letter references a classified annex, then such annex is available to all Senators in the office of the Foreign Relations Committee, room SD-423.

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

DEFENSE SECURITY  
COOPERATION AGENCY,  
Arlington, VA.

Hon. JAMES E. RISCH,  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended, we are forwarding herewith Transmittal No. 19-38 concerning the Air Force's proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance to the Government of Morocco for defense articles and services estimated to cost \$209 million. After this letter is delivered to your office, we plan to issue a news release to notify the public of this proposed sale.

Sincerely,

CHARLES W. HOOPER,  
Lieutenant General, USA, Director.  
Enclosures.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 19-38

Notice of Proposed Issuance of Letter of Offer Pursuant to Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended

(i) Prospective Purchaser: Kingdom of Morocco.

(ii) Total Estimated Value:

Major Defense Equipment\* \$187 million.

Other \$22 million.

Total \$209 million.

(iii) Description and Quantity or Quantities of Articles or Services under Consideration for Purchase:

Major Defense Equipment (MDE):

Five thousand eight hundred and ten (5,810) MK82-1 Bomb (Tritonal).

Three hundred (300) MK84-4 Bomb (Tritonal).

One hundred and five (105) Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAM) KMU-572F/B Tail Kits.

One hundred eighty (180) MXU-651B/B Air Foil Group (AFG), GBU-10.

Four thousand one hundred twenty five (4,125) MXU-650C/B AFG, GBU-12.

Four thousand three hundred and five (4,305) MAU-169L/B Computer Control Group (CCG), GBU-10, -12, -16.

Five thousand one hundred seventy-eight (5,178) FMU-152 Fuze.

Non-MDE: Also included are flares M-206, Flares MJU-7A/B, Impulse Cartridges BBU-36, Impulse Cartridges BBU-351B, Bomb Sensor DSU-33C/B, chaff, bomb components, spares, repair parts, support equipment, publications and technical documentation, engineering technical and support services, and other related elements of logistics, transportation, and program support.

(iv) Military Department: Air Force (MO-D-AAG and MO-D-AAE).

(v) Prior Related Cases, if any: MO-D-SAY.

(vi) Sales Commission, Fee, etc., Paid, Offered, or Agreed to be Paid: None.

(vii) Sensitivity of Technology Contained in the Defense Article or Defense Services Proposed to be Sold: See Attached Annex.

(viii) Date Report Delivered to Congress: September 11, 2019.

\*As defined in Section 47(6) of the Arms Export Control Act.

#### POLICY JUSTIFICATION

##### Morocco—Additional F-16 Ammunition

The Government of Morocco has requested a possible sale of five thousand eight hundred and ten (5,810) MK82-1 Bombs (Tritonal); three hundred (300) MK84-4 Bombs (Tritonal); one hundred and five (105) Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAM) KMU-572F/B Tail Kits; one hundred eighty (180) MXU-651B/B Air Foil Groups (AFG), GBU-10; four thousand one hundred twenty five (4,125) MXU-650C/B AFGs, GBU-12; four thousand three hundred and five (4,305) MAU-169L/B Computer Control Groups (CCG), GBU-10, -12, -16; and five thousand one hundred seventy-eight (5,178) FMU-152 Fuzes. Also included are flares M-206, Flares MJU-7A/B, Impulse Cartridges BBU-36, Impulse Cartridges BBU-351B, Bomb Sensor DSU-33C/B, chaff, bomb components, spares, repair parts, support equipment, publications and technical documentation, engineering technical and support services, and other related elements of logistics, transportation, and program support. The estimated cost is \$209 million.

This proposed sale will support the foreign policy and national security of the United States by helping to improve the security of a major Non-NATO ally that continues to be an important force for political stability and economic progress in Africa.

The proposed sale will improve Morocco's capability to meet current and future threats of terror from violent extremist organizations prevalent throughout the region.

Additionally, the additional munitions provided by this sale will improve interoperability with the United States and other regional allies and enhance Morocco's ability to undertake coalition operations, as it has done in the past in flying sorties against ISIS in Syria and Iraq. Morocco will have no difficulty absorbing these additional munitions and services into its armed forces.

The proposed sale of this equipment will not alter the basic military balance in the region.

The principal contractors will be Raytheon USA, Orbital ATK (USA), General Dynamics, Kilgore Cheming Groupe (USA), Cheming Groupe (USA), and Kaman Precision Products (USA). The purchaser typically requests offsets, however there are no known offset agreements at this time in connection with this potential sale.

Implementation of this proposed sale will not require U.S. Government or contractor representatives to be assigned to Morocco.

There will be no adverse impact on U.S. defense readiness as a result of this proposed sale.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 19-38

Notice of Proposed Issuance of Letter of Offer Pursuant to Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act

Annex Item No. vii

(vii) Sensitivity of Technology.

1. Sensitive and/or classified (up to SECRET) elements of the proposed sale include munitions and support equipment: MK82-1 Bomb (Tritonal), MAU-169L/B, MXU-651B/B, MXU-650C/B, Fuzes FMU-152A/B, and JDAM MK-84 KMU-572 F/B. The hardware, software, and data identified are classified to protect vulnerabilities, design and performance parameters, and other similar critical information.

2. GBU-10/12/16/58 Paveway II (PWII), a Laser Guided Bomb (LGB), is a maneuverable, free-fall weapon that guides to a spot of laser energy reflected off the target. The LGB is delivered like a normal general purpose (GP) warhead, and the semi-active guidance corrects for many of the normal errors inherent in any delivery system. Laser designation for the LGB consists of a Computer Control Group (CCG) that is not warhead specific, and a warhead specific Air Foil Group (AFG) that attaches to the nose and tail of a GP bomb body. The PWII can use either the FMU-152 or FMU-139D/B fuzes. The overall weapon is CONFIDENTIAL. The GBU-10 is a 2,000 lb (MK-84 or BLU-117 B/B) GP bomb body fitted with the MXU-650 AFG, and MAU-209C/B or MAU-168L/B CCGs to guide to its laser designated target. MK-82 bomb body's hardware are UNCLASSIFIED.

3. Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAM) is a Joint Service weapon which uses an on-board GPS-aided Inertial Navigation System (INS) Guidance Set with a MK82, MK83, MK84, BLU-109, BLU-100, BLU-111, BLU-117, BLU-126 (Navy) or BLU-129 warhead. The Guidance Set, when combined with a warhead and appropriate fuze, forms a JDAM Guided Bomb Unit (GBU). The JDAM Guidance Set gives these bombs adverse weather capability with improved accuracy. The JDAM weapon can be delivered from modest standoff ranges at high or low altitudes against a variety of land and surface targets during the day or night. After release, JDAM autonomously guides to a target using the resident GPS-aided INS guidance system. JDAM is capable of receiving target coordinates via preplanned mission data from the delivery aircraft, by onboard aircraft sensors (i.e. FLIR, Radar, etc.) during captive carry, or from a third party source via manual or automated aircrew cockpit entry. The JDAM as an All Up Round is UNCLASSIFIED; technical data for JDAM is classified up to SECRET.

4. Joint Programmable Fuze (JPF) FMU-152 is a multi-delay, multi-arm and proximity sensor compatible with general purpose blast, frag and hardened-target penetrator weapons. The JPF settings are cockpit selectable in flight when used with JDAM weapons.

5. If a technologically advanced adversary were to obtain knowledge of the specific hardware and software elements, the information could be used to develop countermeasures that might reduce weapon system effectiveness or be used in the development of a system with similar or advanced capabilities.

6. A determination has been made that Morocco can provide substantially the same degree of protection for the sensitive technology being released as the U.S. Government. This sale is necessary in furtherance of the U.S. foreign policy and national security objectives outlined in the Policy Justification.

7. All defense articles and services listed in this transmittal are authorized for release and export to the Government of Morocco.

#### ARMS SALES NOTIFICATION

Mr. RISCH, Mr. President, section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act requires that Congress receive prior notification of certain proposed arms sales as defined by that statute. Upon such notification, the Congress has 30 calendar days during which the sale may be reviewed. The provision stipulates that, in the Senate, the notification of proposed sales shall be sent to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In keeping with the committee's intention to see that relevant information is available to the full Senate, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the notifications which have been received. If the cover letter references a classified annex, then such annex is available to all Senators in the office of the Foreign Relations Committee, room SD-423.

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

DEFENSE SECURITY  
COOPERATION AGENCY,  
Arlington, VA.

Hon. JAMES E. RISCH,  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended, we are forwarding herewith Transmittal No. 19-45 concerning the Army's proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance to the Government of Morocco for defense articles and services estimated to cost \$776 million. After this letter is delivered to your office, we plan to issue a news release to notify the public of this proposed sale.

Sincerely,

CHARLES W. HOOPER,  
Lieutenant General, USA, Director.

Enclosures.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 19-45

Notice of Proposed Issuance of Letter of Offer Pursuant to Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended

(i) Prospective Purchaser: Kingdom of Morocco.

(ii) Total Estimated Value:

Major Defense Equipment\* \$700 million.

Other \$76 million.

Total \$776 million.

(iii) Description and Quantity or Quantities of Articles or Services under Consideration for Purchase:

Major Defense Equipment (MDE):

Two thousand four hundred and one (2,401) TOW 2A, Radio Frequency (RF) Missiles (BGM-71-4B-RF).

Twenty-eight (28) TOW 2A, Radio Frequency (RF) Missiles (BGM-71-4B-RF) Fly-to-Buy Lot Acceptance Missiles.

Four hundred (400) M220A2 TOW Launchers and/or four hundred (400) M41 Improved Target Acquisition System (ITAS) Launchers.

Non-MDE: Also included are missile support equipment; Government furnished equipment; technical manuals/publications; spare parts; tool and test equipment; training; U.S. Government technical and logistical support, contractor technical support, and other associated equipment and services.

(iv) Military Department: Army.

(v) Prior Related Cases, if any: MO-B-USZ.

(vi) Sales Commission, Fee, etc., Paid, Offered, or Agreed to be Paid: None.

(vii) Sensitivity of Technology Contained in the Defense Article or Defense Services Proposed to be Sold: See Attached Annex.

(viii) Date Report Delivered to Congress: September 11, 2019.

\*As defined in Section 47(6) of the Arms Export Control Act.

#### POLICY JUSTIFICATION

Morocco—TOW 2A, Radio Frequency (RF) Missiles (BGM-71-4B-RF)

The Government of Morocco has requested a possible sale of two thousand four hundred and one (2,401) TOW 2A, Radio Frequency (RF) Missiles (BGM-71-4B-RF); and twenty eight (28) TOW 2A, Radio Frequency (RF) Missiles (BGM-71-4B-RF), Fly-to-Buy missiles for lot acceptance testing; and Four hundred (400) M220A2 TOW Launchers and/or four hundred (400) M41 Improved Target Acquisition System (ITAS) Launchers. Also included are missile support equipment; Government furnished equipment; technical manuals/publications; spare parts; tool and test equipment; training; U.S. Government technical and logistical support, contractor technical support, and other associated equipment and services. The estimated cost is \$776 million.

This proposed sale will support the foreign policy and national security of the United States by helping to improve the security of a major Non-NATO ally that continues to be an important force for political stability and economic progress in North Africa.

The proposed sale of the TOW 2A Missiles and TOW Launchers will advance Morocco's efforts to develop an integrated ground defense capability. A strong national defense and dedicated military force will assist Morocco to sustain itself in its efforts to maintain stability.

The proposed sale of this equipment will not alter the basic military balance in the region.

The principal contractors involved in this program are Raytheon Missile Systems, Tucson, Arizona and McKinney, Texas. There are no known offset agreements proposed in connection with this potential sale.

Implementation of this proposed sale will not require the U.S. Government or contractor representatives to travel to Morocco.

There will be no adverse impact on U.S. defense readiness as a result of this proposed sale.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 19-45

Notice of Proposed Issuance of Letter of Offer Pursuant to Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act

Annex Item No. vii

(vii) Sensitivity of Technology:

1. The TOW 2A, Radio Frequency (RF) Missiles (BGM-71-4B-RF) is a direct attack missile designed to defeat armored vehicles, reinforced urban structures, field fortifications and other such targets. TOW missiles are fired from a variety of TOW launchers in the U.S. Army, USMC, and FMS customer forces. The TOW 2A RF missile can be launched from the same launcher platforms as the existing wire-guided TOW 2A missile without modification to the launcher. The TOW 2A missile (both wire & RF) contains two tracker beacons (xenon and thermal) for the launcher to track and guide the missile in flight. Guidance commands from the launcher are provided to the missile by a RF link contained within the commands from the missile case. The hardware, software, and technical publications provided with the sale are UNCLASSIFIED. However, the system itself contains sensitive technology that instructs the system on how to operate in the presence of countermeasures.

2. Improved Target Acquisition System (ITAS) is designed to fire all existing versions of the TOW missile and consists of a Target Acquisition Subsystem (TAS), a Fire Control Subsystem (FCS), a Li-Ion Battery Box (LBB), a modified Traversing Unit (TU) plus the standard launch tube and tripod. The ITAS provides for the integration of both the direct view optics and a second generation Standard Advanced Dewar Assembly (SADA) II thermal sensor into a single housing; direct view optics that provide viewing the target scene in daylight and non-obscured conditions; introduction of both passive and active eye safe laser-ranging; development of embedded training and training sustainment; automatic bore sight which allows the gunner to align the night vision system with the direct view optics; insertion of advanced Built-in Test/Built-in Test Equipment (BIT/BITE) which provides fault detection and recognition and go/no go status for the gunner; and an Aided Target Tracker (A17) that provides the capability to process infrared imagery into recognizable contour features used to assist the gunner's aim point.

3. If a technologically advanced adversary were to obtain knowledge of the specific hardware and software elements, the information could be used to develop countermeasures that might reduce weapon system effectiveness or be used in the development of a system with similar or advanced capabilities.

4. A determination has been made that Morocco can provide substantially the same degree of protection for the sensitive technology being released as the U.S. Government. This sale is necessary in furtherance of the U.S. foreign policy and national security objectives outlined in the Policy Justification.

5. All defense articles and services listed in this transmittal are authorized for release and export to the Government of Morocco.

#### FT. HUACHUCA

Ms. SINEMA. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in opposition to cutting congressionally mandated support from critical military construction projects in Arizona, the United States, and around the world. This misguided effort takes \$30 million away from Ft. Huachuca, home to the U.S. Army Intelligence Center of Excellence, where all Army intelligence professionals train at least once in their careers.

The \$30 million was set to fund construction of a long-needed, new facility

to protect and maintain equipment used to replicate the communications networks and threat displays of our adversaries. This investment is critical to ensuring our Army intelligence professionals receive the training they need to keep our country safe. Backfilling these cuts will likely delay several other needed projects at Ft. Huachuca and may lead to wasted taxpayer dollars as the cost of construction goes up over time.

I recently saw firsthand how the training our soldiers receive at Ft. Huachuca is essential in preparing our country to respond to threats from Russia, China, and other bad actors around the globe. As we continue to counter terrorism, we must consider threats our adversaries pose across multiple domains—notably disinformation campaigns, cyber warfare, and conventional military operations. Our intelligence training mission at Ft. Huachuca is critical to our national security, and our intelligence soldiers deserve our full support.

Ft. Huachuca is the largest employer in Cochise County, and the residents of Sierra Vista and the surrounding communities remain steadfast supporters of our brave servicemembers and America's intelligence mission. They know personally that taking \$30 million from the base risks military readiness and our security.

This misguided plan weakens our national security and will likely cost American taxpayers more money in the long-run, which is why I thank my colleagues on both sides of the aisle who have rejected taking money away from these important military projects. We all support the men and women of our Armed Forces and must work together to ensure they have the resources and support to do their jobs and keep us safe.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

##### TRIBUTE TO DEPUTY CODY CRINER

• Mr. DAINES. Mr. President, this week I have the honor of recognizing Deputy Cody Criner of Sweetgrass County for his brave action in service of his community.

On February 6, 2019, Deputy Cody Criner was performing a routine check at a rest stop along I-90 near Big Timber, when he came across a Toyota Prius. At first, he believed the car to be abandoned. The car was covered in snow, and the hood and the exhaust were completely frozen over. Abandoned cars are common along this stretch of highway; however, Deputy Criner knew in his gut that something was wrong.

Deputy Criner approached the vehicle to inspect the windows, and that is when he saw the hand of a 33-year-old man. The man's eyes were rolled into the back of his head, and he wasn't responding as Criner pounded on the window. In temperatures 10 degrees below

freezing, Criner knew time was working against him.

Criner took quick action and grabbed a hammer and broke the passenger side window. He proceeded to cover the man with as many blankets as he had and even took the beanie off his own head to keep the man warm. On that cold February day, Criner saved a man's life.

Deputy Criner's quick action and commitment to service is exemplary of the Montana spirit. I know that Sheriff Alan Ronneberg and the entire Sweetgrass community are thankful to have a faithful public servant in Deputy Cody Criner.

In recognition of Deputy Cody Criner's bravery and service, I ask unanimous consent that his name be entered into the RECORD and recognized as Montanan of the week.●

#### TRIBUTE TO CAPTAIN NICHOLAS A. MUNGAS

● Mr. DAINES. Mr. President, today I wish to honor CAPT Nicholas A. Mungas, commodore of Training Air Wing One, at NAS Meridian, for his 25 years of service to the U.S. Navy.

CAPT Nicholas Mungas grew up in Kalispell, MT. Following his nomination, Captain Mungas attended and graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1995, with a degree in economics. Directly following, he attended flight school and, in November of 1997, was designated a naval aviator at NAS Kingsville in Texas.

Captain Mungas's operational assignments include FA-18 pilot tours with Strike Fighter Squadron, VFA 105, USS *Enterprise*, CVN 65, USS *Harry S. Truman*, CVN 75; VFA-195, USS *Kitty Hawk*, CV 63; and VFA-136, USS *Enterprise*, CVN 65; completing multiple Mediterranean and Western Pacific deployments, while supporting Operations Southern Watch, Deliberate Forge, Iraqi Freedom, and Enduring Freedom.

Captain Mungas has excelled in all areas of the Navy, but most notably as a naval pilot. Captain Mungas attended the navy fighter weapons school, better known as TOPGUN. He also served as an instructor pilot in the Strike Fighter Squadron 106, where he was selected as the Strike Fighter Wing Atlantic Fleet Instructor Pilot of the Year in 2004.

After his graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy, Captain Mungas has accumulated over 2,900 flight hours and has performed 576 carrier arrested landings. His distinguished career includes the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, the Meritorious Service Medal, the Strike Flight Air Medal, and the Department of State Meritorious honor award.

As well as being a highly qualified and distinguished pilot, Captain Mungas has served as the Joint Chiefs of Staff desk officer and U.S. Africa Command lead planner, as well as a military detailee to the U.S. Depart-

ment of State in the Office of the Euro-Atlantic Security Affairs in the Bureau of Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance.

His record of excellence and leadership is an inspiration to all young Montanans and aspiring naval aviators. I, along with all of Montana, are grateful for his life of service to our Nation.

In recognition of CAPT Nicholas A. Mungas and his personal accomplishments and contributions to his country, I ask unanimous consent that his name be entered into the RECORD.●

#### 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE YMCA'S YOUTH ASSEMBLY PROGRAM

● Mr. ISAKSON. Mr. President, today, I am proud to recognize in the RECORD an organization that has meant so much to so many worldwide.

In June, the YMCA celebrated a major anniversary. Since its creation 175 years ago, the YMCA is now located in 119 countries and serves 58 million individuals, including my own family in Alpharetta, GA; the local YMCA is named for my father: the "Ed Isakson/Alpharetta Family YMCA."

Now, the YMCA is celebrating 75 years of an important civic engagement program called Youth Assembly. Youth Assembly is a high school mock State legislative program, which I participated in as a student myself, serving as a press delegate in 1962.

At Youth Assembly, students discuss current issues confronting their State with other high school students from across the State, along with educators, State administrators, and other elected officials. In Georgia, this program brings together a diverse group of students who come from very different parts of our State. Students choose from a range of areas relevant to the legislative process, including executive, judicial, legislative, lobbyist, and media roles. This program is competition-based, and those delegates who excel in each of the programs are recognized during the closing session.

In Atlanta, the program is held annually at the State capitol, where volunteers from State departments act as resources for the students while they debate the issues. These volunteers, along with State YMCA staff, help guide students through mock committee meetings and procedures. Students debate and vote on the bills that their fellow delegates have written and presented. Bills that pass in committee are then taken to the floor of the house or senate for full debate and vote. Participants also engage in campaigns and elections for officers who will serve during the following year.

Bringing these students together helps them learn not only the legislative process but also more about people from different backgrounds and from parts of their own State who may not be as familiar to their upbringing.

For our democracy to survive, it requires citizen participation. Anything

we can do to help students—and all citizens—to better understand government and recognize the importance of playing a role in its operation is important. If everyone were more involved day-to-day, we might see fewer disagreements, but we would certainly have a better understanding of how our country operate, and how opinions can differ without being disagreeable.

Becoming involved in government helps us all, and I commend the YMCA on the 75th anniversary of this meaningful program for our youth.●

#### TRIBUTE TO MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN

● Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, I wish to recognize Marian Wright Edelman, founder and president emerita of the Children's Defense Fund, for her powerful advocacy for racial justice and on behalf of children, the poor, and all marginalized people.

On September 18, the Coalition on Human Needs will honor Mrs. Edelman as an extraordinary Human Needs Hero. Mrs. Edelman's storied career spans several epochal chapters of American history. Her activism and leadership led to the creation of programs such as Head Start, federally funded child care, the Children's Health Insurance Program, and tax credits for low-income families. Through the Children's Defense Fund and in her earlier work, Mrs. Edelman led in opening doors for children with disabilities, overhauling child welfare services, and expanding educational opportunities and health care for all children. From her early fight to ensure that nutrition aid reached the poorest families to her ongoing advocacy to protect children of color and all children from the ravages of poverty, Marian Wright Edelman has assisted tens of millions of children living in poverty and touched countless lives for the better.

Mrs. Edelman grew up the daughter of a Baptist minister, who raised her with a strong emphasis on the value of faith, family, and education. These values would guide her through the challenges of entering the public sphere as an African-American woman. Mrs. Edelman's advocacy began while she was a student at Spelman College, where she was an active participant of the civil rights movement. Upon graduating from Yale Law School, Mrs. Edelman became the first African-American woman admitted to the Mississippi Bar. In Mississippi, she practiced with the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund and was an integral part of the Freedom Summer of 1964. She was instrumental in exposing the plight of child poverty in the South and throughout the United States, culminating in Senator Robert Kennedy's historic trip to witness the plight of hungry children in Mississippi.

Subsequently, Mrs. Edelman served as counsel to the Rev. Martin Luther King's Poor People's Campaign. In 1973,



she founded the Children's Defense Fund, an organization that to this day continues to work tirelessly to ensure child poverty will one day be a thing of the past. The CDF's "Leave No Child Behind" mission is to ensure every child "a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, a Safe Start, and a Moral Start in life and successful passage to adulthood with the help of caring families and communities." To that end, CDF continues the tradition of Freedom Schools in 28 States and empowers outstanding high school students who have overcome tremendous adversity through its Beat the Odds program.

Through her work, Mrs. Edelman has achieved international renown, garnering numerous awards, including the Presidential Medal of Freedom. She has authored several books on her life and our Nation's shared responsibility to children.

Mrs. Edelman has been a guiding voice in much of my own work in Congress, and I know that countless other Members of Congress would say the same. This is particularly true with respect to my involvement in the Family First Prevention Services Act, a law that changed the way our Nation supports child welfare services by expanding the largest Federal program—title IV-E of the Social Security Act which pays for foster care services—to also support services for families to help prevent the need for foster care in the first place. This legislative victory simply would not have occurred were it not for the strong and steady voice of Mrs. Edelman and her colleagues at the Children's Defense Fund.

Marian Wright Edelman will long be remembered as one of the greatest champions of children in our Nation's history, and so it is my honor and privilege today to recognize Marian Wright Edelman.●

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Ms. Roberts, one of his secretaries.

#### PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE

#### REPORT RELATIVE TO THE CONTINUATION OF THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY WITH RESPECT TO THE TERRORIST ATTACKS ON THE UNITED STATES OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001—PM 28

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1622(d), provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, within 90

days before the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. Consistent with this provision, I have sent to the *Federal Register* the enclosed notice, stating that the emergency declared in Proclamation 7463 of September 14, 2001, "National Emergency by Reason of Certain Terrorist Attacks," is to continue in effect beyond September 14, 2019.

The threat of terrorism that resulted in the declaration of a national emergency on September 14, 2001, continues. The authorities that have been invoked under that declaration of a national emergency continue to be critical to the ability of the Armed Forces of the United States to perform essential missions in the United States and around the world to address the continuing threat of terrorism. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to continue in effect the national emergency declared on September 14, 2001, in response to certain terrorist attacks.

DONALD J. TRUMP.

THE WHITE HOUSE, September 12, 2019.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 10:20 a.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mrs. Cole, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 205. An act to amend the Gulf of Mexico Energy Security Act of 2006 to permanently extend the moratorium on leasing in certain areas of the Gulf of Mexico.

H.R. 1941. An act to amend the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act to prohibit the Secretary of the Interior including in any leasing program certain planning areas, and for other purposes.

At 12:55 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Novotny, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1146. An act to amend Public Law 115-97 (commonly known as the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act) to repeal the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge oil and gas program, and for other purposes.

At 2:35 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mrs. Cole, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Clerk of the House be directed to return to the Senate the bill (S. 1790) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2020 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe military personnel strengths for such fiscal year, and for other purposes, in compliance with a request of the Senate for the return thereof.

#### MEASURES REFERRED

The following bills were read the first and the second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

H.R. 205. An act to amend the Gulf of Mexico Energy Security Act of 2006 to permanently extend the moratorium on leasing in certain areas of the Gulf of Mexico; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

H.R. 1146. An act to amend Public Law 115-97 (commonly known as the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act) to repeal the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge oil and gas program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

H.R. 1941. An act to amend the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act to prohibit the Secretary of the Interior including in any leasing program certain planning areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

#### EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, and were referred as indicated:

EC-2551. A communication from the Alternate Federal Register Liaison Officer, Office of the Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Defense Threat Reduction Agency Privacy Program" (RIN0790-AK64) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on September 9, 2019; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-2552. A communication from the Director, Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "The Consumer Credit Card Market"; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2553. A communication from the Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, a Memorandum of Justification regarding determination pursuant to section 451 of the Foreign Assistance Act to support Burundi and Mauritania; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-2554. A communication from the Acting Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "2018 National Healthcare Quality and Disparities Report"; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-2555. A communication from the Deputy Assistant General Counsel for Regulatory Services, Office of Postsecondary Education, Department of Education, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Student Assistance General Provisions and Federal Family Education Loan Program (Institutional Accountability)" (RIN1840-AD26) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on September 10, 2019; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-2556. A communication from the Program Analyst, Office of Managing Director, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Assessment and Collection of Regulatory Fees for Fiscal Year 2019, Report and Order and Further Notice of Proposed Rulemaking" ((MD Docket No. 19-105) (FCC 19-83)) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on September 10, 2019; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-2557. A communication from the Deputy Chief, Public Safety and Homeland Security Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the

report of a rule entitled "Implementing Karl's Law and Section 506 of RAY BAUM'S Act; Inquiry Concerning 911 Access, Routing, and Location in Enterprise Communications Systems; Amending the Definition of Interconnected VoIP Service in Section 9.3 of the Commission's Rules" (PS Docket Nos. 18-261 and 17-239 and GN Docket No. 11-117) (FCC 19-76) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on September 10, 2019; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. ALEXANDER, from the Committee on Appropriations, without amendment:

S. 2470. An original bill making appropriations for energy and water development and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2020, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 116-102).

By Mr. SHELBY, from the Committee on Appropriations, without amendment:

S. 2474. An original bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2020, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 116-103).

By Mr. SHELBY, from the Committee on Appropriations:

Special Report entitled "Allocation to Subcommittees of Budget Totals for Fiscal Year 2020" (Rept. No. 116-104).

By Mr. GRAHAM, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

S. 1273. A bill to amend title 17, United States Code, to establish an alternative dispute resolution program for copyright small claims, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 116-105).

### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. UDALL (for himself, Mr. CARPER, Mr. BOOKER, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Ms. HARRIS, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, and Mrs. GILLIBRAND):

S. 2469. A bill to amend title 49, United States Code, to require the use of advanced leak detection technology for pipelines, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. ALEXANDER:

S. 2470. An original bill making appropriations for energy and water development and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2020, and for other purposes; from the Committee on Appropriations; placed on the calendar.

By Mr. HEINRICH:

S. 2471. A bill to give middle-class families access to the maximum Federal Pell Grant, to increase college transparency, and State maintenance of efforts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. PORTMAN (for himself and Mr. BROWN):

S. 2472. A bill to redesignate the NASA John H. Glenn Research Center at Plum Brook Station, Ohio, as the NASA John H. Glenn Research Center at the Neil A. Armstrong Test Facility; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. ISAKSON (for himself, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. RUBIO, and Mr. JONES):

S. 2473. A bill to extend certain provisions of the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery

Act until September 30, 2030, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. SHELBY:

S. 2474. An original bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2020, and for other purposes; from the Committee on Appropriations; placed on the calendar.

By Mr. COTTON:

S. 2475. A bill to modify the effective date for inclusion of certain members of the Armed Forces serving on active duty in the Yellow Ribbon G.I. Education Enhancement Program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. SCOTT of Florida (for himself, Mr. RUBIO, Mr. ISAKSON, and Mr. GRAHAM):

S. 2476. A bill to provide a temporary increase in the limitation on deductible contributions made for relief efforts related to Hurricane Dorian; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. GILLIBRAND:

S. 2477. A bill to establish a National Commission on Fibrotic Diseases; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. MENENDEZ (for himself, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. BROWN, Mr. BENNET, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Ms. WARREN, Ms. HARRIS, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. JONES, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, and Mr. CARDIN):

S. 2478. A bill to designate the Bahamas under section 244 of the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide temporary protected status under such section to eligible nationals of the Bahamas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

### SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. WYDEN (for himself, Mr. BENNET, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. BROWN, Ms. CANTWELL, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. COONS, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. DURBIN, Ms. HARRIS, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. JONES, Mr. KAINE, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. MERKLEY, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. SANDERS, Ms. SMITH, Mr. UDALL, and Mr. VAN HOLLEN):

S. Res. 309. A resolution designating September 2019 as "National Voting Rights Month"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. CAPITO (for herself and Mr. MANCHIN):

S. Res. 310. A resolution recognizing the semiquincentennial of the community of Wheeling, West Virginia; considered and agreed to.

By Mr. PETERS (for himself and Mr. KENNEDY):

S. Res. 311. A resolution expressing support for the designation of the week of September 11 through September 17 as "Patriot Week"; considered and agreed to.

By Mr. CARDIN (for himself, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. KING, Mr. BROWN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. MENENDEZ, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Ms. HASSAN, Mr. JONES, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. CASEY, Ms. BALDWIN, Ms. HARRIS, Mrs. MURRAY, Ms. ROSEN, and Mr. KAINE):

S. Res. 312. A resolution designating the week beginning September 8, 2019, as "National Direct Support Professionals Recognition Week"; considered and agreed to.

### ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 66

At the request of Mrs. FEINSTEIN, the names of the Senator from Delaware (Mr. COONS) and the Senator from Michigan (Ms. STABENOW) were added as cosponsors of S. 66, a bill to regulate assault weapons, to ensure that the right to keep and bear arms is not unlimited, and for other purposes.

S. 427

At the request of Mr. ENZI, the name of the Senator from Tennessee (Mrs. BLACKBURN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 427, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to enhance activities of the National Institutes of Health with respect to research on autism spectrum disorder and enhance programs relating to autism, and for other purposes.

S. 430

At the request of Mr. CRAPO, the name of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. GARDNER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 430, a bill to extend the Secure Rural Schools and Community Self-Determination Act of 2000.

S. 433

At the request of Ms. COLLINS, the name of the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. CRAMER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 433, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to improve home health payment reforms under the Medicare program.

S. 511

At the request of Mrs. GILLIBRAND, the name of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 511, a bill to promote and protect from discrimination living organ donors.

S. 655

At the request of Mr. DURBIN, the name of the Senator from Washington (Ms. CANTWELL) was added as a cosponsor of S. 655, a bill to impose additional restrictions on tobacco flavors for use in e-cigarettes.

S. 668

At the request of Mr. BROWN, the names of the Senator from Idaho (Mr. RISCH) and the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. MURPHY) were added as cosponsors of S. 668, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to waive coinsurance under Medicare for colorectal cancer screening tests, regardless of whether therapeutic intervention is required during the screening.

S. 803

At the request of Mr. TOOMEY, the name of the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. SCOTT) was added as a cosponsor of S. 803, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to restore incentives for investments in qualified improvement property.

S. 839

At the request of Mr. PORTMAN, the name of the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. WICKER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 839, a bill to extend Federal Pell Grant eligibility of certain short-term programs.

S. 846

At the request of Mr. CORNYN, the name of the Senator from Delaware (Mr. CARPER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 846, a bill to amend title 49, United States Code, to limit certain rolling stock procurements, and for other purposes.

S. 851

At the request of Ms. BALDWIN, the name of the Senator from Minnesota (Ms. SMITH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 851, a bill to direct the Secretary of Labor to issue an occupational safety and health standard that requires covered employers within the health care and social service industries to develop and implement a comprehensive workplace violence prevention plan, and for other purposes.

S. 894

At the request of Mr. DURBIN, the name of the Senator from New York (Mr. SCHUMER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 894, a bill to authorize dedicated domestic terrorism offices within the Department of Homeland Security, the Department of Justice, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to analyze and monitor domestic terrorist activity and require the Federal Government to take steps to prevent domestic terrorism.

S. 947

At the request of Mr. CRAPO, the name of the Senator from Nevada (Ms. ROSEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 947, a bill to amend the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act to improve compensation for workers involved in uranium mining, and for other purposes.

S. 982

At the request of Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, the name of the Senator from Alaska (Mr. SULLIVAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 982, a bill to increase intergovernmental coordination to identify and combat violent crime within Indian lands and of Indians.

S. 1032

At the request of Mr. PORTMAN, the name of the Senator from Alaska (Mr. SULLIVAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1032, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to modify the definition of income for purposes of determining the tax-exempt status of certain corporations.

S. 1048

At the request of Mr. BLUMENTHAL, the name of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1048, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for a Reducing Youth Use of E-Cigarettes Initiative.

S. 1107

At the request of Mr. RUBIO, the name of the Senator from Tennessee (Mrs. BLACKBURN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1107, a bill to require a review of women and lung cancer, and for other purposes.

S. 1114

At the request of Mr. KING, the name of the Senator from Minnesota (Ms.

SMITH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1114, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to eliminate a provision under the Medicare Advantage program that inadvertently penalizes Medicare Advantage plans for providing high quality care to Medicare beneficiaries.

S. 1267

At the request of Mr. MENENDEZ, the names of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. BENNET), the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. BLUMENTHAL), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. BROWN), the Senator from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN) and the Senator from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN) were added as cosponsors of S. 1267, a bill to establish within the Smithsonian Institution the National Museum of the American Latino, and for other purposes.

S. 1279

At the request of Mr. JONES, the name of the Senator from Arizona (Ms. SINEMA) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1279, a bill to reauthorize mandatory funding programs for historically Black colleges and universities and other minority-serving institutions.

S. 1416

At the request of Mr. BLUMENTHAL, the name of the Senator from Minnesota (Ms. SMITH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1416, a bill to amend the Federal Trade Commission Act to prohibit anticompetitive behaviors by drug product manufacturers, and for other purposes.

S. 1468

At the request of Mr. GRAHAM, the name of the Senator from California (Mrs. FEINSTEIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1468, a bill to support the successful implementation of the 1991 Paris Peace Agreement in Cambodia, and for other purposes.

S. 1628

At the request of Mrs. FISCHER, the name of the Senator from Arizona (Ms. SINEMA) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1628, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to extend the employer credit for paid family and medical leave, and for other purposes.

S. 1822

At the request of Mr. WICKER, the names of the Senator from New York (Mrs. GILLIBRAND) and the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. CASEY) were added as cosponsors of S. 1822, a bill to require the Federal Communications Commission to issue rules relating to the collection of data with respect to the availability of broadband services, and for other purposes.

S. 1825

At the request of Mrs. SHAHEEN, the name of the Senator from Delaware (Mr. COONS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1825, a bill to impose sanctions with respect to foreign persons responsible for violations of the human rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) individuals, and for other purposes.

S. 1838

At the request of Mr. RUBIO, the name of the Senator from Mississippi

(Mr. WICKER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1838, a bill to amend the Hong Kong Policy Act of 1992, and for other purposes.

S. 1840

At the request of Mrs. FISCHER, the name of the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MERKLEY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1840, a bill to establish certain requirements for the small refineries exemption of the renewable fuels provisions under the Clean Air Act, and for other purposes.

S. 1906

At the request of Mr. BOOZMAN, the names of the Senator from Texas (Mr. CORNYN) and the Senator from Alaska (Mr. SULLIVAN) were added as cosponsors of S. 1906, a bill to require the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to provide financial assistance to eligible entities to provide and coordinate the provision of suicide prevention services for veterans at risk of suicide and veteran families through the award of grants to such entities, and for other purposes.

S. 1969

At the request of Mr. PORTMAN, the name of the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. ALEXANDER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1969, a bill to authorize the Fallen Journalists Memorial Foundation to establish a commemorative work in the District of Columbia and its environs, and for other purposes.

S. 2026

At the request of Mr. LEAHY, the name of the Senator from Maine (Mr. KING) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2026, a bill to amend the Richard B. Russell National School Lunch Act to reauthorize the farm to school program, and for other purposes.

S. 2080

At the request of Ms. BALDWIN, the names of the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CRAPO) and the Senator from Vermont (Mr. LEAHY) were added as cosponsors of S. 2080, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to increase the number of permanent faculty in palliative care at accredited allopathic and osteopathic medical schools, nursing schools, social work schools, and other programs, including physician assistant education programs, to promote education and research in palliative care and hospice, and to support the development of faculty careers in academic palliative medicine.

S. 2085

At the request of Ms. ROSEN, the names of the Senator from Tennessee (Mrs. BLACKBURN) and the Senator from Wisconsin (Ms. BALDWIN) were added as cosponsors of S. 2085, a bill to authorize the Secretary of Education to award grants to eligible entities to carry out educational programs about the Holocaust, and for other purposes.

S. 2160

At the request of Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina, the name of the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. CRAMER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2160, a bill to require carbon monoxide alarms in certain federally assisted housing, and for other purposes.

S. 2179

At the request of Mr. CARDIN, the names of the Senator from Wisconsin (Ms. BALDWIN) and the Senator from Tennessee (Mrs. BLACKBURN) were added as cosponsors of S. 2179, a bill to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 to provide social service agencies with the resources to provide services to meet the urgent needs of Holocaust survivors to age in place with dignity, comfort, security, and quality of life.

S. 2203

At the request of Mr. BLUNT, the names of the Senator from Maine (Mr. KING), the Senator from New Hampshire (Mrs. SHAHEEN) and the Senator from Arizona (Ms. SINEMA) were added as cosponsors of S. 2203, a bill to extend the transfer of Electronic Travel Authorization System fees from the Travel Promotion Fund to the Corporation for Travel Promotion (Brand USA) through fiscal year 2027, and for other purposes.

S. 2206

At the request of Mr. TILLIS, the name of the Senator from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2206, a bill to express the sense of Congress regarding restoration and maintenance of the Mardasson Memorial in Bastogne, Belgium.

S. 2229

At the request of Mr. DAINES, the names of the Senator from Maine (Ms. COLLINS) and the Senator from Nevada (Ms. ROSEN) were added as cosponsors of S. 2229, a bill to protect consumers from deceptive practices with respect to online booking of hotel reservations, and for other purposes.

S. 2322

At the request of Ms. COLLINS, the names of the Senator from Delaware (Mr. CARPER) and the Senator from Maine (Mr. KING) were added as cosponsors of S. 2322, a bill to amend the Animal Welfare Act to allow for the retirement of certain animals used in Federal research.

S. 2417

At the request of Mr. KENNEDY, the names of the Senator from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT) and the Senator from Texas (Mr. CORNYN) were added as cosponsors of S. 2417, a bill to provide for payment of proceeds from savings bonds to a State with title to such bonds pursuant to the judgment of a court.

S. 2463

At the request of Mr. WYDEN, the name of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2463, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide for regulation and taxation of electronic cigarettes and alternative nicotine products.

S. RES. 205

At the request of Mr. MURPHY, the name of the Senator from Mississippi (Mrs. HYDE-SMITH) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 205, a resolution expressing the gratitude of the Senate for

the people who operate or support diaper banks and diaper distribution programs in their local communities.

S. RES. 252

At the request of Mrs. FEINSTEIN, the names of the Senator from California (Ms. HARRIS), the Senator from Michigan (Mr. PETERS) and the Senator from Illinois (Ms. DUCKWORTH) were added as cosponsors of S. Res. 252, a resolution designating September 2019 as National Democracy Month as a time to reflect on the contributions of the system of government of the United States to a more free and stable world.

At the request of Mr. GRAHAM, the name of the Senator from Missouri (Mr. HAWLEY) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 252, *supra*.

### SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 309—DESIGNATING SEPTEMBER 2019 AS “NATIONAL VOTING RIGHTS MONTH”

Mr. WYDEN (for himself, Mr. BENNET, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. BROWN, Ms. CANTWELL, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. COONS, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. DURBIN, Ms. HARRIS, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. JONES, Mr. KAINE, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. MERKLEY, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. SANDERS, Ms. SMITH, Mr. UDALL, and Mr. VAN HOLLEN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. RES. 309

Whereas voting is one of the single most important rights that can be exercised in a democracy;

Whereas, over the course of history, various voter suppression laws in the United States have hindered, and even prohibited, certain individuals and groups from exercising the right to vote;

Whereas, during the 19th and early 20th centuries, Native Americans and people who were born to United States citizens abroad, people who spoke a language other than English, and people who were formerly subjected to slavery were denied full citizenship and prevented from voting by English literacy tests;

Whereas, since the 1870s, minority groups such as African Americans in the South have suffered from the oppressive effects of Jim Crow laws designed to prevent political, economic, and social mobility;

Whereas African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and other underrepresented voters were subject to violence, poll taxes, literacy tests, all-White primaries, property ownership tests, and grandfather clauses;

Whereas members of the aforementioned groups and others are currently, in some cases, subject to intimidation, voter roll purges, bans on former prisoners from voting, and financial barriers that act effectively as modern day poll taxes;

Whereas, in 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.) to protect the right of African Americans and other traditionally disenfranchised groups to vote, among other reasons;

Whereas, in 2013, the Supreme Court of the United States invalidated section 4 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, dismantling the preclearance formula provision in that Act

that protected voters in States and localities that historically have suppressed the right of minorities to vote;

Whereas, since the invalidation of the preclearance formula provision of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, gerrymandered districts in many States have gone unchallenged or have become less likely to be invalidated by the courts;

Whereas these gerrymandered districts have been found to have a discriminatory impact on traditionally disenfranchised minorities through tactics that include “cracking”, diluting the voting power of minorities across many districts, and “packing”, concentrating minority voters’ power in one district to reduce their voting power in other districts;

Whereas the courts have found the congressional and, in some cases, State legislative district maps, in Texas, North Carolina, Florida, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Wisconsin to be gerrymandered districts that were created to favor some groups over others;

Whereas the decision of the Supreme Court in *Shelby County v. Holder*, 570 U.S. 529 (2013), calls on Congress to update the formula in the Voting Rights Act of 1965;

Whereas some form of a restrictive voting law has been instituted in 22 States since 2013;

Whereas these restrictive voting laws encompass cutbacks in early voting, voter roll purges, placement of faulty equipment in minority communities, requirement of photo identification—the procurement of which amounts to a modern day poll tax, and the elimination of same-day registration;

Whereas these changes could outright disenfranchise or make voting much more difficult for more than 80,000,000 minority, elderly, poor, and disabled voters, among other groups;

Whereas, in 2016, discriminatory laws in North Carolina, Wisconsin, North Dakota, and Texas were ruled to violate voters’ rights and overturned by the courts;

Whereas there is much more work to be done to ensure all citizens of the United States have the right to vote;

Whereas National Voter Registration Day is September 25; and

Whereas September 2019 would be an appropriate month to designate as “National Voting Rights Month”: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate—

(1) designates September 2019 as “National Voting Rights Month”;

(2) encourages all people in the United States to uphold the right of every citizen to exercise the sacred and fundamental right to vote;

(3) encourages Congress to pass—

(A) the For the People Act of 2019 (S. 949 and H.R. 1 of the 116th Congress), to increase voters’ access to the ballot, prohibit the use of deceptive practices to intimidate voters, end gerrymandering, create automatic voter registration, limit the power of restrictive voter identification laws, make critical investments in election infrastructure and technology, and address corruption in campaign finance and ethics;

(B) the Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2019 (S. 561 and H.R. 4 of the 116th Congress), to restore the protections of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.) that prohibit discriminatory voting practices, remove barriers to voting, and provide protections for minority voters in States with a history of voting discrimination;

(C) the Securing America’s Federal Elections Act, or the SAFE Act (S. 2238 and H.R. 2722 of the 116th Congress), to provide funding for States to improve the administration

of elections, including by enhancing technology and election security, replacing antiquated voting systems, and meeting new standards for administering elections; and

(D) other voting rights legislation that seeks to advance voting rights and protect elections in the United States;

(4) recommends that public schools and universities in the United States develop an academic curriculum that educates students about—

(A) the importance of voting, how to register to vote, where to vote, and the different forms of voting;

(B) the history of voter suppression in the United States before the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965;

(C) current issues relating to laws passed after 1965 that restrict the right to vote; and

(D) any actions taken by State and Federal Government officials since passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that have created barriers to the exercise of the right to vote;

(5) encourages the United States Postal Service to issue a special Fannie Lou Hamer stamp during the month of September to remind people in the United States that ordinary citizens risked their lives, marched, and participated in the great democracy of the United States so that all citizens would have the fundamental right to vote; and

(6) invites Congress to allocate the requisite funds for public service announcements on television, radio, newspapers, magazines, social media, billboards, buses, and other forms of media to remind people in the United States when elections are being held and to urge people to get out and vote.

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 310—RECOGNIZING THE SEMI-QUINCENTENNIAL OF THE COMMUNITY OF WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA

Mrs. CAPITO (for herself and Mr. MANCHIN) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

##### S. RES. 310

Whereas 2019 marks 250 years since the September in which pioneer Colonel Ebenezer Zane used an axe to notch, girdle, and strike his name into a gathering of trees, marking a plot of land through tomahawk rights;

Whereas, in the spring of 1770, Zane returned with his brothers, Jonathan and Silas, to inhabit the clearing he created above the mouth of Wheeling Creek and they, along with the families who soon followed, formed the nucleus of the community that would become the city of Wheeling;

Whereas, in 1782, Native American and British forces attacked Fort Henry in Wheeling to drive out colonial settlers;

Whereas the ammunition supply at Fort Henry was exhausted, and Betty Zane courageously volunteered to retrieve gunpowder from the Zane family homestead, gathered the gunpowder in a tablecloth, and safely returned, resulting in a victory for the citizens of Wheeling;

Whereas, in 1810, Conrad Cotts, an experienced miner from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, opened the first commercial coal mine in the area that is now West Virginia in Wheeling;

Whereas the territory of Wheeling was originally part of the Commonwealth of Virginia;

Whereas the First Wheeling Convention took place from May 13 to May 15, 1861, at West Virginia Independence Hall, located at the corner of 16th Street and Market Street;

Whereas, on May 23, 1861, voters in Virginia ratified the Secession Ordinance to

leave the United States and join the Confederacy;

Whereas, in June 1861, pro-Union Virginians met for the Second Wheeling Convention and—

(1) declared all State offices in Virginia vacant and all acts of the General Assembly to be null and void, thus creating the Restored Government of Virginia that sought to rebuild ties with the Union; and

(2) installed Wheeling as the provisional capital;

Whereas, on October 24, 1861, residents of the area that is now West Virginia voted to approve statehood for West Virginia;

Whereas, on April 20, 1863, during the middle of the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln issued a proclamation on the admission of West Virginia to the Union;

Whereas the city of Wheeling became the first capital of the State of West Virginia, and Wheeling served intermittently as the capital until Charleston was selected by a vote of the citizens of the State;

Whereas the city of Wheeling served as an early transportation epicenter, connecting the Ohio River with the Potomac River via the National Road, opening further expansion to the West;

Whereas “Nail City” became an early nickname for Wheeling, reflecting the strong steel industry and the growing manufacturing presence of the State in the region;

Whereas the Wheeling Suspension Bridge was once the longest suspension bridge in the world, and construction mechanisms of the Wheeling Suspension Bridge were used while building the Brooklyn Bridge in New York;

Whereas, on September 23, 1952, General Dwight D. Eisenhower telegraphed Senator Richard M. Nixon, requesting to meet face-to-face the following day in Wheeling where General Eisenhower was holding a presidential campaign rally and would ultimately approve of Senator Nixon as the Republican nominee for Vice President;

Whereas the Wheeling Jamboree, utilizing local country music talent, was first aired on WWVA at 11 p.m. on Saturday, January 7, 1933, revolutionizing the way radio appealed to listeners;

Whereas participants of the Ogden Newspapers Half Marathon run 13.1 miles on one of the toughest courses in the United States;

Whereas the Wheeling Nailers, a member of the East Coast Hockey League and an affiliate of the Pittsburgh Penguins, is the oldest surviving minor league franchise below the American Hockey League;

Whereas the Winter Festival of Lights at the Oglebay Resort in Wheeling attracts more than 1,000,000 visitors annually for one of the best holiday light shows in the United States; and

Whereas DiCarlo's Pizza took advantage of the post-World War II economic boom and expanded across the Northern Panhandle of West Virginia, becoming famous for cold cheese piled on top of a rectangular pizza slice: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate—

(1) recognizes the semiquincentennial of the community of Wheeling, West Virginia; and

(2) encourages the citizens of Wheeling to observe and celebrate the semiquincentennial with appropriate ceremonies to commemorate this historic occasion.

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 311—EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE DESIGNATION OF THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 11 THROUGH SEPTEMBER 17 AS “PATRIOT WEEK”

Mr. PETERS (for himself and Mr. KENNEDY) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

##### S. RES. 311

Whereas the events that led to the signing of the Constitution of the United States by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention on September 17, 1787, have significance for every citizen of the United States and are honored in public schools across the United States on Constitution Day, which is September 17 of each year;

Whereas the rule of law, the social compact, democracy, liberty, equality, and unalienable human rights are the essential values upon which the United States flourishes;

Whereas diversity is one of the greatest strengths of the United States, and the motto inscribed on the Great Seal of the United States, “E pluribus unum”, Latin for “out of many, one”, symbolizes that individuals in the United States from all walks of life are unified by shared values;

Whereas exceptional, visionary, and indispensable individuals such as Thomas Paine, Patrick Henry, John Adams, John Marshall, George Washington, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Rosa Parks, Harriet Tubman, Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Martin Luther King, Jr., Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison founded or advanced the United States;

Whereas the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions signed in Seneca Falls, New York, the Gettysburg Address, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the “I Have a Dream” speech delivered by Martin Luther King, Jr., express sentiments that have advanced liberty in the United States; and

Whereas the Bennington ('76) flag, the Betsy Ross flag, the current flag of the United States, the flag of the women's suffrage movement, the Union (Fort Sumter) flag, the Gadsden flag, and the flags of the States are physical symbols of the history of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate—

(1) supports the designation of the week of September 11 through September 17 as “Patriot Week”;;

(2) recognizes that understanding the history of the United States and the first principles of the United States is indispensable to the survival of the United States as a free people;

(3) acknowledges, in great reverence to the victims of the September 11, 2001, attacks, that citizens of the United States should take time to honor the first principles, founders, documents, and symbols of their history;

(4) recognizes that each generation should renew the spirit of the United States based on the first principles, historical figures, founding documents, and symbols of the United States; and

(5) encourages citizens, schools and other educational institutions, and Federal, State, and local governments and their agencies to recognize and participate in Patriot Week by honoring, celebrating, and promoting the study of the history of the United States so that all people of the United States may offer the reverence that is due to the free republic.

**SENATE RESOLUTION 312—DESIGNATING THE WEEK BEGINNING SEPTEMBER 8, 2019, AS “NATIONAL DIRECT SUPPORT PROFESSIONALS RECOGNITION WEEK”**

Mr. CARDIN (for himself, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. KING, Mr. BROWN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. MENENDEZ, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Ms. HASSAN, Mr. JONES, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. CASEY, Ms. BALDWIN, Ms. HARRIS, Mrs. MURRAY, Ms. ROSEN, and Mr. KAINE) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 312

Whereas direct support professionals, including direct care workers, personal assistants, personal attendants, in-home support workers, and paraprofessionals, are key to providing publicly funded, long-term support and services for millions of individuals with disabilities;

Whereas direct support professionals provide essential support that ensures that individuals with disabilities are—

- (1) included as a valued part of the communities in which those individuals live;
- (2) supported at home, at work, and in the communities of the United States; and
- (3) empowered to live with dignity;

Whereas all communities have a stake in ensuring that individuals with disabilities thrive through the connections of the individuals to their families, friends, and communities, fostered by the direct support professionals of those individuals;

Whereas home and community-based services driven by the direct support professional workforce can result in cost efficiency and better outcomes relating to support and services for individuals with disabilities;

Whereas direct support professionals support individuals with disabilities by helping those individuals make person-centered choices that lead to meaningful, productive lives;

Whereas direct support professionals build close, respectful, and trusting relationships with individuals with disabilities;

Whereas direct support professionals provide a broad range of individualized support to individuals with disabilities, including—

- (1) assisting with the preparation of meals;
- (2) helping with medication;
- (3) assisting with bathing, dressing, and other aspects of daily living;
- (4) assisting with access to the environment of the individuals;
- (5) providing transportation to school, work, religious, and recreational activities;
- (6) helping with general daily affairs, such as assisting with financial matters, medical appointments, and personal interests; and
- (7) meeting complex behavioral and medical needs;

Whereas there is a documented critical and increasing shortage of direct support professionals throughout the United States;

Whereas direct support professionals are a critical element in supporting—

- (1) individuals who are receiving health care services for severe chronic health conditions and individuals with functional limitations; and
- (2) the successful transition of individuals from medical events to post-acute care and long-term support and services;

Whereas many direct support professionals are the primary financial providers for their families;

Whereas direct support professionals are hardworking, taxpaying citizens who provide an important service to people with disabilities in the United States, yet many con-

tinue to earn low wages, receive inadequate benefits, and have limited opportunities for advancement, resulting in high turnover and vacancy rates that adversely affect the quality of support, safety, and health of individuals with disabilities;

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States, in *Olmstead v. L.C.*, 527 U.S. 581 (1999)—

- (1) recognized the importance of the deinstitutionalization of, and community-based services for, individuals with disabilities; and

- (2) held that, under the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (42 U.S. 12101 et seq.), a State must provide community-based services to persons with intellectual and developmental disabilities if—

- (A) the community-based services are appropriate;

- (B) the affected person does not oppose receiving the community-based services; and

- (C) the community-based services can be reasonably accommodated after the community has taken into account the resources available to the State and the needs of other individuals with disabilities in the State; and

Whereas, in 2019, the majority of direct support professionals are employed in home- and community-based settings and that trend will increase over the next decade: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate—

- (1) designates the week beginning September 8, 2019, as “National Direct Support Professionals Recognition Week”;

- (2) recognizes the dedication and vital role of direct support professionals in enhancing the lives of individuals with disabilities of all ages;

- (3) appreciates the contribution of direct support professionals in supporting individuals with disabilities and their families in the United States;

- (4) commends direct support professionals for being integral to the provision of long-term support and services for individuals with disabilities;

- (5) encourages the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor to collect data specific to direct support professionals; and

- (6) finds that the successful implementation of the public policies affecting individuals with disabilities in the United States can depend on the dedication of direct support professionals.

**AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED AND PROPOSED**

SA 938. Mr. INHOFE proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1790, to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2020 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe military personnel strengths for such fiscal year, and for other purposes.

**TEXT OF AMENDMENTS**

**SA 938.** Mr. INHOFE proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1790, to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2020 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe military personnel strengths for such fiscal year, and for other purposes; as follows:

In section 6943(a), strike paragraph (2).

After section 6966, insert the following:

**Subtitle D—Other Matters**

**SEC. 6971. EXCEPTION RELATING TO IMPORTATION OF GOODS.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—The authorities and requirements to impose sanctions authorized under this title or the amendments made by this title shall not include the authority or requirement to impose sanctions on the importation of goods.

(b) GOOD DEFINED.—In this section, the term “good” means any article, natural or manmade substance, material, supply, or manufactured product, including inspection and test equipment, and excluding technical data.

**NOTICE OF INTENT TO OBJECT TO PROCEEDING**

I, Senator BILL CASSIDY, intend to object to proceeding to H.R. 1146, a bill to amend Public Law 115-97 (commonly known as the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act) to repeal the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge oil and gas program, and for other purposes, dated September 12, 2019.

**AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET**

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I have 3 requests for committees to meet during today’s session of the Senate. They have the approval of the Majority and Minority leaders.

Pursuant to rule XXVI, paragraph 5(a), of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the following committees are authorized to meet during today’s session of the Senate:

**COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES**

The Committee on Armed Services is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, September 12, 2019, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing on the following nominations: Ryan D. McCarthy to be Secretary of the Army and Barbara M. Barrett to be Secretary of the Air Force.

**COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS**

The Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, September 12, 2019, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing.

**SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE**

The Select Committee on Intelligence is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, September 12, 2019, at 2 p.m., to conduct a closed hearing.

**PRIVILEGES OF THE FLOOR**

Mr. TESTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Kathryn Sullivan be given floor privileges for today.

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

**RECOGNIZING THE SEMI-QUINCENTENNIAL OF THE COMMUNITY OF WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA**

Mrs. CAPITO. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate



proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 310, submitted earlier today.

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

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 310) recognizing the semiquincentennial of the community of Wheeling, West Virginia.

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

Mrs. CAPITO. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 310) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

Mrs. CAPITO. Mr. President, I am really pleased to be here with my fellow Senator from the State of West Virginia to talk about a really great city and very historic city in our State of West Virginia, and that is to recognize the 250th birthday anniversary of the city of Wheeling, WV.

In September of 1769, Ebenezer Zane set out into the great unknown, as many of our brave earlier settlers did. He found a place nestled at the mouth of a river, and he girdled a group of trees together and carved his family name into them, claiming his tomahawk right, as was the custom of the time. That clearing that Zane created, where he built his home and raised his family, would develop into the city of Wheeling.

I grew up just 10 miles south of Wheeling, WV. Wheeling is a city of industry, good people, and growth. Yes, there have been ups and downs over the years, but today it is as vibrant as ever. As West Virginians, we all take pride in our State's progress through the years, but Wheeling has made a particularly special mark on our State.

During the Wheeling Convention of 1861, Western Virginians voted to secede from Virginia so that we could remain loyal to the Union. They declared that Virginia officials had abandoned their posts, and they established a provisional government with Francis Pierpont as the Governor.

Then, in 1863—something we are very proud of—President Lincoln issued a proclamation admitting the State of West Virginia into the Union and instituting Wheeling, WV, as our first State capital.

The bold actions of the men of the Wheeling Convention opened the gate for the creation of the State I know we know and love, the State that we are so proud to call home and to serve here in the Senate.

As a matter of fact, we have a statue to honor our first Governor, Governor Francis Pierpont, the father of West Virginia, and it still stands in the Capitol in Statuary Hall today.

As a new State following the Civil War, West Virginia sought to cement its place in the recovering Union, and Wheeling became an early transportation epicenter. Probably, traveling to the Presiding Officer's State, you had to go right through Wheeling.

With the presence of the National Road, including the Wheeling Suspension Bridge, which is still there today, the city connected the Ohio River with the Potomac River and offered further expansion to the west. As a result, Wheeling, WV, was able to become a powerhouse in the steel industry. We have all heard of Wheeling steel. In the late 19th century, Wheeling was producing nearly half of the Nation's nails, earning it the nickname "Nail City."

Today, Wheeling has revived its downtown, winning the 2019 Great American Main Street Award.

In the past 3 years, they have opened 37 new small businesses—the backbone of our State—and the city has opened tourism to the Ohio River Valley, from the Victorian Capitol Theater and the shops and eateries of Centre Market to one of the best—and, I will say, not one of the best but the best—holiday light shows in the country at Oglebay Park, their Winter Festival of Lights.

Wheeling is historic. It is beautiful, and it is booming. That is all thanks to the creative and incredible men and women who have called it home over the years.

One of my favorite historic stories about Wheeling involves one of those brave men, Major Samuel McColloch.

Back in September of 1777, during the Revolutionary War, there was a siege on Fort Henry, which today is Wheeling. As the fort came under attack by a group of Native Americans, Major McColloch arrived at the fort with 40 mounted men. They all made it safely inside the gate except for the major, who was then forced to flee to a nearby hill. If you know anything about West Virginia or Wheeling, WV, we have plenty of hills.

So when he got to the top, he found himself surrounded, and his only hope of escaping was by leaping off of the edge, which was about a 300-foot drop. Well, being the bold leader that he was, Major McColloch took the jump. He and his horse survived this leap, and they galloped away.

Today, that spot is marked by an historic marker, and it is called McColloch's Leap. I can remember my parents, when I was a young girl and we would go to Wheeling, stopping and explaining this incredible story about the leap of Major McColloch with his horse down the 300 feet. You ought to go see it, because when you look at it, you go: Whoa, that is a long way.

Of course we cannot forget the women who also helped to shape Wheeling's history. There was another siege on Fort Henry that took place in September of 1782. It is often known as the Last Battle of the Revolutionary War. Native Americans and British

Rangers had laid siege to the fort, with some 40 men defending it and protecting and guarding the women and children inside.

As the battle raged on, the settlers knew that they would soon deplete their ammunition, but they knew of a stockpile at the nearby Zane homestead. So one volunteer, Betty Zane, Ebenezer's sister and one of the original settlers of Wheeling, stepped up. She ran to her brother's cabin at her own peril, gathered up the gunpowder in a tablecloth and returned through enemy fire.

Betty was successful and unharmed, and with the replenished resources, the forces were forced to retire, resulting in a victory for Wheeling and a very young United States of America.

So, as we gather today, Senator MANCHIN and I, to honor Wheeling's 250th birthday, I also honor the individuals who built the city, from the first settlers to those who walk down Market Street today. Together, they have secured an important place for Wheeling in our Nation's history, and they have made it the success and the incredible city that it remains today.

I was just in Wheeling last weekend, where we had a parade celebrating the 250th birthday of Wheeling. With the amount of young people, music, and great feeling that exuded all throughout the city—restaurants full, bands playing patriotic music—it was a wonderful day for the entire community to celebrate that birthday.

In West Virginia, we have little names for little cities and how we feel. Wheeling is a place I have frequented many, many times in my life. I can say that day, celebrating the 250th birthday on Saturday, I definitely had the "Wheeling feeling." I had the opportunity to see so many of those in the northern panhandle celebrate Wheeling as a vibrant city. I look forward to continuing to celebrate this vibrant city and everyone who calls it home for years to come.

I yield the floor and welcome Senator MANCHIN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The other Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. MANCHIN. Mr. President, I thank my colleague Senator CAPITO. We are very proud West Virginians, born and raised in West Virginia, as you can tell by our presentations. It is a special day where we can say happy birthday to Wheeling.

Wheeling is an unbelievable historical city, when you think about it. When you think about the State of West Virginia, we were the only State forged out of the Civil War. Abraham Lincoln's handprint was all over our State, and basically he was involved in our becoming a State in 1863.

The significance of the formation of our State—and Wheeling being a major economic stronghold because of the river, because of the gateway—can you believe that in 1949, when the suspension bridge was built, it was called the Gateway to the West? It is not that far

from here, maybe 4 hours' drive. So you can see how our country has expanded and how quickly it expanded.

The lessons learned during the construction of the bridge were later used to build the Brooklyn Bridge. I want to tell Senator SCHUMER that we helped. I am sure he would be pleased with that.

In 1933, the Wheeling Jamboree—the Wheeling Jamboree was the longest. People will tell you, during World War II, they would hear—because it was 50,000 watts, they would hear it on the battleships. It was unbelievable.

The music, the talent, the country music that came out of there from some of the most famous artists of the time and still yet to this day passed through Wheeling.

These points in time showcase the importance of the city of Wheeling and the State of West Virginia throughout American history.

I keep thinking about the Marsh Wheeling stogies. Anybody who maybe liked to smoke a cigar every now and then—that was 1840, and it is still in operation. It is unbelievable.

Of course Senator CAPITO talked about Wheeling Steel. It had a tremendous industrial might there for many, many years.

As talked about also, the Zane brothers established a settlement in 1769. Continuing to join the Zane brothers, people came from all over. A small settlement kept growing and growing like the country was at that time.

Wheeling's Fort Henry played a role in what is considered the last battle of the Revolutionary War. It was a significant strategic point for us.

The Restored Government of Virginia at that time—Virginia seceded in 1861. In 1861, there was no Virginia as we know Virginia today. They moved over to Western Virginia, which is where Wheeling is. That was the restored government, and that is where the capital was. That was all through Arthur Boreman.

In 1863—we have a statue in the capital that has Abraham Lincoln walking at midnight deciding whether he is going to sign the proclamation. The country is already divided; now he is going to divide a State. That had not been done because basically, up until then, the Constitution was very clear: You had to have permission from the territory you were in or from another State to secede. But Abraham Lincoln took it upon himself.

If you see the beautiful, unusual shape of our State, there are very few straight lines. Especially when you see the zoning of the eastern panhandle—it is an hour-and-10-minute drive from here—you have Harpers Ferry and John Brown's raid in 1859, which kicked off the Civil War. Then you have the railroads, the confluence of the Shenandoah and the Potomac. It is just unbelievable. He knew he needed that arsenal.

This is the folklore. I don't know if it is true or not, but it is a good story. The three counties we have over there

are Morgan, Berkeley, and Jefferson. It was said that after the war, they were supposed to have a referendum and a vote to see if it would go back to the State of Virginia. Well, I am understanding that Ulysses S. Grant, who was then the President—it is said that he stationed quite a few troops that had voting rights, and the rest is history because it is still West Virginia. There are really some good anecdotes about that.

Wheeling became the provisional capital for the split in the western part of Virginia during the Civil War.

There are so many parts of Wheeling that I have become so fond of, and the people. The "Wheeling feeling" is a saying they have. They have a Wheeling Jamboree. They have a Wheeling Italian festival. The ethnicity of that community is unbelievable. It brings everybody together, and it has brought everybody together.

Having been raised in Farmington—SHELLEY was raised about 2 hours north of me. Back in those days, it was a good 2-hour drive. I am a little bit farther in the north-central part of the State, closer to Fairmont-Morgantown. But knowing about that—Wheeling was the hub. It was the place to go. It was basically the gateway also at that time into Pittsburgh, and it is still considered a distant suburb of Pittsburgh to a certain extent. The economy, the history, the people—some famous people, some productive people—a lot of our leaders come from that area.

When Wheeling became the first capital—we couldn't decide where the capital of West Virginia should be, so they floated up and down the Ohio River, back to Charleston and back to Wheeling, Charleston and Wheeling, until it settled in Charleston, WV.

I am just proud to be standing here with my colleague today. For those who live in Wheeling today and those who have lived in Wheeling at some time in their lives or have family—because all the good-quality jobs are there, good union jobs, well-paying jobs and benefits—to all of them, there is a special place in our hearts for Wheeling, WV, a special place in American history for Wheeling, WV, and a special place in all of our hearts for the State of West Virginia.

I say thank you and happy birthday to a great city of ours and to the great State of West Virginia. We are proud this has become a resolution that has been entered and accepted.

With that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

#### PRESCRIPTION DRUG COSTS

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, this summer, while American families enjoyed time away from work and from school, the big pharmaceutical companies revved up their influence machine to dismantle bipartisan legislation aimed at bringing down prescription drug costs.

In July, the Senate Finance Committee, on which I am the ranking

Democrat, passed legislation that constitutes the most serious and the most significant bipartisan effort in recent memory to lower drug prices. It is the result of months and months of work by Members on both sides. With respect to Chairman GRASSLEY he and I worked literally every single day for 6 months with our colleagues to try to bring together this bipartisan package. Now the big pharmaceutical companies want to shred the bipartisan Finance Committee bill into confetti.

The bill has two particularly important proposals. First, it has an out-of-pocket cap in Medicare that is going to save senior citizens \$27 billion in the next decade. It will end the era when prescription drugs forced senior citizens into bankruptcy.

The second key proposal is the one that really has Big Pharma mobilizing their lobbyist armies. It is a provision that stipulates that if big pharmaceutical companies are engaged in price gouging—engaged in price gouging—they are going to face consequences. They are going to be able to set the prices, but if they price gouge, the taxpayer is not going to funnel up unlimited subsidies any longer. That is what that provision does that the big pharmaceutical companies are fighting. It is literally a requirement that drug companies, big drug manufacturers, when they price gouge, make a payment to Medicare, a penalty, one might call it. It is going to save the Medicare Program \$60 billion.

If the drug companies raise prices faster than inflation, they will have to pay the difference back to Medicare. There will be no more unjustifiable price hikes to please the shareholders at everybody else's expense and, particularly, no more taxpayer subsidies for price gouging on pharmaceuticals in America.

For literally years, I have been hearing the big drug companies say that they didn't want price controls, that price controls would be bad for innovation. Nobody—nobody—wants to freeze innovation, so we went back to the drawing board, and we said: OK. You set your price, but if you do price gouge, if you do hit patients, families, and consumers in an unfair way, the taxpayer is not going to ladle out unlimited subsidies. That is what that provision of our bill does.

Unfortunately, the big pharmaceutical companies would do just about anything to protect the status quo, keep the prices climbing up and up and the profits rolling in.

Their lobbyists are walking the halls here on Capitol Hill. The pharmaceutical company executives are pulling out all the stops from their political headquarters to generate support. Their fear-mongering messages have spread in op-eds attacking our legislation, saying that somehow this bill, a bipartisan bill written by Senator GRASSLEY, the senior Member of the Republican Caucus, is somehow a socialist price control.

I already talked about how it is pretty hard to call it price control if the company gets to set its prices, but it certainly doesn't limit subsidies. Apparently, the pharmaceutical companies will not accept any limits there as well.

Basically, the pharmaceutical lobbyists are calling it inhumane for the Senate Finance Committee to try to fix the broken system and bring down pharmaceutical prices. They basically say that any effort—any effort—to hold down prices is socialism.

One op-ed said that the Medicare drug program would cease “to function as a market entirely” if drug companies lost their constitutional right to limitless—limitless—price increases. Others have even claimed that drug prices are falling nationwide, which millions of seniors can tell you is fiction, based on the trips they take to the pharmacy window.

I have a bottom line, now that the Senate has come back after the summer break. The big pharmaceutical companies have had just about the longest winning streak in Washington. It seems as though they have a couple of lobbyists for practically every Member of Congress. Yet the Finance Committee voted on a bipartisan basis to actually act in the face of price gouging and protect American patients and families.

We cannot let the big pharmaceutical companies win this time. We cannot let them win on that price-gouging penalty in particular. They want it gone. They know this is going to ripple through the American economy because people are going to say: Hey, this is a pretty fair approach. The companies can set their prices, but they don't have a right to unlimited subsidies.

I personally believe—and the head of the Congressional Budget Office touched on this for our committee—this has the potential to be copied in the private sector as well. I think that is a good thing also.

The question for the Senate is going to be this: Are we going to hand pharma essentially the power of a line-item veto, where they can go in and strike one provision—one provision—the provision that does the most to stop drug company price gouging? Whether pharma gets to comb over our proposals to strike down anything that might curtail their price increases or cut into their profits—that is really what they are seeking to do. If pharma can prevent the Senate from taking even the first basic steps to bring down drug prices, then the question is, What is going to come next? Are the drug company and the drug lobbyists going to get their own desks here on the floor of the U.S. Senate? At least then their influence wouldn't just be in the shadows of the Nation's Capitol.

The prices of prescription drugs in America are out of control. All this summer I was having townhall meetings at home. I went to small pharmacies across my State, urban and

rural. Usually, in these meetings, I would ask if somebody in the audience knew somebody who had been affected by high insulin prices. Everybody's hand went up. I asked: How many of you have neighbors who have been affected by high insulin prices? Everybody's hand goes up.

The fact is that insulin prices have gone up thirteenfold in the last few years, and that drug is not 13 times better. It is basically the same drug, basically the same insulin that has been around for decades.

The reason those prices go up and up and up constantly is that the big pharmaceutical companies can get away with it. Now the Senate Finance Committee is saying: You aren't going to get away with it any longer. The days when everybody in Congress would just look the other way and they could charge anything they want will be over.

There was one particularly interesting article written over the course of the summer in which the author, using AARP data, basically said that if Senator GRASSLEY and I and bipartisan members of the Finance Committee had done this 10 years ago, there wouldn't be a crisis with drug prices. His argument—he went through AARP data—was, essentially, drugs that had gone up \$5,000 over a few years would have gone up something like \$500—something much more manageable for American families and patients.

The Senate Finance Committee is moving to actually stop this price gouging. I don't believe the pharmaceutical industry ought to be able to overrule 19 Senators on the Senate Finance Committee, Democrats and Republicans. Pharma shouldn't be able to gobble up 50 billion Medicare dollars that our legislation would otherwise save as part of the effort to stop the price gouging.

Our legislation gets to the heart of how drug companies have managed to manipulate and abuse the broken healthcare system for far too long. They have done it with a pretty simple formula: Just make sure that the U.S. Senate lets them do anything they want—no constraints on companies at all. Keep the seniors on the hook for huge costs when they are prescribed expensive drugs.

It is not just a crisis in Medicare. A recent study showed that nearly one-third of American adults said that at some point in the last year, they chose not to take medication—medication that was prescribed—because of the cost. In particular, insulin is cited again and again as a prime example, with tragic stories about people who died after self-rationing the insulin they needed to manage their diabetes.

Rising drug costs force the people of this country into impossible choices. You are robbed of your savings if you get your prescriptions filled, and you are robbed of your health if you don't. Obviously, that is unacceptable. It ought to be unacceptable to every

Member of this body, just the way it was unacceptable to the Senate Finance Committee on a bipartisan basis.

I did make clear in the Finance Committee that this was just the beginning. I believe, for example, it is long overdue for Medicare to have the power to bargain with drugmakers directly for lower drug prices. Something like 90 percent of the American people—90 percent of the American people—believe that it is time to lift the restriction on Medicare so that Medicare could bargain to hold down the costs of medicine. We weren't able to get that into the bill, but, at a minimum, the bipartisan legislation the Finance Committee approved should not be picked apart by pharma lobbyists, particularly on the key question of whether they want to stop pharmaceutical price gouging.

On this side, my colleagues and I are going to continue to fight to get this legislation passed by the full Senate. For now, it is up to Leader MCCONNELL to bring our bill to the floor.

My message to every Member of this body is this: The Americans who are battling illnesses and struggling to pay for their medications cannot wait. These are people who are walking an economic tightrope. Every month they balance their food bill against their fuel bill and their fuel bill against their medicine bill. These are Americans who cannot afford to be shunted aside while the Senate favors business as usual for the drugmakers.

Every one of us knows what this crisis is all about and how big it is. Senators were home for weeks this summer. They heard from those in their communities, in grocery stores, in gas stations, in restaurants, and in Dairy Queens—everywhere you go. When a Senator is home, folks come up and tell them a story about how they feel when they get their prescription drug bills, that they have been hit by a wrecking ball. I held townhall meetings all over the State. The issue of prescription drug costs came up at every single one of them.

I am going to close with this. Pharma's winning streak has to end here, and it has to end now. For the Senate to cave and allow pharma to block the price-gouging penalty would be an outrage. It would be a dereliction of duty on the part of the Senate.

I am going to keep up this fight, and I know Chairman GRASSLEY is going to continue to fight for our bipartisan bill, and I urge Senators on both sides of the aisle to stand with us.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

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

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

## TRIBUTE TO CINDY HASIAK

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, before we wrap up today, I call my colleagues' attention to a truly dedicated staff member who has served the Senate for decades.

After more than three decades on the job with the Senate Sergeant at Arms, Cindy Hasiak is retiring today from her post as Chamber manager.

A native of Indiana, Cindy first arrived to work in the Capitol back in 1987. She was welcomed with—get this—a chance to work the Iran-Contra hearings. Since then, she has been on the clock for 7 Presidential inaugurations, 32 Presidential addresses and States of the Union, 6 lying-in-state ceremonies, and a great many more normal workdays, or at least what passes for normal here in the Senate.

More than three decades of landmark votes, major debates, and all the daily business that takes place in this Chamber, Cindy has been here helping make it happen.

To be specific, as one of our doorkeepers, and lately the director of doorkeepers, Cindy has literally guarded the Senate floor. Talk about a sensitive job.

Alongside the brave men and women of the Capitol Police, our doorkeepers control and manage access to this historic institution that attracts the attention of the entire world. They check credentials, welcome visitors, keep things running smoothly.

Here on the floor, they keep us safe. Up in the Galleries, they welcome visitors and give citizens a chance to watch democracy in action. So it is undoubtedly the case that the Senate has been stronger for Cindy's attentive service, but even after 32 years, we would be foolish to think we could keep her forever.

After more than her share of long days, longer weeks, and late nights that relegated entertaining and family time to the back burner, Cindy has certainly earned the chance to spend less time supervising all of us here and more time with her loved ones.

I know my colleagues join me in wishing Cindy good health and happiness as she embarks on a well-deserved retirement. She will leave with our deepest gratitude for a job well done. I might add that given the fact Cindy is from Indiana, it is appropriate that we have the Senator from Indiana as the Chair.

## VETERANS' COMPENSATION COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT ACT OF 2019

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H.R. 1200, which was received from the House.

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

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 1200) to increase, effective as of December 1, 2019, the rates of compensation for veterans with service-connected disabilities and the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation for the survivors of certain disabled veterans, and for other purposes.

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

Mr. MCCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered read a third time and passed and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

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

The bill (H.R. 1200) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

## EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE DESIGNATION OF THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 11 THROUGH SEPTEMBER 17 AS "PATRIOT WEEK"

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed, to the immediate consideration of S. Res. 311, which was submitted earlier today.

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

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 311) expressing support for the designation of the week of September 11 through September 17 as "Patriot Week".

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

Mr. MCCONNELL. I further ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 311) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

## NATIONAL DIRECT SUPPORT PROFESSIONALS RECOGNITION WEEK

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 312, submitted earlier today.

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

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 312) designating the week beginning September 8, 2019, as "National Direct Support Professionals Recognition Week".

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

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I rise today with my colleagues Senators COLLINS, KING, BROWN, MARKEY, MUR-

PHY, MENENDEZ, KLOBUCHAR, BLUMENTHAL, HASSAN, JONES, VAN HOLLEN, CASEY, BALDWIN, HARRIS, MURRAY, ROSEN, and KAIN to recognize the week beginning September 8, 2019, as National Direct Support Professionals Recognition Week. Direct support professionals are an invaluable part of our Nation's healthcare system, caring for the most vulnerable Americans, including the chronically ill, seniors, and those living with a disability. Direct support professionals include, among others, those whose titles include home caregiver, personal care assistant, home care worker, or home health aide. These varying titles speaks to the broad areas of support that are integral to the work of direct support professionals. With the assistance of direct support professionals, these individuals can perform daily activities that many people take for granted, such as eating, bathing, dressing, and leaving the house. The work of direct support professionals ensures that these individuals can be active participants in their communities.

Let me share with you the experience of Marian Mulbah-Poquee, a direct support professional who was recognized this year for her incredible work and dedication when she was given Maryland's Direct Support Professional of the Year Award by the American Network of Community Options and Resources, ANCOR. Marian has been described as "a tireless advocate for her ladies," providing the women she serves with the space and choice to lead full and independent lives.

Marian supports her clients by teaching them skills that enable them to participate in their communities to the fullest extent possible. For example, Marian teaches her clients safety skills, gardening, and basic home care so they can spend more time living independently. Marian also encourages her clients to actively participate in civic life. This was best exemplified by a trip her clients took to Annapolis last year for Developmental Disability Day. Marian supported her clients as they met with and engaged their local representatives to discuss issues that affect the disability community in Maryland. Marian's commitment to simultaneously supporting and empowering her clients to actively participate in the public sphere speaks to the very core of what defines direct support professionals.

Marian's story describes a career that is fulfilling, but one that oftentimes is not easy for Direct support professionals like her. The hours are often long, and the wages are low. The job can be physically laborious, as well as emotionally draining. The reward for direct support professionals, however, is that they are able to improve the lives of individuals with disabilities and help fulfill the promise of the Americans with Disabilities Act by making it possible for these Americans to participate in their communities to the fullest extent possible.

In our country, we are incredibly fortunate to have millions of service-oriented individuals who are willing to rise to the task of becoming a direct support professional. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the employment of DSPs is projected to grow by an average of 41 percent from 2016 to 2026, compared to a 7 percent average growth rate for all occupations during that period. The demand will only continue to increase over time; the Baby Boomer generation will result in the doubling of the population of adults ages 65 and older by 2050. The increased demand for direct support professionals has created shortages in some areas, which can place strains on patients and their families or result in medical issues that could have been avoided.

Unfortunately, direct support professionals are often forced to leave the jobs they love due to low wages and excessive, difficult work hours. Many direct support professionals rely on public benefits, and some must work multiple jobs in order to provide for themselves and their families. Now, more than ever, it is imperative that we work to ensure that these hardworking individuals have the income and emotional support they need and deserve.

I urge my colleagues to join me and Senators COLLINS, KING, BROWN, MARKEY, MURPHY, MENENDEZ, KLOBUCHAR, BLUMENTHAL, HASSAN, JONES, VAN HOLLEN, CASEY, BALDWIN, HARRIS, MURRAY, ROSEN, and KAINE in expressing our appreciation for the critically important work of our country's direct support professionals, in thanking them for

their commitment and dedication, and in supporting the resolution designating the week beginning September 8, 2019, as National Direct Support Professionals Recognition Week.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I know of no further debate on the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no further debate, the question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 312) was agreed to.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the preamble be agreed to and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

#### ORDERS FOR MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 2019

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 3 p.m., Monday, September 16; further, that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, and the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day; further, that following leader remarks, the Senate be in a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each, until

5 p.m. Finally, I ask unanimous consent that following morning business, the Senate proceed to executive session and resume consideration of the Rakolta nomination and that the closure motions filed during today's session ripen at 5:30 p.m. on Monday.

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

#### ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 2019, AT 3 P.M.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it stand adjourned under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 4:21 p.m., adjourned until Monday, September 16, 2019, at 3 p.m.

#### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 12, 2019:

##### FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

MICHELLE BOWMAN, OF KANSAS, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM FOR A TERM OF FOURTEEN YEARS FROM FEBRUARY 1, 2020.

##### DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

THOMAS PETER FEDDO, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY FOR INVESTMENT SECURITY.

##### INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

JENNIFER D. NORDQUIST, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE UNITED STATES EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT FOR A TERM OF TWO YEARS.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

HONORING THE LIFE OF SANFORD MORRIS "SANDY" TREAT, JR.

**HON. JOE NEGUSE**

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. NEGUSE. Madam Speaker, I wish to express my sincere sorrow for the loss of Sanford Morris "Sandy" Treat, Jr., a veteran of World War II, serving with the 10th Mountain Division and a longtime resident in the Vail Valley and pillar of the community there.

Sandy was one of the first soldiers at Camp Hale, which was established during the Second World War to train soldiers for winter and mountain warfare. The skills he honed there and exposure to the Mountain West would stay with him through war, future business endeavors and raising a family. He returned to Colorado years later as a master skier, historian of the 10th Mountain Division, and beloved resident.

Sandy's loss will be felt by so many across the state of Colorado, military, and snowsports communities. An avid ski racer, he helped to facilitate world renowned races in Vail and the surrounding areas. He was inducted into the Colorado Snowsports Hall of Fame—an honor recognizing Sandy's passion and dedication to the outdoors as well as the service of those at Camp Hale. His advocacy to enact policy that protected public lands are still having an impact; in the large public lands bill worked on by many members of Colorado's Congressional delegation, Camp Hale is recognized as protected public lands and would be designated as the first ever National Historical Landscape.

It was my honor to meet Sandy before his passing and I will hold that memory close to my heart as we press forward on the proposals for which he spent so much of his life advocating. My wife Andrea and I are holding Sandy's loved ones and all those who knew him in our prayers, and hope the nation will join us in mourning the loss of this tremendously passionate, brave, and skilled individual.

ON THE OCCASION OF U.S. ARMY MAJOR MILES MILLER'S COMPLETION OF SERVICE IN DECEMBER 2019

**HON. MAC THORNBERRY**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. THORNBERRY. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize Major Miles Miller, U.S. Army, to honor his completion of military service. Major Miller is departing the Army after serving our country for more than a dozen years helping to defend our great nation.

Inspired by his family's history of military service and by the attacks of September 11,

Major Miller enlisted in the Army in 2006 to help fight the Global War on Terrorism. After completing his Basic Combat Training and Officer Candidate School, Major Miller joined the historic 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) at Fort Campbell, Kentucky. During his time as a "Screaming Eagle," he deployed first to Baghdad, Iraq, in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom and later to Kandahar, Afghanistan, in support of Operation Enduring Freedom.

While in Iraq, Major Miller commanded a 55-Soldier Distribution Platoon and planned, coordinated, and led more than 350 ground-based throughout resupply operations to forward combat outposts. These successful missions delivered over one million gallons of fuel and water and two million tons of ammunition and supplies supporting uninterrupted life support sustainment and operations for nearly 1,000 U.S. and Iraqi security force personnel.

In Afghanistan, Major Miller was a key planner and logistical operations manager for an 800-Soldier deployment to Afghanistan. He led a 12-Soldier cross-functional team that coordinated the construction and improvements of six new and existing combat outposts while simultaneously procuring nearly ten million dollars of life support and base security contracts and commodities, which increased logistical capabilities and operational limits for U.S. and Afghan security forces.

Following his deployments, Major Miller held a broad and diverse series of leadership positions, including commanding the Army's only Active Duty Heavy Boat Company, the 97th Transportation Company, at Fort Eustis, Virginia. As a result of his exceptional performance with increasing rank and responsibilities, Major Miller was selected for the prestigious Army Congressional Fellowship Program where he served as a Defense Fellow in my office and in the Army's House Liaison Division.

During his time as my Defense Fellow, Major Miller was an invaluable member of my team. He routinely advised me and my staff on national defense and veterans' affairs issues and priorities for the 2016 National Defense Authorization Act. Additionally, he collaborated with my district staff and multiple federal agencies to resolve dozens of veteran and military-related casework issues while drafting hundreds of official responses to constituent inquiries.

While serving in the House Liaison Division, Major Miller helped advance Army interests as the intermediary for legislative correspondence, policy, and constituent issues between the Army and 58 offices of the U.S. House of Representatives. He also facilitated U.S. diplomacy abroad and congressional oversight as the lead planner and escort for over 400 Members of Congress and staff during nearly 40 worldwide fact-finding and investigative missions. Major Miller escorted me on several overseas visits to military installations that aided my decision making and priorities as Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

Throughout his distinguished military career, Major Miller was recognized and rewarded for

his exceptional performance, including his selection as the Basic Combat Training "Soldier of the Cycle" in 2007 and his early promotion to the rank of Major in 2016. He also received 27 individual and unit awards and badges for military service, including two Bronze Star Medals awarded for meritorious achievement and service for combat leadership during both Operations Iraqi and Enduring Freedom and the U.S. Army Transportation Corps Honorable Order of Saint Christopher Medal.

Madam Speaker, I am honored to recognize Major Miller for these outstanding achievements, thank him for his service, and wish him and his family well with their future endeavors.

CONGRATULATING PLYMOUTH, INDIANA, ON BEING NAMED INDIANA COMMUNITY OF THE YEAR 2019

**HON. JACKIE WALORSKI**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mrs. WALORSKI. Madam Speaker, I rise today to congratulate the City of Plymouth on being named the 2019 Community of the Year by the Indiana Chamber of Commerce, and to thank Mayor Mark Senter for his leadership and service to his community.

Plymouth, Indiana, has not only gained impressive economic momentum and helped attract businesses that want to grow and hire more workers, the city has also shown its commitment to improving the quality of life for residents. Hoosiers in Plymouth love their city and their neighbors, a fact that can be seen clearly in their spirit, compassion, and active involvement in community events—including my favorite, the annual Marshall County Blueberry Festival.

This accomplishment is a well-deserved recognition for northern Indiana, a true celebration of Mayor Senter's tremendous leadership, and a result of the hard work of all the public servants who help make Plymouth a great place to live. The strong Hoosier values of commonsense and togetherness help all ships rise in this community, and it's a model for cities and towns across the country.

Madam Speaker, it is an honor to represent communities like Plymouth in Congress. On behalf of 2nd District Hoosiers, I want to congratulate the City of Plymouth and Mayor Senter on the hard work and dedication that have helped this community thrive.

RECOGNIZING THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF ROBERT S. THURMAN AMERICAN LEGION POST 13

**HON. BILLY LONG**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. LONG. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor the 100th anniversary of the founding of

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

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



the Robert S. Thurman American Legion Post 13.

In 1919, 100 years ago and shortly after the conclusion of the first World War, members of the U.S. Army's American Expeditionary Forces founded the American Legion. Over the past century, the American Legion has brought veterans in their local communities together and has been a strong advocate for veterans issues on Capitol Hill. In its infancy, only a few posts across the United States were formed, one of those posts was the Robert S. Thurman American Legion Post 13 located in Joplin, Missouri.

Today, Joplin Post 13 celebrates its 100th anniversary. It has the honor of being one of only a handful of American Legion posts to turn 100. Its 100-year history hasn't been without its ups and downs. At its peak in the '50s, the post had upwards of 500 members. Just a few years ago, the post's membership dropped to fewer than 30 members. Today, the post is experiencing a resurgence of membership and currently has about 250 members.

With this resurgence in membership, funds going to Post 13's activities have increased. The post is now able to hold an annual veterans expo, operate an honor guard to attend the funerals of local veterans, has created an endowment for nursing students at Missouri Southern State University and sponsors the Missouri Boys State program and the Missouri Cadet Patrol Academy. For 100 years, Post 13 has brought veterans in the Joplin area together in service to their fellow veterans and their local community.

Madam Speaker, I ask that you and the rest of this body join me in congratulating the Robert S. Thurman American Legion Post 13 on 100 years of fraternity and service to the veterans of southwest Missouri.

#### HONORING ROWAN LITTLE LEAGUE'S VICTORY IN THE LITTLE LEAGUE SOFTBALL WORLD SERIES CHAMPIONSHIP

#### HON. RICHARD HUDSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. HUDSON. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor Rowan Little League's victory in the Little League Softball World Series Championship. Rowan Little League is based out of the City of Salisbury, located in North Carolina's 8th Congressional District.

Rowan Little League defeated Eastbank Little League 4-1 on August 14, 2019 in the championship game at Alenrose Stadium in Portland, Oregon. This marks Rowan's fourth trip to the World Series in the past five seasons and is their second title, an extraordinary accomplishment for the perennially successful program.

Under the direction of Coach Steve Yang, the program has exemplified the very best of North Carolina through tenacity and perseverance. Rowan far exceeded expectations this summer and enjoyed a perfect 17-0 record, including 7-0 in World Series play.

I know I speak for our entire community in offering my most heartfelt congratulations to the exemplary young women of Rowan Little League. These young leaders are the heart and soul of our community and I couldn't be more proud.

Madam Speaker, please join me today in celebrating Rowan Little League's victory in the Little League Softball World Series Championship.

#### CONGRATULATING BEACON COLLEGE FOR 30 YEARS OF SERVICE

#### HON. DANIEL WEBSTER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. WEBSTER of Florida. Madam Speaker, I am pleased to congratulate Beacon College for 30 years of service to students. A quality education can change a life. It unlocks the door of opportunity and success and equips children to achieve their dream.

For thirty years, Beacon College has been a pioneer in providing students with learning differences and disabilities with a high-quality college experience. It is committed to student success and provides accredited Associate in Arts and Bachelor of Arts degree programs to its students.

Their results are clear with 70 percent on-time graduation rates and a 1-year average for students completing their degrees in four years. This is almost double the 10-year national average for all students.

Beacon College is the only institution of higher education nationwide to serve with this exclusive mission. Under College President, George Hagerty's leadership, the faculty and teachers at Beacon College are passionate and committed to providing every student with the specialized attention they need to cultivate success. Recently, Beacon College was ranked as Number One on the prestigious Peterson ranking of the top 20 colleges for students with learning disabilities.

Beacon College not only equips students with academic knowledge, they also are dedicated to coaching students in the skills necessary to find and retain employment. It is my honor to congratulate Beacon College, Dr. Hagerty and the faculty and staff on reaching this service milestone. May you continue to serve these special students and equip them with the knowledge and skills to achieve their dreams.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

#### HON. ADRIAN SMITH

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. SMITH of Nebraska. Madam Speaker, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted NAY on Roll Call No. 525.

#### HONORING THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF EMMA BRUTON TERRY

#### HON. BRIAN HIGGINS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. HIGGINS of New York. Madam Speaker, today I rise to honor the extraordinary life

and legacy of Emma Bruton Terry, who passed away on September 8, 2019 at the age of 92.

After spending her formative years in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Emma moved to Buffalo in 1952, and graduated from Bryant and Stratton College.

Emma then met and married her first love, the late Isiah Terry. From this union came five beautiful children, the keystone of her legacy. She was both a loving spouse and a caring mother.

No stranger to hard work, Emma was employed at many local small businesses including New York Lerner Shops, the Medical Records Department at Children's Hospital, Saturn Ring Company, and lastly the Buffalo China Company from which she retired in 1992.

Emma was the epitome of a dedicated mother, and a true steward of her community. Throughout her life she garnered many awards in honor of this yearning penchant to help.

To those that knew her best, her family and loved ones, Emma will always be memorialized as a committed parent and a loving friend. In their hearts she will be remembered as a Jazzy Stepper, and simply a kind soul.

Madam Speaker, thank you for allowing me a few moments to honor a woman who was beloved in my hometown of Buffalo, New York. May Emma's memory live on in the hearts of all who knew and loved her.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

#### HON. ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Ms. NORTON. Madam Speaker, on September 11, 2019, I was unable to attend a vote because I was attending to official business. Had I been present, I would have voted NAY on Roll Call No. 523.

#### RECOGNIZING JIM BYRUM FOR HIS SERVICE AS PRESIDENT OF THE MICHIGAN AGRI-BUSINESS ASSOCIATION

#### HON. JACK BERGMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. BERGMAN. Madam Speaker, it's my honor to recognize Jim Byrum for his service as President the Michigan Agri-Business Association. Through his exceptional leadership and steadfast devotion to educational excellence, Jim has become an indispensable part of the state of Michigan.

Jim grew up on his family's farm near Onondaga and was raised in the same house where his grandfather was born in 1889. Throughout his career he stayed close to his agricultural roots, serving as Executive Director of the Michigan Bean Commission and the State Executive Director of Michigan's Farm Service Agency before eventually becoming the President of the Michigan Agri-Business Association (MABA)—a nonprofit organization of approximately 500 members from every part of the agricultural sector in Michigan.

In its 24 years under Jim's leadership, MABA has consistently and exceptionally represented the interests of the agricultural industry in Michigan, offering important resources to businesses while working proactively to keep the industry ahead in the global marketplace. For instance, MABA's "2025" project has encouraged industry leaders to think about long-term needs and how Michigan agriculture will grow in the coming years. Jim has excelled as a leader and communicator, and his expertise has made him well-respected by those across the political spectrum.

Agriculture is the second-largest sector of Michigan's economy, contributing more than \$71 billion to the economy annually and supporting one out of every four jobs in the state. With today's ever-evolving world, the work of industry leaders like Jim has been critical in making Michigan the agricultural hub it is. His impact on the state of Michigan cannot be overstated.

Madam Speaker, it's my honor to congratulate Jim Byrum for his decades of service as President of the Michigan Agri-Business Association. Michiganders can take great pride in knowing the First District is home to such a dedicated leader. On behalf of my constituents, I wish Jim all the best in his future endeavors.

#### HONORING THE SALEM OREGON ROTARY ON THEIR 100TH ANNIVERSARY

#### HON. KURT SCHRADER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 2019

Mr. SCHRADER. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor and congratulate the Rotary Club of Salem, Oregon as they celebrate their 100th year of service to the Salem community. With nearly 200 members, the Rotary Club of Salem has established itself as one of the most distinguished community service organizations in my district.

The Rotary Club of Salem was organized on September 16, 1919. Over the last 100 years, the Rotary has strengthened their community through their mission of providing service to others, promoting integrity, and advancing world understanding, goodwill, and peace through fellowship of business, professional, and community leaders.

The Rotary Club of Salem gives back to the community by sponsoring inbound and outbound exchange students, distributing dictionaries to 4th graders in the Salem/Keizer school district, giving grants to local non-profits and by participating in international projects annually. To celebrate their 100 years of service, the Rotary will be building the Gerry Frank Amphitheater, a multipurpose amphitheater at Salem's Riverfront Park to inspire culture and encourage community togetherness.

I would like to extend my congratulations to the Rotary Club of Salem as they celebrate their 100th anniversary and thank them for their service to the community of Salem.

#### REMEMBERING THE LIFE OF KAREN WILLIAMS CONNELLY

#### HON. TIM RYAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 2019

Mr. RYAN. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor the life of Karen Williams Connelly, 68, of Niles, Ohio, who passed away peacefully at home, Thursday Sept. 5, 2019, surrounded by family after a long illness.

Karen was born April 7, 1951, in Warren, the daughter of her proud parents, Tom and Luella Knai Williams.

After graduating from Niles McKinley in 1969, Karen attended the Ohio State University and eventually graduated from Youngstown State University. Karen earned a bachelor's degree in social work and later a master's degree in counseling. Karen worked in the mental health field in the Mahoning Valley until her retirement, helping hundreds of people with mental illnesses. She loved her work and her love for people could be seen in all aspects of her life.

On Nov. 29, 1980, she married the love of her life, Tom Connelly, and together they made a life in Niles. Karen loved to laugh and enjoyed hosting parties, picnics and events in her home. Christmas Eve and Memorial Day were her favorite events and her parties became traditions among family and friends. Karen loved to cook and bake and was constantly trying new recipes.

She will be dearly missed by her devoted husband, Thomas R. Connelly; her loving children, Thomas and Laura Connelly and Megan and Brian Gibson; her grandchildren, Lucy Gibson, Max Gibson and Lily Jones; a sister, Patty Williams; a brother Bryan (Lisa) Williams; and many nieces, nephews and friends. Karen was preceded in death by her parents, Tom and Luella Williams.

The family would like to extend their heartfelt gratitude to Karen's physician, Dr. Zul Mangalji, and the nurses at Trumbull Memorial Hospital for their exceptional care and compassion during her illness.

I am very blessed to have worked with and befriended Karen's husband, Tom, who was the president of AFSCME Local 2026, which represents hundreds of nurses at Trumbull Regional Medical Center. Karen will most certainly be missed by all the lives she touched.

#### HONORING "FOOTSTEPS TO YOU: CHATTEL SLAVERY" EXHIBIT

#### HON. NORMA J. TORRES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 2019

Mrs. TORRES of California. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor the Footsteps to You: Chattel Slavery exhibit. This exhibit opened in San Bernardino in 2018 and featured original artifacts and documents from the 19th century to showcase how the institution of slavery has shaped the United States.

Originally from historian Jerry Gore's estate, the collection gives visitors greater insight into the daily abuses inflicted on the millions enslaved in America, and the courage that African women, men, and children demonstrated

while fighting for their freedom. Guests can immerse themselves in newspapers, first-person accounts, and objects of the slave trade. I had the chance to examine up close some of these documents and was reminded that slavery was not just an unspoken evil, but one out in the open, written, and debated in our country. These slave narratives help spark questions about how visitors themselves would have participated in slavery during this time in history.

The exhibit was one of the San Bernardino County programs named as part of the 2019 Achievement Awards from the National Association of Counties.

It is my honor to recognize the Footsteps to You: Chattel Slavery exhibit on the House floor today. This exhibit provides necessary insights and education into the experience of a slave in America and has made important contributions to the 35th District that are worthy of admiration.

#### HONORING ERIC LARSON ON THE EVENT OF HIS RETIREMENT FROM THE SAN DIEGO COUNTY FARM BUREAU

#### HON. MIKE LEVIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 2019

Mr. LEVIN of California. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor Eric Larson on the event of his retirement as Executive Director of the San Diego County Farm Bureau.

Eric has spent his career dedicated to the agricultural industry in San Diego County. During his forty-eight-year career, he worked in cut flower and nursery crop production, was the General Manager of the California Floriculture Growers Association and served as a board member of the Living Plant Growers Association, the San Diego County Farm Bureau, and the San Diego County Flower & Plant Association.

In 1996, Eric became Executive Director of the San Diego County Farm Bureau, where he helped the Bureau launch San Diego Grown magazine, establish the San Diego Farm & Nursery Expo, and advocated for the needs of local farmers. During Eric's tenure as Executive Director, the San Diego County Farm Bureau was selected as "County of the Year" three times by the California Farm Bureau.

The San Diego County Farm Bureau would not be the organization it is today without the hard work and dedication of Eric Larson. I thank Eric for his dedication to the farmers of San Diego County and congratulate him on his retirement.

#### REMEMBERING DON RODMAN

#### HON. JOSEPH P. KENNEDY III

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 2019

Mr. KENNEDY. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor the memory of a good friend, a leader in business and a titan of philanthropy, Don Rodman.

Growing up in a single parent household in Dorchester during the Great Depression, Don

knew struggle and he knew sacrifice. He understood the power of empathy for a neighbor in need and he felt deeply that you are judged not by what you create or build, but what you give back to your community and your neighbors.

A love of automobiles led Don to drop out of high school and enlist in the U.S. Army as a mechanic. Upon completion of his service, he married the love of his life, Marilyn, and began a career in the auto industry.

His talents, intuition and vision didn't go unnoticed for long, as Ford offered him a small dealership in Foxboro, Massachusetts. Working closely with his brother Gerry on this new business, he didn't let that dealership stay small for long and quickly grew it to one of the largest in our Commonwealth.

But if you asked him what he cared about most in life beyond his family, he wouldn't have given it a second thought: it was always philanthropy and giving back.

As he often said, "You can give your time. You can give your shoulder. You can give your heart."

And that's exactly what Don has done for decades. After supporting the Robert F. Kennedy Children's Action Corps, he founded the Rodman Ride for Kids which has raised nearly \$150 million for at-risk children. Even on the day he passed away, 150 kids were enjoying an all-expenses paid trip to Disney World sponsored by his charitable organizations.

You didn't have to know Don to know the impact he had on our Commonwealth and our country, but knowing him was simply inspiring and I was lucky to have grown close to him over the years.

To Don's five sons, Brett, Gene, Bart, Curtis and Craig, I thank them for sharing their dad with us for all of these years. Our thoughts and prayers are with them.

RECOGNIZING SHERIFF DAVE CROMELL FOR RECEIVING THE "HUB" PERREAULT CITIZENSHIP AWARD

**HON. JACK BERGMAN**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. BERGMAN. Madam Speaker, it's my honor to recognize Sheriff Dave Cromell for receiving the "Hub" Perreault Citizenship Award from American Legion Post 131 in Munising, Michigan. Through his exceptional leadership and steadfast devotion to his community, Dave has become an indispensable part of Michigan's First District.

Born and raised in Munising, Sheriff Cromell has dedicated decades of his life to the people of Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Dave first joined the Alger County Sheriff's Office in 1975 as a Deputy Sheriff/Animal Control Officer. After revamping Alger County's animal control system, Dave attended Northern Michigan University's Police Academy, where he graduated as a Certified Police Officer. Following the retirement of Sheriff Malone in 1980, Dave was appointed interim Sheriff and was elected by the people of Alger County later that year. Sheriff Cromell would eventually be elected eight consecutive times. Over the course of his extensive career, Dave improved the county's EMT and 9-1-1 emer-

gency response services, oversaw the repair and improvement of the Alger County Jail, and ensured the continuation of the DARE program in area schools—to only name some of his accomplishments. Sheriff Cromell's unwavering dedication to the public good is commendable, and the impact of his work for the people of the Upper Peninsula cannot be overstated.

Madam Speaker, it's my honor to recognize Sheriff Cromell for his decades of service to the people of our state and for receiving the "Hub" Perreault Citizenship Award from American Legion Post 131. Michiganders can take great pride in knowing the First District is home to such a selfless individual. On behalf of my constituents, I wish Dave all the best in his future endeavors.

RECOGNIZING ANDREW CONTON FOR RECEIVING THE MENTEE OF THE YEAR AWARD FROM THE 100 BLACK MEN IN AMERICA ORGANIZATION

**HON. CHERI BUSTOS**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mrs. BUSTOS. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize Andrew Conton for receiving the Mentee of the Year Award from the 100 Black Men in America organization.

Mr. Conton is a member of the Mentor for Life Program, Central Illinois Chapter. He has been a member since 2016, when the Central Illinois Chapter expanded to Peoria. He is the second individual from Illinois to win this prestigious award. Mr. Conton earned a 3.8 GPA from Peoria High School and has been involved in a variety of extracurricular programs, such as the Peoria High marching and concert bands, the Peoria Jazz All-Stars, the Bradley University and Eastern Illinois University Honors Bands, the Solo Ensemble and the Illinois Music Education Association. Mr. Conton has a strong passion for science, art, politics and music. He further plans to use his strengths to reignite the Peoria community. His determination and drive have earned him a full ride scholarship to attend Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina. I am proud there is such young dedication in our community.

It is because of remarkable leaders like Andrew Conton that I am especially proud to serve Illinois' 17th Congressional District. Madam Speaker, I would like to again formally congratulate Andrew Conton for receiving the Mentee of the Year Award from the 100 Black Men in America organization.

RECOGNIZING THE JESSE CLIPPER AMERICAN LEGION POST NO. 430

**HON. BRIAN HIGGINS**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. HIGGINS of New York. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize the 100-year anniversary of the Jesse Clipper American Legion Post No. 430 in Buffalo, NY.

The Jesse Clipper American Legion Post No. 430 was founded by 15 African American

World War I veterans on September 16, 1919 to honor Corporal Jesse Clipper who was the first African American soldier from our region to die during World War I. While fighting on the front lines in France, he was badly injured, hospitalized, and unfortunately passed away in February of 1919 before he could return home from the war.

Corporal Jesse Clipper and many other brave African American soldiers who fought for our country have helped to plant the seeds for greater equality and respect for African American soldiers. Their bravery eventually led to the desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces and the Civil Rights Movement. Corporal Jesse Clipper's willingness to make the ultimate sacrifice proved he was an American patriot worthy of honor and respect.

In honor of this trailblazer, members of the Jesse Clipper Post dedicated the corner of Michigan and William Streets in the City of Buffalo as Jesse Clipper Square in honor of all wars fought by African Americans. This was the same area that Jesse Clipper lived during his formative years that helped shape him into a dedicated and honorable soldier. Later, members of the Jesse Clipper American Legion Post No. 430 petitioned the Buffalo Common Council to establish a memorial to Clipper and all African American soldiers. Since the initial dedication of the monument, the dates of other wars in which African American soldiers fought have been added to the memorial.

As time goes on, we have a duty to remember and honor all those who fought for our country regardless of race and we must never forget the contributions they have made to protecting the security of our nation. We must promise to never forget the burden they carried both on the battlefield, and in their hearts when they returned to a country that did not treat them like the heroes they were and are, solely because of the color of their skin.

Thank you to all the members of the Jesse Clipper Post over the past 100 years who have helped to ensure that all veterans receive the honor, respect and benefits that they deserve.

IN HONOR OF THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF LEGAL SERVICES ALABAMA

**HON. TERRI A. SEWELL**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Ms. SEWELL of Alabama. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor Legal Services Alabama on their 15th Anniversary Award Dinner. Legal Services Alabama provides quality legal services to low-income residents of Alabama, filling a gaping need in a state that does not offer a statewide public defense program.

So often our legal system, whose creation and purpose is to maintain equal justice under the law, regardless of economic factors, connections or other indicators, fails to do so. The reality is that under-resourced individuals are provided decreased access to quality legal counsel, while those who can afford it are granted superior services. This fundamentally contradicts the intent of our court system and undermines the very framework of our country. The work of Legal Services Alabama is to

right that imbalance, restoring justice not only to the economically disenfranchised, but to every Alabamian and American.

Founded on February 1, 2004, Legal Services Alabama began as three separate Legal Services programs, Legal Services Corporation of Alabama (founded 1977), Legal Services of Metro Birmingham (founded 1977) and Legal Services of North-Central Alabama (founded 1969). The three regional offices merged resources to become the statewide entity Legal Services Alabama which provides free legal services to low-income Alabamians across all of the state's 67 counties. The merger reflected a nationwide imperative, initiated by the Legal Services Corporation, which encouraged consolidation in order to provide improved and more efficient services to those in need.

Alabama has long been a bastion of grassroots activism in pursuit of civil rights and economic justice. Alabama is the birthplace of the civil rights movement of the 1960s and played a prominent role in Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Poor People's Campaign. Economic inequalities are inextricably tied to racial inequalities and Alabama has, since our nation's birth, been ground zero for some of the worst racial and economic injustices and the greatest moments of uprising and activism. Along these lines, it is impossible to consider the work of the Legal Services Alabama on behalf of low-income Alabamians without pointing out the systems of racial hierarchy that our current justice system tacitly endorses through its passivity.

The reality is that the vast majority of those unable to afford adequate legal representation in Alabama are African American. It is essential that organizations like the Legal Services Alabama do the important work of uplifting those who have been historically marginalized and disenfranchised, despite the fact that our current system is not set up to do so. Just as we, as a nation, must reflect openly and honestly on the ills of a criminal justice system that disproportionately jails people of color, we must commend those organizations like LSA that have stepped in and addressed an urgent need.

Legal Services Alabama has eight offices across the state as well as a centralized call center in order to provide the best possible service and access to Alabamians in need. LSA's offices are located in Anniston/Gadsden, Birmingham, Dothan, Huntsville, Mobile, Montgomery, Selma and Tuscaloosa. Each of those offices is staffed and equipped to serve low income people with legal matters and to promote collaboration in support of providing solutions to the myriad issues associated with living in poverty. Currently, Legal Services Alabama is the only non-profit law firm in the state of Alabama that provides free civil legal assistance to economically disenfranchised Alabamians.

In addition to providing free, quality legal representation to those in need, Legal Services Alabama also provides mediation services to clients, in the hope that they might avoid the court system entirely. Mediation can often be prohibitively expensive and many people may not even know that it is an option available to them prior to engaging the courts. By offering mediation, LSA encourages Alabamians, when possible, to seek an alternative that may ultimately be more beneficial.

Further, Legal Services Alabama practices "preventative law," working within the commu-

nity to educate members on their rights and responsibilities in the hope of avoiding potentially devastating legal issues. Legal Services Alabama develops and distributes informative literature, legal self-help materials and forms throughout the community to help educate and engage those in need. This holistic approach to providing legal services shows an intrinsic understanding of the ways in which not only the criminal justice system but also community and social situations contribute to cycles of crime and prosecution and thoughtfully applies that understanding to a better and more comprehensive solution.

I am pleased to be granted this opportunity to recognize Legal Services Alabama for the important work they do for those Alabamians most in need. We as legislators must continue to work toward correcting our criminal justice system, but as that work is done, I am grateful to LSA for doing the important and necessary work of filling in the missing gaps.

#### RECOGNIZING DAN MUSSER III, HIS FAMILY, AND THE GRAND HOTEL

#### HON. JACK BERGMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 2019

Mr. BERGMAN. Madam Speaker, it is my honor to recognize Dan Musser III and his family for their work as owners and stewards of the Grand Hotel. Through their unwavering commitment to excellence, the Musser family and the Grand Hotel have become indispensable parts of Michigan's First District.

First opened in 1887, the Grand Hotel was created to serve as a retreat for vacationers looking to enjoy summer on the Straits of Mackinac and Lake Huron. Since 1933, the hotel has been owned and operated by the Musser family. Under the Mussers' stewardship, the Grand Hotel would grow to become not only a beloved part of Michigan, but a prominent feature in popular culture and premier destination for visitors from around the world. Its unique design has been widely acclaimed, and its world's-largest 660-foot porch has been enjoyed by the likes of John F. Kennedy, Gerald Ford, George H.W. Bush, and Thomas Edison.

In 1989, the National Park Service designated the hotel as a National Historic Landmark, citing its historic architecture and representation of the American dream of a "summer place." Today, its role as a summer place remains stronger than ever for the thousands of guests to Mackinac Island every year.

Dan Musser III started working at the Grand Hotel while in high school, raking sand traps on the hotel's golf course, The Jewel. He would go on to work as a bellhop, bartender, front desk clerk, front desk manager, reservations manager, and Vice President, before finally being named President in 1989. Just like his family predecessors, Dan has served as a hands-on President—present to greet guests and happy to handle the day-to-day details. Outside of his own hotel, Dan has served as the Chairman of the Michigan Hotel, Motel, and Resort Association, Chairman of the Resort Committee of the American Hotel and Lodging Association, and was twice appointed to the Michigan Travel Commission by the

Governor. The impact of his leadership on Mackinac Island and the state of Michigan cannot be overstated. While the Musser family may be passing along the ownership of the Grand Hotel, the impact of their work will be felt by Michiganders for generations to come.

Madam Speaker, I ask you to join me in recognizing the Musser family and honoring the unique history and cultural significance of the Grand Hotel. Michiganders can take immense pride in knowing that the First District is home to such an important landmark and such a devoted group of leaders. On behalf of my constituents, I wish Dan and the Grand Hotel all the best in their future endeavors.

#### IN HONOR OF OAK RIDGE BAPTIST CHURCH 50TH ANNIVERSARY

#### HON. KEVIN BRADY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 2019

Mr. BRADY. Madam Speaker, today I rise in celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Oak Ridge Baptist Church in the Eighth Congressional District of Texas.

Five families came to Oak Ridge, Texas from First Baptist Church in Conroe with the mission of building a sister church. The Suggs, Greer, Atherton, Pringle, and Allbrights families founded their church in the Tamina Community Hall on Robinson Road on October 22, 1967, with only 50 members in attendance.

In just two years, Oak Ridge Baptist Church grew to 253 members, and in 1969 a building off I-45 was dedicated to being their new home. After many wonderful years in that building, they finally settled into a more-permanent church facility on May 6, 2007. The congregation celebrated this move by marching from their temporary residence at Vogel Intermediate School to their new home on Hanna Road.

Fifty years have passed since the opening of their first building, but Senior Pastor Dr. Galen Cooper continues to keep the mission of the original five families alive, by connecting individuals throughout Oak Ridge, Spring, and The Woodlands through faith and community. He works to not only bond families, but to also create a truly supportive fellowship within the church.

For the congregation of Oak Ridge Baptist Church, worship extends well beyond the walls of their church building. Members are taught to bring their faith into every aspect of their lives. Through programs including Fellowship of Christian Athletes, The Gideon's International, Operation Christmas Card, and more, the congregation strives to better serve and improve their community based through their strong faith and welcoming values.

These churchgoers not only support their brothers and sisters in Christ in Texas, but around the world. In fact, Oak Ridge Baptist Church has partnered with the Eastern Baptist Convention in Cuba to establish churches and a School of Music. Missionaries are also laying down Christian roots in Lithuania and Mexico.

This year, Oak Ridge Baptist Church celebrates half a century of worship and fellowship, and I am proud to join their congregation in celebration of their Anniversary. Congratulations on 50 years, and I hope the next 50 will be just as fruitful.

HONORING CONSTITUTION WEEK

**HON. H. MORGAN GRIFFITH**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. GRIFFITH. Madam Speaker, I rise in honor of Constitution Week, which is commemorated from September 17–23 annually. The observance of Constitution Week was established by law in 1956 after the Daughters of the American Revolution petitioned Congress to set aside these days to celebrate the document which established the framework of our government and maintained our liberties.

Author Catherine Drinker Bowen called it the “Miracle at Philadelphia.” In May of 1787, delegates from several of the thirteen states met in what we now call Independence Hall. The representatives included some of the new country’s greatest luminaries, names we still know and honor today. Among others, Virginia sent James Madison, George Mason, George Wythe, and George Washington, who was elected as the convention’s president unanimously.

Their goal was to revise the Articles of Confederation then governing the Union, but soon a new charter took shape. They met through the hot Philadelphia summer, thinking, debating, and compromising about the nature and particular forms of the government that would serve the people of the United States. The Constitution emerged from their months of deliberations and was signed on September 17, 1787. Madison and John Blair signed for Virginia, while Washington signed as the convention’s president. Mason refrained from signing it without a Bill of Rights.

Virginia ratified the Constitution in the following year, calling for the Bill of Rights in exchange for the Commonwealth’s consent. In 1789 it took effect with Washington as the first president of the United States under the new Constitution. With Virginia’s ratification of the Bill of Rights in 1791, ten amendments were adopted, and more followed in the centuries since, but the Constitution endures to this day as our great charter.

Constitution Week recognizes the anniversary of this document, the ideals that inspired it, and the men who wrote it. I ask my fellow Virginians and Americans to join me in observing this occasion and reaffirm the timeless principles represented by the Constitution.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

**HON. DAVID ROUZER**

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. ROUZER. Madam Speaker, I missed votes on September 9, 2019 because I had an obligation in the state of North Carolina. Had I been present, I would have voted NAY on Roll Call No. 516 and YEA on Roll Call No. 515.

PROCLAIMING NOVEMBER 2, 2019  
AS SCIENCE EDUCATION AWARE-  
NESS DAY IN NEW YORK STATE**HON. BRIAN HIGGINS**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. HIGGINS of New York. Madam Speaker, I rise today to proclaim November 2, 2019 Science Education Awareness Day in New York State. The recognition of this day serves as a reminder of the importance of science education, at all levels, in the State of New York.

The Science Teachers Association of New York State (STANYS) is New York’s first science teacher organization. Under the leadership of Kenneth Huff, President of STANYS and a Middle School Teacher at Williamsville Central School District in the 26th Congressional District, the association is dedicated to promoting excellence in science education. Its mission is to work with educators, school districts, and communities to provide opportunities for students to actively participate in science education. STANYS is a leading voice in legislative affairs that affect science teachers and the teaching of science. This vital organization brings the collective concerns and suggestions of science educators to NYSED and state government officials. This organization also acts as a multi-purpose network for science educators of many levels and disciplines.

Science Education Awareness Day 2019 on November 2nd will fall during STANYS’s Annual Conference. This event draws a large community of Pre-K to University and Informal Science educators from across the state. The conference offers workshops for all teaching levels, information on the newest tools and technology, and prominent keynote speakers from the field. The theme for the 2019 conference is Transforming Innovations into Reality in Science. The conference offers 2.5 days of workshops for all science teaching levels and disciplines, renowned panelists, subject area institutes, receptions and socials, and vendors with new materials and technologies. The celebration of Science Education Awareness Day will add to the inspiring and energizing atmosphere of the event.

Madam Speaker, thank you for allowing me a few moments to proclaim November 2, 2019 Science Education Awareness Day in New York State. This celebration is a fantastic way to increase public appreciation for science education and to showcase its importance in our schools and communities.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

**HON. JOHN KATKO**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. KATKO. Madam Speaker, on Roll Call No. 525, I mistakenly voted and would like to correct my vote to a YEA. Had I been present, I would have voted YEA on Roll Call No. 525.

CONGRATULATING BILL HAMMES  
OF SHERRARD, ILLINOIS, WHO  
WAS NAMED CONSERVATION  
TEACHER OF THE YEAR**HON. CHERI BUSTOS**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mrs. BUSTOS. Madam Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Bill Hammes of Sherrard, Illinois, who was recently named the “Conservation Teacher of the Year” by the Association of Illinois Soil and Water Conservation Districts, Illinois Department of Natural Resources and the Illinois Audubon Society.

Bill Hammes is an agriculture teacher at Sherrard High School where he has dedicated the last couple decades of his life to agricultural education. Hammes’ work has not gone unnoticed as his class received the “Environmental Youth Group Award” in the 1980s and “lowwater Award” in the 2000s. Hammes has supported his students inside and outside of the classroom, teaching them essential agricultural skills and helping them coordinate a Cover Crop Tour in 2017. As an FFA mentor, his students went on to positively impact the community from cultivating crops, serving local food pantries and more. Additionally, he has enriched the local community by developing an outdoor learning campus which includes a garden, greenhouse and cropland for Sherrard students. It makes me immensely proud to see such dedication to our environment and community.

Madam Speaker, I want to again formally congratulate Bill Hammes for being recognized for his great work. I am hopeful that communities across the state can learn from Hammes’ leadership and agricultural success.

RECOGNIZING NORMAN R.  
VELIQUETTE FOR HIS INDUCTION  
INTO THE MICHIGAN FARMERS  
HALL OF FAME**HON. JACK BERGMAN**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 12, 2019*

Mr. BERGMAN. Madam Speaker, it’s my honor to recognize Norman R. Veliquette for his induction into the Michigan Farmers Hall of Fame. Through his unparalleled leadership and devotion to excellence, Norm has become an indispensable part of Northern Michigan.

The Michigan Farmer’s Hall of Fame was created to promote excellence in farming and recognize those in Michigan who have made an extraordinary impact on the industry and their communities. None are more deserving of this honor than Norm. Over his nearly 50 years of farming, Norm has served as an active member of the Michigan Farm Bureau, Charter President of the Lowell Area Jaycees, and a founder of CherryKe, Inc., Great Lakes Packing Company, Cherry Bay Orchards, and CherrCo, Inc.—to name only some of his endeavors. In his long and successful career, Norm has tackled the challenges of an ever-evolving industry head-on and proven himself to be a leader in Michigan’s cherry sector.

In addition to his work for Michigan’s agricultural industry, Norm has a long history of

serving his community through the Elk Rapids School Board, Sacred Heart Church, Rotary Club, Northwestern Michigan College, and as the founder and long-time chairman of the Meadow Brook Foundation in Antrim County. He has also participated in multiple Agricultural People-to-People missions in Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine, and has performed comedic monologues for the Elk Rapids Rotary Show for the past 35 years. Additionally, Norm has dedicated himself to public health through fundraising for the Rotary Foundation and the World Health Organization's Global Polio Eradication Initiative. He has also participated in multiple missions for India's polio National Immunization Day, and has published five books recounting his experiences.

Agriculture is the second-largest sector of Michigan's economy, and the cherry industry serves a vital role for the people and communities of Northern Michigan. With today's ever-evolving world, the work of industry and community leaders like Norm has been critical in shaping Michigan's agricultural industry to the success story it is today. His impact on the people of Michigan cannot be overstated.

Madam Speaker, it's my honor to congratulate Norman Veliquette for his decades of service and his induction into the Michigan Farmers Hall of Fame. Michiganders can take great pride in knowing the First District is home to such a dedicated leader. On behalf of my constituents, I wish Norm all the best in his future endeavors.

HONORING LILI MARSH AS THE  
BAKERSFIELD POLICE ACTIVITIES  
LEAGUE HOMETOWN HERO

**HON. KEVIN MCCARTHY**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 2019

Mr. MCCARTHY. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor Lili Marsh, a constituent and community leader from Bakersfield, California. Today, Lili is being recognized as the 2019 Bakersfield Police Activities League Hometown Hero for exemplary service and leadership to the people of Kern County, which I represent.

Lili earned her Bachelor of Arts from Wooster College and has been a longtime leader in the Bakersfield community. While she has committed herself to an impressive number of civic organizations, her most passionate work has been in service to Kern County's veterans. As Executive Director of Honor Flight Kern County, a chapter of the national organization she helped start, Lili organizes travel and accommodations in Washington for Kern County's heroes so that they can see the monuments built in their honor. Many times, Honor Flight marks the first visit to our nation's capital for these veterans, and Lili has been instrumental in giving these men and women the hero's welcome they deserve upon reaching their nation's capital.

However, Lili's involvement with our veterans does not end with Honor Flight. Her most recent community improvement project has been the Portrait of a Warrior Gallery. This moving gallery is filled with portraits of today's generation of men and women in the Armed Forces who have lost their lives following the 9/11 attacks. The Portrait of a War-

rior Gallery is a project born of passion, love, and admiration of those who defend America and her ideals. Having worked with Lili on Honor Flight and numerous other veterans issues, she has the uncanny ability to identify the needs of our veteran community and the determination to see those needs met.

Along with being a businesswoman and an entrepreneur, Lili is many things to our community. But her passion and determination have enriched the lives of Kern County's veterans and helped ensure our community continues to recognize these heroes among us.

I rise today to recognize Lili Marsh as a Hometown Hero award recipient who continues to positively influence our county through her character and leadership. A true signature of leadership is the generosity of time and talents that one gives on behalf to their neighbors and community. Lili exemplifies this time-honored tradition, and I would like to thank her and her husband, Troy, for their life-changing work. On behalf of a grateful community and the 23rd Congressional district, I recognize Lili Marsh's achievements and look forward to her many future successes.

#### 400TH ANNIVERSARY OF FIRST ENSLAVED AFRICANS BROUGHT TO AMERICA

SPEECH OF

**HON. BARBARA LEE**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 9, 2019

Ms. LEE of California. Madam Speaker, I include in the RECORD the following article from "The 1619 Project" published in The New York Times Magazine.

[From The New York Times Magazine, Aug. 14, 2019]

THE 1619 PROJECT

(By Nikole Hannah-Jones)

My dad always flew an American flag in our front yard. The blue paint on our two-story house was perennially chipping; the fence, or the rail by the stairs, or the front door, existed in a perpetual state of disrepair, but that flag always flew pristine. Our corner lot, which had been redlined by the federal government, was along the river that divided the black side from the white side of our Iowa town. At the edge of our lawn, high on an aluminum pole, soared the flag, which my dad would replace as soon as it showed the slightest tatter.

My dad was born into a family of sharecroppers on a white plantation in Greenwood, Miss., where black people bent over cotton from can't-see-in-the-morning to can't-see-at-night, just as their enslaved ancestors had done not long before. The Mississippi of my dad's youth was an apartheid state that subjugated its near-majority black population through breathtaking acts of violence. White residents in Mississippi lynched more black people than those in any other state in the country, and the white people in my dad's home county lynched more black residents than those in any other county in Mississippi, often for such "crimes" as entering a room occupied by white women, bumping into a white girl or trying to start a sharecroppers union. My dad's mother, like all the black people in Greenwood, could not vote, use the public library or find work other than toiling in the cotton fields or toiling in white people's

houses. So in the 1940s, she packed up her few belongings and her three small children and joined the flood of black Southerners fleeing North. She got off the Illinois Central Railroad in Waterloo, Iowa, only to have her hopes of the mythical Promised Land shattered when she learned that Jim Crow did not end at the Mason-Dixon line.

Grandmama, as we called her, found a house in a segregated black neighborhood on the city's east side and then found the work that was considered black women's work no matter where black women lived—cleaning white people's houses. Dad, too, struggled to find promise in this land. In 1962, at age 17, he signed up for the Army. Like many young men, he joined in hopes of escaping poverty. But he went into the military for another reason as well, a reason common to black men: Dad hoped that if he served his country, his country might finally treat him as an American.

The 1619 Project is a major initiative from The New York Times observing the 400th anniversary of the beginning of American slavery. It aims to reframe the country's history, understanding 1619 as our true founding, and placing the consequences of slavery and the contributions of black Americans at the very center of the story we tell ourselves about who we are. Read all the stories.

The Army did not end up being his way out. He was passed over for opportunities, his ambition stunted. He would be discharged under murky circumstances and then labor in a series of service jobs for the rest of his life. Like all the black men and women in my family, he believed in hard work, but like all the black men and women in my family, no matter how hard he worked, he never got ahead.

So when I was young, that flag outside our home never made sense to me. How could this black man, having seen firsthand the way his country abused black Americans, how it refused to treat us as full citizens, proudly fly its banner? I didn't understand his patriotism. It deeply embarrassed me.

I had been taught, in school, through cultural osmosis, that the flag wasn't really ours, that our history as a people began with enslavement and that we had contributed little to this great nation. It seemed that the closest thing black Americans could have to cultural pride was to be found in our vague connection to Africa, a place we had never been. That my dad felt so much honor in being an American felt like a marker of his degradation, his acceptance of our subordination.

Like most young people, I thought I understood so much, when in fact I understood so little. My father knew exactly what he was doing when he raised that flag. He knew that our people's contributions to building the richest and most powerful nation in the world were indelible, that the United States simply would not exist without us.

In August 1619, just 12 years after the English settled Jamestown, Va., one year before the Puritans landed at Plymouth Rock and some 157 years before the English colonists even decided they wanted to form their own country, the Jamestown colonists bought 20 to 30 enslaved Africans from English pirates. The pirates had stolen them from a Portuguese slave ship that had forcibly taken them from what is now the country of Angola. Those men and women who came ashore on that August day were the beginning of American slavery. They were among the 12.5 million Africans who would be kidnapped from their homes and brought in chains across the Atlantic Ocean in the largest forced migration in human history until the Second World War. Almost two million did not survive the grueling journey, known as the Middle Passage.



Before the abolishment of the international slave trade, 400,000 enslaved Africans would be sold into America. Those individuals and their descendants transformed the lands to which they'd been brought into some of the most successful colonies in the British Empire. Through backbreaking labor, they cleared the land across the Southeast. They taught the colonists to grow rice. They grew and picked the cotton that at the height of slavery was the nation's most valuable commodity, accounting for half of all American exports and 66 percent of the world's supply. They built the plantations of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, sprawling properties that today attract thousands of visitors from across the globe captivated by the history of the world's greatest democracy. They laid the foundations of the White House and the Capitol, even placing with their unfree hands the Statue of Freedom atop the Capitol dome. They lugged the heavy wooden tracks of the railroads that crisscrossed the South and that helped take the cotton they picked to the Northern textile mills, fueling the Industrial Revolution. They built vast fortunes for white people North and South—at one time, the second-richest man in the nation was a Rhode Island “slave trader.” Profits from black people's stolen labor helped the young nation pay off its war debts and financed some of our most prestigious universities. It was the relentless buying, selling, insuring and financing of their bodies and the products of their labor that made Wall Street a thriving banking, insurance and trading sector and New York City the financial capital of the world.

But it would be historically inaccurate to reduce the contributions of black people to the vast material wealth created by our bondage. Black Americans have also been, and continue to be, foundational to the idea of American freedom. More than any other group in this country's history, we have served, generation after generation, in an overlooked but vital role: It is we who have been the perfecters of this democracy.

The United States is a nation founded on both an ideal and a lie. Our Declaration of Independence, approved on July 4, 1776, proclaims that “all men are created equal” and “endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights.” But the white men who drafted those words did not believe them to be true for the hundreds of thousands of black people in their midst. “Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness” did not apply to fully one-fifth of the country. Yet despite being violently denied the freedom and justice promised to all, black Americans believed fervently in the American creed. Through centuries of black resistance and protest, we have helped the country live up to its founding ideals. And not only for ourselves—black rights struggles paved the way for every other rights struggle, including women's and gay rights, immigrant and disability rights.

Without the idealistic, strenuous and patriotic efforts of black Americans, our democracy today would most likely look very different—it might not be a democracy at all.

The very first person to die for this country in the American Revolution was a black man who himself was not free. Crispus Attucks was a fugitive from slavery, yet he gave his life for a new nation in which his own people would not enjoy the liberties laid out in the Declaration for another century. In every war this nation has waged since that first one, black Americans have fought—today we are the most likely of all racial groups to serve in the United States military.

My father, one of those many black Americans who answered the call, knew what it

would take me years to understand: that the year 1619 is as important to the American story as 1776. That black Americans, as much as those men cast in alabaster in the nation's capital, are this nation's true “founding fathers.” And that no people has a greater claim to that flag than us.

In June 1776, Thomas Jefferson sat at his portable writing desk in a rented room in Philadelphia and penned these words: “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, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.” For the last 243 years, this fierce assertion of the fundamental and natural rights of humankind to freedom and self-governance has defined our global reputation as a land of liberty. As Jefferson composed his inspiring words, however, a teenage boy who would enjoy none of those rights and liberties waited nearby to serve at his master's beck and call. His name was Robert Hemings, and he was the half brother of Jefferson's wife, born to Martha Jefferson's father and a woman he owned. It was common for white enslavers to keep their half-black children in slavery. Jefferson had chosen Hemings, from among about 130 enslaved people that worked on the forced-labor camp he called Monticello, to accompany him to Philadelphia and ensure his every comfort as he drafted the text making the case for a new democratic republic based on the individual rights of men.

At the time, one-fifth of the population within the 13 colonies struggled under a brutal system of slavery unlike anything that had existed in the world before. Chattel slavery was not conditional but racial. It was heritable and permanent, not temporary, meaning generations of black people were born into it and passed their enslaved status onto their children. Enslaved people were not recognized as human beings but as property that could be mortgaged, traded, bought, sold, used as collateral, given as a gift and disposed of violently. Jefferson's fellow white colonists knew that black people were human beings, but they created a network of laws and customs, astounding for both their precision and cruelty, that ensured that enslaved people would never be treated as such. As the abolitionist William Goodell wrote in 1853, “If any thing founded on falsehood might be called a science, we might add the system of American slavery to the list of the strict sciences.”

[Listen to a new podcast with Nikole Hannah-Jones that tells the story of slavery and its legacy like you've never heard it before.]

Enslaved people could not legally marry. They were barred from learning to read and restricted from meeting privately in groups. They had no claim to their own children, who could be bought, sold and traded away from them on auction blocks alongside furniture and cattle or behind storefronts that advertised “Negroes for Sale.” Enslavers and the courts did not honor kinship ties to mothers, siblings, cousins. In most courts, they had no legal standing. Enslavers could rape or murder their property without legal consequence. Enslaved people could own nothing, will nothing and inherit nothing. They were legally tortured, including by those working for Jefferson himself. They could be worked to death, and often were, in order to produce the highest profits for the white people who owned them.

Yet in making the argument against Britain's tyranny, one of the colonists' favorite rhetorical devices was to claim that they were the slaves—to Britain. For this duplicity, they faced burning criticism both at home and abroad. As Samuel Johnson, an English writer and Tory opposed to American independence, quipped, “How is it that

we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of Negroes?”

Conveniently left out of our founding mythology is the fact that one of the primary reasons the colonists decided to declare their independence from Britain was because they wanted to protect the institution of slavery. By 1776, Britain had grown deeply conflicted over its role in the barbaric institution that had reshaped the Western Hemisphere. In London, there were growing calls to abolish the slave trade. This would have upended the economy of the colonies, in both the North and the South. The wealth and prominence that allowed Jefferson, at just 33, and the other founding fathers to believe they could successfully break off from one of the mightiest empires in the world came from the dizzying profits generated by chattel slavery. In other words, we may never have revolted against Britain if the founders had not understood that slavery empowered them to do so; nor if they had not believed that independence was required in order to ensure that slavery would continue. It is not incidental that 10 of this nation's first 12 presidents were enslavers, and some might argue that this nation was founded not as a democracy but as a slavocracy.

Jefferson and the other founders were keenly aware of this hypocrisy. And so in Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration of Independence, he tried to argue that it wasn't the colonists' fault. Instead, he blamed the king of England for forcing the institution of slavery on the unwilling colonists and called the trafficking in human beings a crime. Yet neither Jefferson nor most of the founders intended to abolish slavery, and in the end, they struck the passage.

There is no mention of slavery in the final Declaration of Independence. Similarly, 11 years later, when it came time to draft the Constitution, the framers carefully constructed a document that preserved and protected slavery without ever using the word. In the texts in which they were making the case for freedom to the world, they did not want to explicitly enshrine their hypocrisy, so they sought to hide it. The Constitution contains 84 clauses. Six deal directly with the enslaved and their enslavement, as the historian David Waldstreicher has written, and five more hold implications for slavery. The Constitution protected the “property” of those who enslaved black people, prohibited the federal government from intervening to end the importation of enslaved Africans for a term of 20 years, allowed Congress to mobilize the militia to put down insurrections by the enslaved and forced states that had outlawed slavery to turn over enslaved people who had run away seeking refuge. Like many others, the writer and abolitionist Samuel Bryan called out the deceit, saying of the Constitution, “The words are dark and ambiguous; such as no plain man of common sense would have used, [and] are evidently chosen to conceal from Europe, that in this enlightened country, the practice of slavery has its advocates among men in the highest stations.”

With independence, the founding fathers could no longer blame slavery on Britain. The sin became this nation's own, and so, too, the need to cleanse it. The shameful paradox of continuing chattel slavery in a nation founded on individual freedom, scholars today assert, led to a hardening of the racial caste system. This ideology, reinforced not just by laws but by racist science and literature, maintained that black people were subhuman, a belief that allowed white Americans to live with their betrayal. By the early 1800s, according to the legal historians Leland B. Ware, Robert J. Cottrol and Raymond T. Diamond, white Americans, whether

they engaged in slavery or not, “had a considerable psychological as well as economic investment in the doctrine of black inferiority.” While liberty was the inalienable right of the people who would be considered white, enslavement and subjugation became the natural station of people who had any discernible drop of “black” blood.

The Supreme Court enshrined this thinking in the law in its 1857 Dred Scott decision, ruling that black people, whether enslaved or free, came from a “slave” race. This made them inferior to white people and, therefore, incompatible with American democracy. Democracy was for citizens, and the “Negro race,” the court ruled, was “a separate class of persons,” which the founders had “not regarded as a portion of the people or citizens of the Government” and had “no rights which a white man was bound to respect.” This belief, that black people were not merely enslaved but were a slave race, became the root of the endemic racism that we still cannot purge from this nation to this day. If black people could not ever be citizens, if they were a caste apart from all other humans, then they did not require the rights bestowed by the Constitution, and the “we” in the “We the People” was not a lie.

On Aug. 14, 1862, a mere five years after the nation’s highest courts declared that no black person could be an American citizen, President Abraham Lincoln called a group of five esteemed free black men to the White House for a meeting. It was one of the few times that black people had ever been invited to the White House as guests. The Civil War had been raging for more than a year, and black abolitionists, who had been increasingly pressuring Lincoln to end slavery, must have felt a sense of great anticipation and pride.

The war was not going well for Lincoln. Britain was contemplating whether to intervene on the Confederacy’s behalf, and Lincoln, unable to draw enough new white volunteers for the war, was forced to reconsider his opposition to allowing black Americans to fight for their own liberation. The president was weighing a proclamation that threatened to emancipate all enslaved people in the states that had seceded from the Union if the states did not end the rebellion. The proclamation would also allow the formerly enslaved to join the Union army and fight against their former “masters.” But Lincoln worried about what the consequences of this radical step would be. Like many white Americans, he opposed slavery as a cruel system at odds with American ideals, but he also opposed black equality. He believed that free black people were a “troublesome presence” incompatible with a democracy intended only for white people. “Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals?” he had said four years earlier. “My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not.”

That August day, as the men arrived at the White House, they were greeted by the towering Lincoln and a man named James Mitchell, who eight days before had been given the title of a newly created position called the commissioner of emigration. This was to be his first assignment. After exchanging a few niceties, Lincoln got right to it. He informed his guests that he had gotten Congress to appropriate funds to ship black people, once freed, to another country.

“Why should they leave this country? This is, perhaps, the first question for proper consideration,” Lincoln told them. “You and we are different races. . . . Your race suffer very greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side.”

You can imagine the heavy silence in that room, as the weight of what the president said momentarily stole the breath of these five black men. It was 243 years to the month since the first of their ancestors had arrived on these shores, before Lincoln’s family, long before most of the white people insisting that this was not their country. The Union had not entered the war to end slavery but to keep the South from splitting off, yet black men had signed up to fight. Enslaved people were fleeing their forced-labor camps, which we like to call plantations, trying to join the effort, serving as spies, sabotaging confederates, taking up arms for his cause as well as their own. And now Lincoln was blaming them for the war. “Although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other . . . without the institution of slavery and the colored race as a basis, the war could not have an existence,” the president told them. “It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated.”

As Lincoln closed the remarks, Edward Thomas, the delegation’s chairman, informed the president, perhaps curtly, that they would consult on his proposition. “Take your full time,” Lincoln said. “No hurry at all.”

Nearly three years after that White House meeting, Gen. Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox. By summer, the Civil War was over, and four million black Americans were suddenly free. Contrary to Lincoln’s view, most were not inclined to leave, agreeing with the sentiment of a resolution against black colonization put forward at a convention of black leaders in New York some decades before: “This is our home, and this our country. Beneath its sod lie the bones of our fathers. . . . Here we were born, and here we will die.”

That the formerly enslaved did not take up Lincoln’s offer to abandon these lands is an astounding testament to their belief in this nation’s founding ideals. As W.E.B. Du Bois wrote, “Few men ever worshiped Freedom with half such unquestioning faith as did the American Negro for two centuries.” Black Americans had long called for universal equality and believed, as the abolitionist Martin Delany said, “that God has made of one blood all the nations that dwell on the face of the earth.” Liberated by war, then, they did not seek vengeance on their oppressors as Lincoln and so many other white Americans feared. They did the opposite. During this nation’s brief period of Reconstruction, from 1865 to 1877, formerly enslaved people zealously engaged with the democratic process. With federal troops tempering widespread white violence, black Southerners staled branches of the Equal Rights League—one of the nation’s first human rights organizations—to fight discrimination and organize voters; they headed in droves to the polls, where they placed other formerly enslaved people into seats that their enslavers had once held. The South, for the first time in the history of this country, began to resemble a democracy, with black Americans elected to local, state and federal offices. Some 16 black men served in Congress—including Hiram Revels of Mississippi, who became the first black man elected to the Senate. (Demonstrating just how brief this period would be, Revels, along with Blanche Bruce, would go from being the first black man elected to the last for nearly a hundred years, until Edward Brooke of Massachusetts took office in 1967.) More than 600 black men served in Southern state legislatures and hundreds more in local positions.

These black officials joined with white Republicans, some of whom came down from the North, to write the most egalitarian state constitutions the South had ever seen.

They helped pass more equitable tax legislation and laws that prohibited discrimination in public transportation, accommodation and housing. Perhaps their biggest achievement was the establishment of that most democratic of American institutions: the public school. Public education effectively did not exist in the South before Reconstruction. The white elite sent their children to private schools, while poor white children went without an education. But newly freed black people, who had been prohibited from learning to read and write during slavery, were desperate for an education. So black legislators successfully pushed for a universal, state-funded system of schools—not just for their own children but for white children, too. Black legislators also helped pass the first compulsory education laws in the region. Southern children, black and white, were now required to attend schools like their Northern counterparts. Just five years into Reconstruction, every Southern state had enshrined the right to a public education for all children into its constitution. In some states, like Louisiana and South Carolina, small numbers of black and white children, briefly, attended schools together.

Led by black activists and a Republican Party pushed left by the blatant recalcitrance of white Southerners, the years directly after slavery saw the greatest expansion of human and civil rights this nation would ever see. In 1865, Congress passed the 13th Amendment, making the United States one of the last nations in the Americas to outlaw slavery. The following year, black Americans, exerting their new political power, pushed white legislators to pass the Civil Rights Act, the nation’s first such law and one of the most expansive pieces of civil rights legislation Congress has ever passed. It codified black American citizenship for the first time, prohibited housing discrimination and gave all Americans the right to buy and inherit property, make and enforce contracts and seek redress from courts. In 1868, Congress ratified the 14th Amendment, ensuring citizenship to any person born in the United States. Today, thanks to this amendment, every child born here to a European, Asian, African, Latin American or Middle Eastern immigrant gains automatic citizenship. The 14th Amendment also, for the first time, constitutionally guaranteed equal protection under the law. Ever since, nearly all other marginalized groups have used the 14th Amendment in their fights for equality (including the recent successful arguments before the Supreme Court on behalf of same-sex marriage). Finally, in 1870, Congress passed the 15th Amendment, guaranteeing the most critical aspect of democracy and citizenship—the right to vote—to all men regardless of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

For this fleeting moment known as Reconstruction, the majority in Congress seemed to embrace the idea that out of the ashes of the Civil War, we could create the multiracial democracy that black Americans envisioned even if our founding fathers did not.

But it would not last.

Anti-black racism runs in the very DNA of this country, as does the belief, so well articulated by Lincoln, that black people are the obstacle to national unity. The many gains of Reconstruction were met with fierce white resistance throughout the South, including unthinkable violence against the formerly enslaved, wide-scale voter suppression, electoral fraud and even, in some extreme cases, the overthrow of democratically elected biracial governments. Faced with this unrest, the federal government decided that black people were the cause of the problem and that for unity’s sake, it would leave the white South to its own devices. In

1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes, in order to secure a compromise with Southern Democrats that would grant him the presidency in a contested election, agreed to pull federal troops from the South. With the troops gone, white Southerners quickly went about eradicating the gains of Reconstruction. The systemic white suppression of black life was so severe that this period between the 1880s and the 1920 and '30s became known as the Great Nadir, or the second slavery. Democracy would not return to the South for nearly a century.

White Southerners of all economic classes, on the other hand, thanks in significant part to the progressive policies and laws black people had championed, experienced substantial improvement in their lives even as they forced black people back into a quasi slavery. As Waters McIntosh, who had been enslaved in South Carolina, lamented, "It was the poor white man who was freed by the war, not the Negroes."

Georgia pines flew past the windows of the Greyhound bus carrying Isaac Woodard home to Winnsboro, S.C. After serving four years in the Army in World War II, where Woodard had earned a battle star, he was given an honorable discharge earlier that day at Camp Gordon and was headed home to meet his wife. When the bus stopped at a small drugstore an hour outside Atlanta, Woodard got into a brief argument with the white driver after asking if he could use the restroom. About half an hour later, the driver stopped again and told Woodard to get off the bus. Crisp in his uniform, Woodard stepped from the stairs and saw the police waiting for him. Before he could speak, one of the officers struck him in his head with a billy club, beating him so badly that he fell unconscious. The blows to Woodard's head were so severe that when he woke in a jail cell the next day, he could not see. The beating occurred just 4½ hours after his military discharge. At 26, Woodard would never see again.

There was nothing unusual about Woodard's horrific maiming. It was part of a wave of systemic violence deployed against black Americans after Reconstruction, in both the North and the South. As the egalitarian spirit of post-Civil War America evaporated under the desire for national reunification, black Americans, simply by existing, served as a problematic reminder of this nation's failings. White America dealt with this inconvenience by constructing a savagely enforced system of racial apartheid that excluded black people almost entirely from mainstream American life—a system so grotesque that Nazi Germany would later take inspiration from it for its own racist policies.

Despite the guarantees of equality in the 14th Amendment, the Supreme Court's landmark *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1896 declared that the racial segregation of black Americans was constitutional. With the blessing of the nation's highest court and no federal will to vindicate black rights, starting in the late 1800s, Southern states passed a series of laws and codes meant to make slavery's racial caste system permanent by denying black people political power, social equality and basic dignity. They passed literacy tests to keep black people from voting and created all-white primaries for elections. Black people were prohibited from serving on juries or testifying in court against a white person. South Carolina prohibited white and black textile workers from using the same doors. Oklahoma forced phone companies to segregate phone booths.

Memphis had separate parking spaces for black and white drivers. Baltimore passed an ordinance outlawing black people from moving onto a block more than half white and

white people from moving onto a block more than half black. Georgia made it illegal for black and white people to be buried next to one another in the same cemetery. Alabama barred black people from using public libraries that their own tax dollars were paying for. Black people were expected to jump off the sidewalk to let white people pass and call all white people by an honorific, though they received none no matter how old they were. In the North, white politicians implemented policies that segregated black people into slum neighborhoods and into inferior all-black schools, operated whites-only public pools and held white and "colored" days at the country fair, and white businesses regularly denied black people service, placing "Whites Only" signs in their windows. States like California joined Southern states in barring black people from marrying white people, while local school boards in Illinois and New Jersey mandated segregated schools for black and white children.

This caste system was maintained through wanton racial terrorism. And black veterans like Woodard, especially those with the audacity to wear their uniform, had since the Civil War been the target of a particular violence. This intensified during the two world wars because white people understood that once black men had gone abroad and experienced life outside the suffocating racial oppression of America, they were unlikely to quietly return to their subjugation at home. As Senator James K. Vardaman of Mississippi said on the Senate floor during World War I, black servicemen returning to the South would "inevitably lead to disaster." Giving a black man "military airs" and sending him to defend the flag would bring him "to the conclusion that his political rights must be respected."

Many white Americans saw black men in the uniforms of America's armed services not as patriotic but as exhibiting a dangerous pride. Hundreds of black veterans were beaten, maimed, shot and lynched. We like to call those who lived during World War II the Greatest Generation, but that allows us to ignore the fact that many of this generation fought for democracy abroad while brutally suppressing democracy for millions of American citizens. During the height of racial terror in this country, black Americans were not merely killed but castrated, burned alive and dismembered with their body parts displayed in storefronts. This violence was meant to terrify and control black people, but perhaps just as important, it served as a psychological balm for white supremacy: You would not treat human beings this way. The extremity of the violence was a symptom of the psychological mechanism necessary to absolve white Americans of their country's original sin. To answer the question of how they could prize liberty abroad while simultaneously denying liberty to an entire race back home, white Americans resorted to the same racist ideology that Jefferson and the framers had used at the nation's founding.

This ideology—that black people belonged to an inferior, subhuman race—did not simply disappear once slavery ended. If the formerly enslaved and their descendants became educated, if we thrived in the jobs white people did, if we excelled in the sciences and arts, then the entire justification for how this nation allowed slavery would collapse. Free black people posed a danger to the country's idea of itself as exceptional; we held up the mirror in which the nation preferred not to peer. And so the inhumanity visited on black people by every generation of white America justified the inhumanity of the past.

Just as white Americans feared, World War II ignited what became black Americans'

second sustained effort to make democracy real. As the editorial board of the black newspaper *The Pittsburgh Courier* wrote, "We wage a two-pronged attack against our enslavers at home and those abroad who will enslave us." Woodard's blinding is largely seen as one of the catalysts for the decades-long rebellion we have come to call the civil rights movement. But it is useful to pause and remember that this was the second mass movement for black civil rights, the first being Reconstruction. As the centennial of slavery's end neared, black people were still seeking the rights they had fought for and won after the Civil War: the right to be treated equally by public institutions, which was guaranteed in 1866 with the Civil Rights Act; the right to be treated as full citizens before the law, which was guaranteed in 1868 by the 14th Amendment; and the right to vote, which was guaranteed in 1870 by the 15th Amendment. In response to black demands for these rights, white Americans strung them from trees, beat them and dumped their bodies in muddy rivers, assassinated them in their front yards, firebombed them on buses, mauled them with dogs, peeled back their skin with fire hoses and murdered their children with explosives set off inside a church.

For the most part, black Americans fought back alone. Yet we never fought only for ourselves. The bloody freedom struggles of the civil rights movement laid the foundation for every other modern rights struggle. This nation's white founders set up a decidedly undemocratic Constitution that excluded women, Native Americans and black people, and did not provide the vote or equality for most Americans. But the laws born out of black resistance guarantee the franchise for all and ban discrimination based not just on race but on gender, nationality, religion and ability. It was the civil rights movement that led to the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which upended the racist immigration quota system intended to keep this country white. Because of black Americans, black and brown immigrants from across the globe are able to come to the United States and live in a country in which legal discrimination is no longer allowed. It is a truly American irony that some Asian-Americans, among the groups able to immigrate to the United States because of the black civil rights struggle, are now suing universities to end programs designed to help the descendants of the enslaved.

No one cherishes freedom more than those who have not had it. And to this day, black Americans, more than any other group, embrace the democratic ideals of a common good. We are the most likely to support programs like universal health care and a higher minimum wage, and to oppose programs that harm the most vulnerable. For instance, black Americans suffer the most from violent crime, yet we are the most opposed to capital punishment. Our unemployment rate is nearly twice that of white Americans, yet we are still the most likely of all groups to say this nation should take in refugees.

The truth is that as much democracy as this nation has today, it has been borne on the backs of black resistance. Our founding fathers may not have actually believed in the ideals they espoused, but black people did. As one scholar, Joe R. Feagin, put it, "Enslaved African-Americans have been among the foremost freedom-fighters this country has produced." For generations, we have believed in this country with a faith it did not deserve. Black people have seen the worst of America, yet, somehow, we still believe in its best.

They say our people were born on the water.

When it occurred, no one can say for certain. Perhaps it was in the second week, or the third, but surely by the fourth, when they had not seen their land or any land for so many days that they lost count. It was after fear had turned to despair, and despair to resignation, and resignation to an abiding understanding. The teal eternity of the Atlantic Ocean had severed them so completely from what had once been their home that it was as if nothing had ever existed before, as if everything and everyone they cherished had simply vanished from the earth. They were no longer Mbundu or Akan or Fulani. These men and women from many different nations, all shackled together in the suffocating hull of the ship, they were one people now.

Just a few months earlier, they had families, and farms, and lives and dreams. They were free. They had names, of course, but their enslavers did not bother to record them. They had been made black by those people who believed that they were white, and where they were heading, black equaled “slave,” and slavery in America required turning human beings into property by stripping them of every element that made them individuals. This process was called seasoning, in which people stolen from western and central Africa were forced, often through torture, to stop speaking their native tongues and practicing their native religions.

But as the sociologist Glenn Bracey wrote, “Out of the ashes of white denigration, we gave birth to ourselves.” For as much as white people tried to pretend, black people were not chattel. And so the process of seasoning, instead of erasing identity, served an opposite purpose: In the void, we forged a new culture all our own.

Today, our very manner of speaking recalls the Creole languages that enslaved people innovated in order to communicate both with Africans speaking various dialects and the English-speaking people who enslaved them. Our style of dress, the extra flair, stems back to the desires of enslaved people—shorn of all individuality—to exert their own identity. Enslaved people would wear their hat in

a jaunty manner or knot their head scarves intricately. Today’s avant-garde nature of black hairstyles and fashion displays a vibrant reflection of enslaved people’s determination to feel fully human through self-expression. The improvisational quality of black art and music comes from a culture that because of constant disruption could not cling to convention. Black naming practices, so often impugned by mainstream society, are themselves an act of resistance. Our last names belong to the white people who once owned us. That is why the insistence of many black Americans, particularly those most marginalized, to give our children names that we create, that are neither European nor from Africa, a place we have never been, is an act of self-determination. When the world listens to quintessential American music, it is our voice they hear. The sorrow songs we sang in the fields to soothe our physical pain and find hope in a freedom we did not expect to know until we died became American gospel. Amid the devastating violence and poverty of the Mississippi Delta, we birthed jazz and blues. And it was in the deeply impoverished and segregated neighborhoods where white Americans forced the descendants of the enslaved to live that teenagers too poor to buy instruments used old records to create a new music known as hip-hop.

Our speech and fashion and the drum of our music echoes Africa but is not African. Out of our unique isolation, both from our native cultures and from white America, we forged this nation’s most significant original culture. In turn, “mainstream” society has coveted our style, our slang and our song, seeking to appropriate the one truly American culture as its own. As Langston Hughes wrote in 1926, “They’ll see how beautiful I am/And be ashamed—I, too, am America.”

For centuries, white Americans have been trying to solve the “Negro problem.” They have dedicated thousands of pages to this endeavor. It is common, still, to point to rates of black poverty, out-of-wedlock births, crime and college attendance, as if these conditions in a country built on a racial caste system are not utterly predictable. But

crucially, you cannot view those statistics while ignoring another: that black people were enslaved here longer than we have been free.

At 43, I am part of the first generation of black Americans in the history of the United States to be born into a society in which black people had full rights of citizenship. Black people suffered under slavery for 250 years; we have been legally “free” for just 50. Yet in that briefest of spans, despite continuing to face rampant discrimination, and despite there never having been a genuine effort to redress the wrongs of slavery and the century of racial apartheid that followed, black Americans have made astounding progress, not only for ourselves but also for all Americans.

What if America understood, finally, in this 400th year, that we have never been the problem but the solution?

When I was a child—I must have been in fifth or sixth grade—a teacher gave our class an assignment intended to celebrate the diversity of the great American melting pot. She instructed each of us to write a short report on our ancestral land and then draw that nation’s flag. As she turned to write the assignment on the board, the other black girl in class locked eyes with me. Slavery had erased any connection we had to an African country, and even if we tried to claim the whole continent, there was no “African” flag. It was hard enough being one of two black kids in the class, and this assignment would just be another reminder of the distance between the white kids and us. In the end, I walked over to the globe near my teacher’s desk, picked a random African country and claimed it as my own.

I wish, now, that I could go back to the younger me and tell her that her people’s ancestry started here, on these lands, and to boldly, proudly, draw the stars and those stripes of the American flag.

We were told once, by virtue of our bondage, that we could never be American. But it was by virtue of our bondage that we became the most American of all.

# Daily Digest

## Senate

### Chamber Action

**Routine Proceedings, pages S5453–S5483**

**Measures Introduced:** Ten bills and four resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 2469–2478, and S. Res. 309–312. **Page S5474**

**Measures Reported:**

Special Report entitled “Allocation to Subcommittees of Budget Totals for Fiscal Year 2020”. (S. Rept. No. 116–104)

S. 2470, making appropriations for energy and water development and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2020. (S. Rept. No. 116–102)

S. 2474, making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2020. (S. Rept. No. 116–103)

S. 1273, to amend title 17, United States Code, to establish an alternative dispute resolution program for copyright small claims. (S. Rept. No. 116–105)

**Page S5474**

**Measures Passed:**

**Wheeling, West Virginia Semiquincentennial:** Senate agreed to S. Res. 310, recognizing the semiquincentennial of the community of Wheeling, West Virginia. **Pages S5478–80**

**Veterans’ Compensation Cost-of-Living Adjustment Act:** Senate passed H.R. 1200, to increase, effective as of December 1, 2019, the rates of compensation for veterans with service-connected disabilities and the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation for the survivors of certain disabled veterans. **Page S5482**

**Patriot Week:** Senate agreed to S. Res. 311, expressing support for the designation of the week of September 11 through September 17 as “Patriot Week”. **Page S5482**

**National Direct Support Professionals Recognition Week:** Senate agreed to S. Res. 312, designating the week beginning September 8, 2019, as “National Direct Support Professionals Recognition Week”. **Pages S5482–83**

**National Defense Authorization Act—Agreement:** A unanimous-consent agreement was reached providing that the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to request from the House of Representatives the return of the papers to S. 1790, to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2020 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe military personnel strengths for such fiscal year, to provide for a correction; provided further that if the House of Representatives agrees to the Senate’s request, upon receipt of the papers from the House of Representatives in the Senate, notwithstanding passage of the bill, the amendment at the desk be agreed to and the papers be returned to the House of Representatives. **Page S5466**

Subsequently, the Senate having received the papers with respect to S. 1790, notwithstanding the passage of the bill, Inhofe Amendment No. 938, of a perfecting nature, was agreed to and the measure was returned to the House. **Page S5466**

**Message from the President:** Senate received the following message from the President of the United States:

Transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the continuation of the national emergency with respect to the terrorist attacks on the United States of September 11, 2001; which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services. (PM–28) **Page S5473**

**Rakolta, Jr. Nomination—Cloture:** Senate began consideration of the nomination of John Rakolta, Jr., of Michigan, to be Ambassador to the United Arab Emirates. **Page S5467**

A motion was entered to close further debate on the nomination, and, in accordance with the provisions of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, and pursuant to the unanimous-consent agreement of Thursday, September 12, 2019, a vote on cloture will occur at 5:30 p.m., on Monday, September 16, 2019. **Page S5467**

Prior to the consideration of this nomination, Senate took the following action:

Senate agreed to the motion to proceed to Executive Session to consider the nomination. **Page S5467**

A unanimous-consent agreement was reached providing that at approximately 5 p.m., on Monday, September 16, 2019, Senate resume consideration of the nomination, and that the motions to invoke cloture filed on Thursday, September 12, 2019, ripen at 5:30 p.m. **Page S5483**

**Howery Nomination—Cloture:** Senate began consideration of the nomination of Kenneth A. Howery, of Texas, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Sweden. **Page S5467**

A motion was entered to close further debate on the nomination, and, in accordance with the provisions of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, a vote on cloture will occur upon disposition of the nomination of John Rakolta, Jr., of Michigan, to be Ambassador to the United Arab Emirates. **Page S5467**

Prior to the consideration of this nomination, Senate took the following action:

Senate agreed to the motion to proceed to Legislative Session. **Page S5467**

Senate agreed to the motion to proceed to Executive Session to consider the nomination. **Page S5467**

**Destro Nomination—Cloture:** Senate began consideration of the nomination of Robert A. Destro, of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. **Page S5467**

A motion was entered to close further debate on the nomination, and, in accordance with the provisions of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, a vote on cloture will occur upon disposition of the nomination of Kenneth A. Howery, of Texas, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Sweden. **Page S5467**

Prior to the consideration of this nomination, Senate took the following action:

Senate agreed to the motion to proceed to Legislative Session. **Page S5467**

Senate agreed to the motion to proceed to Executive Session to consider the nomination. **Page S5467**

**McIntosh Nomination—Cloture:** Senate began consideration of the nomination of Brent James McIntosh, of Michigan, to be an Under Secretary of the Treasury. **Page S5467**

A motion was entered to close further debate on the nomination, and, in accordance with the provisions of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, a vote on cloture will occur upon disposition of the nomination of Robert A. Destro, of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. **Page S5467**

Prior to the consideration of this nomination, Senate took the following action:

Senate agreed to the motion to proceed to Legislative Session. **Page S5467**

Senate agreed to the motion to proceed to Executive Session to consider the nomination. **Page S5467**

**Callanan Nomination—Cloture:** Senate began consideration of the nomination of Brian Callanan, of New Jersey, to be General Counsel for the Department of the Treasury. **Page S5467**

A motion was entered to close further debate on the nomination, and, in accordance with the provisions of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, a vote on cloture will occur upon disposition of the nomination of Brent James McIntosh, of Michigan, to be an Under Secretary of the Treasury. **Page S5468**

Prior to the consideration of this nomination, Senate took the following action:

Senate agreed to the motion to proceed to Legislative Session. **Page S5467**

Senate agreed to the motion to proceed to Executive Session to consider the nomination. **Page S5467**

**Nominations Confirmed:** Senate confirmed the following nominations:

By 60 yeas to 31 nays (Vote No. EX. 280), Michelle Bowman, of Kansas, to be a Member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for a term of fourteen years from February 1, 2020. **Pages S5453–61**

By 85 yeas to 1 nay (Vote No. EX. 281), Thomas Peter Feddo, of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Investment Security. **Pages S5461–62**

Jennifer D. Nordquist, of Virginia, to be United States Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for a term of two years. **Page S5461**

**Messages from the House:** **Page S5473**

**Measures Referred:** **Page S5473**

**Executive Communications:** **Pages S5473–74**

**Additional Cosponsors:** **Pages S5474–76**

**Statements on Introduced Bills/Resolutions:** **Pages S5476–78**

**Additional Statements:** **Pages S5471–73**

**Amendments Submitted:** **Page S5478**

**Authorities for Committees to Meet:** **Page S5478**

**Privileges of the Floor:** **Page S5478**

**Record Votes:** Two record votes were taken today. (Total—281) **Pages S5461, S5462**

**Adjournment:** Senate convened at 10 a.m. and adjourned at 4:21 p.m., until 3 p.m. on Monday, September 16, 2019. (For Senate's program, see the remarks of the Majority Leader in today's Record on page S5483.)



## Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

### BUSINESS MEETING

*Committee on Appropriations:* Committee ordered favorably reported the following business items:

An original bill (S. 2470) making appropriations for energy and water development and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2020;

An original bill (S. 2474) making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2020; and

302(b) subcommittee allocations of budget outlays and new budget authority allocated to the committee in H. Con. Res. 71, establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2018 and setting forth the appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2019 through 2027.

### NOMINATIONS

*Committee on Armed Services:* Committee concluded a hearing to examine the nominations of Ryan McCarthy, of Illinois, to be Secretary of the Army, and

Barbara McConnell Barrett, of Arizona, to be Secretary of the Air Force, who was introduced by Senator McSally, both of the Department of Defense, after the nominees testified and answered questions in their own behalf.

### GLOBAL INSURANCE REGULATORY AND SUPERVISORY FORUMS

*Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs:* Committee concluded a hearing to examine developments in global insurance regulatory and supervisory forums, after receiving testimony from Steven E. Seitz, Director, Federal Insurance Office, Department of the Treasury; Thomas Sullivan, Associate Director, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System; and Eric A. Cioppa, Maine Bureau of Insurance, Augusta, on behalf of the National Association of Insurance Commissioners.

### INTELLIGENCE

*Select Committee on Intelligence:* Committee held closed hearings on intelligence matters, receiving testimony from officials of the intelligence community.

Committee recessed subject to the call.

# House of Representatives

## Chamber Action

**Public Bills and Resolutions Introduced:** 33 public bills, H.R. 4295–4327; and 5 resolutions, H. Con. Res. 62; and H. Res. 553–556, were introduced. **Pages H7704–06**

**Additional Cosponsors:** **Pages H7707–08**

**Reports Filed:** A report was filed today as follows:

H.R. 3356, to provide PreCheck to certain severely injured or disabled veterans, and for other purposes (H. Rept. 116–203, Part 1). **Page H7704**

**Guest Chaplain:** The prayer was offered by the Guest Chaplain, Reverend Kyle Wright, II, Holy Cross Lutheran Church and School, Collinsville, Illinois. **Page H7769**

**Arctic Cultural and Coastal Plain Protection Act:** The House passed H.R. 1146, to amend Public Law 115–97 (commonly known as the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act) to repeal the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge oil and gas program, by a recorded vote of 225 ayes to 193 noes, Roll No. 530. **Pages H7671–90**

Rejected the Curtis motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Natural Resources with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with an amendment, by a yea-and-nay vote of 189 yeas to 229 nays, Roll No. 529.

**Pages H7687–89**

Pursuant to the Rule, an amendment in the nature of a substitute consisting of the text of Rules Committee Print 116–30, modified by the amendment printed in part C of H. Rept. 116–200, shall be considered as adopted in the House and in the Committee of the Whole, in lieu of the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Natural Resources now printed in the bill. **Page H7680**

Rejected:

Young amendment (No. 1 printed in part D of H. Rept. 116–200) that sought to state that the repeal shall not take effect until the Alaska Natives who live and work closest to the proposed oil and gas development in the Coastal Plain of ANWR are thoroughly consulted regarding the effect of the bill on their quality of life and future (by a recorded vote of 193 ayes to 230 noes, Roll No. 526);

**Pages H7681–82, H7685–86**

Gosar amendment (No. 2 printed in part D of H. Rept. 116–200) that sought to allow the bill to go into effect when DOI, in consultation with DOL, certifies that the offshore energy moratorium in the bill will not kill a substantial number of Native

American, minority and women jobs (by a recorded vote of 184 ayes to 237 noes, Roll No. 527); and

**Pages H7682–83, H7686–87**

Gosar amendment (No. 3 printed in part D of H. Rept. 116–200), as modified, that sought to allow the bill to go into effect when DOI, in consultation with DOL, certifies that the bill will not harm Caribou herd populations (by a recorded vote of 187 ayes to 237 noes, Roll No. 528).

**Pages H7683–85, H7687**

H. Res. 548, the rule providing for consideration of the bills (H.R. 205), (H.R. 1146), and (H.R. 1941) was agreed to Tuesday, September 10th.

**Directing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to provide a copy of the on-the-record portions of the audio backup file of the transcribed interview of Roger J. Stone Jr. conducted by the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence on September 26, 2017, to the prosecuting attorneys in the case of United States of America v. Stone, No. 1:19-cr-00018-ABJ (D.D.C.):** The House agreed to H. Res. 553, directing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to provide a copy of the on-the-record portions of the audio backup file of the transcribed interview of Roger J. Stone Jr. conducted by the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence on September 26, 2017, to the prosecuting attorneys in the case of United States of America v. Stone, No. 1:19-cr-00018-ABJ (D.D.C.). **Page H7690**

**Page H7690**

**Meeting Hour:** Agreed by unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet at 9 a.m. tomorrow, September 13th, and further when the House adjourns on that day, it adjourn to meet at 12 noon on Tuesday, September 17th for Morning Hour debate. **Page H7696**

**Page H7696**

**Consensus Calendar:** Representative Speier presented to the clerk a motion to place on the Consensus Calendar the bill H.R. 1773, to award a Congressional Gold Medal, collectively, to the women in the United States who joined the workforce during World War II, providing the aircraft, vehicles, weaponry, ammunition and other material to win the war, that were referred to as “Rosie the Riveter”, in recognition of their contributions to the United States and the inspiration they have provided to ensuing generations, it having accumulated 290 cosponsors. **Page H7704**

**Page H7704**

**Presidential Message:** Read a message from the President wherein he notified Congress that the emergency declared in Proclamation 7463 with respect to the terrorist attacks on the United States of

September 11, 2001 is to continue in effect beyond September 14, 2019—referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed (H. Doc. 116–62). **Page H7697**

**Senate Referrals:** S. 178 was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and the Committee on the Judiciary. **Page H7702**

**Senate Message:** Message received from the Senate today appears on page H7696.

**Quorum Calls—Votes:** One yea-and-nay vote and four recorded votes developed during the proceedings of today and appear on pages H7685–86, H7686, H7687, H7689, and H7689–90. There were no quorum calls.

**Adjournment:** The House met at 9 a.m. and adjourned at 2:09 p.m.

## Committee Meetings

### THE FUTURE OF IDENTITY IN FINANCIAL SERVICES: THREATS, CHALLENGES, AND OPPORTUNITIES

*Committee on Financial Services:* Task Force on Artificial Intelligence held a hearing entitled “The Future of Identity in Financial Services: Threats, Challenges, and Opportunities”. Testimony was heard from public witnesses.

## MISCELLANEOUS MEASURE

*Committee on the Judiciary:* Full Committee held a markup on a Resolution for Investigative Procedures. The Resolution for Investigative Procedures passed, without amendment.

## Joint Meetings

### INTERPOL

*Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe:* Commission concluded a hearing to examine autocratic abuse of INTERPOL, after receiving testimony from Alexander Cooley, Columbia University Harriman Institute for the Study of Russia, Eurasia and Eastern Europe, New York, New York; Nate Schenkkan, Freedom House, Washington, D.C.; Bruno Min, Fair Trials, London, United Kingdom; and Sandra A. Grossman, Grossman Young and Hammond, Silver Spring, Maryland.

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### COMMITTEE MEETINGS FOR FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 2019

*(Committee meetings are open unless otherwise indicated)*

#### Senate

No meetings/hearings scheduled.

#### House

No hearings are scheduled.

*Next Meeting of the SENATE*

3 p.m., Monday, September 16

*Next Meeting of the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES*

9 a.m., Friday, September 13

## Senate Chamber

**Program for Monday:** After the transaction of any morning business (not to extend beyond 5 p.m.), Senate will resume consideration of the nomination of John Rakolta, Jr., of Michigan, to be Ambassador to the United Arab Emirates, and vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the nomination at 5:30 p.m.

## House Chamber

**Program for Friday:** House will meet in Pro Forma session at 9 a.m.

## Extensions of Remarks, as inserted in this issue

## HOUSE

Bergman, Jack, Mich., E1138, E1140, E1141, E1142  
 Brady, Kevin, Tex., E1141  
 Bustos, Cheri, Ill., E1140, E1142  
 Griffith, H. Morgan, Va., E1142  
 Higgins, Brian, N.Y., E1138, E1140, E1142  
 Hudson, Richard, N.C., E1138  
 Katko, John, N.Y., E1142

Kennedy, Joseph P., III, Mass., E1139  
 Lee, Barbara, Calif., E1143  
 Levin, Mike, Calif., E1139  
 Long, Billy, Mo., E1137  
 McCarthy, Kevin, Calif., E1143  
 Neguse, Joe, Colo., E1137  
 Norton, Eleanor Holmes, The District of Columbia, E1138  
 Rouzer, David, N.C., E1142

Ryan, Tim, Ohio, E1139  
 Schrader, Kurt, Ore., E1139  
 Sewell, Terri A., Ala., E1140  
 Smith, Adrian, Nebr., E1138  
 Thornberry, Mac, Tex., E1137  
 Torres, Norma J., Calif., E1139  
 Walorski, Jackie, Ind., E1137  
 Webster, Daniel, Fla., E1138



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