

bill. I am hoping we can get that done in the coming days so we can get this bill to the President before Christmas.

While the TRACED Act may not eliminate all of the robocalls Americans receive, it will go a long way toward making it safe to answer your phone again.

I look forward to seeing this legislation signed into law in the very near future.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. CASEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business.

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

#### HONORING FIRST LIEUTENANT MICHAEL CLEARY

Mr. CASEY. Mr. President, I rise today to honor the life of 1LT Michael Cleary from Dallas, PA. It has been 14 years since his death. Michael is one of some 288 Pennsylvanians killed in action in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

First Lieutenant Cleary served as platoon leader of the Explosive Ordnance Disposal Team in E Company, 1st of the 15th Regiment, 3rd Brigade, 3rd Infantry Division of the U.S. Army.

On December 20, 2005, First Lieutenant Cleary was killed in action while working in a bomb factory near Samarra, Iraq. His platoon was ambushed outside the facility. He was just 24 years old.

Even prior to joining the Army, Michael Cleary was an active member of his community. He graduated from Dallas Senior High School in Dallas, PA, and was a 4-year varsity athlete in both soccer and tennis. He was captain of both teams in his senior year. He received the Dr. Pepper Soccer MVP Scholarship and a history scholarship at high school graduation and was offered academic scholarships at Ursinus College, Gettysburg, as well as Dickinson and Lafayette—all very strong academic institutions of higher education in Pennsylvania.

He followed his father's footsteps and chose Hamilton College in New York. While at Hamilton, First Lieutenant Cleary participated in varsity soccer and lettered in varsity tennis. After the September 11, 2001, attacks on our Nation, he wanted to enlist in the Special Forces but chose to follow the advice of his mother and stayed in school until completing his studies.

In May 2003, he graduated from Hamilton with honors. During his senior year, he applied to and was accepted into the Marine flight officer program.

He was notified that his class would be deferred until January. Not wanting to wait any longer to serve his country, Michael Cleary decided to enlist in the U.S. Army. Three weeks after college graduation, he went to basic training and earned his airborne wings and sapper tab and graduated from the Special Air Service Antiterrorist Course.

The news of First Lieutenant Cleary's death came just before he was scheduled to return home during the Christmas season. He was also planning to get married 2 months after he returned home to his high school sweetheart. First Lieutenant Cleary earned the following awards and decorations: the Army Achievement Medal, National Defense Service Medal, Iraq Campaign Medal, Global War on Terrorism Service Medal, Army Service Ribbon, and Overseas Service Ribbon. His family also received First Lieutenant Cleary's U.S. Army Bronze Star and Purple Heart.

Following his death, First Lieutenant Cleary's father, Jack, described his last conversation with his son the day before he died. Jack Cleary is someone I have gotten to know since his son's passing, but here is what Jack said at that time. I am quoting him directly. "He"—meaning Michael—"was very upset that they were sending home some of his men without their awards . . . for things like promotions, and he was fighting for his men. That is the kind of officer he was. Michael was a fine man. He cared about all people, great and small."

Jack Cleary knows of what he speaks because he, himself, served in Vietnam and, as I mentioned earlier, was also a graduate of the same college. 1LT Michael Cleary's legacy lives on with his family. His mother, Marianne, is a member of Gold Star Mothers where she works to support veterans, military families, and her community every day.

Jon Bellona, Michael's college roommate, is a director and founder of the 1LT Michael Joseph Cleary: Run for the Fallen, a run across America to raise awareness about the lives of those who fought to activate their memories and to keep their spirits alive. Run for the Fallen supports organizations that help wounded veterans, as well as the families of those killed, and helps aid the healing process for those Americans whose lives have been affected by war.

All Americans are grateful for the friends and family of fallen servicemembers who not only continue the legacy of service to the Nation, but who take their tragedy and turn it into a force for good.

1LT Michael Cleary is one of so many bright, talented, and dedicated young men and women who have died in service to our country. While I speak specifically of Michael today, his story is the story of thousands of men and women across our country, hundreds of them in Pennsylvania who have given their lives in Iraq and Afghanistan and

also have given their lives in service of American values, values like democracy and liberty and rule of law.

As we remember Michael Cleary, we should also remember the words of Abraham Lincoln. Abraham Lincoln reminded us that people like Michael Cleary gave, as Lincoln said, "The last full measure of devotion to our country." It is at times like this when we should remember not only those words, but also other words from the Gettysburg Address, where he said, "It is us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced."

So that was our charge from President Lincoln all those generations ago. We must strive every day, whether we are citizens or public officials, whatever our station in life, we must strive every day to complete that unfinished work that Lincoln talked about, so that, as we discuss major security issues like U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan or combating the resurgence of ISIS in the Middle East or exercising oversight over U.S. military engagements overseas and look increasingly to try to resolve complicated global crises, we must not forget that those who have given the ultimate sacrifice and service to our country, particularly in the most recent wars, are those we should remember.

Just consider these numbers of Americans who have lost their lives in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, with an additional seven killed in African Command operations since 2001. That number is 6,989 Americans just in those conflicts, just in that timeframe. These 6,989 Americans includes some 300 servicemembers from Pennsylvania, the fifth highest total of any State. No. 2, over 49,000 in that time period have been wounded, including more than roughly 2,000 from Pennsylvania. So 6,989 killed since 2001 nationwide and over 49,000 wounded in that time period.

Third, although the administration refuses to be transparent in its deployment tracking, press reports indicate that approximately 19,000 Americans are currently serving in Iraq and Afghanistan, with an additional 65,000 serving the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia.

This year, Pennsylvania lost MSG Benjamin Hines of York County, PA, assigned to the 25th Marine Regiment, 4th Marine Division, Marine Forces Reserve. He was killed by a roadside bomb on April 8 in Parwan Province, Afghanistan, along with two other marines: SSG Christopher Slutman and SGT Robert Hendricks. Staff Sergeant Slutman also had family ties to my home State of Pennsylvania.

While we are so grateful that Pennsylvania did not suffer more losses this year, any loss of life is not only devastating, but should also cause us to reconsider the nature of our military commitments overseas. These fighting men and women are born into families,

not into divisions and brigades. They are sons and daughters, husbands and wives, fathers and mothers. Their love for their families are matched only by their devotion to our country, but many more bear the scars of war.

Some families have a loved one who served in Iraq or Afghanistan and were returned home, but who were one of the more than 49,000 who were wounded. We must not overlook the unusually high percentage of Iraq and Afghanistan veterans who have died since returning home, whether from a drug overdose or suicide or the effects of combat. Thousands of American families continue to pay a terrible price for the courage and dedication of their family members who gave life and limb for this country.

We have much to think about, not only on this day, but, of course, in this season—this season of hope, this season of gratitude, this season of our time together with our families back home, but we should especially remember those families who have loved and lost, those who have lost someone in combat, those who have lost someone who served so nobly, served on behalf of the rest of us.

At this time, Mr. President, I know you have personal experience with this, having served yourself, and I know that you understand this. It is an important time to remember those who have given so much for our country, with the spirit of gratitude for their service, hope that we don't have more losses in the coming year, and with confidence that they have set a great example for us.

I yield the floor.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BRAUN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### RUSSIA INVESTIGATION

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, the chaos in Washington, DC, precipitated by impeachment mania or our inability to get what should be relatively straightforward work done, like the appropriations process and all the gymnastics over the USMCA, the U.S.-Mexico-Canada Trade Agreement—in fact, we are coming down to a deadline on Friday, the 20th of December, when the current continuing resolution runs out.

Because of everything that is going on, many people may not have been able to pay that much attention—and I think attention is deserved—to the testimony of Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, who testified in front of the Senate Judiciary Committee yesterday. I know there was some news coverage of it, but I

wanted to give some reflections on the testimony Mr. Horowitz gave.

First of all, the Office of Inspector General is a very important one. They are a watchdog to make sure the laws Congress passes and the rules of the various agencies—in this case, the Department of Justice—are complied with. It is really very, very important.

With everything else going on, it is important to have an impartial inspector general to conduct that kind of investigation and to hold people accountable—something that doesn't happen enough here in Washington, DC.

Inspector General Horowitz, along with his team, was widely praised for producing an outstanding report this time on the counterintelligence investigation of the Trump administration by the Obama-era Justice Department and the FBI.

This is a 480-page report. I have a copy of it right here. It is redacted for public release. If you look at it online—you can look at it through the Department of Justice website—you can see that some of it is redacted or black marks are drawn through parts of it to protect certain classified information.

But there is more than enough information contained in this report to know that the Crossfire Hurricane investigation into the Trump administration by the Obama Justice Department, including Comey and the FBI, was an unmitigated disaster.

Mr. Horowitz highlighted some of the truly disturbing and alarming facts about how this Russia investigation was conducted—how it was initiated and how it was conducted. There were mistakes made, including some intentional misconduct, which has now been referred to the Justice Department for potential investigation and even charging and prosecution. This was a troubling report, identifying at least 17 different areas of concern.

The report is full of legal jargon, government acronyms, and a long list of names most Americans probably don't recognize. The bottom line is, beneath all of this is a pattern of concerning behavior that ought to concern everyone who cares about civil liberties.

At the core of these issues is, under Director Comey, the FBI's abuse of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, or FISA. I know people have heard the reference to FISA, and that is short for Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. In other words, when our intelligence services, including the FBI, gather information, they can't do that on American citizens absent a showing of probable cause in front of a court. That is a protection of our civil liberties. When it comes to foreign intelligence, there is a different court—the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court—that has to assess and judge whether they have met the appropriate legal standards.

The inspector general found that the Comey FBI failed to file accurate applications to surveil an American citizen by the name of Carter Page.

There are very exacting requirements, very technical but very important requirements that the FBI has to put together, in consultation with the National Security Division at the Department of Justice, in order to go to court—the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court—and justify issuance of the authority to gather intelligence on an individual.

In this case, they claimed that Carter Page, who was for a time associated with the Trump campaign—they claim that they suspected him to be an agent of a foreign power—in other words, Russia.

The way these documents were prepared and the way in which this matter was pursued was hardly a stellar performance by the Comey FBI, and I will mention that here in a moment. Once that FISA warrant is issued, as it was on an American citizen—Carter Page—that individual's private communications then come into the hands of the FBI as part of their investigation of a potential agent of a foreign power.

As I said yesterday and reiterated to Inspector General Horowitz this morning—or yesterday morning—spying on an American citizen is not something to be taken lightly. None of us should view this as a trivial matter. That is why there are such strong protections in place to prevent an abuse of power.

One of those backstops is the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court—a specialized court appointed by Chief Justice Roberts, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, that sits in rotation for a time to look at the government's applications for these warrants under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. You can imagine that when that court makes important decisions involving the national security of the United States or the civil liberties of an American citizen, they need to have a full picture. They need to have the utmost candor exercised by the FBI of all the details and information surrounding the issue at hand. Again, this is no trivial matter. The court is determining whether the government has a compelling case to secretly spy on an American's communications.

Unfortunately, as we heard from Mr. Horowitz, the FBI, under Director Comey, fell dramatically short of that goal. The application for something as serious as a foreign intelligence surveillance warrant should be free from error, let alone intentional lies. Unfortunately, Inspector Horowitz found 17 different instances where the FBI agents involved in securing this FISA warrant failed that standard.

First of all, the inspector general identified 7 mistakes in the original application and an additional 10 in 3 renewals, for a total of 4 separate warrants under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. These applications weren't put together and examined by rank-and-file agents; these errors came from three handpicked teams that didn't raise any red flags for high-level