

police chief, who, in 1967 encouraged shooting Black people during riots. The President seems unable even to address the underlying issues that the protests are about. He is unwilling—unwilling—even to speak to the Nation about racial justice.

Unfortunately, none of this is remotely new with President Trump. A few years ago, President Trump told law enforcement officers not to worry about injuring suspects when arresting them. His administration stopped investigating State and local police departments for racial discrimination and repealed restrictions on police departments obtaining military-style weapons. The President's policies have worsened racial divisions in this country. His rhetoric has consistently inflamed them.

Either the President is too afraid to lead or is simply incapable, but all of us, right now, have to engage in the difficult work of pulling this country together and then forward. We are a nation exhausted and dispirited. In the midst of a once-in-a-generation challenge, we have been reminded of a generation's-long struggle for racial justice and equality. The only way—the only way—for us to move forward is to do it together.

It is time for the large majority of police officers who do a very difficult job the right way to be part of a reform effort, for our national leaders in the Senate and the House to take up thorny issues of prejudice and discrimination and begin changing the laws and institutions that perpetuate it, and, yes, for the President to finally start acting like the leader he is supposed to be and the Constitution calls for.

We are all engaged in this project to not only recover from a public health crisis and an economic disaster, but to build a society when none of our citizens fear the men and women who are supposed to protect them—a society where Americans of color can live and breathe and watch birds in a park and walk home with a bag of Skittles without fearing for their lives.

As millions of Americans take to the streets in peaceful and righteous protest, I hope that this moment—one of pain and sorrow and grief—can also be a watershed moment for action.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. ERNST). Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROTESTS

Mr. HAWLEY. Madam President, it was 1 week ago today that George Floyd died in the streets of Minneapolis at the hands of Minneapolis

police officers exercising and employing incredible, illegal, unconstitutional violence ending in the loss of Mr. Floyd's life.

This afternoon, we have a medical report from examiners hired by Mr. Floyd's family. The words are just shocking. The report concludes:

George Floyd was killed by asphyxia due to neck and back compression and died at the scene.

Sustained pressure on the right side of Mr. Floyd's artery impeded blood flow to the brain, and weight on his back impeded his ability to breathe.

Then the report concludes:

The independent examiners found that weight on the back, handcuffs and positioning were contributory factors because they impaired Mr. Floyd's diaphragm to function. From all the evidence, the doctors said it now appears Mr. Floyd died at the scene.

Words cannot begin to describe the injustice that this report puts into plain text: the violation of police procedures, the abuse of the law, the appalling, illegal, homicidal misuse of government authority. Words cannot begin to describe the injustice that this has done to Mr. Floyd, to his family, to his community, and to millions of Americans who feel caught up, who feel judged by, endangered by, imperiled by these actions and too many others like them over too many years for too long in this country.

I just want to say as the former attorney general of my State—a role in which I had the great privilege to work day in and day out with law enforcement across the State of Missouri, law enforcement who go to work every day to prevent this kind of illegal violence, to prevent this kind of illicit use of power—that the actions by the police officer and officers here in this case cast an incredible aspersion on those valiant and courageous and law-abiding police officers, Black and White and of every color across our country, who go to do their job every day to protect and uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States and to protect men and women like George Floyd. The actions of these officers in this case are an incredible betrayal of those standards of those officers and of justice itself.

I understand why so many Americans have assembled peacefully to witness to this abuse of power and to protest it and to demand that justice be done. They are right to do so, and they are right to demand that this pattern of violence exercised against African-Americans be acknowledged and it be confronted and it be stopped.

This is urgent work for us as a nation and for this Congress as we go forward.

I also believe that those who would turn this occasion into an opportunity for rioting and for looting and for more violence and for further attacks and for civil unrest do a great disservice to the memory of Mr. Floyd, to his family, and to this cause of justice that we Americans share together, for this is a cause that is ours together as a nation.

This is a cause given to us by our common Constitution. This is a cause that should link us together, American with American, and we must resist the efforts of those—all of those—who would set us against ourselves as we seek to pursue that more perfect union, as we seek to pursue justice in this case and in other cases and in the future to come.

So I add my voice to those who call for an end now to the rioting and to the looting, to those who would defame and dishonor and disfigure the memory of Mr. Floyd and his cause. I hope all lawful steps will be taken to protect innocent and law-abiding citizens in our cities and in our communities so that the peaceful assembly and its righteous cause can go forward.

I just want to say one more thing on this subject. We cannot ignore that these peaceful protests are taking place amid a backdrop of the 20-percent unemployment in this Nation—perhaps higher in the urban centers of our Nation. I think of a line by a former Senator, who once said that “to be unemployed is to have nothing to do, and that means having nothing to do with the rest of us.”

I hope that as we as a nation and we as a body in the U.S. Senate turn our attention to what we can do to seek that more perfect union, what we can do to better secure the promise of our Constitution, what we can better do to secure that dream we hold together as Americans, I hope one thing we will discuss is the vitality, the necessity of work—work that is meaningful and that is rewarding and that is available for all Americans, from our urban core to our small towns.

I hope we will have a discussion about the policies that for too long in this country, for too many decades, have sent too much work out of our country, away from our cities—away from our small towns, for that matter. I hope we can discuss what we will do to bring work back so that those who grow up in our cities—young men who grow up in our cities—will have a sense of a future, will have a sense of possibility, will think that “there is something for me here. I could build a family here. I could start something here. And yes, I could have a say and a share in our society here.” For that, they have to have work. They have to have meaningful work.

This is a task to which we must set ourselves. It is urgent now in this present pandemic crisis that has seen these unemployment numbers rocket to historic, unimaginable levels. It is vital we address the crisis of work, but it is also vital for our future. It is vital for our urban core. It is vital for the young men and women who struggle there. It is vital for our rural towns and our small areas like the one I am from. It is vital for every part of this country, for every member of this Nation, and it is work I hope we will take up urgently together to provide good-

paying, meaningful jobs that can support the social fabric that is the foundation of our democracy.

There is much to do in the months and the years ahead. I just hope that the loss of Mr. Floyd will serve as a fresh beginning, an opportunity for a new start, for Americans from every corner of this country, from every political background, from every race and ethnicity, to stand together and to say: We commit ourselves anew to this Constitution that we love, to this Nation that we call home, and we are determined now more than ever to seek and to build a more perfect union.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

REMEMBERING GEORGE FLOYD

Mr. CORNYN. Madam President, ours is a nation with a split screen of a battle on two fronts. One is the pandemic that we have been fighting now for many months, and the other is to continue the fight to defeat racial injustice that has sadly divided our Nation since its very inception.

One week ago today, George Floyd, a native Houstonian, tragically died in the custody of a law enforcement officer. As the gut-wrenching video of his death has spread, so has the passion and the anger among all of us who wonder, how can something like that happen?

Our Constitution guarantees every American the right to protest injustice, and I believe we all have a responsibility to stand up for what is right and condemn what is plainly wrong.

People of all colors, backgrounds, and ages are demanding that justice be served in the case of George Floyd. The first step in that process came on Friday when the officer who had him in custody was himself arrested and charged with third-degree murder.

Devastating events like the death of George Floyd remind us that we have a long way to go in the fight for equal justice under the law, but we cannot yield to the temptation to fill the void created by this tragedy with violence.

Too many protests across our country have turned into riots with looting and vandalism and destruction, hurting innocent people and tearing our cities apart. In response to these escalating protests last night, there were more curfews in place than at any other time since the assassination of Martin Luther King.

One man who experienced that period of American history firsthand is our colleague on the other side of the Capitol, Congressman JOHN LEWIS. He fought and marched alongside Dr. King, fighting for equal rights, and continues fighting today for equal justice.

Over the weekend, he denounced the rioting and looting that occurred and said:

"Be constructive, not destructive. History has proven time and time again that non-

violent, peaceful protest is the way to achieve the justice and equality that we all deserve."

I understand and share the passion and the anger that have spread across the country and support those who are peacefully protesting and demanding that justice be served. There should never be a time in which the color of someone's skin determines whether they live or die, and we have to do everything in our power to prevent these tragedies from occurring in the first place. But that change can't happen when businesses are being looted, when vehicles are being set on fire, or when innocent people are being harmed. It only can happen when we come together and learn to empathize with one another and understand the struggles our neighbors are facing.

I would note that there is good evidence that many of these acts of violence are being instigated not by victims of injustice but by outsiders determined to stoke the rage that many feel and thus incite them to that violence.

I was glad to hear the Attorney General of the United States say on Sunday that the Department of Justice will treat violence by individuals associated with Antifa and other groups as domestic terrorism and calling some of these protests following George Floyd's death to have been hijacked for another destructive, antisocial agenda.

Investigators are also tracking social media posts and looking into whether foreign agents are behind an active propaganda campaign using social media, trying to divide us further, to stoke the anger and rage that many of us feel. Officials have seen a huge surge in social media accounts with fewer than 200 followers created in the last month—a textbook sign of a disinformation campaign by a foreign power, much as we saw in 2016 during the Russian active measures campaign leading up to the election.

Righteous rage is one thing; being manipulated by instigators of violence and foreign powers is quite another.

PAYCHECK PROTECTION PROGRAM

Mr. CORNYN. Madam President, on to another matter, I was glad to be able to get back home to Texas this last week, where our communities are slowly coming out of a coronavirus shutdown. Churches have begun safely welcoming worshippers, restaurants are beginning to safely seat customers, albeit with the appropriate social distancing, and retailers are now beginning to safely reopen their doors. After weeks and in some cases months of hunkering down, it is a welcome sign of our progress in the fight against the coronavirus and the first step in our economic recovery.

When stay-at-home orders were first put in place, small business were worried—understandably so—about their ability to survive. Many said they couldn't survive more than a couple of weeks under those circumstances.

Back in March, Fort Worth chef Tim Love described the situation as "Armageddon." He said:

"It's worse than a tornado, it's worse than a hurricane, it's worse than a fire. This is going to destroy everything that I have built."

But the restaurants weren't alone; I heard similar concerns from countless other small business owners across nearly every sector of the economy—hospitality, tourism, retail, manufacturing, and the list goes on.

Keeping our small businesses open means much more than having another restaurant to eat in or a shop to buy from on Main Street; it is one of the most effective ways to support our economy, by protecting those jobs. Across the country, small businesses have employed nearly half of all U.S. workers. They are the lifeblood of our local economies and provide critical services to each of our communities.

Without customers coming through the front doors each day, it is hard to cover your business expenses and keep employees on the payroll. In fact, it is not just hard, it is impossible.

Whether you are a new business just starting out or a decades-old community staple, the financial squeeze caused by this virus and the mitigation efforts that ensued are unavoidable.

As we worked on coronavirus response legislation here in March, we knew that small businesses needed our support. That is why we established the Paycheck Protection Program and initially funded it with \$350 billion. This funded loans that were available for these businesses to keep their employees on their payrolls and cover other necessary expenses, and if they did so, that loan would turn into a grant.

It was so popular—and it's not hard to see why—and the need was so great that that initial funding ran out in about 2 weeks, so we wisely, in my opinion, decided to replenish it with another \$320 billion.

An IT and document management company in Sugar Land, TX, called Function 4 was one of the recipients of one of those PPP loans. One of the partners, Bill Patsouras, said that if it wasn't for the PPP, they would "absolutely have to start letting people go." But instead of layoffs, all 89 employees of Function 4 are still employed and still working.

This is a familiar story, I am sure, not just in Texas but elsewhere. As of May 23, small businesses in Texas have received more than 350,000 PPP loans totaling more than \$40 billion. That is an average loan size of less than \$115,000. These are for small and medium-size businesses.

In speaking to my community bankers last week, I learned that one bank had approved a loan request for as little as \$300. So while the average loan was \$115,000, some businesses needed far less than that, including this one loan for \$300.

No matter how large or small, these loans have allowed businesses, churches, nonprofits, and some of our most