The memory of our colleague brings to mind Dr. King's own words. He famously said: ''The arc of the moral universe is long, and it bends toward justice.''

It would be a mistake to read those words and assume that he meant this bending is inevitable. Our society has only marched toward justice because great figures like Congressman JOHN LEWIS took it upon themselves to lead the way. The Nation mourns his passing, and we celebrate the life of this American hero.

CORONAVIRUS

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, on an entirely different matter, it has been half a year since the deadly coronavirus began to spread from China throughout the world. Now, 3.7 million cases have been recorded on American soil. More than 140,000 lives have been lost.

Today, our Nation stands at a challenging crossroads. States and localities are trying to balance the need to reopen and foster economic recovery with the need to stay on offense against the virus.

Back in March, the American people began a period of historic disruption and heroic sacrifice in order to stunt the spread of the virus. Life as we have known it was simply put on ice. Daily routines were reinvented, not as a permanent solution but as a short-term emergency measure to save our healthcare system.

The American people stepped up. The sacrifices saved lives. Nowhere in the United States did hospitals suffer the fate of the medical system in places like Italy.

Our Nation met new kinds of American heroes: doctors and nurses, who worked double shifts, washed their hands raw, and endured physical separation from their loved ones so they could continue to treat ours; essential maintenance, delivery, and grocery store workers, who kept clocking in to keep families, communities, and entire industries supplied and functioning; teachers and parents, who tried their best to keep school in session for our Nation's children, from virtual classrooms and kitchen tables all across our country.

No generation before us had ever had to pull the emergency brake on national life in quite this way. This historic challenge required historic support so the Senate wrote and passed the largest rescue package in history.

The CARES Act puts financial assistance in the pockets of American families. It sent hundreds of billions of dollars so that employers could keep paying workers. It mobilized unprecedented resources for the medical response. Economists and experts across the spectrum agreed that the Senate's bold, bipartisan policies have made a tremendous difference these past months.

The question before the Senate this week is, Where are we now? Where are we now? On the one hand, our healthcare fight against the virus itself is very obviously unfinished. New spikes in large and economically central States show that we are nowhere near out of the woods. At the same time, neither economics nor our Nation's sanity would sustain an indefinite total lockdown until there is a vaccine. So even as we continue to fight the healthcare battle, cautious reopenings will need to proceed in ways that are as smart, safe, and data-driven as possible.

This is the situation facing the Senate as we discuss and consider the possibility of another recovery package. It would neither be another multitrillion-dollar bridge loan to make up for a totally shutdown economy, nor an ordinary stimulus for a nation ready to get back to normal. The need now lies somewhere in between.

We need to continue supporting our healthcare system and harbor no delusion that this virus is behind us because it isn't, while also taking strategic steps to help laid-off American workers get rehired and American families get their kids back to school this fall.

That is why Senate Republicans will be putting forward a strong starting point for additional recovery legislation, hopefully, as soon as this week. It will take good-faith, bipartisan cooperation from our Democratic colleagues to actually make a law. That productive spirit is what got the CARES Act across the finish line unanimously, but last month, that spirit was absent. A political determination from our Democratic colleagues led them to block the JUSTICE Act and block the Senate from even turning to the subject of police reform, even as millions had taken to the streets demanding change.

So, for the sake of our Nation, if we want to continue helping the American people, the next several weeks will need to look a lot more like March and a lot less like June. Senate Republicans will put forward our proposal soon. I hope our Democratic colleagues will be ready to work together to get an outcome.

First, this week, the Senate will complete two other important pieces of the people's business. First, we will confirm the President's choice to head the Office of Management and Budget. Then we will finish and pass the National Defense Authorization Act for the 60th consecutive time.

As COVID–19 captured our Nation's attention, we knew our adversaries around the world would not ease up. We knew that those who seek to harm America, our interests, and our allies would use the commotion to show even more of their true colors, and, sure enough, the Russian military has flirted even closer to the boundaries of U.S. airspace. Iran has stepped up its meddling in regional conflicts. China has escalated both its international bullying and its domestic repression, such as in Hong Kong.

So I am particularly encouraged that Chairman INHOFE, Ranking Member REED, and our committee colleagues put forward a robust, bipartisan bill. It will invest in the training and technology that will keep our fighting forces on the cutting edge. It will strengthen our alliances and partnerships with shared systems for containing threats. It will honor our servicemembers and their families with pay raises and top-notch services they deserve here at home. That means new investments in 5G systems and hypersonic weapons, the establishment of European and Pacific defense initiatives for greater cooperation to check Russia and China, and improving military family housing, education, and healthcare.

This NDAA will build on the success of the last 3 years in rebuilding and modernizing the world's greatest fighting forces. It will continue to advance our new national defense strategy, putting aside the naive resets of the past administration and continuing to invest in strength instead.

I will be proud to vote to advance and pass the NDAA, and I hope all of our colleagues will join me.

MEASURE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR—H.R. 7120

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I understand there is a bill at the desk due for a second reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The leader is correct.

The clerk will read the bill by title for the second time.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 7120) to hold law enforcement accountable for misconduct in court, improve transparency through data collection, and reform police training and policies.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, in order to place the bill on the calendar under provision of rule XIV, I object to further proceedings.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection having been heard, the bill will be placed on the calendar.

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 legislative clerk read the nomination of Russell Vought, of Virginia, to be Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, 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. 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.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The Democratic leader is recognized.

REMEMBERING JOHN LEWIS

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, on Friday, July 17, after six decades as one of our Nation's most preeminent civil rights leaders, Congressman JOHN LEWIS—the conscience of the Congress—passed away at the age of 80. His trials and tribulations and, ultimately, his triumphs are well known to all of us.

At the ripe old age of 25, he led thousands of marchers across a bridge in Alabama. They risked their lives for their constitutionally guaranteed right to vote and, in doing so, shook the conscience of a nation and hastened the demise of Jim Crow. On that fateful Sunday, battered and bruised, his head dizzy and bleeding from the policeman's rod, JOHN LEWIS found the courage and the strength to reach the other side of that bridge, and he never stopped marching.

From the Freedom Rides to Selma, from his leadership of the SNCC, to his four decades in Congress, JOHN LEWIS never stopped marching. His actions as a young man helped change the trajectory of a nation and brought about the Voting Rights Act, and then JOHN LEWIS went to Congress and renewed that law again and again. He sat in against segregation at lunch counters in the Jim Crow South and, over 40 years later, led another sit-in on the House floor against gun violence. He spoke out for marriage equality long before it was popular. He challenged those who walked the corridors of power and then trod those corridors himself to bring quality healthcare, fair wages, and social justice to Georgians and Americans everywhere.

It is one thing, inflamed with the passion of youth, to join in brave endeavors and challenge the status quo. It is a good thing. Yet it is even beyond that to sustain that activism and vision and efforts and, yes, that ''good trouble'' he talked about getting into over the steady and persistent dedication of a lifetime. That is who JOHN LEWIS was deep in his soul—a man on a mission, who forcefully but gently led us all to do more and to do better, who loved his country so much that he risked his life and then spent his life trying to change it.

We are an imperfect nation, for sure, but we have a tremendous ability to reinvent ourselves. The story of America is one of constant renewal, but that renewal has never been preordained. It is because Americans have pushed and prodded, used their voices and their votes to force our country to change over time to move ever closer to our highest ideals.

In the story of America, there are certain heroes whose moral clarity has shone out like a beacon for others to follow—North Stars who have inspired their fellow Americans to join them in the glorious work of bending the moral arc of the universe toward justice. JOHN LEWIS was one of those special heroes. He paved the road, lit the path, and pointed the way toward other bridges for us to cross. It was not by always being the loudest voice or the most intemperate; he led by the moral force of his example. Whether he would admit it or not, he inspired millions.

At President Obama's inauguration, JOHN asked the new President to sign a commemorative photo of the event. President Obama simply wrote: ''Because of you, JOHN.''

I don't know how many people must have said that over the years—''because of you, JOHN''—and I could never guess at the number who didn't even know to say it but whose lives were forever altered, whose dignity and freedom was made whole because of you, JOHN.

As a new generation of young people lift up their voices to proclaim ''Black lives matter'' and to fight for the Justice in Policing Act, the memory and legacy of JOHN LEWIS lives on in each and every one of them.

There are very few people who have changed the world for the better. JOHN LEWIS is one of them. His life is a reminder of all that is the best in us and that we are all capable of doing that best.

As we mourn his loss, I would ask my fellow Americans, including my colleagues in this body, to take up his mission. Many of the old enemies JOHN faced down have not been vanquished. Racial disparities persist and gnaw at the fabric of our society, and so does the police violence that met a young JOHN LEWIS and thousands of law-abiding Americans on that bridge over 50 years ago. The bridge he crossed is still named for the Confederate officer, not for the man who led a righteous movement for equality. The law he nearly died for has been gutted by the Supreme Court. Congress has the power to restore it, but only one political party seems interested in doing so.

At the 50th anniversary of the march on Selma, Congressman LEWIS acknowledged that his mission was not yet complete. ''There is still work left to be done,'' he said. ''We must use this moment to recommit ourselves to finish the work.'' He told us to ''get out there and push and pull until we redeem the soul of America.''

As we confront our turbulent present—a pernicious disease, vast economic hardship and inequality, the ancient evil of racial injustice—the loss of JOHN LEWIS feels even more devastating and leaves many searching for answers. But JOHN LEWIS has already pointed the way. ''There is still work left to be done,'' he said. ''Finish the work. Get out there and push and pull until we redeem the soul of America.''

May he forever rest in peace.

CORONAVIRUS

On another matter, it is rare we gather at the start of a work session with so much to do in so little time. As we speak, our country faces the greatest public health crisis since 1918 and the greatest economic challenge since the Great Depression.

Earlier this year, COVID exploded through the Northeast and the Pacific Northwest before finally subsiding. The economic pain of those first few months—over 40 million newly unemployed—was incomprehensible. Now, States throughout the South and West are experiencing a similar surge in cases, hospitalizations, and, sadly, deaths, as the economic pain deepens.

While all of us have watched in horror as this crisis unfolds, Senate Democrats have repeatedly called for action on crucial issues like aid for State and local and Tribal governments, hazard pay for essential workers, funding for coronavirus testing and tracing, rental assistance, and support for our Nation's childcare and education systems.

Each time we sought to pass legislation on these issues, Senate Republicans blocked our attempts. Senate Republicans said that we should, in the words of Leader MCCONNELL, ''hit the pause button.'' Our Republican friends said they wanted to ''assess the conditions in the country'' before providing any more relief.

Our House colleagues passed the Heroes Act over 60 days ago. It has been well over 3 months—3 long months—since we passed the CARES Act. And what has happened in those 3 months?

Three months ago, on April 20, the United States reported 775,000 total cases of COVID–19, with 42,000 deaths. Today, we have nearly 3.8 million confirmed cases and 140,000 deaths.

Just over 3 months ago, 30 million Americans had filed for unemployment claims. Today, that figure is nearly 50 million. More unemployment claims were filed in the last 17 weeks than in the entire 18-month stretch of the great recession.

Today, the State of Florida has more infections per week than China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Australia, and the European Union combined.

That is what has happened while Senate Republicans have been ''assessing the conditions in the country.'' That is what has been happening while Senate Republicans have hit the ''pause'' button. And now we know the real reason for Republican inaction, why they have hit the ''pause'' button: They can't come to agreement among themselves. The Nation is raging in crisis, and the Republican Party has been paralyzed—stopping and blocking action that

Democrats have sought to deal with the problem.

We may never know the true cost of Republican inaction over these past 3 months, but we know the time for waiting is over. We must consider another major COVID relief package this work period. Enhanced unemployment benefits expire at the end of the month, protections against evictions expire this week, and schools are preparing for the fall without the necessary guidance and resources to open safely. The country is crying out for relief. The needless delays, the partisan politics, and the infighting between the President and Senate and House Republicans have to stop.

But it seems that Leader MCCONNELL has still not received that message. The Republican leader has said he is writing the next bill behind the closed doors of his office and he will present it to his party first before dropping it on the Senate's lap.

This one-party approach is the same approach that delayed the passage of the CARES Act, delayed the passage of subsequent emergency relief legislation, and utterly failed on policing reform, where the Republican bill was opposed by 136 civil rights organizations. For Leader MCCONNELL to then get up and talk about that bill, when the people were marching for a much stronger bill—the Justice in Policing Act—when civil rights organizations were urging that we not move forward on that bill, is twisting history in a way that no one is going to believe and history will never accept.

Each time Congress passed COVID relief—all four times—we did it by coming together in a bipartisan fashion between our two parties, between our two Chambers. Leader MCCONNELL three times tried to force a partisan bill down the Senate's throat, and it backfired every time.

Leader MCCONNELL, it won't work this time either.

Leader MCCONNELL called for bipartisanship this morning. That is great.

But, Leader MCCONNELL, sitting in your own office, writing a bill, and demanding the other side support it, is not anyone's idea of bipartisanship.

Even worse, it appears that the Republican proposal is unlikely to meet the moment. From what we understand from press reports, McConnell's bill will prioritize corporate special interests over workers and Main Street businesses. It will fail to adequately address the worsening spread of the virus.

There are currently between 20 and 30 million unemployed Americans, and from all accounts, the Republican bill will not do nearly enough for them.

As Americans struggle to keep up with the rent, we are facing an avalanche of evictions. From all accounts, the Republican bill will not address that.

According to reports, the Republican bill will come up short on hazard pay for essential workers, aid to State and local and Tribal governments, and investments in communities of color ravaged by the virus.

If the reports are accurate, the Republican bill will not come close—not even come close—to meeting the moment of this great crisis.

The truth is, we have a good product to start with—the Heroes Act. It has already passed the House.

By the way, Leader MCCONNELL, we need the House to make a law.

Unlike the bill Leader MCCONNELL is preparing, it actually matches the scale of the crisis and will put workers and small businesses and our health needs before special interests.

Just to give an example of where Republican priorities are right now, late last week, it was reported that the Trump administration wants to block tens of billions of dollars in the next COVID bill for States to conduct testing and contact tracing. Let me repeat that. When every expert says our lack of testing and contact tracing has led to the crisis being much greater in the United States than in most other countries, Trump wants to block that money for testing, for contact tracing. If past is prologue, our Republican colleagues—so afraid of offending Donald Trump even when they know he is wrong—will let him win the day or at least greatly whittle down the needs we have on tracing and testing.

This report came days after we heard that the administration ordered hospitals to stop reporting COVID data to the CDC and instead report them to State health departments or other portals more easily controlled by the White House. If there was ever positive proof that the President is more worried about his image and political interests than the health and safety of the American people, this is it—hiding data from the Centers for Disease Control. It is hard to believe.

This man is not a leader. You can't hide from the truth. The coronavirus will continue to ravage us whether or not the reports are public. But if the reports are public, we will all know more what to do.

Has not President Trump learned? Have not the Republican Senators learned that hiding from the truth just makes things worse? That is why so much of the blame, according to the American people, for what has happened falls on the shoulders of the President and the Republican Senators who follow him blindly and obeisantly.

This, unfortunately, is hardly the only example of the President's abject failure to lead our Nation through this awful crisis.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. ERNST). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. CORNYN. Madam President, during these last couple of weeks, like the rest of my colleagues, I was glad to get back home and spend some time talking to the men and women who are continuing to deal with the hurdles brought on by this pandemic.

As our battle against COVID–19 has waged on, I have looked to folks across different industries in Texas to provide us an honest readout about the challenges they are facing and whether what we have done for them is working. Over these last 3 months, again, like all of us, I have heard from medical professionals on the frontlines of this fight, researchers and scientists who are racing to find treatments and vaccines, small business owners just hanging on by the skin of their teeth trying to keep their businesses afloat and their employees' jobs intact, as well as countless other men and women who are doing everything in their power to support their neighbors and to protect their communities. Their feedback has been invaluable, as always, to the work of the Senate as we have worked to pass four coronavirus bills to support them during this challenging period.

As we prepare to work on the next response package, I was glad to hear from them about what they would like us to include in that. I have spoken with faculty and staff from community colleges across the State who are working to keep their students healthy while continuing to provide them with quality education. Like school leaders at all levels—from K–12 to other colleges and universities—they are constantly reevaluating the situation and preparing to make decisions about returning to onsite working and learning. I know these are difficult conversations that are happening across the country, and I am grateful for the hard work and dedication of incredible educators who are figuring out how to keep our children safe while continuing to give them the education they deserve and they need.

Last week, I spent some time hearing from mental health advocates who are fighting to ensure that Texans have the support and resources they need amid so much stress and uncertainty. Over the last several months, everyone in our country has experienced some substantial shift in their daily routine. No matter how major or minor these changes, combined with the stress that comes from living through a pandemic, this is all taking a toll on America's mental health.

I was glad to hear from more leaders with the Meadows Mental Health Policy Institute about how funding from the CARES Act has strengthened access to mental healthcare and how we can continue to support mental health services in Texas and across the country.

I also valued my time with Texas veterans and talked to them about how the CARES Act can help them and their families and their businesses. We

discussed the VA-specific funding that is strengthening access to healthcare for many veterans, and I appreciated the opportunity to hear more about some of the challenges they are facing and how we can do more in the Senate to support them.

Over the last few weeks, I have enjoyed connecting with these Texans virtually, but I was also glad to join Agriculture Secretary Sonny Perdue for in-person visits with some of the men and women keeping America fed and clothed during this time of increased need. This pandemic has dealt a serious blow to Texas agriculture, and I would dare say to the Presiding Officer; I am sure it is true in her State as well. From livestock to row crops, to dairy, producers have seen their markets shrink and nearly disappear.

Last Thursday, Secretary Perdue, Congressman JOHN CARTER, and I participated in a roundtable in Coupland, TX, to discuss the impact of the pandemic on Texas agriculture. The CARES Act provided $16 billion in agricultural assistance, and so far Texans have received more than $300 million to support our producers. I was glad to learn more about how this funding is helping them through these difficult times and learning more about what should be included in the next bill.

Secretary Perdue and I also had the chance to see how two incredible organizations in Texas are keeping families fed. First, we visited the Houston Food Bank, which is the largest food bank in the Nation. Under normal circumstances, the Houston Food Bank and its volunteers provide food to families across 18 counties in Southeast Texas. As the impact of COVID–19 has grown, so has the need for assistance, so much so that our National Guard troops have been lending a hand for months, but this week that will come to an end.

Compared to the same time last year, the Houston Food Bank has seen up to a 171-percent increase in the need for food assistance. In June alone, the Houston Food Bank delivered more than 27 million pounds of food. It was a pleasure to join Secretary Perdue in volunteering for this incredible organization and being able to thank the men and women who are keeping our families fed in person. We were also able to visit one of the homes of the USDA Meals-to-You Program, which provides nutritious meals for low-income students in rural areas across the Nation.

These are two incredible examples of how organizations throughout the State are supporting those who have been hardest hit by the pandemic. Support for our farmers, our ranchers, producers, food banks, and other organizations keeping Texas fed was a big part of the CARES Act, and I hope we will continue to strengthen that support with the next coronavirus response package.

Senator MURPHY and I introduced the SERVE and CARRY Act, which will provide additional opportunities to help low-income and unemployed Texans access food during the pandemic. It would establish three new programs to not only help put food on the table of Texans in need but also support the farmers, restaurants, and their workers who are suffering as a result of the economic impact of this pandemic.

This legislation has been endorsed by the National and Texas Restaurant Associations, the California and Texas Food Banks, and a number of other anti-hunger organizations. It is time we put our restaurants and their employees back to work in feeding people, and let our men and women in uniform volunteering at the food banks go home to be with their families. The SERVE and CARRY Act will do just that, and I urge my colleagues to look at it and hopefully support it.

As we dive into discussions on the next coronavirus response package, the feedback and ideas provided by these Texans during this last 2 weeks could not have been more timely. I want to thank each of them for taking the time to share their ideas and feedback with me. I come back to Washington with fresh ideas, and I am eager to get to work so we can provide additional support for the Texans who have been impacted so dramatically by this virus.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT

Madam President, on another matter, before the Senate begins consideration of the next coronavirus response package, we will finish our work on the National Defense Authorization Act. If we are able to get this bill to the President's desk, which I hope we will, it will mark the 60th consecutive year in which Congress has passed bipartisan legislation to fund and support our Nation's military.

Each year, this is how we maintain our military bases, modernize our equipment, and invest in the next generation of weaponry. It is how we strengthen our relationships with old allies and forge new partnerships with new ones. It is how we take stock of the global threat landscape and ensure our troops have the training, equipment, and resources to counter even our most aggressive adversaries.

In recent years, China and Russia have emerged as two of the greatest threats to the world order. China, in particular, has been increasingly belligerent and well resourced and continues to demonstrate a lack of respect not only for the United States and our closest allies but for basic human rights.

A few weeks ago, China moved quickly and under a veil of secrecy to pass a law taking aim at the freedoms and autonomy of Hong Kong. What they are calling a national security law is nothing more than an effort to extinguish opposition to the Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong. They are using this law to silence protesters and prescribe harsh penalties for those who have the temerity to speak out against the Communist Party. While devastating, this is certainly not surprising, given China's repeated human rights violations.

The Chinese Communist Party continues its disturbing ethnic cleansing campaign against the Uighur people. The so-called political reeducation camps are nothing more than detention camps where the Uighurs are tortured. Recent reporting found that the treatment in these camps often includes forced abortions, birth control, and sterilizations. I have spoken and will continue to speak out against the methods and motivations of the Chinese Government, operating through the Communist Party, to disrupt the world order.

China does not stand alone as one of the great threats facing our country today. Russia has become increasingly aggressive with its efforts to wreak chaos and sow discord. Since their attempts to interfere with the 2016 election, we have witnessed aggression after aggression by Russia. From Russia-backed mercenaries fighting in the Middle East to state-launched cyber attacks targeting banks and energy firms, to its hybrid warfare and assassination campaigns in Europe, Russia continues to undermine the United States and our allies.

Just last week, we learned that Russian hackers have attempted to steal coronavirus vaccine research. It is becoming increasingly clear that China and Russia adhere to no rules and no principles but their own. As the national defense strategy outlined, the threats posed by China and Russia are only growing more important by the day, and countering these threats requires a clear and concerted effort from Congress and the U.S. Government.

That is precisely why passing a strong Defense authorization bill is so important. This legislation prioritizes strategic competition with China and Russia and takes a strong approach to counter the threats posed by adversaries around the world. It will build on the progress we have made in recent years to strengthen our military and achieve peace through strength.

As we work to counter increasingly sophisticated adversaries around the world, I am glad Congress has taken the opportunity to deliver on one of our most critical responsibilities and pass the NDAA, which we will this week.

I thank Chairman INHOFE and Ranking Member REED for working to get this bill passed with broad bipartisan support, and the provisions will prepare our military for the threats both of today and of tomorrow.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

INTERNET VIRUS

Mrs. BLACKBURN. Madam President, it has been so wonderful to be in Tennessee over the past couple of weeks and to have the opportunity to listen to Tennesseans. We have listened and talked to local elected officials and teachers and parents from one corner of the State to another. They are very aware and are truly focused on the challenges we are going to be facing this fall in just a few weeks.

Some of our school systems in Tennessee are going to be going back to school the first week of August. They have a lot of questions as to whether they are going to end up with classes meeting in person or online.

Up until now, students have relied on virtual schooling platforms to stay connected to their teachers, and it is likely that in many communities, this system will continue at least through the fall semester.

Relying on Google and other educational software providers keeps teachers and families safe from COVID–19, but these programs come with their own brand of hazards. Our increased reliance on Big Tech has highlighted just how vulnerable we are when things go awry. Even the platforms that have become commonplace over the years pose risks and not only just risks to children. You need look no further than last week's Twitter meltdown for evidence of how quickly a hacker or even an insider can turn a few tweets into a threat.

I will tell you this: In Tennessee, we have a lot of security moms. Those security moms you hear so much about are really back in full force. They are concerned. They are paying close attention, and they are not going to back off of the Googles and the Facebooks and the Instagrams. They want to see these companies held accountable and transparent about how they follow and use data because when they see their children spending hours staring at TikTok or YouTube, they are beginning to see and fear a vulnerability. When they see their children using their classroom software, they begin to see and fear a vulnerability.

They haven't forgotten that back in 2015, the Electronic Frontier Foundation filed a complaint with the FTC against Google alleging that their Google for Education platform was exploiting students' personal information and potentially exposing it to third parties. A 2017 report confirmed and expanded on these concerns.

These programs have continued, but Big Tech has left parents with more questions than answers about what is happening with their children's data. How are they pulling in this information? How are they tracking these children? What are they doing with the Chromebook in schools program? Who has this information on their children, and what are they doing with it? What kinds of files are they building about our children?

You know, I have said that one of the questions we should ask and work until we can find an answer is, Who owns the virtual you? Who owns it? Because the virtual you is you and your information online. It is you and your presence online. This is what parents fear.

I will tell you, that fear is complicated because of the rise in mandatory use of technology by students. It has prompted me, along with several of our colleagues here, to ask the FTC to launch a major investigation into how these platforms protect student privacy. That is the question they have to answer. Are you protecting it? If not, why not? If not, are you selling it to the highest bidder? Are you profiting from this educational information?

These security moms know it is not just their kids' safety and privacy at risk. They do their banking online, their shopping online, and they have had to deal with the nightmare of having their identity stolen during one of the many infamous retail hacks.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT

Madam President, they also know that these risks aren't just a domestic problem. They have seen bombshell reports about consumer data flowing freely between popular apps and servers in China—of course, China. They have heard about how Chinese companies, all beholden to the Chinese Communist Party—again, as I say so often to American businesses, if you are in business with a company in China, you are in business with the Chinese Communist Party. They know that these companies—all beholden to the Chinese Communist Party—steal intellectual property, build vulnerabilities into their hardware, and tempt tech junkies with flashy mobile apps.

The entanglement doesn't end there. I have spoken on multiple occasions about the clear danger posed by our stifling and overly permissive relationship with China.

We have a duty to address the threats we have uncovered so far and anticipate future problems before they reach our shores. This year's national defense authorization legislation does this by targeting problems in both the public and private sectors.

We know and have known for some time that the agenda of the Chinese Communist Party poses an existential threat to the West. This year's NDAA includes funding and other resources for the Pacific Deterrence Initiative, which is a comprehensive strategy focused on confronting Beijing's influence on other countries and maintaining a U.S. and allied presence in the region. We also authorized a pilot program that will allow cyber specialists from the National Guard to participate in information sharing and analysis between Federal, State, and local officials.

We can use our military and our allies to control a threat that lives half a world away, but how do we stop that threat from reaching our shores?

Back in March, I worked with Senator MENENDEZ to introduce the bipartisan SAM–C Act to secure our pharmaceutical supply chain and protect American consumers from shady Chinese manufacturers. In this year's NDAA, I expanded on that idea and fought for language that will require a percentage of what we call critical technologies to be assembled in the United States or by a close ally.

We are also going to invest even more in machine and advanced manufacturing research at Oak Ridge National Laboratory. Scientists at Oak Ridge will work directly with researchers at the University of Tennessee to develop new technology that will make American companies more competitive.

I will tell you that the University of Tennessee and Oak Ridge Institute are a wonderful partnership. As we work toward 21st-century capabilities for warfare, this is exactly the type of partnership we need to see more of.

Being from Tennessee, which is home to multiple military installations, I know that national defense starts and ends at home, so I secured increased funding that is desperately needed to repair and update Army deployment infrastructure. I know that my friends at Fort Campbell will be able to put that to good use on their runway ramps.

The Defense bill will also fully fund new mission-essential aircraft, including 47 Chinook helicopters for our posts in Tennessee and technologies that will allow those famous Reapers to one day be stationed in the Volunteer State.

We are also finally going to secure some properly fitting body armor for servicewomen, which unbelievably is still unheard of in 2020.

We will likely spend the rest of this week hashing out the finer details of the NDAA before we bring up the final bill for a vote. I encourage my colleagues to consider just how interconnected we are with both our allies and our adversaries. I want them to think about the great power competition and the threats that exist from China, Russia, North Korea, and Iran—I call those four the new axis of evil. I would encourage them to remember that the threats we face require action at every single level, whether they surface at home or half a world away.

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. BOOZMAN. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. BOOZMAN. Madam President, I rise today in support of the fiscal year 2021 National Defense Authorization Act.

Congress has a constitutional duty under article I, section 8, to provide for the common defense, and the NDAA is one of the key tools that we have to ensure that the United States is capable of defending ourselves and our interests.

This is, hopefully, the 60th consecutive year that Congress will pass the NDAA. In a time of intense partisanship and national division, it is a true testament to the significance of this responsibility and the fact that we have been able to come together in support of the U.S. military for decades, even when the spirit of bipartisanship and compromise is elusive in many other areas.

We all want to ensure that America's servicemembers have the tools and resources they need to perform their duty and to protect our Nation. As we are all aware, threats against the United States, our allies, and interests persist. At a time of increasing risk and dangerous challenges to global security, the United States must lead in creating stability through a strong and modernized military.

Peace through strength is a proven concept that reinforces American deterrence and produces greater global security. That is why it is so important to, yet again, come together and advance this important bill, the NDAA.

We need to strengthen our military posture, enact policies that encourage deterrence, project leadership, and deploy innovative strategies to maximize advantages that serve our national security, reassure our allies, and help defend our freedoms and ideals at home and abroad.

The fiscal year 2021 NDAA does this by strengthening American deterrence through investing in greater capabilities in support of priorities listed in the national defense strategy and ensuring America's servicemembers are ready so, when challenged, they will prevail in any conflict.

This NDAA maintains readiness gains made over the previous years, while making significant investments in modernization and enhancing resources to better support and care for servicemembers and their families. It provides a 3-percent pay raise for our troops and reemphasizes a focus on training to ensure that our servicemembers can conduct missions safely.

It also serves the interests of our military at a time when they need vital support and assistance. I am especially pleased that the legislation continues a push I have made related to military spousal employment and also provides another step in the right direction to ensure servicemembers' families have options for high-quality and accessible childcare.

The continued commitment to reforms in the military's privatized housing and health systems reflected in this legislation are also wins for our servicemembers and their loved ones.

Additionally, this year's NDAA goes further to increase manning levels in order to better support the demand for our forces around the world.

I am pleased this bill includes a few of my priorities aimed at supporting our deployed servicemembers in the State of Arkansas.

After my recent oversight visit to Iraq, I worked to ensure that the Army has a plan to evaluate and deploy all resources to protect our servicemembers in the theater from any kind of attack. Some of this capability is also built in my home State. I thank my colleagues for including my measure, which I believe will bring many benefits to our warfighters in the defense industry in Arkansas.

Additionally, after meeting with leaders from the 188th Air Wing at Fort Smith, it was clear to me that our servicemembers need more support when it comes to options for childcare and assistance. That is why I have worked on a provision to direct the Department of Defense to research, report, and provide recommendations to Congress on how to provide 24-hour childcare to military families who are assigned to around-the-clock rotational units at home.

I welcome the inclusion of this initiative in this year's NDAA and am grateful to the Armed Services Committee, which also recognizes its real and urgent need for our military families.

I have also filed an amendment to this year's NDAA focused on meeting the needs of our servicemembers who are undergoing routine quarantines due to the COVID–19 pandemic. Many of our servicemembers are required to quarantine when they are relocated to another military installation, leaving them with days to weeks of inactivity and isolation.

My amendment requires the Department of Defense to develop measures to ensure personal and professional development of our servicemembers while in quarantine, including physical activity and educational resources.

Defending our Nation, allies, and interests means providing the Department of Defense with the tools and authorities it needs to carry out that mission. This is the Federal Government's most basic function and responsibility.

It is important to get this work done in a bipartisan way and with broad agreement. My colleagues on the Armed Services Committee, under the leadership of Chairman INHOFE and Ranking Member REED, have provided a great example in sending this bill out of committee with an overwhelming vote of support. Their work has helped to ensure that the fiscal year 2021 NDAA establishes and builds on policies that strengthen the ability of the United States to safeguard the Nation and provide the support and assistance that our allies have come to depend on. Doing so helps make us and the rest of the world safer.

The fiscal year 2021 NDAA supports the national defense strategy, our servicemembers, and the broader military community. It deserves wide support in this body, and I encourage my colleagues to join me in approving the NDAA and building on the U.S. legacy of unmatched military leadership, capability, and superiority.

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. INHOFE. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

REMEMBERING JOHN LEWIS

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I want to make a couple of comments. It is going to be a very significant week. We know pretty much what we are going to be doing with the defense authorization bill, which I believe, and most people believe, is the most significant bill each year. We have things that need to be done. We came to a great agreement prior to the Fourth of July in terms of the numbers of amendments and the things we had to get accomplished, and I think there is total agreement with that.

We had a tragedy that took place during the last 2 weeks while we were in recess. One affected a friend of mine, JOHN LEWIS. We had a real interesting—the 100th Congress, we went in, I think, in 1987, and the 100th Congress had a lot of really great people.

JOHN LEWIS is one of them.

JOHN LEWIS and I became friends. You couldn't get two guys further apart philosophically than JOHN LEWIS and me. Yet we were always close. I watched how peacefully he could get things done. He is someone I got to know quite well.

We had a lot of others in that class. Jon Kyl has been very active in recent years. He came back from retirement temporarily. He was in that class. We had BEN CARDIN. He and I became close friends. I think he was in the State legislature first. Lamar Smith was one who was very, very helpful to me all those years. Lamar Smith is from South Texas. Freddie Upton—we referred to him as ''Little Freddie Upton''—is probably the most recent one we had who is no longer in that same position. But JOHN LEWIS was, and I had the honor of coming to Congress and being in the same freshman class with him.

Ultimately, he was a courageous fighter in every part of his life. He fought for the civil rights movement on the bridge to Selma, as a Freedom Rider, and through his work on the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He consistently did a great and peaceful job. He fought for his constituents and the causes he believed in. He was a fighter. He would not take no for an answer.

Up until the very end, he fought cancer. Like everything else, he fought it with courage and honor.

The conscience of Congress may no longer be here, but his legacy for his selfless service has been imparted to every one of us who served with him and got to know him well. It seems like the ones who knew him the best were those of us who served over in the other body, in the House.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT

Mr. President, this week, the Senate will be resuming consideration and, hopefully, completing the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021. This is not the end. This is not the completion. All this does is get it out of the Senate. Hopefully, we can do that this week, and then we have quite a few confirmations we have to do in the Senate that are very timely. We have them all lined up, and I think it is all going to work.

This National Defense Authorization Act is the one that is going to get our attention for quite a while after today. The House has to do theirs, and then we go into conference and we have a conference between the House and the Senate, which we will do and participate in.

Then, as normally is the case, it goes to the Big Four. The Big Four are the two leaders from the House and two leaders from the Senate. I have been in the Big Four, I think, for 4 years in the past. It ends up getting done.

Anytime a bill is passed for 59 years, you know it is going to pass, which is one of the problems. Everybody says: That is going to pass; therefore, let's go ahead and load on anything that I have not been able to get passed before, because you know that bill is going to get passed.

We have a lot of that going on. We have been through that. We had many, many amendments on this.

I think that we all are reflecting on the true meaning of Independence Day, and no bill is more important to protecting our freedoms than the National Defense Authorization Act. How do I know that? There is a document that not many people read any more. It is called the Constitution. It tells us what we are supposed to be doing here, and what we are supposed to be doing is, primarily, defending America.

I want to highlight the work and the bipartisan, comprehensive nature of the legislation. We have already adopted over 140 bipartisan amendments to the National Defense Authorization Act. One of the reasons for this is that we had the experience last year, and we have had it in the past, where one Member wants to get his or her amendment adopted, but they will use the leverage they have, which is to object to any other amendments coming up.

We thought, in the event that happened again, that we will put every amendment we could put in there. We solicited amendments to come from Members, and they came. The number is now 140 bipartisan amendments. That is equally divided. I have to say that the group—John Bonsell and Liz—did a great job in making this a bipartisan bill. We actually had the same number of amendments on each side. Those numbers don't include the hundreds of amendments considered in markup or Member interest provisions that were included in the base text. That was about 90 amendments. This bill was truly written by the Members, the Democrats and Republicans in both the House and the Senate. It is my hope, and Senator REED agrees with me, that we clear another managers' package, if possible.

Speaking of Senator REED, I have to say there is not a committee out there that enjoys more bipartisan support in the Senate than this committee does. Senator REED and I have disagreed on some things, but we always resolved our problems.

This week, we are also going to vote on six amendments. Some of those amendments I support and some I don't. These are the amendments we agreed to when we departed here right before the Fourth of July.

Regardless of my feelings on specific amendments, I want to thank my colleagues for coming together. We were able to have these amendment votes. It has been at least a few years since we have been able to vote on this many amendments on the floor. What we need to have right now—and I know Members aren't in here now, but their staff is watching. Their staff needs to know that we need Members to come down and present their amendments and to speak on amendments.

We have six amendments all lined up. There are a lot of Members of the Senate who want to be heard. If you are not down here, you are not going to be heard because we are planning on doing six. Of those, we will probably do four of those tomorrow and then a couple the next day. Then, that is going to essentially be the end of it. I don't want them to come and complain to us saying that they want to be heard on amendments. This is your opportunity to do that.

The important thing is we are doing it now. We are coming together to get this must-pass bill done. Things can get pretty divisive around here sometimes, but the National Defense Authorization Act simply always comes together because it has to be done. It has been happening for 59 years. It is going to be 60 years in just a few days.

Senator REED, the Armed Services Committee, and I worked hard to make this a bipartisan bill—in the base text, in the committee mark, with amendments, and with the votes. We listened to what our colleagues asked for in their Member interest letters. We requested letters. This goes all the way back to January. We were requesting letters from individuals as to what their interests were going to be as the year pressed on.

We had a bipartisan markup where we adopted over 200 amendments from both Republicans and Democrats. On its own, this is a good, bipartisan bill. We are trying to make it better on the floor, as we adopt or reject additional amendments, which we are going to be doing tomorrow and the next day.

We are about to make it 60 straight years of passing it. We don't want to jeopardize that.

We saw what happened in the House last year when they tried to write a partisan bill. It didn't go anywhere. Everything they wanted had nothing to do with the military. They had every liberal program in it and nothing happened. We remember some of those items. They wanted to restrict arms sales. They wanted to block our nuclear modernization, block funds for the border wall, and several other things.

I commend Chairman SMITH for returning to the bipartisanship that has long been the tradition of the Armed Services Committees on both sides of the Capitol. The House is taking up their bill on the floor this week. I wish them well. I hope they do block some of the worst amendments and the ones that would cut funding for our troops and hamstring the ability to defend our Nation.

I am glad they are prioritizing getting this done. I am also glad that they returned to regular order; that is, considering the authorization bill before the appropriations bill. That is the order that is supposed to be done, and that is what is going to be done this time. That is the way things should work around here. We authorize first, and then we appropriate.

What we will do is what we have done every year for the last 59 years. We will come together—the Senate and the House, Republicans and Democrats—and conference our bills this week. Our votes are the next step to this goal, and that is going to happen.

There is nothing else around here that has the 60-year success streak the NDAA has. That is it. This is our sacred and profound responsibility to the 2.1 million men and women who volunteered to serve and their families.

I remember when the idea of a full volunteer force was something that was not really something that really could be done. When I was in the military, we didn't have that. It was the days of the draft. Frankly, I think there is a lot of merit to that.

It means a lot right now to the more than 700,000 civilian employees in the Department of Defense and thousands more who support our nuclear enterprise, and to all Americans that we protect them, their families, and their livelihood.

I thank my colleagues for their contributions and look forward to our continued debate on this important bill. This is the most important bill of the year.

Keep in mind that this is something we are going to get done and the next important step is this week. I appreciate all the help and remind all the Members that this is your time to speak on amendments.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, I oppose the confirmation of Russell Vought to be Director of the Office of Management and Budget. Mr. Vought's tenure as Acting Director of OMB has been characterized by mismanagement, political corruption, and lawbreaking. He is unfit to lead OMB.

Mr. Vought played an active role in President Trump's corrupt scheme to

pressure Ukraine to interfere on President Trump's behalf in the 2020 election. In furtherance of that scheme, OMB illegally withheld security assistance for Ukraine under Mr. Vought's leadership, which violated the Impoundment Control Act according to the independent and nonpartisan Government Accountability Office. GAO even stated that OMB's stonewalling of their inquiry had ''constitutional significance'' due to the undermining of legislative branch oversight. During his confirmation hearing, Mr. Vought could not even explain why OMB stonewalled GAO's inquiry by refusing to turn over relevant documents requested by GAO and then failed to provide a reason for withholding these documents in response to my questions following the hearing.

Mr. Vought is among those responsible for the Trump administration's disastrous response to the COVID–19 pandemic. OMB dragged its feet on requesting urgently needed resources to respond to the pandemic, which led to deadly shortages of key supplies. Due to insufficient guidance from OMB and the Office of Personnel Management, Federal agencies are moving forward with haphazard plans to bring teleworking employees back into offices in ways that needlessly risk spreading COVID–19 among Federal workers, their families, and surrounding communities.

OMB is responsible for preparing the President's budget, and Mr. Vought has advanced budgets that would pay for tax cuts for the wealthy and corporations by slashing support for healthcare, education, and nutrition assistance. The Trump administration would have been even less prepared for COVID–19 if Congress enacted the cuts in these budgets to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Mr. Vought personally called for cutting the CDC budget as recently as March 10, 2020, when the pandemic was sweeping the country. At that time, Mr. Vought insisted that he would not send a budget amendment to reverse these cuts. The administration was forced by circumstances to submit such a budget amendment shortly thereafter.

The Senate should not reward this record of failure and lawbreaking by confirming Mr. Vought's nomination.

Mr. INHOFE. I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Under the previous order, the question is, Shall the Senate advise and consent to the Vought nomination?

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, 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 bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BRAUN) and the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. BURR).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Washington (Mrs. MURRAY) and the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. SCHATZ) are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PORTMAN). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 51, nays 45, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 131 Ex.]

YEAS—51

Alexander	Gardner	Perdue
Barrasso	Graham	Portman
Blackburn	Grassley	Risch
Blunt	Hawley	Roberts
Boozman	Hoeven	Romney
Capito	Hyde-Smith	Rounds
Cassidy	Inhofe	Rubio
Collins	Johnson	Sasse
Cornyn	Kennedy	Scott (FL)
Cotton	Lankford	Scott (SC)
Cramer	Lee	Shelby
Crapo	Loeffler	Sullivan
Cruz	McConnell	Thune
Daines	McSally	Tillis
Enzi	Moran	Toomey
Ernst	Murkowski	Wicker
Fischer	Paul	Young

NAYS—45

Baldwin	Harris	Reed
Bennet	Hassan	Rosen
Blumenthal	Heinrich	Sanders
Booker	Hirono	Schumer
Brown	Jones	Shaheen
Cantwell	Kaine	Sinema
Cardin	King	Smith
Carper	Klobuchar	Stabenow
Casey	Leahy	Tester
Coons	Manchin	Udall
Cortez Masto	Markey	Van Hollen
Duckworth	Menendez	Warner
Durbin	Merkley	Warren
Feinstein	Murphy	Whitehouse
Gillibrand	Peters	Wyden

NOT VOTING—4

Braun	Murray
Burr	Schatz

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. ROMNEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table and the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

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

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. ROMNEY. 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.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT

Mr. ROMNEY. Mr. President, I rise to address the administration's plan to withdraw some 10,000 troops from Germany, and I rise to advance a bipartisan amendment to slow that process down and potentially even to stop it.

The administration explains that Germany needs to get to 2 percent of its spending on military matters, a direction I support. Germany is already at 1.5 percent and is on track to get to get to 2 percent.

By all appearances, the withdrawal of 10,000 troops in Germany is a very bad idea. First of all, it is a slap in the face at a key ally, a friend, and a great country. This country is an economic powerhouse. It is dynamic and productive people who have created that economic vitality. It has been driven to global leadership not by virtue of having cheap labor or polluting the air with pollutants or CO_2.

China buys more from Germany than Germany buys from China. Why? Not because Germany threatens China but because Germany is making products that China wants. It is a democracy noted for its strong, steady, and firm leader. Germany pays an equal share to the United States into NATO, and NATO, of course, has preserved peace in Europe for over 70 years.

Now is also a time to draw our friends closer and to link arms with our allies, in part because of China's ambition to become the dominant player on the Earth, to displace the West, to displace the United States, and to supplant democracy with authoritarian despotism. China brutally represses its minorities. The Uighurs, we read, even today are being forced into labor. China invades sovereign lands and nations of its neighbors. It is propagandizing our children here through Confucius Institutes. It steals technology in our country and other countries in the West, and it attacks our cyber bases relentlessly day in and day out.

Its military procurement is equal to that—or nearly so—of the United States. Even though we spend far more money than they do on military, as reported, our procurement budgets procure about the same amount of military hardware.

Of course, the tip of its spear is its economic predation. China has attacked one industry after another, and through subsidy and predatory pricing techniques, it has driven western businesses out of business. In my view, to divert China from that dangerous path, we need allies—allies like Germany.

Now, there is a second reason that I am opposed to this idea of withdrawing troops from Germany, and that is, it is a heck of a time to give a gift to Russia. We just learned about Russia's support of the Taliban—even reports that they may have been paying bounties for killing Americans. Russia has stepped in to support some of the world's worst actors, like Assad and Maduro. It has invaded Georgia and Ukraine, and it violates nearly every arms agreement it enters into.