

I don't know how we could have made it any easier or better. In fact, when we took up the JUSTICE Act, he and his side were provided at least 20 amendment opportunities. We could have had the debate he seeks tonight at the appropriate time on the appropriate bill, and I am sorry that we didn't do that.

Perhaps after tonight's episode, he and his colleagues will reconsider, and perhaps before we are done this year, Senator SCOTT's JUSTICE Act could be brought to the floor and we could have an adult discussion and debate on amendments and on the bill and on all kinds of great ideas right here in the most august body in the United States. I hope that can happen.

With that, I yield the floor and wish you a good night.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate be in a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

Mr. GARDNER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CORONAVIRUS

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the Congress, our States, and the administration talk about ways to handle the immediate consequences of COVID-19. We must also talk about the aftermath, and Steve Case has written a provocative op-ed about the future.

Those of us in Congress should read and discuss it. It has to be considered in future planning.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, July 19, 2020]

THERE'S NO GOING BACK TO THE PRE-PANDEMIC ECONOMY—CONGRESS SHOULD RESPOND ACCORDINGLY

(By Steve Case)

This week, Congress will likely take up the next steps in the economic response to the covid-19 pandemic. If the package is like previous efforts, it will focus on trying to turn back the clock to February 2020: treating the economy as if it were Sleeping Beauty, merely needing to be awakened to be fully restored. This strategy is a mistake: Congress needs to stop solely backing efforts to restore the old economic reality and focus on how to develop a new one.

Most of the \$1 trillion that Congress has put into business support so far during the pandemic has been directed to preserving existing firms through the Paycheck Protection Program and the Main Street Relief Fund. Helping those businesses and their workers is vital, but that alone won't fuel the economic recovery the country needs.

The problem is that many of the businesses backed by PPP or Main Street are going to wind up shutting down. Even when they aren't facing a global pandemic or economic crisis, about 100,000 small and medium-size businesses fail in the United States every year. New businesses will be needed to re-

place the ones that permanently close. Moreover, the failure rate is likely to be higher, as many firms were on the wrong side of trends—such as the move to online shopping, convenient food delivery or watching streaming content at home—that the pandemic lockdown has accelerated.

Another consideration: The protests stirred by the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis police custody have made clear how many Americans were left behind in the pre-coronavirus economy; restoring the way things were before the virus hit won't address these needs.

Here are three ways Congress can help launch a new, more equitable era of entrepreneurship.

First: Make it easier for the earliest-stage start-ups to receive PPP dollars and for all start-ups to access the Main Street Relief Fund. PPP loans go to existing businesses to maintain jobs but not to new businesses that want to create them. Main Street loans go only to companies that are already profitable; most start-ups are not. That approach is backward: Studies show that nearly all net new job creation comes from start-ups, not established businesses.

A PPP revision should allow start-ups to obtain loans based on their plans to create jobs—with loan forgiveness granted only if those jobs materialize. If they don't, the start-ups should be required to repay the loans before any other obligations. And the barrier in the Main Street lending program that makes businesses ineligible for aid if they were not profitable in 2019 should be removed.

Second, the government needs to be a counterweight to private capital that exacerbates geographic disparities in opportunity as the country responds to the crisis. The pandemic is a devastating tragedy, but adversity tends to be met by the creation of new industries and new businesses. This crisis will stir innovations in medicine, goods and services delivered at home, remote work and learning, and more. Where will these new firms grow? If the decision is left to the private sector alone, almost all of them will be in three states: New York, California and Massachusetts, which attract 75 percent of all venture capital.

Great ideas to respond to this crisis are spread widely across the country—but capital is not. Business assistance programs created by Congress should have a special focus on getting startups off the ground in places that have lacked venture capital backing in the past. Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D-Minn.) and others have already proposed such legislation; members of Congress from these neglected areas should insist it is part of any Phase 4 bill.

Finally, lawmakers should step in to address unintended inequalities of opportunity for female and minority entrepreneurs caused by the earlier relief bills. Because these programs fund only existing businesses, they reinforce opportunity gaps. Communities with thriving businesses get more PPP and Main Street aid; those that have lacked capital to get businesses off the ground in the past see little help now.

The solution would be for Congress to direct unused PPP funds to start-ups led by female entrepreneurs and entrepreneurs of color, creating opportunities where they have not existed before. The Main Street Lending program could be modified to extend special debt options to community development groups and minority-focused accelerators to back a new wave of startups founded by historically underrepresented entrepreneurs.

There's no going back to the pre-pandemic U.S. economy. Too much has changed; too many new needs exist. This is a rare oppor-

tunity to break with the past and create a better future. Congress should grab it.

VOTE EXPLANATION

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, I voted in support of S. Amdt. 1788, which would reduce defense spending by 10 percent and invest that money into healthcare, education, and poverty reduction in communities with a poverty rate of 25 percent or more. To govern is to choose, and as we face unprecedented challenges at home, this defense budget is out of step with the values, priorities, and needs of the American people.

The unchecked growth in the defense budget is unsustainable, and the Trump administration has exacerbated these challenges. We have a duty to ensure the readiness of our forces, and I have supported efforts to rebuild our Armed Forces after years of costly overseas engagements. But massive spending increases without clear strategic direction do not make us safer. We need to be thoughtful about our spending choices, recognizing that every dollar spent on defense is a dollar not spent on healthcare, education, workforce training, and other critical areas of need.

The National Defense Authorization Act as it is currently written would spend \$740.5 billion on defense. This represents 53 percent of total Federal discretionary spending and exceeds the defense budgets of the next 11 nations combined, including our allies in Australia, South Korea, Germany, Japan, France, and the United Kingdom. It is more than twice the combined defense expenditures of China and Russia. Topline defense spending has risen by more than \$100 billion since President Trump took office; after the \$74 billion cut proposed in this amendment, defense spending would still be above the fiscal year 2017 level.

Some of my colleagues have expressed unease about the across-the-board nature of these cuts, and I agree that a targeted approach is preferable. But I have seen the consequences of delaying difficult decisions and believe we can no longer wait to have difficult conversations about our defense budget. In addition, the National Defense Authorization Act is not an appropriations bill, and this amendment simply reduces the total amount of money authorized to be spent on defense in the upcoming fiscal year. The Appropriations Committee, on which I serve, will still have the task of making thoughtful, targeted reductions in areas of lower priority, while preserving funding for high-priority items. I encourage my colleagues to confront these challenges for the good of our country and make adjustments as needed during conference negotiations with the House while remaining under the cap set by this amendment.

I am glad that this amendment protects salaries and healthcare from cuts, and would have preferred that it go further in making targeted cuts in order

to reduce the impact elsewhere in the defense budget. In particular, we should have taken this opportunity to scale back our country's trillion-dollar nuclear modernization efforts. Modernizing our nuclear weapons in a manner that makes them easier to use in more scenarios while abrogating our treaty responsibilities and doing nothing to bring Russia back to the nuclear negotiating table is a recipe for disaster.

However, my concerns with the particulars of this amendment do not change the plain fact that our national defense budget has grown out of control. In the midst of the worst economic downturn since the Great Depression, a pandemic that has taken the lives of more than 143,000 of our fellow Americans and shows no signs of slowing down, and the impending crises of homelessness and joblessness that we face if the Congress fails to provide relief, we simply cannot afford to continue this level of overinvestment in defense at the expense of other critical national priorities. For that reason, I supported this amendment.

REMEMBERING LORNE CRANER

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I would like to pay tribute to someone many of my colleagues knew and admired, Lorne Craner, who passed away on July 2 at the too young age of 61, a victim of cancer.

Lorne dedicated his professional life to advancing freedom and justice in the world. He served that cause faithfully as the longest tenured president of the International Republican Institute, IRI, as the Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor in the George W. Bush administration, as Director of Asian Affairs on President George H.W. Bush's National Security Council, and as an advisor to Members of Congress, including his service as foreign affairs aide to a newly elected Senator from Arizona, our late colleague, John McCain. He continued to advance American values abroad as president of the American Councils for International Education, as a board member of several distinguished organizations, including the Millennium Challenge Corporation.

I got to know Lorne when Senator McCain, who was IRI's chairman, asked me to serve on its board. I saw the Institute thrive in size and reach under Lorne's leadership, becoming one of the world's most effective agencies for democratic development, respected by human rights advocates around the world and in both U.S. political parties.

Like John, Lorne was a tireless defender of the dignity of all human beings, the bedrock value that democracies are instituted to respect. Like John, Lorne fought the bad guys to defend the little guys. Toward that end, he usually exercised a little more skill at diplomacy than John sometimes possessed, but they shared an equal de-

votion to mankind's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Secretary of State Colin Powell awarded Lorne the Distinguished Service Medal, the State Department's highest decoration.

Lorne and John shared, too, a dedication to the peaceful conduct of international relations. Both knew that our interests and values sometimes had to be defended by force of arms, but they were both so personally familiar with the costs of war that they worked hard to resolve international conflicts peacefully where possible and to make new friends of former enemies.

Lorne went to work for John in his last term as a Member of the House and his first term in the Senate, but their relationship began earlier than that. Lorne's father, Air Force Colonel Bob Craner, resided for more than 2 years in the cell next to John's in a Hanoi prison the POWs called, "the Plantation." John described Colonel Craner to me as one of the finest officers he had ever served with and "probably the person I was closest too in my life that I wasn't related to." John was held in solitary confinement at the time, the hardest period of his imprisonment, and he credited Bob Craner, whom he constantly communicated with by tap code, "with keeping me sane."

Despite the mistreatment of the POWs, John resolved early in his Senate career to help America reconcile with Vietnam, recognizing that the U.S. and Vietnam had shared interests in Southeast Asia, and that the cause of human dignity in the country where he had resided involuntarily for over 5 years could be served through friendly rather than hostile relations. The normalization of relations between the U.S. and Vietnam wouldn't have happened when it did if not for John's efforts to help bring it about. I think it is one of his greatest achievements. And Lorne Craner, the son who was deprived of his father for 5 years by the Vietnam war, provided invaluable help in that effort.

Lorne travelled to Vietnam with John in 1990, where he helped John build productive partnerships with Vietnamese officials who would help resolve issues that were in the way of better relations. And from his positions in government and at the IRI, he continued to advance American interests and ideals in Southeast Asia. Today, growing security and commercial ties between the two former enemies, symbolized by the port calls in Vietnam by U.S. Navy ships, including the USS *John S. McCain*, are a testament to both John and Lorne's vision and effectiveness. They imagined a better future out of the resentments and rubble of war, and, with others, made it a reality. They were both men who believed to do good in the world was why we were put on this earth.

Lorne was deeply committed to his cause, a cause he never strayed from, for a day in his life, and we are all bet-

ter for it. He was, too, as all who knew him will testify, a devoted father and husband, and his family's loss is the most profound. He was a hard man to lose at such a young age, for his family and friends, and for the country and the world.

Lorne Craner, son of Robert and Audrey Craner, husband of Anne Craner, father to three beloved children, Isabelle, Alexander, and Charles, brother of Charys, an American patriot, a man of justice, a peacemaker, and a friend to many, is gone. But his memory is a blessing to all who had the good fortune to have known him.

To his wife and children, the people who loved him most, as much as you hurt today, time will assuage your grief, and you will still feel his presence in your hearts. I lost my parents when I was a young man. I can say with confidence that the day will come when you will recall, without heartache, the good and honorable man who loved you so and with whom you will one day be reunited. God bless you.

Thank you.

65TH ANNIVERSARY OF MINOT AIR FORCE BASE

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. President, I want to congratulate the Minot Air Force Base on the 65th anniversary of its beginning.

On July 12, 1955, Minot, ND, community leaders and area residents gathered to break ground on land north of the city for what would become the Minot Air Force Base. One and a half years later, operations commenced at the base, and personnel and aircraft made their way to Minot, where they have enhanced our State and defended our Nation ever since. By the mid-1960s, it was recognized as one of the Nation's largest military installations, with a population of nearly 19,000 military and civilian men and women and their families. It was also recognized as having the largest housing village on a military base in the continental United States, with more than 2,450 homes.

The mission, aircraft, and staff have changed over these past seven decades. Today, the Minot Air Force Base supports two legs of the Nation's nuclear triad and provides vital defense to our security. It is the only dual-wing nuclear-capable installation in the Nation, with the 5th Bomb Wing and its B-52 bombers and the 91st Missile Wing, along with Minuteman III intercontinental ballistic missiles.

During these 65 years, the Minot community and State of North Dakota have remained constant in their support for the thousands of people who have been stationed at the Minot Air Force Base. We take pride in all they have done and continue to do to ensure peace throughout our world. We will continue to stand by them in the years ahead.

To the men and women of the Minot Air Force Base, you and all who came before you have faithfully served our