

Like the GI bill after World War II, which invested in our veterans, investing in low-income and moderate-income students pays off. From a strictly economic standpoint, we know these students get degrees, get better jobs, and pay taxes.

In the 1970s the Federal Pell grant covered nearly 80 percent of the cost of attendance at a 4-year instate public university. Today the Pell grant covers less than one-third.

To make matters worse, Congress chipped away at Pell grant eligibility and completely cut off the year-round Pell grant. In 2011, before this year-round program was eliminated, over 1,600 highly motivated Hawaii college students used year-round Pell grants to get a degree sooner. They are among 1.2 million students nationwide who used year-round Pell grants in that year alone.

One of those Hawaii students works in my office now—my University of Hawaii law school fellow, Janna Wehilani Ahu, who is on the floor with me. Her family is from a small fishing village in rural Hawaii Island. She graduated from Kamehameha Schools, the University of Hawaii at Manoa, and now attends the university's William S. Richardson School of Law. She used a summer Pell grant in 2010, and without it she says she wouldn't have been able to attend summer school and move more quickly toward a degree.

Wehi is one of many Hawaii students who have told me how Pell grants helped them. Another student, Lehua from Waianae, wrote:

I would like to thank you for supporting the Pell Grant program. Pell Grants have allowed me to increase my education and [have] provided me with a higher paying job. Who would ever think that a country girl from Wai'anae—who grew up with society telling me that we had the lowest reading and math scores in the state of Hawaii, the highest of everything such as welfare, crime, teen pregnancy and substance abuse in the state—can get a college degree.

Today, I . . . want to help people from Wai'anae to achieve their dreams.

Pell grants have made it possible for this Native Hawaiian, single mother, and country girl—as she calls herself—to be graduating with an associate's degree in early childhood education and transferring to the University of Hawaii West Oahu.

With ever-increasing college costs, we should be strengthening Pell grants, not cutting back on them. That is why I introduced the Pell Grant Protection Act with several my colleagues. Recognizing the importance of Pell grants, Congress has been providing discretionary funds for this program for over 40 years. It is time to put this program on the strong footing our students deserve by making this a mandatory funded program with a cost-of-living adjustment. The bill would also include an updated, clearer version of the year-round Pell grant.

The bill has the support of 25 national organizations representing students, professors, financial aid admin-

istrators, college presidents, and advocates for the middle class. The Associated Students of the University of Hawaii passed a resolution of support, and several University of Hawaii campus chancellors have also come out in support.

I also worked with my colleague, Senator MARY LANDRIEU of Louisiana, on a related Pell grant bill—her Middle Class CHANCE Act. Senator LANDRIEU's bill would restore year-round Pell grants, increase the Pell award to keep up with college costs, and let students use Pell grants for more semesters.

I look forward to working with Chairman HARKIN on these and other bills to make college more affordable. These efforts are investments in our young people and in our collective future. Today is a start, and I urge my colleagues to vote for Senator WARREN's refinancing bill.

Mahalo.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD Hawaii stories of student loan debt.

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

#### HAWAII STORIES OF STUDENT LOAN DEBT

Dawn from Honolulu wrote me to say:

"I've been teaching for over 3 years and can barely survive on my paycheck, after paying student loans and rent."

Karen from Hilo wrote me to say:

"Two of my three kids have loans that are almost non-repayable, given their size. They have a masters and almost-completed PhD and one is home already using her expertise on our community. The other is coming this fall. Our prices are prohibitive enough without excessively high loans hanging over their heads."

Jennifer from Kailua wrote:

"My mortgage is 3.25% but my \$133,000 federal student loan . . . is stuck at 7.25%. Please . . . allow me to consolidate [or] refinance my loan."

"It is totally unfair that the federal government made more profit in 2013 off student loans than Apple made off its 2013 sales."

Janna Wehilani Ahu's family is from a small fishing village in rural Hawaii Island, and she made it to Kamehameha Schools, UH Manoa, and UN Richardson School of Law. She used a summer Pell Grant in 2010, and without it, she says she wouldn't have been able to take summer school and move quicker toward a degree. This outstanding student works in my office right now—she's our UN Law School Patsy Mink fellow.

Ariana Ursua, who just finished her sophomore year at UH Manoa wrote me to say:

"As a 19-year-old paying for her own education, it's been stressful having to take out loans to receive a higher education. Thankfully, the Pell Grant decreases the amount of money I have to borrow. I am so grateful every time I complete my FAFSA and see that my Estimated Family Contribution is zero because I know that I'm granted the full Pell Grant amount. I have received about \$10,000 from the Pell Grant for the past two years, which means less money I have to worry about paying back. If I didn't receive financial aid, such as the Pell Grant, I would be a lot more discouraged to further my education due to finances. Fortunately, the Pell Grant helps me sleep a little easier and study a little harder, and I am forever thankful."

Lehua from Waianae wrote me to say:

"I would like to thank you for supporting the Pell Grant program. Pell Grants have allowed me to increase my education and [have] provided me with a higher paying job. Who would ever think that a country girl from Wai'anae—who grew up with society telling me that we had the lowest reading and math scores in the state of Hawaii, the highest of everything such as welfare, crime, teen pregnancy and substance abuse in the state—can get a college degree. Today, I . . . want to help people from Wai'anae to achieve their dreams. Pell Grants have made it possible for this Native Hawaiian, single mother and country girl to be graduating with my AS in Early Childhood Education and transferring to UH West Oahu."

Tom Robinson is the former president of the Graduate Student Organization at the University of Hawaii in the meteorology department. He wrote me:

"If it wasn't for the Pell Grant, I wouldn't have gone to college. In fact, when I graduated from high school, I went to a bartending school because I didn't think my family could afford to send me to college. Now I am going for my PhD, so the Pell Grant was pretty important for my path in life."

"Between the federal Pell Grant and the state grant, my tuition, books, and transportation costs were covered so I didn't have to take out any loans at that time. It was pretty amazing and really helped my focus. I was able to graduate Cum Laude. When I transferred to The College of New Jersey, I ended up getting a job and I had to take out [over \$20,000 in] loans for the rest of my undergraduate experience. My grades were not as good when I was at TCNJ."

Cristina from Kaimuki wrote:

"I am writing because I know you are committed to education and I have a concern to bring to your attention."

I . . . have accrued over \$30,000 of student loan debt after 1998 receiving my undergraduate and graduate degrees. I teach in a critical shortage area, science. . . . Student loan debt is a major issue and taking action on my concern is a small step in the right direction."

Edwyna from Honolulu wrote:

"Even President Obama and Michele JUST finished paying off their student loans 9 years ago. I struggled with high interest rates on student loans and it was crippling."

David from Pahoa wrote:

"I'm hoping you already support Elizabeth Warren's Student Loan Plan. I made it through on the VA and a bunch of student loans that I wouldn't have taken otherwise, but I know these kids nowadays can't afford this indentured servitude, which is exactly what student loans have become."

Ms. HIRONO. I yield back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

#### ARMY-MCCARTHY HEARINGS ANNIVERSARY

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Madam President, I had the pleasure of speaking yesterday while the Presiding Officer was in the chair on the 242nd anniversary of the burning and sinking of the Gaspee by Rhode Island patriots. I am here today to mark the 60th anniversary of a different event which also occurred on the same day—June 9—60 years ago. It was a pivotal moment in the history of the Senate and, indeed, of the country. It was the 1954 Army-McCarthy hearings and the exchange

between Joseph Welch and Joseph McCarthy that changed this city and the world.

Six decades ago, America's national mood was marked by anxiety over the looming threat of communism. The victory of World War II had given way to the gripping tension of the Cold War. Communist power was on the rise in Eastern Europe and in China. American forces were at war in Korea.

Here in Congress the House Committee on Un-American Activities worked to sniff out Communist subversion within our borders, including the infamous Hollywood black list. One man in the Senate set out to exploit the fears of that time, and he came to symbolize the fearmongering of that fretful era.

Joseph McCarthy was a relatively unknown junior Senator from Wisconsin when, in February of 1950, he delivered a speech accusing Secretary of State Dean Acheson of harboring 205 known members of the American Communist Party within the State Department.

The charge was questionable and ill-supported. But the brazen accusation struck a nerve with an anxious American public, and Senator McCarthy rocketed to fame. Thus began a chilling crusade to flush out Communist subversion—real or contrived—from every corner of American society.

McCarthy's anticommunist witch hunt seemingly knew no bounds, as he launched investigations or often just allegations of disloyalty on the part of private citizens, public employees, entire government agencies, as well as the broadcasting and defense industries, universities—even the United Nations.

In 1953, the Republican Party gained a majority in the Senate, and McCarthy ascended to the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and its Subcommittee on Investigations. From those chairmanships, he dragged hundreds of witnesses before scores of hearings, publicly shaming and berating his targets. His fiery rhetoric and his remorseless mendacity intimidated critics and challengers. His accusations carried the power to destroy reputations, careers, and lives.

The effect of McCarthyism on 20th century American society was toxic. Prudent citizens shied from civic engagement. Meaningful political dissent withered. Criticism of American foreign policy evaporated. Even college campuses, our cradles of intellectual curiosity, were cowed by McCarthyism.

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas called it "the black silence of fear." Intimidated colleagues in this Chamber gave Joe McCarthy broad leeway to abuse Congress's constitutional powers of investigation and oversight. Harvard Law Dean Erwin Griswold described Chairman McCarthy's role as "judge, jury, prosecutor, castigator, and press agent, all in one."

This was the regime 60 years ago, in 1954, when U.S. Army officials accused

McCarthy of exerting improper pressure to win preferential treatment for a subcommittee aide serving as an Army private. McCarthy countered that the Army accusation was retaliation for his investigations of them. The stage was set. The countercharges would be adjudicated, of course, in McCarthy's Subcommittee on Investigations.

The so-called Army-McCarthy hearings, held in a packed, smoke-filled Russell caucus room, would last 36 days and be aired on live broadcast television. Twenty million Americans tuned in during gavel-to-gavel coverage of our Nation's first great TV political spectacle—the precursor to the Watergate hearings, the Iran-Contra hearings, and the Thomas-Hill hearings.

Special counsel to the Army in those hearings was an avuncular Boston lawyer named Joseph Welch of the law firm then called Hale & Dorr. Here, in Washington, Joseph Welch was a nobody. He had no office, he had no position, he had no clout. But he was a good lawyer with a dry wit and unflappable demeanor. He also had a sense of fairness—a sense of fairness that was soon to become famously provoked by McCarthy's bullying. And he had that greatest virtue—courage—the virtue that makes all other virtues possible.

On June 9, 1954, Joseph Welch challenged Senator McCarthy's aide, Roy Cohn, to actually produce McCarthy's supposed secret list of subversives working at defense facilities. Since there likely was no such list, McCarthy needed a distraction. So he lit into an accusatory attack in a traditional McCarthyite way on a lawyer in Welch's firm, a young lawyer—indeed, an associate within the firm, Fred Fisher, a young man who was not even in the hearing room to defend himself—accusing him of various Communist associations and inclinations.

Welch responded:

Until this moment, Senator, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness.

Had Senator McCarthy been a smarter man, he would have sensed the warning in those words. But he didn't. He pressed his attack and refused to let up on young Fred Fisher. Welch angrily cut Senator McCarthy short.

Let us not assassinate the lad any further, Senator. You have done enough. Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?

Thirty words. If you count them, it is just 30 words. But with those 30 words, suddenly something happened, something changed. The emperor suddenly had no clothes.

There had been such an avalanche of words from McCarthy over the years—of lies, of accusations, of hyperbole. And these 30 words—these few short sentences—stopped all of that roughshod hypocrisy in its tracks.

Welch declared an end to McCarthy's questioning, and the gallery of onlook-

ers, on behalf of a nation, burst into applause. The black-and-white footage shows McCarthy asking Roy Cohn, "What happened?" What happened was that a spell was broken. The web of fear woven by McCarthy over Washington, DC, began unraveling.

Near the end of the hearing, Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri faced McCarthy down. After an angry exchange, he rose and walked out to come here to vote. As Chairman Karl Mundt of South Dakota gavelled the hearing into recess, Joe McCarthy kept on railing about Communist conspiracies. As he railed on, Senators, reporters, and members of the gathered audience steadily filed out of the room, leaving him shouting. The spell was broken.

Six months later the Senate voted 67 to 22 to censure Senator Joseph McCarthy. Four years later, he was dead at the age of 48. Historians agree he drank himself to death. His fall from grace and demise were nearly as rapid as his rise was meteoric, consistent with the ancient principle: Climb ugly; fall hard.

Very often—indeed, too often—political outcomes in Washington are determined by the political weight and the wealth of contesting forces vying for power. It is brute force against brute force. It makes us wonder, is that all there is to this? Is this just an arena of combat, where huge special interests lean against each other trying to shove each other around, each for their own greed and benefit?

This incident 60 years ago is an eternal lesson of what a difference one person can make. A regular American, a nobody in Washington, good at his craft, good in his character, and in the right place at the right time, a man who knew what was right, broke the fever of virulent political frenzy that had captured Washington; one private lawyer's sincere, direct outrage at a cruel attack on his young associate, a few words from a Boston lawyer who had just had enough turned the tide of history. May we never forget in this world of vast and often corrupt political forces the power of one person to make a difference.

I yield the floor.

Madam President, I note the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### STUDENT LOAN DEBT

Mr. MARKEY. Madam President, I was the first in my family to go to college. I drove an ice cream truck to work my way through Boston College as a commuter. I did the same thing to go to law school. I lived at home all the