

Committee and his committee colleagues have worked with determination to educate the Senate concerning the legal, technical, and oversight safeguards currently in place.

We hear concerns about public opinion. A CNN poll was released today—just today. The CNN poll is not exactly part of the rightwing conspiracy. It states that 61 percent of Americans—61 percent of Americans—think that the expiring provisions of the PATRIOT Act, including data collection, should be renewed.

So if there is widespread concern out of America about privacy, we are not picking it up. They are not reporting it to CNN. Sixty-one percent say: I am not concerned about my privacy. I am concerned about my security.

So my view is that the determined effort to fulfill campaign promises made by the President back in 2008 reflects an inability to adapt to the current threat—what we have right now—an inflexible view of past political grievances and a policy that will leave the next President in a weaker position to combat ISIL.

I cannot support passage of the so-called USA FREEDOM Act. It does not enhance the privacy protections of American citizens, and it surely undermines Americans' security by taking one more tool from our war fighters, in my view, at exactly the wrong time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, if my friend the majority leader is concerned, as he should be, about why the country is less secure—especially in the last couple of weeks—he should look in the mirror. We have a situation where he has tried to divert attention from what has gone on here. It was as if there had been a big neon sign flashing saying: You can't do highway reauthorization, you can't do FISA reauthorization, and you can't do trade in 4 or 5 days.

To do this right, we should have spent some time on FISA. Because of the mad rush to do trade, that did not happen. So today to try to divert attention from what I believe has been a miscalculation of the majority leader, it is making this country less safe. Every day that goes by with the FISA bill not being reauthorized is a bad day for our country. It makes us less safe. And to try to divert attention, as he has tried doing in the last few minutes—blaming the Obama administration for stopping torture, the detention centers, pulling troops out of Iraq—I say, my friend is looking in the wrong direction.

The issue before us is not to be—and he is, in effect, criticizing the House of Representatives for passing this FISA bill, to reauthorize it in a way that is more meaningful to the American people and makes us more safe. It makes it so people feel more secure about the intelligence operations we have going on in this country.

Is he criticizing the Speaker for working hard to get this bill reauthor-

ized and in a fashion the American people accept? Because his criticism today is not directed toward people who voted here today; it is directed toward the bipartisan efforts in the House of Representatives that passed this bill overwhelmingly, with 338 votes. It is one of a few bipartisan things they have done over there, and they did it for the security of this Nation. I do not think any of us needs a lecture on why we are less secure today than we were a few days ago. I hope everyone will vote to continue the surveillance possibilities that we have available if this law passes. If it does not pass, what are we going to do? It will go to the House of Representatives. The majority leader of the House of Representatives, the distinguished House Member from California, Mr. MCCARTHY, said: They do not want anything from us. They want this bill passed. They want the USA FREEDOM bill passed today. That is what the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. GOODLATTE, said. Of course, that is what the Democratic leader says also.

Let's vote. A vote today to pass this bill will make our country safer immediately, not a week from now. That is how long it will take, at a minimum, if this bill is changed when it goes to the House—I am sorry—if it does not go to the President directly, and it should go directly from here to the President of the United States. He can sign this in a matter of hours and put us back on a more secure footing to protect ourselves from the bad guys around the world.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, as my good friend, the minority leader, frequently reminded me over the last few years, the majority leader always gets the last word.

Look, his fundamental complaint is he does not get to schedule the Senate anymore. He wanted to kill the President's trade bill, and so he did not like the fact that we moved to the trade bill early enough before the opposition to it might become more severe.

I say to the Senator, the minority leader, he does not get to set the schedule anymore. My observations about the President's foreign policy are directly related to the vote we are about to cast. It remains my view—I know there are differences of opinion, and I respect everybody in here who has a different opinion—that this bill is part of a pattern to pull back, going back to the time the President took office. I remember the speech in Cairo back in 2009 to the Muslim world, which sought to question American exceptionalism. We are all pretty much alike. If we just talked to each other more, everything would be OK. In almost every measurable way, all the places I listed, plus Ukraine—you name them—we have been pulling back. My view with regard to my position and my vote is that this is a step in the wrong direction. But I respect the views of others, and I sus-

pect the minority leader will be happy at the end of the day. It appears to me the votes are probably there to pass this bill, and it will go to the President. I still think it is a step backward from where we are. It has been a great debate. I respect all of those who engaged in it on both sides. I think it is time to vote.

I yield the floor.

The bill was ordered to a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass?

Mr. LEAHY. 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 senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM).

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

The result was announced—yeas 67, nays 32, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 201 Leg.]

YEAS—67

Alexander	Gardner	Murkowski
Ayotte	Gillibrand	Murphy
Bennet	Grassley	Murray
Blumenthal	Heinrich	Nelson
Booker	Heitkamp	Peters
Boozman	Heller	Reed
Boxer	Hirono	Reid
Brown	Hoeven	Rounds
Cantwell	Inhofe	Schatz
Capito	Johnson	Schumer
Cardin	Kaine	Scott
Carper	King	Shaheen
Casey	Kirk	Stabenow
Cassidy	Klobuchar	Sullivan
Coons	Lankford	Tester
Cornyn	Leahy	Udall
Cruz	Lee	Vitter
Daines	Manchin	Warner
Donnelly	Markey	Warren
Durbin	McCaskill	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Menendez	Wyden
Flake	Merkley	
Franken	Mikulski	

NAYS—32

Baldwin	Ernst	Roberts
Barrasso	Fischer	Rubio
Blunt	Hatch	Sanders
Burr	Isakson	Sasse
Coats	McCain	Sessions
Cochran	McConnell	Shelby
Collins	Moran	Thune
Corker	Paul	Tillis
Cotton	Perdue	Toomey
Crapo	Portman	Wicker
Enzi	Risch	

NOT VOTING—1

Graham

The bill (H.R. 2048) was passed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MCCONNELL. 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; further, that at 5 p.m., Senator ROUNDS be

recognized to deliver his maiden speech.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

USA FREEDOM ACT

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the bill we just passed is a historic moment. It is the first major overhaul of government surveillance laws in decades that adds significant privacy protections for the American people. It has been a long and difficult road, but I am proud of what the Congress has achieved today. This is how democracy is supposed to work. Congress is ending the bulk collection of Americans' private phone records once and for all.

To my partners in the Senate on both sides of the aisle, I thank you. Senator LEE, whose name is on our bill here in the Senate, believes strongly in our constitutional system of government. He has worked tirelessly to advance this bill from the day we first introduced the USA FREEDOM Act. Senator FRANKEN has devoted himself to the transparency measures in the bill. Senator BLUMENTHAL shaped the FISA Court amicus provisions. This was hard fought, and they never wavered.

I also want to thank Senators HELLER, CRUZ, MURKOWSKI, DAINES, DURBIN, and SCHUMER, the other original cosponsors of this bill. They have each worked to help advance this legislation and build the coalition we needed to finally get to our strong bipartisan vote in the Senate for passage. I must also mention Senator FEINSTEIN, who provided invaluable support to get this bill across the finish line. Of course, I also need to thank Minority Leader REID, who has never wavered in his strong support and responsible leadership.

On the House side, Chairman GOODLATTE and Congressmen SENSENBRENNER, CONYERS, and NADLER have been the kind of bipartisan partners on this bill that every legislator wants in their corner.

I also need to thank Senators WYDEN and HEINRICH and former Senator Mark Udall, who used their positions on the Senate Intelligence Committee to ask the hard questions behind closed doors and who have fought to end this program for so long.

While we have much work to do, we have accomplished something momentous today. We are a better nation for it.

I also want to thank the many staffers who have worked long hours on this legislation for nearly two years now. On my own Judiciary Committee staff, I thank Chan Park, Lara Flint, Jessica Brady, Hasan Ali, Patrick Sheahan, Logan Gregoire, Jonathan Hoadley, Joel Park and Kristine Lucius. My personal office staff, including J.P. Dowd, Erica Chabot, David Carle, John Tracy and Diane Derby, also worked hard on this effort, and I am grateful for that. I also want to thank Democratic and

Republican Senate staffers who have toiled countless hours on this effort, including Matt Owen, Mike Lemon, Wendy Baig, James Wallner, Josh Finestone, Scarlet Doyle, Ayesha Khanna, Alvaro Bedoya, Helen Gilbert, Samantha Chaifetz, Sam Simon, John Dickas, Chad Tanner, and Jennifer Barrett.

We not only worked across the aisle on this legislation, but we also worked across the Capitol. The bipartisan group of House staff who helped to craft this compromise bill and generated such an overwhelming vote on this legislation deserve enormous credit for their work: Caroline Lynch (who along with Lara Flint deserves a perfect attendance award for extensive negotiating sessions), Bart Forsyth, Aaron Hiller (whose wife deserves our thanks as she had a baby just weeks before the House considered the bill), Jason Herring, Shelley Husband, Branden Ritchie, and Perry Apelbaum.

I thank those at the White House who devoted countless hours including Josh Pollack, Jeff Ratner, Ryan Gillis, Michael Bosworth, and Chris Fonzzone. I also appreciate the work of so many other executive branch officials at the Justice Department, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, and National Security Agency who work so hard to keep our country safe and answered our questions at all hours of the day and night.

I also need to thank the many public interest groups, on all ends of the political spectrum, who stuck with us despite many challenges. There are too many to name, but without their energy and expertise, this reform effort would never have come to fruition. Likewise, the technology industry provided invaluable input and support for this legislation.

And finally, I would like to thank the dedicated staff in the Office of Senate Legislative Counsel, whose tremendous work in assisting us with legislative drafting often goes unnoticed and unrecognized. In particular, I want to thank John Henderson, Kim Albrecht-Taylor, and James Ollen-Smith for their assistance and technical expertise.

Seeing nobody else seeking recognition, 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. WHITEHOUSE. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Madam President, today I am here for the 101st time to urge this body to wake up to the threat of climate change. It is real, it

is caused by carbon pollution, and it is dangerous.

There is a legislative answer to this problem that my Republican colleagues should consider, and that is a carbon fee.

The unpleasant fact here in Congress presently, anyway, is that Congress is ruled by the lobbyists and the political enforcers for the fossil fuel industry. But outside this Chamber, where the fossil fuel industry's power is less fierce, there is considerable conservative support for a carbon fee.

Leading right-of-center economists, conservative think tanks, and former Republican officials, both legislative and executive, all say that putting a price on carbon pollution is the right way to deal with climate change. They know that climate denial cannot stand against the facts. As the Washington Post reported last month, prominent thinkers on the right are "increasingly pushing" for a climate policy based on conservative principles and on values such as property rights, market efficiency, and personal liberty. They recommend pricing carbon.

Jerry Taylor, a former vice president at the CATO Institute now leads his own Libertarian think tank, which is making the case for a carbon fee. He recognized that "the scientific evidence became stronger and stronger over time." He knows climate denial is not an option. He says that "because catastrophic climate change is a non-diversifiable risk, we should logically be willing to pay extra to avoid climate risks." Taylor points out that hedging against terrible outcomes is what we expect in our financial markets. Why should we not do the same for climate change?

Conservatives have also long agreed that government should prevent one group harming another. Conservative economist Milton Friedman still tops the reading lists of Republicans in Congress. Republican Presidential hopefuls still invoke his name to show their free market bona fides. Asked whether the government had any role to play in reducing pollution, Friedman said:

There's always a case for the government to do something about it. Because there is always a case for the government to some extent when what two people do affects a third party.

Friedman is describing what he called "neighborhood effects" or what many economists call "negative externalities." A negative externality is when two parties engage in a transaction and the result of that transaction causes damage to a third party—a third party that did not consent to the arrangement. That is an externality, and when the consequence is harmful, it is a negative externality. In a free society, wrote Friedman, government exists, in part, to diminish those negative externalities.

When the costs of such negative externalities don't get factored into the price of a product, even conservative economic doctrine classifies that