

privilege of calling a friend for many years and who is retiring after serving the State of Delaware for the past 6 years, Alan Levin. Alan and I both had our first tours of duty in Washington working for the same Republican Senator. I was an intern for Senator William Roth in the early 1980s and Alan was his counsel in the mid-1980s. Alan, a well-known and respected statewide leader in Delaware's Republican Party, has, since 2009, served as the director of the Delaware Economic Development Office, where he has worked every day to attract businesses to Delaware and to help them create good jobs in our communities.

Alan took over at a time when communities throughout Delaware were hemorrhaging jobs and feeling the very worst effects of the great recession. Today Delaware's unemployment rate sits a full point below the national average at 4.5 percent, in part thanks to the great effort of Alan Levin's.

During his tenure, Alan exemplified what it means to be a public servant. It didn't matter to Alan if someone came to him who was thinking of starting a small business that would employ 4 people or if it was a company thinking of moving to Delaware and bringing 400 jobs. No matter what, if it was going to help Delaware, Alan was ready to meet with anyone and show them why there was no better place than the First State, our home State of Delaware, to run a business.

Of course, Alan's service to our State began well before 2009. Long a leader in the Delaware State Chamber of Commerce for more than two decades, Alan ran Happy Harry's Pharmacy, a family business that he grew over decades of discipline and capable leadership, ultimately expanding it to 76 stores in our region. That success is an important part of who Alan is, because to really know him is to know that his job at the Delaware Economic Development Office was not one he needed; it was one he chose.

Alan could have continued and built his success in the business world—anyone could tell you that—but he made a decision at that key point in his life to strive for something else, something more to make his home State a better place. He recognized his considerable skills, talents, and knowledge and decided to use them to help families and businesses across our State succeed. That is a profound thing. In a world where there are far too many people who shun public life and public service for good reason, Alan stepped up to the plate when Delaware needed him most.

Now, fortunately for all of us, Alan isn't going far. We will still get to see him in southern Delaware, where he will be working with SoDel Concepts in their successful restaurants. It is hopeful that he will get a chance to trade in his business suit for flip-flops and a beach chair from time to time. I just wanted to take this moment on the floor to thank Alan and to thank especially his wife Ellen and his wonderful

sons, Andrew, Daniel, Jason, and Jess, for letting us have Alan in public service for so many years where he has made such a difference. It is my hope he will get to enjoy his family, his grandchildren, and the entire Delaware community, which is so grateful to Alan for his public service.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOEVEN). The Senator from Utah.

WORKING TOGETHER IN THE SENATE

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise today to discuss the progress of the Senate under the new Republican leadership. In the first 6 months of this Congress, we have passed bipartisan, commonsense legislation that has delivered meaningful results to the American people.

As we work to return the Senate to regular order—and that has not been an easy thing—we are rebuilding this institution's reputation as the world's greatest deliberative body, something that it has not been over the last number of years. To that end, we have renewed our commitment to the open amendment process and the committee system, which give all Members—from the most seasoned chairman to the freshman—a hand in drafting and improving legislation.

The progress we have made is remarkable, especially considering the difficult situation we inherited. At the end of the 113th Congress, partisan grandstanding and festering dysfunction had tarnished this body's reputation. This Senate was beset by gridlock and weak leadership more focused on political messaging than constructive legislation. At the end of the 2014, Congress had a historically low approval rating of only 9 percent and, in many respects, the way the Congress was being run, we deserved it. Americans had every reason to disapprove of what was going on. These persistent low approval ratings reflected the American people's frustration with their Federal Government and the direction of our country under the failed policies and leadership of the President and his party.

Under our new leadership, we are working to regain the trust of the American people. Already, the Senate has taken up and passed nearly 40 pieces of bipartisan legislation, and our extensive efforts to restore confidence in the legislative branch are beginning to bear fruit. Consider our legislative accomplishments thus far.

At the beginning of this Congress, Republicans and Democrats came together to pass the Hoeven-Manchin bill to authorize the unreasonably delayed Keystone XL Pipeline.

We also passed my Amy and Vicky act, a bill I authored to create an effective, balanced restitution process for victims of child pornography. Others deserve lots of credit on that bill.

In a bipartisan manner, Republican leaders cooperated with Democrats to

repeal and replace Medicare's sustainable growth rate. Instead of resorting to patch after patch, year after year—that is what we had been doing here for so long; that is really a tremendous achievement—we came together to work out a balanced package that both protects seniors and includes important cost controls. It demonstrated the scope of what Congress can do when Members work together, and it represented an important step forward in reforming our Nation's entitlement programs. With regard to that, we paired it with the CHIP bill, which was the Hatch-Kennedy bill for young children who were left out of the health care system, and that passed too.

We built on this positive momentum when the Senate passed the Cornyn-Klobuchar human trafficking bill—a very important bill. With this legislation, Congress established a special fund providing victims of human trafficking the resources they need to repair their shattered lives.

This bill suffered a number of hiccups along the way. Yet ultimately we were able to come together in a collaborative fashion to overcome our differences.

We again bridged the partisan divide when we passed the Iran Nuclear Agreement Review Act—a monumental piece of legislation. This legislation ensures Congress's right to oversee any agreement the President reaches with Iranian leaders and reasserts the Senate's valuable role in approving international treaties. Despite our divergent opinions on the Obama administration's negotiation efforts, we were able to devise a compromise that earned the support of nearly every Senator.

These are not small achievements. It is amazing we have been able to do so many in these first 6 months. Just last week, we worked together, yet again, in a bipartisan fashion to pass the National Defense Authorization Act, reauthorizing important defense programs critical to our national security—a complex and very difficult bill to handle. And no less than our wonderful Senator from Arizona, Mr. McCAIN, handled that matter on the floor, along with the help of a lot of others.

In passing this legislation, our new majority did not run roughshod over the minority. Rather, we collaborated with our colleagues in the minority to draft legislation agreeable to both sides.

Our bipartisan work hasn't been limited to this Chamber. We have also worked closely with the White House to pass trade legislation critical to our country's economic future. In fact, just a short while ago, the President called me and thanked me. His top Chief of Staff Denis McDonough called me yesterday and thanked me—something that, frankly, I was very grateful for.

In fact, yesterday's passage of trade promotion authority might be the

strongest evidence to date that the Senate is back to work on behalf of the American people. This bipartisan piece of legislation is one of the President's highest trade priorities because it supports U.S. job growth, boosts American exports, enhances our ability to negotiate trade agreements, and makes our goods and services more competitive globally. TPA will give the United States viable pathways to enter into critical trade agreements with our international partners to level the playing field for American exporters, creating and sustaining more and better paying American jobs.

Beyond the content of our legislation, the Senate's return to regular order and an open amendment process is remarkable. At times, it has been difficult to make progress in restoring the Senate as an institution, and the consideration of complex legislation can be a slow and arduous process. Nonetheless, this body has been deliberate and thoughtful in our consideration of legislation. Often, these bills have been considered for several weeks and occupied many hours of valuable floor time. These bills have required dozens of amendments to be considered before they were ultimately put before the Senate for a vote on final passage. Though this process is difficult and often laborious, it is the way things should be done.

I have had friends on the other side of the floor come to me and say: This is wonderful. We are able to have amendments again. We are able to do the work of the Senate again. We feel good about it, and they feel good about doing the bipartisan work that we have done.

The Presiding Officer did an awful lot of good bringing the Hoeven bill through, and we can name so many others. There are great people on the other side who have cooperated. With regard to that, I think of Senator WYDEN, who has worked very hard and very closely with me on a number of bills but especially the trade promotion authority bill, which is the key bill to enable this administration to enter into good agreements with foreign countries that are important to us. Without that bill, we wouldn't have these agreements. We may still not have them, unless they are done right, but at least we can say we have given the administration the opportunity to do it right.

Now, in spite of our successes so far in this Congress, there are still many who oppose and criticize our efforts to restore the Senate to its proper function. The minority leader might be foremost among these detractors. I wish to take just a moment to respond to some of his sharp criticisms. In recent remarks, the Democratic leader has willfully ignored the significant achievements of the current Congress, even arguing the Republican-led Senate has done nothing to help the American people. The minority leader's accusation is patently false. He lobs

these criticisms to distract the American people from his failed leadership in the last Congress.

I happen to like the minority leader. He is my friend. I care for him. But there is no excuse for that kind of language on the floor of the Senate. I have to say he has cooperated and helped do some of these bills. He ought to be taking credit for it rather than lobbing jabs from across the aisle.

Contrary to the claims of the minority leader, the current Republican leadership has been remarkably successful at doing exactly what Leader MCCONNELL promised we would do: pass legislation that improves the economy, makes it easier for Americans to get jobs, and helps restore Americans' confidence in their country and government. Importantly, the majority leader has kept his promise of restoring the proper role of the Senate by enhancing deliberation on legislation through an open and robust committee and floor amendment process.

To appreciate fully the success of the new Congress, we need only to review the failures of the past. As we all remember too well, under the tight-fisted control of the Democratic leader, the Senate, in all of 2014, was only allowed to take a total of 17 rollcall votes on amendments—17 rollcall votes on amendments in an entire year. Some of the Democratic Senators who were defeated had never brought up an amendment on the floor of the Senate. They didn't have that privilege. They didn't have that remarkable experience.

The Democratic leader shut down the amendment process by abusing procedural mechanisms and dismantled the rights of the minority in this Chamber. This dysfunction lies in stark contrast to the way Leader MCCONNELL is leading the Senate today. Under the new majority leader, we have made progress that is tangible, even measurable. Just look at the facts: In the 6 months of 2015, the Senate has taken over 130 rollcall votes on amendments.

In other words, the Senate has taken more than seven times as many rollcall votes on amendments in the first 6 months of this year than the current majority leader allowed in all of last year. It is worth noting that a majority of the rollcall votes taken this year have been on amendments introduced by Democrats. A majority of the rollcall votes taken this year have been on amendments by our friends on the other side. They haven't been blocked. This is powerful evidence that the Republican-led Senate is committed to working in a manner respectful of the minority's voice.

Additionally, we have considered and agreed to 183 amendments this year. That means we have agreed to nearly four times as many amendments in the first 6 months of this year than we did in the first 6 months of the last Congress. I am pleased the Senate has largely returned to operating under regular order with increased deliberation and an open and robust floor con-

sideration process. The bottom line is that this increased transparency and deliberation has greatly benefited the work of Senators on both sides of the aisle.

That said, I think we can all agree the Senate has a lot more work to do. I am hopeful we can capitalize on our recent success by continuing to tackle difficult issues, such as sustaining the highway trust fund, working toward comprehensive tax reform, and improving our Nation's cyber security. These are important bills and we have to work on them. As we work together to find solutions to these problems, I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to practice the principle of mutual restraint.

Senator Mike Mansfield, the long-time Democratic Senate majority leader, and a wonderful man whom I knew, counseled that the remedy to partisan gridlock in the Senate "lies not in the seeking of shortcuts, not in the cracking of nonexistent whips, not in wheeling and dealing, but in an honest facing of the situation and a resolution of it by the Senate itself, by accommodation, by respect for one another, [and] by mutual restraint."

Now, both parties must make certain sacrifices in order for the Senate to function. The majority leadership must generally refrain from bringing divisive and partisan messaging bills before the Senate for consideration and should seek to gather bipartisan support through a consensus. Mutual restraint also requires in most cases the majority leadership to allow legislation to be thoroughly vetted by the committee of jurisdiction and to allow for an open amendment process, which provides an opportunity for all Senators to contribute to the Chamber's work.

I remember how the ObamaCare bill was formulated. It was formulated not in the committee of jurisdiction, where we had all those people with all that experience; it was done with the White House, in a small room with just a few Senators who decided this monumental bill—passed only with Democratic support—that we are now all subject to. That bill has been anything but a success. Now, I have to say, all Senators should be able to contribute to the Chamber's work.

This duty is not incumbent upon the majority alone. The minority also has to practice restraint, including resisting impulses to filibuster routine unanimous consent requests and insisting on poison pill amendments. The minority in the Senate has powerful rights that can be used to grind the work of the Senate to a halt, but the minority should not abuse those rights. At times, it can be appropriate for the minority to utilize all of the procedural mechanisms at their disposal to legitimately and judiciously disagree with a serious policy being considered by the Senate. However, when the minority deliberately frustrates the operation of the Senate for partisan gain, it is an

offense to the institution—and I say that with regard to both sides.

My friend the majority leader has been committed to conducting the Senate's consideration of legislation in a deliberate manner, with prudence and restraint. He has renewed and enhanced deliberation and open consideration of serious policy proposals. We have not made a point of pushing Republican messaging bills, but rather we have worked hard to find broad bipartisan consensus. Although it has not been easy by any means, I feel confident the American people are beginning to regain confidence in the legislative branch as it is being led today under Republican leadership.

We still have a long way to go before we can restore the full confidence and trust of the American people—at least that is my viewpoint—but we are really once again moving the country in the right direction. This Senate is a dramatic improvement from the way business has been conducted over the past several years. We are not focused on scoring cheap political points but are deliberating serious policy and legislation aimed at meaningful reform.

The Senate, under Republican leadership, has passed bipartisan legislation that will improve the lives of all Americans. We are doing the right kind of work, and we are doing it the right way. We are not focused on political gimmicks and pageantry; rather, we are interested in real, substantive policy aimed at strengthening the Nation, our economy, and our national security. We have made significant progress, and we continue to work together to restore our reputation as the world's greatest deliberative body.

In the Finance Committee alone, as of yesterday we have passed 36 bipartisan bills out of that committee, which wasn't really allowed to function during the last number of years. It was so bad that Senator Coburn left it. He said we are not getting anything done. Frankly, we weren't. A lot of that was because of the way the Senate was being led at that particular time.

I am pleased to say I think the Finance Committee is restoring itself as the greatest deliberative committee on Capitol Hill, certainly in the Senate.

In that regard, it has been a privilege to work with PAUL RYAN over in the House. In all of our meetings, there has never been any real push to be partisan. It is to get the job done, to do it the best way we possibly can, to involve our brethren and sisters on the other side, and to make sure our side does what really ought to be done in our respective bodies.

We are going to have tie-ups in the future, I know, but it was getting so it was in every way. And I suspect there were sincere motives in doing that, in trying to protect the then-majority's side before this year. I understand that. But it went way too far, and it was not the way to run the Senate.

We all know Senator MCCONNELL is a strong, tough, intelligent, complete

Senator and certainly majority leader. That can irritate some people who don't look at the real facts and don't look at what he really stands for and what he is really trying to do. But I have found him to be fair. I have found him to be fair and deliberate and somebody you can work with as long as you are working in good faith.

I would like to see both of our leaders work in good faith so we can do things for our country first and quit worrying so much about who is going to run the Senate for the next couple of years or who is going to win or who is going to get the big headline. Let's worry about running the country in the proper way. To do that, it takes both sides, not just one side, and it takes a deliberative process that elevates the Senate again to the greatest deliberative body in the world. We can do it.

I caution both leaders to do everything in their power to see that we do work together as much as we can. When we fight, let's have real good fights, but let's do it over substantive things, not just deliberated procedural matters.

But the fact is that we have done quite a bit in these first 6 months. The leader has done a great job in getting us there, and we have had a lot of help from our friends on the other side. I want to keep that system going so we can do even better.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The assistant minority leader.

KING V. BURWELL DECISION

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, this morning the Supreme Court of the United States came down with its decision in King v. Burwell. I think it will probably be a decision that is remembered for a long time, certainly by Members of Congress. We were watching carefully, closely, wondering what the Supreme Court was going to say about the Affordable Care Act, otherwise known as ObamaCare. We passed it 5 years ago, and it was about the issue of health insurance—how many Americans who were uninsured would be insured under the Affordable Care Act and how much it would help health insurance cost.

Controversial, as the Senator from Utah just noted—it was passed on a partisan roll call. There was an effort to write a bipartisan bill, and it failed. There was no sentiment shared by both sides of the aisle to create the Affordable Care Act or anything like it.

How important is this decision, King v. Burwell, a decision which basically sustained the Affordable Care Act and said that the tax credits—which are part of the act—given to families in lower income situations were legal and constitutional? I think it is one of the most important decisions because I think health insurance is one of the most important things in our lives.

If you have ever been in the position as a father with a sick child, a seri-

ously ill child without health insurance, you will never forget it. I know. I have been there. As a law student, my wife and I got married and had a little baby. She had some challenges, and we had no health insurance. Every time we took her to the hospital, every time we saw a doctor, I wondered if she was getting the best that she could get because we didn't have health insurance. It meant waiting in big waiting rooms with a lot of other people without health insurance and hoping that whoever walked through that door, that doctor would be just what my daughter needed. I will never forget it. When it comes to a time when people are debating about health insurance and how important it is, it sure is important to me. It was even when I didn't have it, as I realized how insecure and uncertain I was.

About 5 years ago, I was down in southern Illinois, Marion, IL, which is a great little town. I stayed there in deep southern Illinois at a local motel, and in the morning I would go up and go in. They had a little breakfast buffet there. There was a sweet lady named Judy. She was always there; "Senator, what can I do for you?" and all that. She couldn't have been nicer. I got to know Judy over the times we stayed there, and we talked about her life.

Judy was 60 years old. She was working part time in this motel—kind of in the world of hospitality—and she took care of guests when they went to the breakfast buffet in the morning. We talked about her life. She had grown up in southern Illinois. She had worked all the way through her life, job after job after job. I knew she was a hard-working lady and a good person.

One day she said to me: Senator, I have heard about this debate in Washington about the Affordable Care Act, and I am scared.

I said: Why?

She said: I don't think I can afford it, and they won't let me pick my own doctor.

I said: Well, Judy, I don't want to get personal, but I need to ask you a few questions. Do you have health insurance?

No. No, Senator. I have never had health insurance in my life. I have never had a job that offered health insurance.

She was 60 years old.

I said: Now I am going to get real personal. Can you give me an idea how much money you make? If you want to, can you tell me?

Sure.

She told me.

I said: Judy, when it is all over, you are going to be covered by Medicaid. You won't be paying for this. For the first time in your life, you are going to have health insurance. You are going to be able to go to the hospital and not be a charity case.

She said: It won't cost me?

No. Your income is so low that you qualify for this tax credit and this