

So impressive was Mr. Garland throughout the investigation and prosecution, that Steven Jones, the attorney for Timothy McVeigh—listen to this. Here is what the attorney for McVeigh said about Merrick Garland.

Personally he's above reproach. He has integrity. He has the skills.

Merrick Garland was also devoted to the victims and their families. Claudia Denny was the mother of children in the building's daycare center. Her children were critically injured, but they survived. They are alive. This is what she said of Merrick Garland:

Early on we got invited to the U.S. attorney's office. They wanted all of our concerns, and I think Judge Garland set that up where we all got our voice heard.

The Oklahoma City prosecution ended with convictions and guilty pleas for all who were involved. To this day, Oklahomans still revere Merrick Garland for his good work. Frank Keating, the Governor of Oklahoma at the time of the attack, has been outspoken in his praise of Judge Garland. He told NPR recently:

People don't understand when they're eating a good dinner on Friday night, there is a chef in the kitchen that did it. And in the case of what we saw after April 19, there was a chef in the kitchen that did it, and it was Merrick Garland.

The junior Senator from Oklahoma recently praised Judge Garland saying, "I do plan to meet with Merrick Garland in my office in the weeks ahead to say thank you for what he did for Oklahoma during the bombing trial.

But that is as far as Senator LANKFORD has said he will go. He has made it clear that he will do nothing to help Garland get a hearing or a vote.

Following his work in the Oklahoma City case, Merrick Garland continued to work on other notable criminal cases. He oversaw the prosecution of the Unabomber, Ted Kaczynski, this evil man who is now in prison. Garland ran the investigation on the Atlanta Olympics bombing. He then went on to serve with distinction on the DC Circuit Court of Appeals, where he now serves as the chief judge.

Supreme Court Justice John Roberts once said of Garland's judicial expertise: "Anytime Judge Garland disagrees, you know you are in a difficult area." It is time for Republicans to allow the American people to see Merrick Garland themselves, not have me talking about him but see him for themselves. This is a super star. This is somebody who should be on the Court. Republicans should allow the American people to see this man for what the people of Oklahoma and litigants in the courtrooms have known for many years: This is a special man.

Last year, as part of the 20th anniversary of the Oklahoma City attack, Judge Garland and some of his fellow prosecutors were awarded the Reflections of Hope Award by the Oklahoma City National Memorial. The honor is awarded to those who exemplify the belief that "hope can survive and blossom amidst the tragedy and chaos."

That is the hope Merrick Garland brought to Oklahoma in the aftermath of that vicious day. We are reminded of Judge Garland's contributions in securing justice in Oklahoma City and wherever he has gone. He is a brilliant man. He is academically brilliant. He is a man who was not given anything on a silver platter. In my meeting with him, I asked him how he handled the situation at Harvard. It is an expensive place. He said: Well, among other things, I sold my comic book collection.

Now, that does not sound like much to most people. But those coins, for example, that my little brother—we are separated by 22 months—has been collecting since he was a little boy mean a lot to him. Most of them are not worth too much. Some of them are.

Merrick Garland collected comic books. One of my best friend's sons collects comic books. It is something they do. It meant a lot to him. He had to get rid of them to get through college. He has inspired those around him through his hard work and commitment and fairness always. That is why it is so disappointing that Republicans are denying this man the common decency of a hearing so the American people can see him.

Why not let Merrick Garland speak for himself at a hearing? Why not let him make his own case to the American people and their elected Senators? There is no excuse to delay his nomination any longer. Senate Republicans should give Merrick Garland the hearings and the vote he deserves. Republicans need to simply do their job.

#### BOKO HARAM

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I want to say just a brief word on another subject. Last week marked another horrible anniversary, the 2-year anniversary since the terrorist group Boko Haram invaded a school in Nigeria and took away 300 little girls. They were girls. They were not young women. They were little girls.

The world watched as parents of the girls pleaded for help. People all over the world, including First Lady Michelle Obama, rallied behind the campaign "Bring Back Our Girls." Despite the global outcry, most of these girls—the vast majority of these girls—are still missing 2 years later. But here is the horrible part about this—the shocking fate of some of these girls.

It has been a couple of years. They are older—teenagers. Boko Haram is weaponizing them, turning these little girls—they are now not so little—into suicide bombers. According to the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund, or UNICEF, in the 4 countries where Boko Haram operates, the number of children used in bombing attacks has sharply increased from 4 in 2014 to 44 last year. That record will be broken this year.

Nearly one out of every five bombers where Boko Haram is active is a child.

Seventy-five percent of the child bombers are girls. As a father and grandfather of 19 children, I am sickened by what has happened to those schoolgirls. Although 2 years has passed since the abduction, the world must not forget the evil of this organization. We must be as resolved as ever to fight terrorism wherever it rears its ugly head. Whether it is ISIS or Boko Haram, we cannot stop. We must be vigilant.

Mr. President, the Chair announce the business that we are going to proceed with today.

#### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will be in a period of morning business for 1 hour, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

The Senator from Vermont.

#### OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING ANNIVERSARY AND NOMINATION OF MERRICK GARLAND

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, today we are going to remember the victims and families whose lives were forever changed by the bombing in Oklahoma City 21 years ago. This homegrown terrorist attack—this bombing shook our Nation to its core. In fact, it remains the worst act of homegrown terrorism our Nation has endured.

The destruction and the loss of life were overwhelming. This photograph I have never forgotten. The firefighter is carrying the limp and bloodied body of a toddler from the wreckage. Those of us who are parents and grandparents know the joy we have had in caring for children this age. You can only imagine the sadness of that firefighter. It symbolized the horror of the attack: 168 innocent lives perished that day; 19 of them were children.

The impact, of course, and the loss in the Oklahoma City community was enormous. Nearly everyone knew someone who had lost a friend or family member. The city's emergency services and their victims support resources were quickly overwhelmed. As the days went by and the needs mounted, it became clear that the existing State and Federal resources were simply insufficient to respond to such a massive attack.

So to respond to the victims' needs, I proposed, and Congress passed, the Victims of Terrorism Act of 1995. Among important matters, the legislation I wrote created an emergency reserve as part of the Crime Victims Fund to serve as an emergency resource in the wake of an act of terrorism or mass violence. Even though every one of us, Republicans and Democrats alike,

prayed there would never be such another act, we had, in my legislation, an emergency reserve, because without such a fund, State victim compensation and assistance programs are quickly overwhelmed. This new fund was critical to ensuring that additional resources got to the field quickly.

Over the last two decades, this fund has been instrumental in allowing the Federal government to immediately respond to the victims of other unspeakable acts of mass violence, including the 9/11 terrorist attack and more recently, the domestic terror attack in the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina.

Last month I met with the former Federal prosecutor who managed the investigation and the prosecutions of the Oklahoma City bombers. We talked about the prosecution. That former prosecutor was Chief Judge Merrick Garland. He was nominated to the Supreme Court last month. But before he was a judge and a nominee to serve on the highest Court in the land, he was a prosecutor and a senior official at the Justice Department. Those of us who have had the privilege of being prosecutors, none of us could ever think of facing what he did.

Immediately after hearing the news of the devastation in Oklahoma City, Merrick Garland turned to the Deputy Attorney General. He said, very simply: "You need to send me there." The next day, Merrick Garland became the highest ranking Department of Justice official on the ground in Oklahoma City after the bombing. He helped to oversee every aspect of the criminal investigation and response. Years later, he still considers his work in Oklahoma City the most important in his life.

Chief Judge Garland's commitment to fairness during that difficult period and his work with the citizens of Oklahoma City were formative for him. I know from talking with him that it left a lasting impression on him, but it left especially a lasting impression on the people he served.

Last year, the Oklahoma City National Memorial & Museum honored Merrick Garland with a Reflections of Hope Award for his work on behalf of victims. After his nomination to the Supreme Court last month, the Oklahoma museum's Executive Director said: "We are so proud that Judge Garland, who kept the family members and survivors front and center during his work in Oklahoma City, has been nominated."

We have also heard from a team of former prosecutors, law enforcement agents, and victims' advocates who worked directly with Chief Judge Garland in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing. They have written to the leadership of the Senate and the Judiciary Committee to highlight Chief Judge Garland's work on this terrorism case. They strongly support his nomination to the Supreme Court. The

law enforcement team writes of Chief Judge Garland:

Twenty years ago, the nation could not find a better lawyer to manage the investigation and prosecution of what was then the worse crime ever committed on American soil. Today, our nation could not find a better judge, nor a more honorable man, to join its highest court.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the letter highlighting Chief Judge Garland's work on the Oklahoma City bombing.

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

APRIL 19, 2016.

Hon. MITCH MCCONNELL,  
*Majority Leader, U.S. Senate,*  
*Washington, DC.*

Hon. HARRY REID,  
*Minority Leader, U.S. Senate,*  
*Washington, DC.*

Hon. CHARLES E. GRASSLEY,  
*Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.*

Hon. PATRICK J. LEAHY,  
*Ranking Member, Committee on the Judiciary,*  
*U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.*

DEAR MAJORITY LEADER MCCONNELL, MINORITY LEADER REID, CHAIRMAN GRASSLEY, AND RANKING MEMBER LEAHY: As former prosecutors, law enforcement agents and victim advocates who worked as a team with Merrick Garland, as well as state and local authorities, to secure justice for the thousands of victims of the Oklahoma City bombing, we write to offer our enthusiastic support for Chief Judge Garland to serve on the Supreme Court of the United States.

We are a diverse group: we live in different parts of the country and work in a variety of fields, we have no common political affiliation, and indeed some of us are occasionally adversaries in court. But despite those differences we are united today, as we were united two decades ago, in our respect and admiration for the integrity, brilliance, leadership, and judgment of Merrick Garland. Twenty years ago, the nation could not find a better lawyer to manage the investigation and prosecution of what was then the worst crime ever committed on American soil. Today, our nation could not find a better judge, nor a more honorable man, to join its highest court.

On April 19, 1995, while first responders were still searching for the injured and the dead in the ruins of the Alfred J. Murrah Federal Building, Merrick Garland worked with the folks on the ground to provide the best federal resources, personnel and counsel to assist with the investigation and prosecutions. He knew that the best thing he could do was to leave Washington and travel to Oklahoma City to ensure that the investigators, the prosecutors, the victims and the survivors had the full support of the Justice Department. He arrived to find the largest and most complex crime scene anyone in American law enforcement had ever encountered. He helped to ensure that the many different local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies worked together as a team, despite their sometimes differing ideas about how best to build a case. At the same time, he made sure the victims, the survivors and their families had the critical resources they needed to deal with the unspeakable losses they had suffered.

Once the two men responsible for the bombing had been identified and arrested, Judge Garland was careful to ensure that each was treated fairly and with dignity to ensure that no one could reasonably accuse

the government of a rush to judgment. He meticulously oversaw every step of the prosecution's initial proceedings, building an overwhelming case and ensuring that no legal error would allow the bombers to escape responsibility for their atrocity. And with the victims' families and the nation desperate for information and justice, Judge Garland ensured that they would have both.

After the case was on a sound footing, Judge Garland returned to his critical responsibilities at the Justice Department, but maintained close contact with the rest of us who continued to work on the case. With his towering intellect, exceptionally sound judgment, and extraordinary decency, he provided the leadership and wise counsel that helped us face both novel legal issues in the courtroom and unprecedented challenges in supporting a community of victims that numbered in the thousands.

On a personal level, we all benefitted from having Judge Garland in our corner. For some of us, the bombing had ripped through our home town and killed and wounded neighbors and colleagues; for the rest of us who came to the task force from across the country, the case required many months away from friends and family. For all of us, working to secure justice for the victims and to reassure the nation that our judicial system could respond fairly but forcefully to such an act of domestic terrorism, the pressure to get it right was unyielding—and Judge Garland's support was critical. He was not just a supervisor; he was a mentor, a counselor, and a friend.

From the day of the Oklahoma City bombing until his judicial appointment at the start of the first of the trials, Merrick Garland provided our team with leadership, confidence, determination, and hope. If confirmed, he will bring to the Supreme Court the same humanity, talent, and judgment that we have seen in him for two decades. We unconditionally support his nomination and urge you to support his confirmation as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

Very truly yours,

Donna Buccella; Vicki Zemp Behenna; Sean Connelly; David Chipman; Aitan Goelman; Jamie Gorelick; Joseph Hartzler; Carolyn Hightower; Arlene Johnson; Wan Kim; Larry Mackey; Scott Mendeloff; James Orenstein; Patrick Ryan; Beth Wilkinson.

Mr. LEAHY. The American people need to know that it is this dedicated public servant who is now being denied a public hearing by Senate Republicans. No nominee to the Supreme Court has ever been treated the way Senate Republicans are treating Chief Judge Garland. Since public confirmation hearings began in 1916, the Senate has never denied a Supreme Court nominee a hearing and a vote. I say to my friends the Republicans, you have no good reason for your obstruction of Merrick Garland.

Americans by a 2-to-1 margin want Chief Judge Garland to have a public hearing in the Judiciary Committee. Based on more than four decades of that precedent, that hearing should take place in the Judiciary Committee next week. Instead, Senate Republicans continue to ignore the American people.

Neil Siegel, a law professor at Duke University, said: "It does not matter constitutionally, nor as a matter of tradition, whether a nomination is made in an election year. Numerous

nominations have succeeded during election years. Without exaggeration, Senate Republicans have made up a distinction without a relevant constitutional difference." Even school children know that Presidents are elected to 4-year terms and they have to carry out their constitutional duties each and every year right up until noon of January 20 of their last year. It is no different for Senators. We can't just sit this year out because an election will be held in November. As Professor Siegel concludes, Senate Republicans "are harming the court without a justification that passes the laugh test."

Today, as we remember the victims, their families, and the entire Oklahoma City community, let's also remember the good the Senate has done when we have put aside destructive partisanship and come together to act for the good of the country. This body has done that time and again, under both Democratic and Republican leadership, as it has carried out its constitutional duty to consider nominees to the Supreme Court. I hope the Senate will carry out that duty for a public servant named Merrick Garland who has served this country so well.

#### INVESTING IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, on April 12, 2016, the Appropriations Subcommittee on State and Foreign Operations held a hearing on violent extremism and the role of U.S. foreign assistance. We heard testimony from four distinguished witnesses, including my good friend and partner in humanitarian work, Bono, the lead singer of U2 and cofounder of ONE. As I said at the hearing, there are millions of people who may never know Bono by name or have the privilege of listening to his music, but their lives are better because of the profound impact his advocacy has had on the world's efforts to combat poverty.

At the hearing, Bono testified about what he called the three extremes: extreme ideology, extreme poverty, and extreme climate. His testimony was powerful. It complemented the opinion piece he wrote that was published in the New York Times on the morning of the hearing in which he highlighted the importance of investing in international development in a way that empowers local populations, including refugees and other displaced persons.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a copy of Bono's article entitled "Time to Think Bigger About the Refugee Crisis."

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

[From the New York Times, April 12, 2016]

BONO: TIME TO THINK BIGGER ABOUT THE REFUGEE CRISIS

(By Bono)

I've recently returned from the Middle East and East Africa, where I visited a num-

ber of refugee camps—car parks of humanity. I went as an activist and as a European. Because Europeans have come to realize—quite painfully in the past year or two—that the mass exodus from collapsed countries like Syria is not just a Middle Eastern or African problem, it's a European problem. It's an American one, too. It affects us all.

My countryman Peter Sutherland, a senior United Nations official for international migration, has made clear that we're living through the worst crisis of forced displacement since World War II. In 2010, some 10,000 people worldwide fled their homes every day, on average. Which sounds like a lot—until you consider that four years later, that number had quadrupled. And when people are driven out of their homes by violence, poverty and instability, they take themselves and their despair elsewhere. And "elsewhere" can be anywhere.

But with their despair some of them also have hope. It seems insane or naïve to speak of hope in this context, and I may be both of these things. But in most of the places where refugees live, hope has not left the building: hope to go home someday, hope to find work and a better life. I left Kenya, Jordan and Turkey feeling a little hopeful myself. For as hard as it is to truly imagine what life as a refugee is like, we have a chance to re-imagine that reality—and reinvent our relationship with the people and countries consumed now by conflict, or hosting those who have fled it.

That needs to start, as it has for me, by parting with a couple of wrong ideas about the refugee crisis. One is that the Syrian refugees are concentrated in camps. They aren't. These arid encampments are so huge that it's hard to fathom that only a small percentage of those refugees actually live in one; in many places, a majority live in the communities of their host countries. In Jordan and Lebanon, for example, most refugees are in urban centers rather than in camps. This is a problem that knows no perimeter.

Another fallacy is that the crisis is temporary. I guess it depends on your definition of "temporary," but I didn't meet many refugees, some of whom have been displaced for decades, who felt that they were just passing through. Some families have spent two generations—and some young people their entire lives—as refugees. They have been exiled by their home countries only to face a second exile in the countries that have accepted their presence but not their right to move or to work. You hear the term "permanent temporary solution" thrown around by officials, but not with the irony you'd think it deserves.

Those understandings should shape our response. The United States and other developed nations have a chance to act smarter, think bigger and move faster in addressing this crisis and preventing the next one. Having talked with refugees, and having talked to countless officials and representatives of civil society along the way, I see three areas where the world should act.

First, the refugees, and the countries where they're living, need more humanitarian support. You see this most vividly in a place like the Dadaab complex in Kenya, near the border of Somalia, a place patched together (or not) with sticks and plastic sheets. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is doing noble and exceedingly hard work. But it can't do everything it needs to do when it is chronically underfunded by the very governments that expect it to handle this global problem.

Second, we can help host countries see refugees not just as a burden, but as a benefit. The international community could be doing much more, through development assistance and trade deals, to encourage businesses and

states hosting refugees to see the upside of people's hands being occupied and not idle (the World Bank and the Scriptures agree on this) The refugees want to work. They were shopkeepers, teachers and musicians at home, and want to be these things again, or maybe become new things—if they can get education, training and access to the labor market.

In other words, they need development. Development that invests in them and empowers them—that treats them not as passive recipients but as leaders and partners. The world tends to give humanitarian efforts and development efforts their own separate bureaucracies and unlisted phone numbers, as if they're wholly separate concerns. But to be effective they need to be better coordinated; we have to link the two and fund them both. Refugees living in camps need food and shelter right away, but they also need the long-term benefits of education, training, jobs and financial security.

Third, the world needs to shore up the development assistance it gives to those countries that have not collapsed but are racked by conflict, corruption and weak governance. These countries may yet spiral into anarchy. Lately some Western governments have been cutting overseas aid to spend money instead on asylum-seekers within their borders. But it is less expensive to invest in stability than to confront instability. Transparency, respect for rule of law, and a free and independent media are also crucial to the survival of countries on the periphery of chaos. Because chaos, as we know all too well, is contagious.

What we don't want and can't afford is to have important countries in the Sahel, the band of countries just south of the Sahara, going the same way as Syria. If Nigeria, a country many times larger than Syria, were to fracture as a result of groups like Boko Haram, we are going to wish we had been thinking bigger before the storm.

Actually, some people are thinking bigger. I keep hearing calls from a real gathering of forces—Africans and Europeans, army generals and World Bank and International Monetary Fund officials—to emulate that most genius of American ideas, the Marshall Plan. That plan delivered trade and development in service of security—in places where institutions were broken and hope had been lost. Well, hope is not lost in the Middle East and North Africa, not yet, not even where it's held together by string. But hope is getting impatient. We should be, too.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I see my distinguished colleague on the floor.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

#### MILITARY READINESS

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, I have the honor to represent the tip of America's spear—Fort Bragg, NC. Fort Bragg is the largest military installation in the United States, and it is the home to the most decorated combat forces of the military, the All-American Division, the 82nd Airborne.

The 82nd is a subordinate command of the XVIII Airborne Corps, America's Global Response Force. Whenever a threat occurs, units of the XVIII Airborne can be wheels up and on top of any target in the world in just 48 hours.

In the 15 months that I have had the privilege to represent North Carolina