

The truth is—and this is not BERNIE SANDERS talking, this is study after study after study that says that if you do as they did in the House, which is throw 23 million people off of health insurance, including people who are struggling with cancer, people who are struggling with heart disease, people who are struggling with diabetes, what does common sense tell us? If you are struggling with cancer and you lose your health insurance, what do you think is going to happen to you?

What study after study has shown is that thousands of people will die. It is not that any Republican here wants to see anyone die, but that is the consequence of what happens when you throw, as the House bill did, 23 million people off of health insurance. We should not be giving tax breaks to insurance companies and then throwing disabled children, or people with terrible illnesses who are fighting for their lives, off of health insurance.

The AARP is very strongly opposed to this legislation. The reason is pretty clear. What every person in America should understand, and I am not sure that many do, is that Medicaid now pays for over two-thirds of all nursing home care—two-thirds. What happens to the seniors and persons with disabilities who have their nursing home coverage paid for by Medicaid today? What is going to happen to those people?

What happens if your mom is in a nursing home? You don't have a lot of money, and your mom is in a nursing home paid for by Medicaid. What happens if Medicaid is slashed? What is going to happen to your mom? Is she going to be thrown out on the street or end up in the basement of your house? Are you going to have to make the choice about whether you take care of her or put away a few bucks to send your kid to college? If suddenly a daughter or a son is going to have to care for a mom or a dad thrown out of a nursing home, how do they go to work to earn the money their families need?

These are legitimate questions, and it would have been nice to have a hearing or two in order to answer those questions.

The bottom line is that we have legislation before us that is widely rejected by the American people. The last poll that I saw, which was done by USA Today, suggested that 12 percent of the American people supported this legislation—12 percent. Virtually every major healthcare organization in America opposes this legislation. There is nothing I have seen today—none of the tweaks that have been put into this make this legislation in any way, shape, or form acceptable.

It is no great secret that the Affordable Care Act is far from perfect. I don't think you hear anybody here say: Hey, the ACA is great; it doesn't need any changes. It does need changes. Deductibles are far too high in Vermont. Premiums are too high. Copayments are too high. And the cost of

prescription drugs in Vermont and all over this country is off the charts.

I was in West Virginia, and I talked to a woman for a moment after I spoke, and she said that she is taking care of her older brother. Her brother has seizures. The medicine her brother was using went up by 900 percent over the last few years. Why? Because that is what the drug companies can get away with. Tomorrow it may be 1,000 percent. Does anybody in America think that makes sense? Is anybody happy in America? Are people in Missouri happy, are people in West Virginia and people in Vermont happy that we are paying by far the highest prices in the world for prescription drugs? I don't think so. There are ideas out there about how we can significantly lower the costs of prescription drugs in this country, how we can lower deductibles, how we can lower copayments.

Now, as I have said many, many times, I happen to believe that while it is important that we improve the Affordable Care Act, at the end of the day, this country must do what every other major country on Earth does, and that is to understand that healthcare is a right, not a privilege.

Right now, we have 28 million people who have zero health insurance. If this bill in the House were to go through, there would be another 23 million on top of the 28—over 50 million people—without any health insurance. Does that make any sense to anybody?

Our job is to join the rest of the industrialized world and make sure that every man, woman, and child has healthcare as a right, no matter what your income is. When you get sick, you go to the doctor. When you have to go to the hospital, you don't go bankrupt. That is what a civilized democracy is about. That is what they do in Canada. That is what they do in the UK, France, Germany, Scandinavia, and Holland. Every major country on Earth guarantees healthcare to all people. That is where I want to see our country go, and I will be introducing legislation to make sure that happens.

More and more people all over this country want to move us in that direction. But right now, our job is to make sure that millions of people do not lose their health insurance in order to give tax breaks to insurance companies. Our job is to make sure that disabled children continue to get the care they need and older folks aren't thrown out of nursing homes. That is what we have to do.

So I urge in the strongest possible way the defeat of this legislation. Then, let's go forward to improve the Affordable Care Act, not destroy it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

NOMINATIONS

Mr. BLUNT. Madam President, it has been nearly 7 months since President Trump took office. He was sworn in on the steps of the Capitol on January 20.

Our colleagues across the aisle have had, frankly, more than enough time

to come to terms with the election results. Unfortunately, they seem to be channeling their disappointment through the confirmation process by engaging in an unprecedented level of obstruction.

We spent all this week when the Senate could do no other business on the executive calendar than to confirm three nominees—three nominees of about 500 that need to be appointed by the President. They are there only because the President would want them there. They come and go as Presidents come and go. Many of them have gone. The problem is that their replacements haven't been there.

If there is any doubt as to just how unprecedented this drawn-out confirmation process has been, let's look at how it stacks up against the previous administration. We are only a couple of weeks away from August, and Senate Democrats have only allowed us to confirm 52 of President Trump's 216 nominees. That is 24 percent. By the August recess of President Obama's first term, the Senate had confirmed 313 of his 454 nominations, or 69 percent.

So we start out with an incredibly slow start, where previous administrations—both the Bush administration and the Obama administration—by the end of the first week, or often by the end of the first day, had most of their Cabinet confirmed.

Getting a Cabinet confirmed is a process that took every minute of time that the Senate rules could possibly be stretched to allow.

Then, we look at nominations. The President, as I said, has nominated 216 people. Less than one out of four of them have been confirmed. In President Obama's term, even though he had more nominees by this time, he had a lot more confirmations. The Senate confirmed 69 percent of the Obama nominees.

There are currently more than 150 nominations waiting for confirmation, many of them are already out of committee. They are ready to come to the floor, but Senate Democrats have caused this backlog by using every procedural tactic to needlessly delay nominees. But, when they delay the nominees, they also delay our ability to get to the other work.

So there are two questions here. Are you going to let the President take over the government, which the Constitution and the Senate have been an active part of? Are you going to get the other work done? If you don't let the President take over the government, how do you effectively get the other work done? It is really a plan that works really well if what you want to do is slow down any changes of where the government was on January 20.

A Wall Street Journal editorial earlier this week said:

Democratic obstruction against nominees is nearly total, most notably including a demand for cloture filings for every nominee—no matter how minor the position. This

means a two-day waiting period, and then another 30 hours of debate. The 30-hour rule means Mr. Trump might not be able to fill all of those 400 positions in four years.

In fact, at the rate we are going, it will take more than 11 years to fill all the jobs that the President is supposed to be able to fill. I guess that would put us in the third term of the Trump Presidency before he ever got every job filled the first time, which the President is expected to fill under the laws that have been there, most of them for a long time.

The Wall Street Journal editorial talks about these difficult terms, like cloture. What does that mean? That means that you have to get a vote to move forward with the nomination—normally, not done where nominations are concerned.

There is a rule that allows you to have vigorous debate on any nominee who really is a problem, but that rule has clearly been abused. Now the cloture vote only takes 51 votes. This is no odd Senate majority or anything like that. A majority of the Senators can vote to move forward with the nominee. But then, if you will not consent to waive any of the other rules, you have to wait 2 days before you can get to that. You can't do anything else during those 2 days. Then you have to have 30 hours of debate.

That has happened over and over. As a matter of fact, this happened 30 times. That sounded like about 5 days to me, certainly 3½ days. That whole process has happened 30 times, only to have many of these nominees get 90 or more votes, to have no debate on the floor about the nominee for whom you are supposed to be insisting on 30 hours of debate and to come to the floor and talk about whatever else you want to talk about. But if you go back and view the tape on whatever has happened during these confirmations, you will find very little discussion of the 30 times that 30 hours of debate was supposedly required before we could get to a final vote. Then, often, in the final vote, in a bipartisan effort to find nominees who are willing to serve, they get more than 90 votes. That just has never happened before.

By the first August recess in his administration, President Obama only had eight cloture votes. So what has happened here 30 times under President Trump happened 8 times under President Obama. Three percent of the nominees confirmed under President Obama had a cloture vote between swearing in and August, but 60 percent of the nominees from President Trump have had a cloture vote, but about the same amount of real debate. If we look back at what happened in 2009, the hours of actual debate on nominees were about the same, but the use of the maximum abuse of the rules is different.

Let me say this. The rules of the Senate were designed to protect the minority, and that is a good thing. This is a unique body in a democratic country,

where the minority has been traditionally protected, and that protection lasts until the minority begins to abuse it. There will be a point here pretty quickly where I think Senators are going to have to wonder if this rule is any longer a rule that should be sustained.

We cannot continue to do what we are doing. We don't have 11 years and 4 months to confirm the Trump nominees. Nobody would want the President to have—well, maybe not anybody—an 11-year and 4-month term. But our friends on the other side are acting like that is how long he has to get just this rudimentary part of this job done that largely should have been done in the first 6 months.

Only 10 percent of the President's nominees' confirmations have been done by a voice vote. That is another alternative—just bring the nominee, nobody objects to waiving the rules, and you have a voice vote.

Ten percent of President Trump's confirmations have been done by voice vote while more than 90 percent of President Obama's confirmations were done by a voice vote. So we have the same percentages there, just totally turned around—10 percent for Trump and 90 percent for President Obama. The contrast is striking. It is not just simply math. It is, again, about the key positions of government that aren't filled.

As a member of the Intelligence Committee, I hear all the time that our country faces more threats from more directions than at any time in our history. But we have only been allowed by this strung-out process, insisted on by Senate Democrats, to confirm 6 of the President's 22 nominees for the Department of Defense. The Department of Defense has 22 nominees already made, and only 6 of them are over there doing the jobs, of which the President says: Here are the 22 people I would like to have, and there will be more names to follow.

The positions that haven't been confirmed are the Deputy Secretary of Defense, the next job in the Defense Department and the principal deputy under the Secretary of Defense; and the Assistant Secretary of Defense.

I don't know about everybody else. I was a little confused by how long these titles are. But if you look at what each of these people do, these are critical to the mission of defending the country and they haven't been filled. These are positions that need to be filled.

The President continues to work to improve the safety of our communities and enforce our Nation's laws. We have seen obstruction when it comes to the Justice Department and the 19 people who have been willing to serve—all of whom I think are out of committee or about to be out of committee.

If one of them is out of committee, that would be enough. But the President has nominated 19 people to fill these vacancies, and only 3 nominees have been confirmed. Two of the nomi-

nees who have been reported out of the committee received votes of 20 to 0 and 19 to 1. We would think that is somebody who could come to the floor with a likely voice vote.

My bet is that when they do get voted on, 98 Senators will vote for them. But if we continue to do what we are doing now, only 2 days after a cloture vote, 2 days after the vote, and then almost a day and a half of debate after that, it is a disservice to the people that elected us to do these jobs and even a greater disservice to the people who elected the President to do his job.

Once again, these are key positions in Justice—the Solicitor General of the United States, the principal person who argues in court for the United States of America—and it is the middle of July.

My colleagues from across the aisle have clearly decided that it is in their best political interests to stand in the way of the President's nominees, but, maybe, more importantly, to stand in the way of the Senate's ability to get its job done.

When I talked to Missourians, they want to know what we are doing and why we can't get the work done that they sent us here to do. They also want to know why we can't let the President do the job he was sent here to do.

We need to be working on the failures of the current healthcare system, how we make college more affordable, and what we can do to improve our infrastructure. Those are things we need to get to, and we need to allow the President to put his government in place for that to happen.

He was sworn in 7 months ago. He has every right to put the government in place. It is time for our friends across the aisle to stop grandstanding, to stop standing in the way. It is time to stop debating the Presidential election, and it is time to start debating the issues of how to run the government and to let the President put his people in those jobs so that process can begin.

Mr. President, I see my friend from Wisconsin is here. I will conclude my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

(The remarks of Mr. JOHNSON pertaining to the introduction of S. 1553 are printed in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. JOHNSON. Madam President, I yield the floor.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BLUNT). Without objection, it is so ordered.

REMEMBERING GENE ZERKEL

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. President, as you know, for months now, I have been