

I would appeal to my colleagues in the Senate to stop and reconsider what is going on. Listen to the stories. Look at the faces of everyday Americans whose lives would be devastated by this legislation—from children, to seniors, to veterans.

Several months ago on Facebook and other social media platforms, I asked people across New Hampshire to tell me their stories—stories about how the Affordable Care Act has made a life-saving difference or has improved their lives and the well-being of their families. I was overwhelmed by the response.

Here in Washington, some seem to think that repealing the Affordable Care Act, no matter how destructive the consequences, is just about politics; it is about notching a win for their team. But for the people in New Hampshire and across the country, repealing the Affordable Care Act and slashing Medicaid isn't about politics. It is about life and death. It is about people being cut off from vital, life-saving treatment for substance use disorders. It is about families losing affordable health coverage, about seniors being unable to pay for nursing home care, and about millions of vulnerable people with preexisting conditions who would effectively be denied health coverage. It is about returning to the pre-ACA days when simply being a woman was considered a preexisting condition, justifying much higher rates.

I urge Republican leaders to stop this latest effort of destructive partisanship. There should be no retreat from the progress we have made in recent years, including the progress against the opioid epidemic. I encourage Senators who support this ill-conceived legislation to listen to the Governors, listen to the insurance commissioners, listen to patient and provider groups, and, most importantly, listen to their constituents.

Let's fix what is not working about the Affordable Care Act, and let's not pass legislation to take healthcare away from people. Let's support bipartisan efforts now under way in the Senate to stabilize the marketplaces and to provide access to quality, affordable healthcare for every American.

Thank you.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. KING. Mr. President, over the past several weeks, there have been real discussions—bipartisan discussions about fixing the problems in the Affordable Care Act, about controlling the growth of premiums, about being sure that there is some certainty in the market to prevent the collapse of the

individual market, which, by the way, will not only affect people who are participating in the Affordable Care Act exchanges but will affect all those in the individual market, and we could stop that.

The Senate HELP Committee had 4 days of hearings, roundtables, coffees with other Senators to talk about what the problems are, what we can do to solve them, and we were making some real progress. Then, all of a sudden, up comes TrumpCare 4.0 or 5.0—I have lost track—another bill to essentially repeal and not replace the Affordable Care Act.

On July 21, 1861, there was an occurrence at the beginning of the American Civil War. It was the First Battle of Bull Run. The Union troops were routed that day, and there was a disorganized retreat back to Washington. That has been known historically as the Great Skedaddle, and that is exactly what is happening again today. This is the great healthcare skedaddle because what the Senate majority is doing is avoiding responsibility.

You don't want to be discriminated against because of preexisting conditions? Well, that is not our decision. We are passing it on to the Governor. The Governor can make that decision; it is not we who are doing it.

You don't want to have the bands for the differential between young people and old people changed so that elderly people pay twice, three times, four times, five times as much as young people for health insurance? You don't want responsibility for that? Fine. Pass this bill and give it to the Governor.

That is what we are talking about—a copout. It is the Senate majority once again trying to jam down the throats of the American people a change they don't want. They don't want it.

Everywhere I went in Maine in July and August after our vote back at the end of July, people said thank you. They said thank you, and they said to tell SUSAN COLLINS thank you for the vote to preserve our healthcare. Yet here we are, back at it again.

I think we need to understand what this bill does. Essentially, it does two things. It shifts all the responsibility for the healthcare provisions for the most vulnerable Americans entirely to the States, with very little in the way of guardrails or protection, and it gives them less money in order to provide that kind of healthcare. That is called shift and shaft. Shift the responsibility, and shaft the people who have to try to meet that responsibility.

I have been a Governor. What we are talking about here is cutting off the support and the dollars that are needed to meet those responsibilities. Everyone says: Well, this is all flexibility. We are providing flexibility—flexibility to make agonizing decisions between providing healthcare to seniors or to children, to people who are disabled or to people who are just trying to get on

their feet and go to work without the specter of a healthcare disaster hanging over them.

I suspect we will have more to say about this next week, but it is a travesty.

I understand there is going to be a little hearing on Monday. I call it a fig-leaf hearing. There is going to be a hearing. We don't know who is going to be there. We don't know exactly what the testimony is going to be. It is going to be a hearing so people can say, yes, we had a hearing.

Well, come on. This is not a responsible way to legislate, and the people of this country expect more of us. I hope both parties—both parties—will recognize the folly of what is being proposed here and say no. Then, let's go back to talking, on a bipartisan basis, and fix the problems with the American healthcare system which certainly need to be addressed.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JOHNSON). Under the previous order, there will now be 2 minutes of debate, equally divided between the two parties.

Mr. CRAPO. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to yield back all time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

All time is yielded back.

CLOTURE MOTION

Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of William J. Emanuel, of California, to be a Member of the National Labor Relations Board.

Mitch McConnell, John Hoeven, Joni Ernst, Thom Tillis, Steve Daines, Mike Crapo, Jerry Moran, Tom Cotton, Roger F. Wicker, Pat Roberts, James M. Inhofe, Johnny Isakson, John Cornyn, James Lankford, John Boozman, James E. Risch, John Thune.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the nomination of William J. Emanuel, of California, to be a Member of the National Labor Relations Board, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. COCHRAN), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. MORAN), and the Senator from Alabama (Mr. STRANGE).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Hawaii (Ms. HIRONO), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ), the Senator from Florida (Mr.

NELSON), and the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. SCHATZ) are necessarily absent.

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

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 49, nays 44, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 202 Ex.]

YEAS—49

Alexander	Flake	Perdue
Barrasso	Gardner	Portman
Blunt	Graham	Risch
Boozman	Grassley	Roberts
Burr	Hatch	Rounds
Capito	Heller	Rubio
Cassidy	Hoeven	Sasse
Collins	Inhofe	Scott
Corker	Isakson	Shelby
Cornyn	Johnson	Sullivan
Cotton	Kennedy	Thune
Crapo	Lankford	Tillis
Cruz	Lee	Toomey
Daines	McCain	Wicker
Enzi	McConnell	Young
Ernst	Murkowski	
Fischer	Paul	

NAYS—44

Baldwin	Franken	Murray
Bennet	Gillibrand	Peters
Blumenthal	Harris	Reed
Booker	Hassan	Sanders
Brown	Heinrich	Schumer
Cantwell	Heitkamp	Shaheen
Cardin	Kaine	Stabenow
Carper	King	Tester
Casey	Klobuchar	Udall
Coons	Leahy	Van Hollen
Cortez Masto	Manchin	Warner
Donnelly	Markey	Warren
Duckworth	McCaskill	Whitehouse
Durbin	Merkley	Wyden
Feinstein	Murphy	

NOT VOTING—7

Cochran	Moran	Strange
Hirono	Nelson	
Menendez	Schatz	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 49, the nays are 44.

The motion is agreed to.

The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to address the Senate as in morning business.

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

TRIBUTE TO JOE DONOGHUE

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, this week marks 30 years of loyal service to the Senate by one Joe Donoghue, my legislative director—30 years working for the citizens of Arizona and trying to make me a better Senator. During those three decades, he worked his way from the mailroom to a position of considerable importance on my staff. He has made himself something of an expert not only on Senate procedure but on all the many issues our staff has worked on over the years—from budget matters to immigration reform, to national security.

Joe is capable, intelligent, hard-working, and trustworthy—a justifiably proud professional staffer, a pro's pro. He is well liked by staff and Members on both sides of the aisle, especially by those who, like him, have dedicated most of their careers to the Senate. I have come to depend on his professionalism and his counsel. More than that, my wife Cindy and my children treasure his friendship, as do I—as do I.

Joe and I began our Senate careers around the same time. He started sorting mail and performing other entry-level duties in the first year of my first term. He was 18 years old. I wasn't quite that young, but it was a long time ago for both of us.

When he came to work with us, I don't think Joe knew if I was a Republican or Democrat. He just knew he needed a part-time job to pay for books and beer. These were pre-internet and email days, and making certain the immense amount of mail we received from constituents was opened, given to me or to appropriate staff, and answered as quickly as possible was very labor intensive and challenging, but he acquitted himself well, as he has with every responsibility he has accepted on my behalf.

His work ethic and reliability quickly made him indispensable. He worked his way up to legislative correspondent and then to legislative assistant, with the lead responsibility for, among other things, helping me fight years of pitched battles with appropriations bills, targeting wasteful spending, and the practice of earmarking. Those were the days when the Senate actually debated appropriations bills. I have many fond memories of Joe drafting thousands of amendments at my direction to strike wasteful earmarks, although I am not sure they are fond memories for the floor staff who had to process the amendments.

As I mentioned, in addition to his legislative work, Joe was my driver for over 20 years. I travel an awful lot, back and forth to Arizona on weekends, campaigning for colleagues, and on overseas trips. During the week, when the Senate is in session, my nights are often consumed with meetings, dinners, and speeches. Joe worked a long shift in the office during the day and drove me to various appointments day and night—taking me to airports and picking me up, getting me safely and on time through Washington traffic to keep a schedule that was always impossibly crowded.

We spent a lot of hours together—thousands of hours—and Joe was almost always good company, even when I was not. He always made a point on those drives to tell me a joke, and some of them got me in trouble when I repeated them in public.

During my 2008 Presidential campaign, Joe worked as my assistant, traveling from campaign stop to campaign stop, doing all manner of small and large tasks for me, even once holding an umbrella overhead while I gave a speech in the rain in Manchester, NH.

As my legislative director, Joe is someone everyone on my staff looks to for policy guidance and instruction on Senate procedure and for insights into the personalities and priorities of senior staff in other offices and for the leadership. He goes out of his way to make sure each one of my staff knows they are appreciated and an integral part of our office. I am grateful for Joe

Donoghue's faithful service to my office, the Senate, the people of Arizona, and to me.

On their behalf and mine, I want to thank Joe. I have barked at you, teased you, laughed with you, and counted on you. We have been through a lot of highs and lows in our 30-year association—good times and bad. The good times were better and the bad times easier because of your help and friendship. Thank you, my friend, my dear friend. It has been quite a ride together. I cannot imagine serving here without you.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I listened carefully to Chairman McCain talking about his long association with Joe. I thought maybe it was appropriate. I would say to my colleague from Arizona, to point out that he eliminated an awful lot of my earmarks over the years.

Mr. MCCAIN. Great job.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I will have fond reflections as well, in a sense. I want to join you, Senator McCain, in congratulating Joe for a great job for you and for our country for a very long time.

Mr. MCCAIN. Thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

HEALTHCARE

Mr. KAINE. Mr. President, I rise to talk about a topic that is consuming much attention—our efforts to improve healthcare for Americans. Before the passage of the Affordable Care Act in 2010, Americans with preexisting conditions faced serious barriers. Since 2010, the rate of uninsured Americans has declined to a historic low, with 20 million more Americans—the combined population of 16 or 17 States—getting access to health insurance coverage.

Over 410,000 Virginians have received care through individual marketplaces just last year. An additional 400,000 would be eligible to receive Medicaid if Virginia ever chooses to expand it. Since being put on the HELP Committee or being notified I would be put on it in December, I visited community health centers, medical schools, behavioral treatment centers, nursing programs all across Virginia talking to people about their healthcare needs. I am committed to working together with my colleagues to improve the healthcare of Virginians and Americans. There is a right way and a wrong way to do it.

After there was the failure of an effort in late July or early August to pass a partisan repeal and replacement of ObamaCare using the budget reconciliation process, the success of which would have taken health insurance away from 20 million Americans, I am disappointed that we haven't learned the lesson about the right way to do this and are apparently poised to explore yet again doing it the wrong way.