

Unfortunately, some of my colleagues have repeatedly chosen to block the measure. I am the first to admit that this solution is far from perfect. We need to do a lot of other things with immigration reform. We need to address long-term labor needs, as well as a more permanent solution for those who are here illegally who weren't brought across the border as children. But this is a compromise that can pass.

Given the action over the last couple of days in the House, where there was a group of House Members—Republicans and Democrats—looking to force that body to finally take action on this, it is again time to have the Senate make another attempt. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 300, H.R. 1551. I further ask that the Flake substitute amendment at the desk be considered agreed to; that the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time and passed; and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Utah.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

CALLING FOR THE RELEASE OF PASTOR ANDREW BRUNSON

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, a couple of weeks ago, I started the first of what will be a weekly speech to bring attention to what I think is a travesty of justice occurring in Turkey.

I wish to speak about a pastor, a Presbyterian minister from North Carolina, who has lived in Turkey for about 20 years and who has done his very best to respect the laws of Turkey and to bring the Word to people who want to hear it.

Unfortunately, he has been swept up in a coup. He has been swept up in the emergency powers of Turkey. He has been in prison for 580 days.

I went to Turkey about 6 weeks ago to visit Pastor Brunson in prison because I heard that after being in prison for about a year and a half—and for much of that time in a cell that is designed for 8 people and had 21 people in it—he was then indicted. I heard he was afraid the American people were going to read that 62-page bogus indictment, with some of the flimsiest charges we could imagine—charges that wouldn't keep someone overnight in an American jail—that have kept him in prison for 580 days. About 2 months ago, he was indicted, but he said to his wife and friends, he was afraid the American people would read that indictment and turn their backs on him.

So it was important for me to travel over there and tell him face-to-face in that Turkish prison that is the last thing that is going to happen. We are

going to continue to work every day he is in prison. I am going to come to the Senate floor, and other Members are, every week for as long as he is illegally in prison, and we are going to make sure the American people and the Turkish people know what is going on and send a very clear message to the leaders of Turkey that this is an unacceptable way to deal with a NATO ally. It is a horrible way to deal with somebody who is only guilty of standing up for a church in Izmir.

It is a small church. Actually, the seating area down below, maybe if it was packed, could hold 150 people. It opens up to a street. It is in a residential area. They let anybody come in. They open their windows. They actually talk with the police about security matters so they know what is going on, but it is just a small church, and all he was trying to do is provide aid and comfort for those who want to seek it.

Every once in a while, he would go to Syria or other parts of Turkey to try to provide aid and comfort to those who need it, Syrian refugees or anyone else. Part of the charges are actually related to that. If you provide aid and comfort, food, to a Kurdish person, in Turkey today, you may be considered a terrorist or a coup plotter. That is what he has been charged with.

In my second trip, I spent 12 hours in a Turkish courtroom to hear every word of the testimony from secret witnesses—whom Pastor Brunson didn't get to face—about the horrible things he did. One of the charges was that one night a witness saw for 4 hours a light on in one of the rooms in the church. Here is the problem with that charge: That is the room. It doesn't have a window. So unless they had x-ray vision, there is no possible way they could have observed that, but it became weighty testimony in the courtroom.

It is a kangaroo court. I want to continue to say, if you don't know "kangaroo court," there is the definition. It is just a trumped-up theater that bears no resemblance to anything you would ever see in American jurisprudence.

Let me give another idea of the level of absurdity of the charges. Pastor Brunson's daughter posted how much she enjoyed a meal with friends. It turns out the prosecutor thought this particular meal was something that was enjoyed by people who participated in the Gulen movement, and therefore her father must somehow be associated with the coup attempt. These are actually serious discussions going on in a Turkish courtroom.

I wasn't able to make it back to Turkey on Monday. I understand that basically the same thing happened, but it got worse. On Monday, when Pastor Brunson and his defense attorney had asked that 10 other witnesses testify on his behalf, they weren't allowed to testify because they were suspects. They weren't convicted. They apparently have been charged or considered to be charged, but in Turkish jurisprudence

standards, to be suspect is enough to prevent you from actually helping defend someone who is on trial for a 35-year sentence.

He has been in prison for 580 days. He has lost 50 pounds. He is struggling to keep his wits about him, and he and his wife are doing an extraordinary job. This is a miscarriage of justice.

I believe, today, as I said in a speech 2 weeks ago, and I will say it again: Don't travel to Turkey right now. If you are thinking about making a trip to Turkey, make sure you don't eat this meal—and, for goodness' sake, if you do, don't post how much you enjoyed it because you may be considered a Gulenist. Don't take a picture with friendly people on the street whose ethnic origins you don't know because they may have you associated with somebody who is suspected of plotting a coup. That is the reality of Turkey today.

I can't guarantee the safety of North Carolinians because I have yet to actually speak with people in their state department and their foreign ministry who actually understand the absurdity of what is going on in Turkey today.

I hope we can get back to a better position, but until this man is released, and others who have been falsely charged are treated fairly, I am going to have to come to the Senate floor each and every week we are in session to make sure the American people know what is going on in Turkey and to make absolutely certain that people like Pastor Brunson who are in prison know they have people in the U.S. Senate.

In fact, 66 Senate Members have signed a letter—that is a big lift in the U.S. Senate to get any 66 Members to agree on something—to send a very clear message that we are watching, and there will be consequences if this man is wrongfully imprisoned and could potentially spend the rest of his life in Turkey.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to enter into a colloquy with my friend and colleague from Oklahoma.

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

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, with that approval, I will pass it over and thank Senator LANKFORD for his hard work—he has been aware of this issue from day one—and collaboration on it.

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. President, I thank Senator TILLIS and the Presiding Officer for acknowledging our time to have this conversation. This is a serious conversation because this is a NATO ally.

Dr. Andrew Brunson has been in Turkey 24 years. For 23 of these years, he served as a pastor in humanitarian work. He took care of providing food and clothing and pastoral ministry for anyone who would come, just like anyone does.

That has not been an issue in Turkey for decades because Turkey has been very open to all faiths, all religions, and they have prided themselves on

being a nation that recognizes all faiths, all backgrounds, and all religions and ethnicity. At least that was the old Turkey. Literally, under Dr. Brunson's feet, Turkey shifted from where they were to where we don't recognize them anymore as a NATO ally.

In October of 2016, Dr. Brunson was called by the police department there. Assuming it was an immigration issue, he and his wife went because they had gone multiple times to the police department to renew their visa and keep everything up to date. They had a great relationship with the local police department, with local individuals, and with all the authorities in the area because they had been there for two decades and had developed great friendships.

So they went to check in, but this time, instead just checking in again for an immigration issue, they took them into custody, without any charges, and held them for a year—with no charges—then, eventually, presented these trumped-up charges which they have laid out that are absolutely absurd.

How a Christian minister is somehow cooperating with a Muslim in a coup in Turkey is absurd on its face. All of the crazy accusations from secret witnesses who would appear by video with their faces blurred out, making accusations that they had seen or they had heard—allowing no one to actually ask them questions is absurd. Just as absurd is not allowing Dr. Brunson to bring any witnesses in his defense.

There have now been two hearings that have been just this style: Dr. Brunson not allowed to bring anyone to speak on his behalf; all of these trumped-up witnesses who come with blurred-out faces—this secret testimony that they can present—to come back and present something they would consider evidence that we would never allow in any court, and, quite frankly, no one would take seriously these accusations.

In 2016, after Dr. Brunson had been in jail for a few weeks, I went to Turkey and visited with the Minister of Justice there. The Minister of Justice at that time said: We have some information. We are going to work this out. We are going to allow the process to go through the court system, but we will rapidly go through this process. Now, a year and a half later, we are finding out there never was any evidence, there never was any issue—and we are still dealing with an American being held hostage by a NATO ally.

I thought I would never say this sentence, but I would like to see Turkey follow the example of North Korea and release the American hostages they are holding. Now, when Turkey—a NATO ally—is behind North Korea in how they are handling humanitarian issues, Turkey has moved to a very bad spot. It is not a place they need to stay.

Turkey has been a friend and an ally—we work together against terrorism; we work together on econom-

ics—but I join Senator TILLIS in the statement he just made: I discourage anyone I speak to, to do any business in Turkey or to travel to Turkey at this point. If you are doing business in Turkey, you cannot guarantee the safety of your employees any longer; if you are traveling to Turkey, you cannot be guaranteed safety anymore. Because of the emergency powers that are currently being used in their legal system, they can sweep up anyone for any accusation and hold them for any length of time. That is not just theory; that is being proven by a pastor being held for a year and a half in Turkey with false charges. I highly recommend no one does business in Turkey at this moment, just for the safety of your employees and the people you would work with.

Now, Turkey has not just done this. They have also turned toward Russia, pursuing Russia for their air defense systems. As a NATO ally, that is unheard of, to say they are going to have NATO equipment, but then they are also going to go to Russia. That shows the turning of President Erdogan and the leadership of the country.

Congress is not going to just sit back on this and should not. Senator SHAHEEN and I have already put language out for the foreign ops bill in Appropriations which would specifically identify those individuals—the judges in the court, the officials who are holding Pastor Brunson, the officials in the city jail and in their national government who are specifically holding those individuals—to apply sanctions directly to the individuals who are holding an American pastor hostage.

Senator SHAHEEN, Senator TILLIS, and I have already put forward a piece of legislation blocking Turkey from maintaining or purchasing the F-35. They are a NATO ally, and they should have access to that, but they are not acting like a NATO ally. We don't know where they are going, and it would be a mistake for the United States to give our best technology—somewhere that we don't know where it is going to go and how it is going to be used in the future.

Just this week, the House released their National Defense Authorization Act. In the base text of the NDAA coming from the House is a provision which would block all defense sales to Turkey until we get more information about what is happening in the future and what direction Turkey is going. That is a reasonable precaution to take in a nation that is rapidly shifting away from democracy, a free court, free speech, and freedom of religion. They are losing humanitarian values. We should address that and respond to that, and we are.

It is not just what we might do; it is what we are doing currently to try to respond to this issue. The State Department continues to apply diplomatic pressure, but we have moved past the time when diplomatic pressure needs to be applied. It is time to apply

economic pressure and pressure on how our partnership will work long term.

We want our ally back—the Turkey we used to know, that we cooperated with, and maintained a long-term friendship with. We would love to maintain that long-term friendship with an ally that has strongly stood with us, and we have stood with them, but we do not recognize what Turkey is anymore.

A good first step with them would be to follow the lead of North Korea and release our hostages out of their jails.

Mr. President, I yield back.

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, I thank Senator LANKFORD.

I went to Turkey when I was speaker of the house in North Carolina and led a delegation there about 7 years ago, spent 9 days, met with business leaders, and met with President Erdogan. I came away with a great deal of optimism—as a matter of fact, so much optimism. I hosted a delegation from the mayor of Kayseri, who is now a Minister in the Turkish Government, to talk about how North Carolina and Turkey could build stronger economic ties. We both have textile and furniture industries. It looked like a great opportunity, but, as Senator LANKFORD said, the Turkey of today bears no resemblance to the Turkey I visited about 7 years ago, to the Turkey I visited just a few weeks ago.

I would like to be talking about how we help Turkey take the fight to terrorist organizations threatening their homeland. I would like to work more with Turkey, as we have this week, to identify ISIS leaders, detain them, and make that region safer.

I would like to be a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee—and sit right next to Senator SULLIVAN—fighting for additional NDAA provisions that underscore our commitment to our NATO ally in Turkey, but now I am at a fork in the road, and right now I only have one position to take; that is, to put Turkey on notice for their bad actions as a NATO ally and for their bad actions toward American nationals in the country of Turkey.

So I am with Senator LANKFORD, Senator SHAHEEN, and other Senators. When we do our markup on the national defense authorization, instead of talking about how we strengthen our relationship for their part in manufacturing the Joint Strike Fighter and what is the timeline to actually have our NATO ally have Joint Strike Fighters, F-35s, within their military base, now I have to start talking about whether they should have it at all. I have to start talking about what are the implications of a Russian missile defense system in a NATO country, with all the intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance assets that come with it. I have to start talking about what the future of our relationship is with a nation that is, for the first time in NATO history, holding American hostages—a NATO ally. I have to take

things in a different direction. It is my responsibility, as the co-lead of the Senate NATO observer group, as the Senator of a State who has had a citizen in prison for 580 days. I have no choice.

I thank the Presiding Officer for the time today. I will be back next week, and I will be back every week until we see justice served for Pastor Brunson.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, all postcloture time is expired.

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Brennan nomination?

Mr. WYDEN. 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 bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM) and the Senator from Arizona (Mr. MCCAIN).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. BOOKER), the Senator from Delaware (Mr. COONS), and the Senator from Illinois (Ms. DUCKWORTH) are necessarily absent.

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

The result was announced—yeas 49, nays 46, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 89 Ex.]

YEAS—49

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

NAYS—46

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

NOT VOTING—5

Booker	Duckworth	McCain
Coons	Graham	

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the motion to reconsider is considered made and laid

upon the table and the President will be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

CLOTURE MOTION

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

The senior assistant 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 Joel M. Carson III, of New Mexico, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Tenth Circuit.

Mitch McConnell, John Hoeven, Johnny Isakson, James Lankford, Steve Daines, Ben Sasse, Mike Crapo, John Kennedy, John Barrasso, Thom Tillis, Roger F. Wicker, James M. Inhofe, Richard Burr, Mike Rounds, Shelley Moore Capito, Tom Cotton, Cory Gardner.

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 Joel M. Carson III, of New Mexico, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Tenth Circuit, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM) and the Senator from Arizona (Mr. MCCAIN).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. BOOKER), the Senator from Delaware (Mr. COONS), and the Senator from Illinois (Ms. DUCKWORTH) are necessarily absent.

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

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 71, nays 24, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 90 Ex.]

YEAS—71

Alexander	Flake	McConnell
Barrasso	Gardner	Moran
Bennet	Grassley	Murkowski
Blunt	Hassan	Murphy
Boozman	Hatch	Nelson
Burr	Heinrich	Paul
Capito	Heitkamp	Perdue
Carper	Heller	Portman
Cassidy	Hoeven	Risch
Collins	Hyde-Smith	Roberts
Corker	Inhofe	Rounds
Cornyn	Isakson	Rubio
Cotton	Johnson	Sasse
Crapo	Jones	Schatz
Cruz	Kaine	Schumer
Daines	Kennedy	Scott
Donnelly	King	Shaheen
Durbin	Lankford	Shelby
Enzi	Leahy	Sullivan
Ernst	Lee	Tester
Feinstein	Manchin	Thune
Fischer	McCaskill	

Tillis	Udall	Wicker
Toomey	Warner	Young

NAYS—24

Baldwin	Harris	Reed
Blumenthal	Hirono	Sanders
Brown	Klobuchar	Smith
Cantwell	Markey	Stabenow
Cardin	Menendez	Van Hollen
Casey	Merkley	Warren
Cortez Masto	Murray	Whitehouse
Gillibrand	Peters	Wyden

NOT VOTING—5

Booker	Duckworth	McCain
Coons	Graham	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 71, the nays are 24.

The motion is agreed to.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Joel M. Carson III, of New Mexico, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Tenth Circuit.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority whip.

NOMINATION OF GINA HASPEL

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I wish to return to a theme that I have been addressing the last few days, and that is the nomination of Ms. Gina Haspel to be Director of the CIA.

Yesterday, the entire country—indeed, the entire world—saw Ms. Haspel's performance before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Speaking for myself, I could not have been more impressed, and taking an informal poll among others, I think many people felt the same way.

It is a tough requirement of her confirmation process for somebody who has spent 33 years working for the CIA in some of the most obscure—and unknown to the rest of us—spots around the world to have to come and answer questions about her career, much of which happens to be classified information.

We had an open session and then a classified hearing where she and we on the committee could protect the sources and methods and alliances we have around the world that help us collect intelligence for our policymakers and help to keep our country safe. As expected, she faced intense rounds of questioning, as I said, both in an open session and behind closed doors. I believe she did so with patience, courtesy, and poise.

She articulated her view on a number of topics, of course. She defended her record against a series of false accusations and said repeatedly what those of us who have supported her already knew. She believes that U.S. Government actions must be held to a strict moral standard. If confirmed, she would not obey an order she believed to be unlawful, and in her new role, she would not restart interrogation programs inside the CIA.

I want to highlight three developments that I believe lend credence to many of Ms. Haspel's statements during yesterday's hearing. First are the