[Rollcall Vote No. 153 Ex.] YEAS—74

Alexander Gardner Murray Barrasso Graham Nelson Bennet. Grasslev Perdue Blunt Hassan Portman Boozman Hatch Reed Burr Heinrich Risch Cantwell Heitkamp Roberts Capito Heller Rounds Cardin Hoeven Rubio Hyde-Smith Carper Sasse Cassidy Inhofe Scott Collins Isakson Shaheen Johnson Coons Shelby Corker Jones Smith Cornvn Kaine Tester Cotton Kennedy Thune Crapo King Klobuchar Tillis Cruz Toomey Lankford Daines Udall Donnelly Manchin Van Hollen McCaskill Durbin Warner McConnell Enzi Ernst Moran Whitehouse Murkowski Fischer Wicker Murphy Flake Young

NAYS-25

Harris Sanders Baldwin Blumenthal Hirono Schatz BookerLeahy Schumer Brown Lee Stabenow Markey Casey Sullivan Cortez Masto Menendez Warren Duckworth Merkley Wyden Gillibrand Peters

NOT VOTING—1 McCain

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. On this vote, the yeas are 74, the nays are 25.

The motion is agreed to.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Paul C. Ney, Jr., of Tennessee, to be General Counsel of the Department of Defense.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TOOMEY). The Senator from Connecticut.

NOMINATION OF BRETT KAVANAUGH

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Mr. President, we are at a crossroads, a historic turning point for the U.S. Supreme Court and our country. This body is often called upon to consider court nominations for the district courts and the courts of appeals, but we are at an extraordinary decision point for the U.S. Supreme Court—the highest Court in the land, a branch of government that can shape the law and culture of this country for generations to come.

When we are called upon to consider a Supreme Court nominee, ordinarily we have to read tea leaves. Ordinarily we have no way to know with certainty the values and beliefs that someone will bring to the Court. Ordinarily Presidents make every effort to persuade us that their nominees were picked on the basis of merit, not ideology. So ordinarily we look forward to hearing what nominees tell us about their beliefs and values, since they are unknown when we first hear their names

We live in times that are the opposite of ordinary. These are not ordinary times. We live at a time when there is, right before our eyes, an ongoing assault on the rule of law in this country, coming from the President of the United States on down. We live at a time when the courts are critically important to our democracy because they are a bulwark for fundamental rights and liberty, and when the history of this era is written, I believe that our judiciary and our free press will be the heroes because they stood between the President defying the law and preserving those key freedoms and rights that are foundational to our democ-

What we know about the President's nominee for the highest Court in the land—the most important to that effort against this assault on the rule of law—is that he will "automatically" vote to overturn Roe v. Wade. We know that he will vote effectively to eliminate the Affordable Care Act and to undermine protections for millions of Americans who suffer from diabetes, obesity, alcohol abuse, addiction to opioids, stroke, Parkinson's, and many other preexisting conditions. Millions of Americans suffer from those kinds of sicknesses, including more than 500,000 Connecticut residents. We are a State of about 3.5 million people, so you can do the math. There are a lot of Americans who suffer from preexisting condi-

We know these facts because we have heard them from none other than the President of the United States, who said that his nominee would automatically overturn Roe v. Wade and who berated Chief Justice Roberts for upholding the Affordable Care Act in his decisive swing vote. When a President tells you he is trying to eliminate basic legal rights and liberties for the people of the United States, you better take him at his word, and I do. But in this case, actually we need not take the President at his word because we can review the facts-in fact, the circumstantial evidence surrounding this nomination.

The President has allowed himself to become a puppet of rightwing fringe groups—the Federalist Society and the Heritage Foundation, which have been trying to strike down Roe v. Wade and overturn it for decades. As one recent news story put it, if you want a seat on the Supreme Court, the man to see is not Donald Trump; it is Leonard Leo, the executive vice president of the Federalist Society.

Leonard Leo and the Federalist Society have made clear their desire to overturn Roe v. Wade for years, and Mr. Leo's friend, Ed Whelan, brags about Leo's efforts, stating: "No one has been more dedicated to the enterprise of building a Supreme Court that will overturn Roe v. Wade than the Federalist Society's Leonard Leo."

The President of the United States outsourced this decision to the Federalist Society and other groups long

intent on overturning Roe v. Wade. They produced for him a list. He selected from that list, and the rest is an unfortunate, deeply tragic chapter in American history.

The Heritage Foundation has been vehement in its desire to overturn and strike down the Affordable Care Act and deny many Americans access to health insurance. It has fought to end protections for people who suffer from these conditions, and they are not only the ones I have mentioned but also many others that are common throughout our society. Its efforts to shape the Supreme Court are a part of a conscious, concerted strategy in a war on the ACA.

Perhaps as troubling as any other fact about this nominee, to many of us who have seen the horrific, unspeakable effects of gun violence, Judge Kavanaugh is the dream candidate of the NRA. He has taken the view that almost all commonsense, sensible measures to stop gun violence violate the Constitution.

He is the dream pick of the NRA. He is a nightmare for the students of Parkland, the survivors of Orlando, Columbine, San Bernardino, and all of the mass shootings, including Sandy Hook, and all of the victims and survivors, their loved ones, families, and friends, who know the tragic effects of those 90 people gunned down every day in America. Those 90 victims every day in this country who die as a result of gun violence bear witness to why we should reject this nominee.

minutes Just after Judge Kavanaugh's nomination was announced, the NRA endorsed him, showering praise on his extreme record against gun safety. As an appellate judge, Judge Kavanaugh heard the sequel to Heller, a case regarding the constitutionality of the District of Columbia's gun registration requirement and semiautomatic assault rifle ban. On a panel of all Republican appointees, Judge Kavanaugh was the only judge to vote to strike down both gun safety measures as unconstitutional

His basic premise is that gun laws have to be similar or identical to laws that he considers "traditional" or "longstanding." He rejects bans on assault weapons and gun registration requirements. He has no clear definition of what is "longstanding" and enables a statute to be upheld. But consider his logic. He has, in effect, ruled out any statute that bears no resemblance or connection to laws on gun violence on the books in 1789. That is a breathtaking concept of the constitutional test that should be applied to measures against gun violence.

The Founders almost certainly never considered the possibility of universal background checks at a time when it might have been impossible to do it anyway and when the kinds of firearms available were very different than they are now. By Judge Kavanaugh's logic,

Congress would seemingly be prohibited from requiring universal background checks, even though more than 90 percent of all Americans want them on the books.

That is a radical view, even for the far right. Should Judge Kavanaugh be confirmed to the U.S. Supreme Court, you can say good-bye to a slew of gun safety measures around the country in States like Connecticut, California, New York, or, now, Florida, Many other States are realizing that they should be on the right side of history and the right side of the American people and adopt commonsense, sensible measures. They would be struck down by the logic that Judge Kavanaugh would bring to the Supreme Court. We would have fewer safeguards against the scourge of gun violence.

There is now one mass shooting every day and 90 deaths every day in America. This country is in the midst of an epidemic of gun violence—a public health emergency. With Judge Kavanaugh as a member of the Nation's highest Court, this epidemic would continue unabated.

This nominee is part of a concerted, coordinated effort to roll back the clock, to take the Nation back to a time—one of our darkest eras—when abortion was criminalized, when women died and they were denied access to contraception and the morning-after pill, when Americans were denied healthcare because of those preexisting conditions, and when civil rights, LGBT rights, voting rights, and workers' rights were largely ignored.

That prospect is frightening. For President Trump, the nomination of Judge Kavanaugh is about more than just undermining or eviscerating these fundamental rights. It is about undermining and eviscerating the rule of law.

Judge Kavanaugh has written that the President can refuse to enforce a law if he believes that it is unconstitutional—if he alone believes it is unconstitutional—even if that law was duly passed by Congress and upheld by the courts. He has written that special counsels—like Robert Mueller, who is investigating the President-should be appointed only by the President and should be removable by the President. Under that rule, Robert Mueller never would have been appointed as special counsel, and the President would be able to fire him for no reason at allexcept that he is investigating the President.

Finally, Judge Kavanaugh has written that the President should not have to deal with those responsibilities or burdens that the rest of us, ordinary Americans, fulfill. A President under Judge Kavanaugh's rule could not be investigated or indicted, could not be held accountable under the law, and would not have to respond to a civil suit, a subpoena, or a request to be investigated by law enforcement. He need not be interviewed by the FBI or cooperate with law enforcement because

under Judge Kavanaugh's concept the President is above the law. Nothing is more fundamental, no principle more sacrosanct in this country—no one is above the law. No President. No one is above the law.

A President who has demonstrated unprecedented disdain for the rule of law has nominated a Justice who will tell him he can ignore the law. A President who has fought tooth and nail against the special counsel's investigating some of the most serious crimes has nominated a Justice who would allow him to fire the special counsel at will for no reason. A President who faces not only the prospect of indictment but an ongoing civil suit brought by nearly 200 Members of Congress—I am proud to be leading them for his violation of the chief anti-corruption provision in the Constitution would be declared above the law, immune from lawsuit and accountability.

We are going to continue with that lawsuit to make sure that the President obeys the Constitution and comes to Congress for consent before he accepts the payments and benefits in the hundreds of millions of dollars that he is doing every day. Judge Kavanaugh would absolve him of accountability.

These are no ordinary times. In the coming days, I will be speaking out on other areas where Judge Kavanaugh would undermine the rights of every-day Americans and put the rights of corporations and special interests above them.

Judge Kavanaugh would prevent Congress and the States from passing commonsense gun violence laws that will save lives. He would invalidate a slew of existing laws in States across the country, and he would leave powerful corporations to prey on consumers, workers, and anybody who wants to breathe clean air or drink clean water.

These prospects are not imaginary or abstract. Read his opinions and his writings. In one area of law after another, Judge Kavanaugh poses a clear and present danger to our fundamental liberties, to effective government, and to the rule of law. To the people who say to me "What can we do?" our challenge is a call to action. It is to mobilize and galvanize America, just as we did during the healthcare debate, when they said the Affordable Care Act would be repealed, and we mustered Americans' sense of outrage and alarm.

I say to the students of Parkland who spoke so eloquently and movingly, your time has come; to the patients who came to my townhalls in Connecticut and spoke so powerfully about their fear of what would happen to them and their insurance coverage if preexisting conditions were declared in violation of those insurance policies, your time has come; to all who care about civil rights and civil liberties, workers' rights, and gay rights, your time has come. We need to hear your voice here, just as we did during the healthcare debate, as powerfully and eloquently. The challenge is yours in stopping this nomination, as it is our responsibility to demand specific answers that this nominee recuse himself from any consideration of the President's financial dealings or the special counsel and to reject the phony platitudes and the evasive and vague answers that have been accepted before, because we know that the old platitudes adhering to settled precedent is meaningless. We do not live in ordinary times. We need extraordinary efforts to make sure that the U.S. Supreme Court remains faithful to the rule of law

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. President, I definitely agree with one thing that my friend from Connecticut just said, which is that there is a long record here on the President's nominee. It is a record I want to look at. It is a record I want to be sure that I talk about to the people I work for as we go through this process. In this process, we will have some time. My guess is it will take about the same amount of time that it has taken for the last two nominees, which means sometime in the month of September, in all likelihood, we will be on the floor, voting, and we will see where that vote takes us.

A lot of people have jumped to a lot of conclusions here. It wasn't my friend Senator Blumenthal at all, but somebody had a news release vesterday at a news conference I was in. One of our fellow Senators had, apparently, gotten it out a little too quickly. The news release read that Supreme Court nominee XXX is the most extreme candidate that the President could have possibly picked. Another one of our colleagues said vesterday that he didn't care who the President nominated but that he wouldn't be voting for him. We are going to hear a lot of that over the next few weeks.

At least going back to 1975, I think every single Republican nominee has supposedly been the nominee that would bring an end to so many things that people have tried to focus on when these nominations have come up. With Gerald Ford's nominee in 1975, who turned out to be Justice Stevens, these exact same things were said then. I don't know that it is what the President said during the campaign that matters as much as what the nominee will say during the next few days.

I do know of the job the nominee currently has. I want to talk to him, and I want to look at the record. I want to visit with him about his philosophy personally before I reach a final conclusion. I do know the job that Judge Kavanaugh currently has is often cited as the second most significant court in the country, the DC Court of Appeals. I do know that his 100 most often cited opinions have been cited by more than 210 judges around the country. I do know that the Supreme Court has endorsed his opinions of the law at least a dozen times and has adopted them as the opinions of the Supreme Court.

Remember the way this works with the job that Brett Kavanaugh currently has as a circuit judge with the court of appeals. Unlike all the others, it is the court that often has the real jurisdiction over a constitutional case. So there have been lots of cases, and we will be looking through the 12 years of what he has done as a judge.

I know there are some requests to see every piece of paper that Brett Kavanaugh had in his hands when he was the Staff Secretary, the Assistant to the President, when George W. Bush was President. That would be every piece of paper that had gone to the White House. Yet the job of the Staff Secretary is not to have an opinion on those pieces of paper. In fact, he is probably the highest level official appointed by the President in the White House whose job it is not to have an opinion but to facilitate the work, to get the paper to whom it needs to go. I suppose we could get, virtually, every piece of paper from the National Archives and the George W. Bush Library. That is possible but not necessary and not justified.

What is justified is to look at all of these opinions. What is justified is to look at the individual, to look at what he does on the court, to look at what he does in the community, to look at his opinions. These are, without any question, important responsibilities not just for the President but for the Senate.

Once again, Americans are reminded that it matters who is in the Senate. It matters who composes a majority in the Senate. My guess would be, in $2\frac{1}{2}$ months or so from now, that a majority of votes will be cast for Judge Kavanaugh, that they will be bipartisan in nature, and that he will go to the Court, probably, before its new term begins on October 1. In fact, that should be one of our goals here—to have a Justice in place by that time.

Three of the current Justices on the Court, by the way, were put on the Court in an election year, in an off year—Justice Kagan in 2010. It was almost exactly analogous. A Democratic President and a Democratic Senate put a Democratic nominee on the Court who had, by the way, worked at the White House. The only difference was there was not as large a body of work to demonstrate the commitment we would hope to find to the Constitution and the law.

In my mind and, I think, in the minds of a vast majority of the people I work for, the goal of a Federal judge and a Supreme Court Justice is to judge a case based on the law and the Constitution. It is to look and be sure that those match up and to be sure that the law is applied as it is written, not as a judge thinks it should have been written. It is to be sure the Constitution is applied as it is written, not as a judge thinks it should be amended. There is a way to pass a new law, and there is a way to amend the Constitution, but that is not to be done by the

It seems to me that in the Scalia tradition and in the Gorsuch nomination tradition, we have a judge here who appears to be committed in every way to looking at the law and enforcing the law. I think it was Judge Scalia who said and others who have said that good judges are often not happy with the opinions they have to render because the opinions they have to render are based on the facts of the cases and may not be the way they would have liked the cases to have worked out at all. It is not their job to decide how they would like the cases to work out. The job of a judge is to judge the application of the law and the application of the Constitution.

Seven Justices, including our most recent nominee to the Court, Justice Gorsuch, served as law clerks on the Supreme Court. If he is confirmed, Judge Kavanaugh will be the eighth. His background, his training, and his work as a circuit judge appear to qualify him in a significant way. He was a Supreme Court clerk for Justice Kennedy.

We ought to understand what is happening here. Justice Kennedy has been on the Court for 30 years. He filled a vacancy that was created in 1987. He served on the Court for 15 years after the person who nominated him to the Court had died. Talk about a long-term impact of both the President who nominates and the Senate that confirms. Three decades of impact on one of the branches of government is pretty substantial.

In addition to being the clerk for Justice Kennedy, Judge Kavanaugh was, as I said, not only in the private sector but, for 5 years, served in the Bush administration. Probably the most important job he held in that administration was, simply, of seeing that things got done in an orderly way to produce a result. In 2006, President Bush nominated him to serve on the DC Court of Appeals. Twelve years later, we are here today.

Judge Kavanaugh's opinions are cited by judges around the country. Again, the Supreme Court has endorsed his opinions at least a dozen times. He has written that the judge's job is to interpret the law, not to make the law or to make policy. It is to read the words of the statute as written and to read the text of the Constitution as written, being mindful of history and tradition—an important point. It is to be consistent with the law and the Constitution and to read the text of the Constitution as written while being mindful of history and tradition. Don't make up new constitutional rights that are not in the text of the Constitution. Don't shy away from enforcing constitutional rights that are in the text of the Constitution. That is in one of his many writings, and we have lots of things to look at here.

Since 2009, he has been the Samuel Williston Lecturer in Law at Harvard Law School. In addition to being a brilliant legal mind, he is devoted to his

community and, as we saw the other night, to his family and to his faith. He spends his time coaching youth basketball and serving as a church volunteer, as well as mentoring in local schools. His mom was a schoolteacher and went to law school while she was a schoolteacher and, eventually, became a judge. He takes these qualifications to the Court.

I think this is an important part of our job—to advise and consent. Yet we have a lot of people who have rushed to a determination that they absolutely would not be for Judge Kavanaugh. I think a majority is likely to come to the determination that we should be

for Judge Kavanaugh.

I look forward to visiting with him over the next few days. I look forward to learning more about his philosophy as a judge and how he thinks the Supreme Court would be different and how his job there may or may not vary from being on that second-most important court in the country. My guess is he will say that it doesn't vary at all. The job of a Supreme Court judge, just like the job of a court of appeals judge, is to apply the Constitution, apply the law, and not try to make the law or to rewrite the Constitution. I look forward to that opportunity. I look forward to looking at many of the judge's opinions.

I noticed two Pinocchios in the Washington Post today about one of the cases that has already been brought up—the determination of this argument about the right way to deal with a President while he is in office—certainly not a nuisance lawsuit. If the topic of a lawsuit is wrong, if it is the wrong thing for the President to do, there is clearly a way to remove the President.

That is the point, I think, in what will be a much discussed law journal article that Judge Kavanaugh was making. He didn't suggest that the law now prohibited a President from being indicted. He just said that there is a constitutional way to return a President to the status of a private citizen, and then the President will have all of the same vulnerabilities that a private citizen would have if 200 Members of Congress filed a lawsuit. There is a place in the Constitution that says what 200 Members of the Congress should do if they think the President should be removed. That place in the Constitution does not say you should harass the President all you can about everything you can whenever you can.

It is going to be an interesting debate for the American people. Once again, they are going to be reminded as to how important the courts are, as to the incredible impact of the appointing power and the nominating power to the Federal courts, and of the partnership responsibility and important impact that the U.S. Senate has.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. President, I, along with the rest of the Senate, look

forward to going through the process with Brett Kavanaugh, who is an exceptionally qualified judge. He has been described as a judge of judges. He is one to whom judges look around the country to see what he has written and what his opinions have noted. In fact, historically, the Supreme Court has also looked to his opinions on the circuit court and has taken high notice of those and has quoted several of his opinions verbatim in Supreme Court opinions.

This person has had a lot of respect for what he has done and how he has done it in the process. I have enjoyed getting a chance to meet his family and to have been introduced to not only his personal faith but to his passion for people and his work with the homeless and other things that he has done for so many years.

This will be an interesting process. Over the next 2 months or so, this body should do as it has done before with Justice Gorsuch and Justice Sotomayor—about 66 days for both of them as we worked through their nomination processes until we actually got to the final votes.

We will see how this goes in the days ahead. I look forward to getting a chance to visit with Judge Kavanaugh in my office in the days ahead to ask him specific questions. I am reserving judgment on him until I have the opportunity to visit with him personally and to finish going through all the opinions he has written.

He seems like an exceptional candidate. I look forward to walking through this process judiciously.

IMMIGRATION

Mr. President, I did want to mention today, though—and to step back a little bit from the immigration conversation—there are a lot of issues with immigration that we deal with on a regular basis, but it is more conversation than it is solutions.

It has been my great frustration that we talk about H-2B visas, refugees in asylum, talk about overstaying visas, temporary protective status, illegal entry, quotas and diversity lottery, and families. We don't ever seem to resolve the issue. We talk about it.

The great frustration is, many of the issues we deal with right now on immigration are a direct result of Congress not fixing the issue. My encouragement to this body is to stop pointing the finger at the President and ask a very simple question: Why is there conversation about a zero tolerance policy and what does that really mean?

In its most simple form, I think we could agree that if someone illegally crosses the American border into the country, they should be stopped and at least asked: Who are you? Why are you here? Because in the last year, 1.1 million people became legal citizens of the United States. They made legal applications, worked through that process, received a green card, were evaluated with background checks, and became citizens of the United States.

Today, on the southern border between Mexico and the United States, there will be half a million legal crossings into the United States. The question is, for individuals who illegally cross the border, should we stop those individuals and ask: Who are you? What are you doing here? Why are you crossing into the country? Because not every person crossing into the country is just crossing for work that we would consider good work

Today, U.S. Customs and Border Protection released an announcement that the officers referred a 38-year-old male for further inspection as he crossed into the United States. Following a positive alert from a K-9 unit, officers seized 21 pounds of cocaine from the vehicle's firewall. Not everyone who is entering the country is coming for a legal reason. Not everyone who is crossing our border is coming just to work. So the zero tolerance policy is really a question of should we stop individuals to evaluate someone who is illegally crossing the border—not one of the half a million people today who will legally cross the border? If you are one of the individuals not crossing the border legally, should we stop you, and should we prosecute you?

Previous administrations used what they called prosecutorial discretion. They have taken folks in, and they released them into the country until they determined who to prosecute and who to not prosecute. This administration has stepped up and said: Let's take a moment where we are going to prosecute everyone and try to slow down the process.

There has been a noticeable increase in something that a lot of people have not noticed, and that is the number of families coming across the border. Why would that be? It is not just individuals crossing the border as a family. It is individuals who are bringing children with them to cross the border because they have been treated differently over the past several years.

Over the first 5 months of this fiscal year, there has been a 315-percent increase in apprehensions of groups fraudulently claiming to be families. Let me run that past you again. This year, in the last 5 months, there has been a 315-percent increase in apprehensions of groups who fraudulently claim to be families—not a 315-percent increase in families. These are smugglers who bring a child with them because they know if you bring a child with you, then you are treated differently at the border. Historically, you have been released.

This administration has said to stop this. We are going to start prosecuting and try to figure out who is actually a family, who is not a family to figure out how to prosecute them because there has been such a dramatic change. The numbers are just increasing for family units that are coming.

Let me run some of the numbers past you. According to Customs and Border Patrol, there is a 407-percent increase in the number of family units detained in June 2018 compared to June 2017. In May, it was a 600-percent increase. In April, it was an 863-percent increase. We are seeing a dramatic shift in the number of units that are coming at us.

No matter your view on immigration reform, increases of this kind of magnitude should cause us to slow down and ask simple questions. Are the loopholes in our law and the prosecutorial discretion to release families to show up later for a hearing causing more individuals to pretend to be families or more families to come? I think it is causing more individuals to come who are coming not as a family unit but who are pretending to be a family unit, though we also have, obviously, family units that are coming as well.

A key issue we need to address is pretty straightforward. Of the 1 million-plus people who come here legally, should we have greater respect for those individuals who have gone through the legal process? I believe we should. In fact, I had a small townhall meeting in Lawton, OK, just last week. There were lots of questions about keeping families together. I am one of those individuals who says, as often as we possibly can, the default position should be keeping families together, but for those individuals who were at this meeting in Lawton, all the questions were about what are we doing about immigration. How are we handling this? How are we prosecuting this? Are we treating people humanely? Those are reasonable questions for us as Americans.

At the very end of the townhall meeting, one gentleman asked me: What about legal immigration? He asked it in a very specific way. Are there issues we should deal with, with that?

I followed up with him and asked: Why do you ask that?

The reason he asked that is because he is a legal immigrant. He went through the process and is in his final stages. In fact, just the week before, he had received his green card. He is a little frustrated with people who are treated differently—who came into the country illegally versus people who are actually doing it the right way.

It has been interesting to me to watch this whole movement about abolishing ICE and saying maybe we shouldn't have ICE enforcement at all—no immigration and customs enforcement at all. The entity was created after 9/11 because the 9/11 terrorists were individuals who came into the country, overstayed their visas, and they were not stopped. ICE was created to help us with our immigration enforcement because we had just been penetrated by a group of individuals who were terrorists and killed thousands of Americans.

After that was created in 2003, there is now this big movement, as if we have lost all we have learned since 2001. Now there is a whole group saying maybe we just need to abolish ICE entirely.