

a leader who always tried to do the right thing, who always put the people of his country ahead of himself—an individual who always believed that we, as Americans, can subscribe to a cause greater than ourselves.

America is certainly going to miss John McCain. For this Senator and for Grace, as well, it was certainly a privilege to know the McCains and to look up to him as a role model, not only for this Senator but for the entire country.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEE). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. COONS. Mr. President, I come to the floor to speak in honor, in memory, of our colleague Senator John Sidney McCain III. I asked myself a series of questions as I was trying to prepare for today's comments.

First, who was he? Who was John McCain? John was a man deeply in love with his country and its promise, a man optimistic that tomorrow would be better than today, and a man grateful for the chance to serve a cause greater than himself. His humor was rooted in that hopefulness, the sometimes sharp sting of his words in debate rooted in his passion for his cause and his love of the fight, and his restlessness rooted in impatience to get on with it, to get busy defending liberty or making a difference in the world to help soften the burdens of millions not yet free. John was both a romantic and a cynic, as some of have said, in love with and passionate about the causes he fought for, yet clear-eyed about the long odds he often faced in a world hostile to our ideals.

In trying to summarize John, just reviewing a few of his titles barely captures the sweep and complexity of this man—naval aviator, POW, captain, Congressman, Senator, chairman of the Commerce Committee, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Presidential nominee of his party, statesman, hero.

John also treasured, deeply, two titles rarely mentioned here—husband and father. He clearly loved his family and was every bit as privately passionate about them as he was publicly passionate about the causes he fought for here and around the world.

To Cindy and to all of John's family, thank you so much for sharing him with us, for sustaining him in his service over 60 years of his remarkable service to our Nation.

I was so honored to get to know John first as a colleague and then as a traveling companion and mentor and, in recent years, to be able to count him as a friend. We didn't always agree, or even often agree, on a very wide range

of policy and political issues. On one thing in particular, I deeply admired and followed his lead as best I could. John was convinced what makes America great, what has always made America great, is its values, its principles; that we stand for something in the world, not the example of our power but the power of our example; that only when we fight for those values, when we fight for the values that define us apart from other powerful nations—for human rights, for freedom of speech and religious expression, for a free press, an independent judiciary, open and fair elections, for the very foundations of democracy as guarantors of human liberty—only then do we best use our power to act in the world.

What impact did John McCain have on those of us in the Senate and on our country? John commanded this Chamber when he spoke like few others I have ever known, and he commanded it precisely because he called us to our better selves, to put down the tools of petty partisanship so often on display here and to work together to fashion better solutions to the problems of our day.

It was a great honor to be his cosponsor on his last immigration reform bill earlier this year—a bill which offered not partisan promises but a way forward to fix our immigration system, which has, for far too long, been badly broken.

Indeed, from immigration to healthcare, national security to foreign relations, John challenged us, pushed us to act in ways more worthy of this place and its history as the greatest deliberative body on Earth, as a full equal to the Executive, our President, as a group elected and empowered over longer terms to know each other, to respect each other, and engage with each other in the real and hard and good work of advancing America's values at home and abroad.

What impact did John McCain have on me, the junior Senator from Delaware? First, my predecessor, former Senator and Vice President Joe Biden, let me know, from my first day here, that John was a treasure and a challenge and that I would, in serving alongside him, have a unique opportunity to learn from someone whose scope of experience was, in many ways, unmatched among our current Senate colleagues.

I had the honor of traveling with John, of seeing him at his absolute best, of seeing him show compassion for Syrian refugees at a camp in Jordan, hearing him confront corrupt foreign leaders and encourage our men and women in harm's way, and, most memorably, visiting Vietnam to see the genuine warmth with which the Vietnamese people and their leaders regarded him.

I first encountered John overseas on my first codel, or congressional delegation trip, just a few months into my first term, early in 2011. I was traveling with Senators MANCHIN, CORKER, and

SANDERS, and we had visited Pakistan, Afghanistan, Jordan, and Israel. It was quite a group and a memorable trip at a time of great conflict, particularly in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It was our last day in Israel before returning home. I spotted former Senator Joe Lieberman of Connecticut at dinner at the David Citadel Hotel, and he waved me over. He and McCain had just finished a long dinner, and Lieberman asked me to sit down and talk about our trip, our experiences, and recent developments in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

McCain barely acknowledged my presence with a gruff grunt and seemed genuinely distracted and even annoyed as I was answering Joe Lieberman's questions, McCain looking around the room and barely paying any attention. After 10 minutes, John snapped to and asked me three pointed and challenging questions, testing my observations and my conclusions. Rattled and intimidated, I defended as best I could my insights before his withering questioning. McCain grunted and stormed off, and in the silence of his wake he left behind him, Joe Lieberman leaned over and said: I think he really likes you.

I said: How can you tell?

To which Lieberman responded: He wouldn't have bothered asking you those questions or waiting for your answers if he didn't think you had something to say.

There followed invitations to travel, which I accepted less often than I should have, but three trips were especially memorable. While visiting a refugee camp in Jordan where hundreds of Syrians had literally just arrived, fleeing the butchery of Assad's troops, John wept with compassion for women who recounted their husbands being murdered before them and their children being taken from them. John promised to fight for them and their cause relentlessly, and he did.

Just after inauguration last year at the North Atlantic Regional Security Conference in Halifax, Canada, I got to see John command respect across the board from political and military leaders from a dozen countries, and I heard as leaders from allies and partners across Europe—from the Baltics to the Balkans—pressed him for reassurance that we would keep our commitments, defend our values, and stand by their young democracies in the face of Russian aggression.

During that trip, too, Senator McCain, once again, reiterated his principled, unequivocal stand against the use of torture. His unwavering commitment on that issue at that critical time was just one of the many ways John nudged us ever closer to our ideals.

Finally, on an unforgettable trip to Vietnam just last June, I got to visit the Hanoi Hilton with John to hear his indescribable description of the deep deprivations of his long captivity and torture and then got to see in person

the high regard the people and leaders of Vietnam had for him as a warrior and a peacemaker, a statesman, and healer of the wounds of that war.

We admired John for all these things, but working with him in the Senate, traveling with him, many of us got to know him as not just a war hero and statesman but a colleague, even a friend. John's temper was quick and fierce. On more than one occasion, I swear he peeled the paint off the wall behind me with a fiery stream of profanity-laced invective, but he also, more often than not, later apologized, came around, listened, even considered. He was that breed of Senator—too rare today—who knew how to fight passionately, yet not make it personal; whom I could respect, even when I thought he was deeply wrong; who pushed me relentlessly to defend and explain my own positions and votes.

He showed unusual kindness to my children, my father and stepmother when they visited, and I was struck by the delight John took in visiting with schoolchildren and seniors, with people of all kinds of backgrounds when they visited this Capitol he loved.

He also took wicked delight in teasing, and testing and working with journalists, always letting them in on the joke or giving them a heads-up when good trouble was brewing.

Most importantly, Senator John McCain was genuinely humble, not the false modesty of a popular politician who knows he should feign indifference to the cheers of a crowd. No, John's humility was real, a demonstrated humility of one who knows he is a flawed and fallen human, as are we all, and then sets about being open and accountable for his shortcomings.

John, remarkably, for a modern politician, wrote and spoke about and acted on the ways in which he fell short. In an excellent recent HBO biography of him, "For Whom the Bell Tolls," McCain subjected himself to accountability for chapters in his life I am certain he would have rather left forgotten in history.

In talking about the 2000 Presidential primaries, rather than simply blaming his opponents and their dirty tricks for his loss, John took responsibility for his failure to stand up in South Carolina against the practice of flying the Confederate flag over their State capitol.

John, even more strikingly, directly addressed his association with the Keating Five scandal. John McCain was cleared, but he viewed that scandal as part of the larger and growing problem of campaign finance that has threatened the ethics of all who serve here. Rather than moving past it, he owned it and acted on it, angering leaders in both parties by working relentlessly with Senator Feingold until they passed the McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform bill.

John also used his hardest personal experience to make some of his most important contributions. Having him-

self survived imprisonment and torture at the hands of his Vietnamese captors, Captain McCain could easily have returned home after those 5½ harrowing years in captivity to serve out his time and retire in comfort. Instead, he continued his cause of serving our Nation and, while here, worked tirelessly to champion those unjustly imprisoned around the world. Dissidents and activists who spoke up for freedom and against dictators knew no more dedicated friend than Senator McCain, and we on the Senate Human Rights Caucus intend to carry forward that work.

After 9/11, when our own country was engaged in enhanced interrogation techniques that could only be called torture, Senator McCain was irate and insisted we end a practice he knew was both of limited value and that demeans both tortured and torturer.

John's passion on this point wasn't just the pain of one who had experienced it himself, it was the pain of someone who loved his country and felt deeply the shame of episodes like Abu Ghraib and then worked to address them.

What will it mean to have Senator McCain no longer here with us? My fear and concern is, we will not soon see another Member of John's stature join us, a stature John earned over decades of service and a demonstrated willingness to put country over party and cause over self.

Senator McCain earned his "Maverick" title. It would serve all of us well to remember that even as his principled stands cost him the support of many in his party and even home State, he won the accolades of many more here and millions abroad who were delighted to see someone willing to risk reaching across the aisle and around the world from those hoping we will continue to fight for the values that best define America.

What should we do? What should we do to honor the memory and legacy of Senator McCain? First, fight the dreaded disease that took him from us, as it did my dear friend Beau Biden, beloved son of my predecessor Joe—Beau was taken too young—and Senator Ted Kennedy, another great lion of this Senate who was lost at a time he was needed most. Brain cancer has robbed us of our best and brightest, and we must work harder to cure and end this disease.

As has been proposed, I believe we should rename the great Senate building in which John served for decades, that we might keep his memory alive for future generations.

I also think we should strengthen and invest in national service, an expectation that all young Americans will serve their country in some way, military or civilian, which will take effort and investment, but service as a young man helped John fall in love with our Nation. At a time of great division, I can think of nothing greater to remind us of the spirit of service in which John lived his life than to make it possible

for the hundreds of thousands of young Americans who want to serve—whether in Teach For America or Habitat for Humanity, the Peace Corps or our military—by expanding those opportunities for them to learn skills, commit themselves to our community and country, and earn tuition funds for college through service.

We must stay engaged internationally and lead by the power of our example. John would say this requires us to advance not just America's cherished values, but our interests—to stand against authoritarian leaders from Russia, China, North Korea, and Iran, and to stand with our democratic partners and allies like those in NATO.

Last, we have to continue in John's spirit of working across the aisle. I was struck, while hearing his remarkable speech in Philadelphia at the National Constitution Center, where my predecessor, Vice President Biden, spoke movingly in introducing him, and Senator McCain's acceptance of that award. It should be mandatory viewing at every high school in America. It was clear these two men, who served decades alongside each other, genuinely knew each other, knew each other's families, knew each other's values, respected each other, even though they rarely, if ever, agreed. We must do that too.

We have to demonstrate that we can work together and, like John, be cheerful and grateful in our service.

I caught my breath as I walked into this Chamber yesterday, seeing John's desk draped in black velvet and with white flowers rather than seeing his remarkable stature, hearing his punctuated speech and his dramatic call to action that so often rang through this space.

John, I will not soon meet another man like you, and I only hope to someday deserve the friendship you extended to a young and inexperienced Senator and to follow your example of genuine humility, dedication, and passion in tirelessly serving the greatest Nation on Earth and the best hope for freedom in our world.

Rest well, dear friend. May God Himself hold you in the palm of His hand and give peace to you and your family.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be able to complete my remarks here today.

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

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to an American hero, a powerful leader, and a dear friend, Senator John McCain. After decades of dedicated service to this Nation, John was taken from us over the weekend. The good Senator from Arizona fought his battle with brain cancer as he did every battle in his life, with toughness and tenacity, with grit, and with grace. This week, I join millions in mourning the passing of a beloved patriot. Over a

lifetime of selfless service, John came to embody the very pinnacle of American virtue, courage, commitment, integrity, and sacrifice. These are the precepts he lived by and by which he will always be remembered.

No one is more worthy of the word “hero” than John McCain. The Senate—indeed, I should say, the Nation—will miss the steady, guiding presence of a singular statesman.

By now, the biographical details of Senator McCain’s life have been covered at length. The son of a four-star Navy admiral, John knew great expectations from an early age. He was to forgo the comforts of civilian life and fight for freedom, which he did.

What is exceptional about John McCain is that he not only met the heavy expectations placed upon him, he far exceeded them. Few have ever risen to the positions of influence that John McCain did. Fewer still have done so and kept their character intact, but Senator John McCain did. Indeed, he never parted from it. As a prisoner of war in Vietnam, John was offered release on multiple occasions. Yet he refused each offer until the POWs incarcerated before him were also released.

Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his country, for his friends. John possessed such love, proving time and again his willingness to lay down his life for his brothers in uniform. As a captive, John McCain personified selfless sacrifice, offering himself as a bargaining chip to secure the freedom of his fellow countrymen.

Each day, for more than 2,000 days, he endured horrors that few of us could ever imagine: solitary confinement, forced starvation, repeated beatings, and the constant threat of death. Yet he stayed the course, finding strength in the love he felt for his fellow servicemen—and most of all, the love he felt for his beloved country.

When John was eventually released in the spring of 1973, he came home a living scar of Vietnam. The cartilage in his knees was all but gone, the bones in his body broken by endless beatings. He was a walking testament to the brutalities of torture and the depths of human depravity, but the hell of war was not enough to stop John McCain from being a happy warrior. Upon his return, he continued the same mission he started in Vietnam: looking out for the safety and welfare of his fellow sailors.

Few remember that the time before John was elected to Congress, he was the Navy’s Senate liaison. It was in this capacity that he and I first became friends. Even then, John impressed me with his sense of mission, going to incredible lengths to ensure that our service men and women had the resources they needed to keep us safe. He would carry that same commitment with him when he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1982 and 5 years later when he joined us in the Senate.

The Pentagon had no closer ally than John McCain. They also had no fiercer critic. Like an admiral who demanded only the very best of his sailors, John wanted to ensure that our servicemen were living to their full potential, and so he held our Armed Forces to the highest standard, never hesitating to call out bureaucratic complacency and runaway spending in military ranks. Our men and women in uniform were stronger and our Nation more safe because of his efforts. No one commanded more respect than John McCain as the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

John constantly put others before himself as a prisoner of war, and he did the same as a Senator. He was the kind of a friend you could count on for help when you needed it most.

Nearly 20 years ago, Governor Mitt Romney—who at the time had been tasked with salvaging the Salt Lake Winter Olympic Games—came to me with a pressing problem: With only months to go before the opening ceremony, Utah lacked the Federal funding it desperately needed to pull off the Olympic Games.

In our moment of need, we turned to Senator McCain. I took Mitt over to see him. The two of us marched up to Senator McCain’s office in the Russell Building. Even though we came unannounced, Senator McCain gladly received us. Together, Mitt and I made the case for emergency funding. Within days, we had secured the resources we needed to move forward with the games, all thanks to Senator John McCain. Were it not for John’s quick action, I can honestly say the 2002 Winter Olympics would not have been a success. In fact, it would have been an embarrassment. He was not excited about putting up Federal funds either, but all I had to do was ask, and he said fine.

So esteemed was John by his Republican colleagues that we didn’t hesitate to throw our support behind him in the 2008 Presidential election. Senator McCain mounted an admirable campaign, refusing to stoop to the political mudslinging that all too often defines Presidential contests. I agree with the assessment of the late Charles Krauthammer:

McCain ran a valiant race against impossible odds. He will be—he should be—remembered as the most worthy Presidential nominee ever to be denied the prize.

That was a wonderful quote.

We will remember John for many things—for his courage as a sailor, for his dedication as a Senator, and for his principle as a statesman. We will also remember how he embodied the best in us. John McCain was a man for all seasons—a voice of temperance in intemperate times and a model of civility and reason. The tragedy of his passing is that we need men like John McCain now more than ever before.

I consider myself incredibly lucky to have known John and even luckier to have called him friend. Here in the

Senate and across the Nation, we will miss him dearly.

John, thank you for blessing us with your service and your sacrifice.

Today, my prayers are with the people of Arizona and the McCain family. I differed with John from time to time, but we never had any acrimony between us. He was always open. He would come across and help me when I needed the help here in the Senate, as I would do for him. It was a privilege to serve with him. I feel very deeply about John McCain, and I am very pleased that I can stand here as one of his friends who knew him well and praise him—maybe not as good as I really feel but good enough.

NOMINATION OF BRETT KAVANAUGH

Mr. President, on another matter, I would like to take a moment to discuss the nomination of Brett Kavanaugh to be an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Next Tuesday, the Judiciary Committee will convene a hearing to consider Judge Kavanaugh’s nomination. The hearing will run 4 days. The American people will have an opportunity to hear from Judge Kavanaugh at length. They will also hear from a number of lawyers, former colleagues, and clerks who know Judge Kavanaugh well and can attest to his legal abilities and personal character.

Ever since the President nominated Judge Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court, my Democratic colleagues have hurled all sorts of wild acquisitions against him. They have called him a reactionary. That is terrible. They have said his nomination threatens the destruction of the Constitution—even more terrible. They have said that those who support his nomination are complicit in evil—even more terrible.

Well, next week the American people will have an opportunity to see Judge Kavanaugh. They will find that he is not a reactionary. They will find that he doesn’t, in fact, intend to destroy the Constitution. They will also find that those who, like me, support his nomination are not complicit in evil. Rather, the American people will see a whip-smart, incredibly accomplished, humble man. They will see a jurist who has authored more than 300 opinions and whose reasoning has won the day at the Supreme Court over a dozen times where the Court has copied his opinions. They will see a devoted husband and father who puts his family and community first. They will see a man who spends his spare time coaching youth basketball and feeding the homeless. They will see a beloved teacher who wins sterling reviews from students for his fairminded approach to teaching constitutional law. In other words, the American people will see what those of us who know Judge Kavanaugh see in him. It is those qualities that make me proud of the role I played in his confirmation as a circuit court judge in 2006 after years of partisan obstruction.

I have been on the Judiciary Committee for the last 14 Supreme Court