

to the President's desk. It is so important for our communities to have tools.

I also want to commend my colleague the Senator from Ohio for putting in language to increase the tools for U.S. mail inspections. We know we are seeing product being shipped into the United States and that we haven't had all of the tools we have needed to make sure we are checking the U.S. mail for this product. The STOP Act, hopefully, will help us catch and stop more of the illegal distribution of this product through the U.S. mail.

There will be longer coverage for beds to help with treatment, more tools for our sheriffs and police forces, better ways to penalize manufacturers, which is the key to helping us stop the diversion of drugs into communities, and better inspections of those who are using our mail system.

These are all great tools to give to law enforcement. I am glad our colleagues could come together on this, and it is so needed in the State of Washington. I thank the law enforcement throughout our State and thank the providers for helping us work together to get this legislation passed.

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.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### NOMINATION OF BRETT KAVANAUGH

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, across the country, women and survivors are angry; they are energized; and they are making their voices heard. They are inspired by Dr. Ford, and they are sharing stories of their own, often of the worst moments of their lives—some for the first time ever with their families, with their friends, and their Senators. There are too many to share in one speech on the Senate floor, but I want to touch on just a few.

I heard from a woman in Sequim, in Washington State, who wrote to me.

She writes:

There have been rare moments in my life when I have felt compelled to speak out. This is one.

She told me, when she was in junior high school, she dated a boy she thought was "one of the nicest guys ever." Then, one day, she went to his house while his parents were at church, and he assaulted her—he tried to rape her. She only barely managed to escape and run from his house. She said she never told anyone about this because she didn't know who would believe her. She was worried that people would think it was her fault. She told me that after Dr. Ford found the courage to come forward with her experience, she found the courage to share her own.

Another woman from Everett, WA, reached out to me to share that she

was sexually assaulted in a hotel elevator in the early 1970s. She didn't tell a soul for 40 years—until just a few days ago. She said that since that day all those years ago, she has avoided getting into an elevator alone with another man if she possibly could, taking the stairs instead. She told me: "It happened a long time ago, but it still matters," that she was inspired by the women who had so bravely spoken out about Judge Kavanaugh, and that she shared her story with me in the hopes that I could make sure her voice and the other voices of so many women were heard.

I heard from another woman who lives on the Olympic Peninsula in my home State of Washington. She told me that when she was in college, she was raped by a man with whom she was out on a date. She remembered his name, but because she believes she was drugged, there were a whole lot of details she didn't remember. She didn't tell anyone about her experience for years. She reached out to tell me that she understood why Dr. Ford didn't come forward and to express her anger that people continue to attack survivors, doubt them, and say they are "just mixed up."

There are so many more. I have received tens of thousands of letters and calls on this nomination with hundreds and hundreds of personal stories that my staff and I are still working to get through. They are heartbreaking, they are real, and they are just one small slice of the experiences being shared, the stories that are being told, and the voices that are bravely speaking up.

While these women and survivors are so bravely sharing experiences and while so many of us in the Senate are making it clear we do believe them and support them, others are going in a very different direction.

Last night, the President of the United States stood on a stage and openly mocked Dr. Ford for not remembering some details of what she has described as the most traumatic moment of her life. It was disgusting. Some of my colleagues in the Senate are doing everything they can to undermine the women sharing their experiences, saying they are "mixed up." They say that the Senate is going to "plow right through this."

The word coming out from the White House is that they are doing everything they can to limit and rush the FBI investigation that they assured Democrats and Republicans would be full and thorough.

I come to the floor today to ask three questions.

When this is all said and done, will the Senate—the U.S. Senate—be a place where women are heard, where their voices are respected, or still a place where women are ignored, undermined, and attacked?

Will the Senate do its job—truly do its job—to properly vet and investigate the President's nominee for a lifetime position on our Nation's highest Court,

including pushing for a full FBI investigation where at least Dr. Ford and Judge Kavanaugh are interviewed, making sure all relevant witnesses are heard and all relevant information is brought forward, or will we allow politics and partisanship to take over and rush this through before our job is complete?

Finally, will the Senate make sure we don't put someone on the Bench who has repeatedly had problems with the truth under oath, who has displayed truly serious temperament issues, who has not demonstrated the judicial independence that we expect for a nominee to the Supreme Court, and who has displayed a shocking lack of fitness for that role?

Those are the questions I believe we need to be asking today, and there is a lot of work that needs to be done before we can answer them.

There have been a whole lot of distractions in the past few weeks—from yelling and screaming and outrage, real and feigned, to the finger-pointing, to the partisanship, to the spin and the kicking up of mud—but if you cut through all of that and focus on what is real and what is important, there are some things we do know.

First and foremost, we all saw Dr. Ford testify under oath. I can't imagine anyone watching her and not being moved by her honesty, how real she was, her pain, and her commitment to what she described as her "civic duty." I believe her, and I know so many others watching that day here in the Senate and across the country did as well.

Then we had Judge Kavanaugh. He came into that hearing angry, defensive, and aggrieved. He clearly acted as if he is owed a seat on the Supreme Court and didn't understand why the U.S. Senators had the audacity to question him.

Even worse than his rage, even worse than his condescension and arrogant entitlement, and even worse than the raw partisan bitterness from someone who would be entrusted to make impartial decisions regarding the biggest issues facing our Nation were the serious challenges he had with the truth under oath, in public, to the U.S. Senate, from his small, seemingly unnecessary mistruths about what words used in his yearbook meant—words I will not repeat on the Senate floor, but the people who went to school with him don't understand why he would say what he said; to those about his connections to Dr. Ford, such as claiming he and Dr. Ford didn't "travel in the same social circles," when we know that is just not true; to claiming that he never attended a gathering like the one Dr. Ford described, when there is one very similar to that on the calendar that he himself released; to those my colleagues have talked through before, such as those involving his level of involvement in the confirmation of President Bush's judges, which we learned about as emails to and from him were uncovered and released; to

those involving emails stolen from my Senate colleagues that he denied knowing he had received, when, again, his emails show that wasn't the case; to another we just recently learned about—his claim that the first time he heard about Ms. Ramirez's allegations against him was when he read about them in the press, although we have now heard from people who have seen text messages showing Judge Kavanaugh personally working to coordinate a defense against the allegations before that story was ever published; to his denials over and over in different ways that he drank to extreme excess in high school and college, that he never "blackout" or had memory lapses from drinking, when we know from so many people who have now come forward to share stories of his high school and college days that his version simply doesn't align with reality.

The Washington Post laid this out yesterday. I will read a few of the quotes from their reporting.

One friend of his from college said that Judge Kavanaugh was "a frequent drinker and a heavy drinker."

Another classmate of his in college said, "Brett was a sloppy drunk, and I know because I drank with him" and "It's not credible for him to say that he has had no memory lapses in the nights that he drank to excess."

Another classmate said: "There is no doubt in my mind that while at Yale, he was a big partyer, often drank to excess. And there had to be a number of nights where he does not remember."

I could go on and on. I have other, numerous stories from classmates that you can find yourself in the Washington Post.

It is not disqualifying to drink in college. It is not disqualifying to drink too much in college. But it is absolutely disqualifying to not tell Senators the truth under oath about doing those things. It speaks to the kind of person Judge Kavanaugh is, and it speaks to the kind of Supreme Court Justice he would be if he were to be confirmed—someone who thinks they are above the law, above the truth, and above the oath they have raised their hand and sworn by. That should absolutely be disqualifying.

Those are just a few of the honesty and credibility issues that we know about. There are many more I am sure my colleagues will discuss, and I am sure there are others that can be uncovered in a full investigation. That is the most important point. As I said before, we don't know everything just yet, but we do know some things, and everyone should agree that what we know is enough to want to dig deeper and get more information. That is why it is so telling that Judge Kavanaugh and his Republican defenders and protectors so clearly did not want any further investigation.

We had Dr. Ford willing to share her story, take a polygraph, and open herself up to any questions and further in-

vestigations to help to get to the truth. Then we had Judge Kavanaugh doing everything possible to sweep this under the rug, move through it as quickly as possible, and prevent any information from coming out. That tells us a lot.

I am so glad a few of my Republican colleagues have done the right thing and slowed down this nomination to allow further investigation. There should have been more of them speaking up, and doing our jobs shouldn't be such a brave act. But in this moment in the Republican Party, it is, and I do commend them.

Here is the bottom line: Any of my colleagues can yell and scream until they are blue in the face about how aggrieved they are about this process. They can point fingers, push conspiracy theories, call it a sham, and say that this has gone on for longer than anyone wanted it to. They can do all that. I think they are wrong, and a lot of what they are complaining about is the ranking member of the committee respecting the wishes of Dr. Ford herself. Sure, they can do that, but at the end of the day, we are talking about a lifetime seat on the highest Court in the land, the Court making final decisions about our laws, our rights, and our freedoms. Surely we should take the time to do this right. Surely we should all want to make sure we don't put someone on the Court who sexually assaulted someone. Surely we should want to take the full amount of time promised to fully investigate credible allegations and determine whether Judge Kavanaugh told us the truth under oath. That is common sense, and it happens to be our job.

My Republican colleagues held a seat open on the Supreme Court for more than a year for no reason at all other than to prevent President Obama's nominee from getting on the Court—more than a year. Now, all of a sudden, these same colleagues are in a rush? It is absurd.

We need to do this right. What does that mean? What is doing it right? First of all, it means making sure the FBI thoroughly investigates right now, that it is not limited in scope or pressured to not follow leads wherever they go.

As my colleague, the Senator from Arizona, said, "We certainly want the FBI to do a real investigation. It does no good to have an investigation that just gives us cover."

Even President Trump said, "I think the FBI should do what they have to do to get to the answer. I want them to do a very comprehensive investigation."

I completely agree.

I am very concerned by some of the reporting coming out of the FBI investigation—especially hearing about the witnesses who have not yet been contacted. I am hoping they are allowed to do their jobs, and I am hoping the White House fulfills its commitment to the Democrats and Republicans focused on getting this done right.

Secondly, as we learn more, we should take that information into ac-

count. We should make sure all relevant witnesses are heard from, that all relevant information comes out—nothing swept under the rug—because there is one other thing we can be pretty sure of: Whether the information comes out now or comes out later, it will come out. We can either make sure we stop someone from getting on the Court who shouldn't be on the Court, or we can find out later that we—the Senate—didn't do our job.

This started as a look into whether Judge Kavanaugh assaulted women and whether the U.S. Senate would listen to women sharing their experiences. It is still about that—very much so—but now it is about even more than that. It is about Judge Kavanaugh's temperament, his anger, his rage, and his entitlement. It is about his telling the truth or not to the public and to us here in the Senate.

So I say to my colleagues, as we learn more from this investigation and as more and more people come out to share their stories, even if you don't think you can determine conclusively that Judge Kavanaugh committed sexual assault, do we want someone on the highest Court in the land with this kind of relationship with the truth, and do we want someone with that much rage and bitterness and entitlement? I think the answer is clear right now, and I think there is a reason Judge Kavanaugh was so desperate to stop the full investigation.

I hope we don't allow corners to be cut and a nominee jammed onto the Supreme Court without truly doing our jobs. I hope we take seriously the anger, the pain, the voices, and the experiences of women across the country today. I hope we do this right.

Thank you.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of my remarks, Senator MERKLEY be recognized for associated remarks, followed by a brief colloquy between the two of us.

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

CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I am grateful to be joined by my wonderful colleague from Oregon, Senator MERKLEY, for my 222nd "Time to Wake Up" climate speech. Although there are thousands of miles between us—on the west and east coasts—Oregon and Rhode Island share a common connection; that is, our oceans. Fisheries and coastal tourism are major drivers of our economies. Our coastlines are vibrant with homes, families, and businesses. We are ocean States.

So we are here to talk about the challenges of human-driven climate change for our oceans and coasts: sea level rise, ocean acidification, deoxygenation, warming, and increased storm surge. Our local agencies and officials and our coastal residents understand the changes that are coming at