

impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest guided by justice shall counsel.

Why forgo the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world—so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it, for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements (I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy)—I repeat it therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectably defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy,

humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed—in order to give to trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them—conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another—that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character—that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good, that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism—this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April 1793 is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take—and was bound in duty and interest to take—a

neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize without alloy the sweet enjoyment of partaking in the midst of my fellow citizens the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.  
UNITED STATES, 19th September 1796.

#### RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

#### TRIBUTE TO VICE ADMIRAL JOSEPH MAGUIRE

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, first, this afternoon I would like to recognize the career and public service of retired VADM Joseph Maguire, whose

tenure as Acting Director of National Intelligence and Director of National Counterterrorism Center concluded last week.

Joe Maguire spent 36 years serving our Nation as a U.S. Navy special operator. His leadership record included SEAL Team 2 and the U.S. Navy Special Warfare Command, where he guided some of our Nation's most sensitive military operations.

Admiral Maguire retired from the Navy in 2010, but it was not long before public service came calling again. In 2018, the President asked him to direct the NCTC. The Senate confirmed him on a voice vote.

He took on an even more challenging assignment last summer when he agreed to follow our former colleague Senator Dan Coats and act in the role of the DNI.

Our Nation asks our intelligence community to fulfill an enormous array of sensitive missions. These men and women work day and night to protect the homeland from terrorists. They fight nuclear proliferation. They keep watch on dangerous adversaries, like Russia and China. They guard against what hostile intelligence services are doing in our Nation, and they work to protect American elections from foreign interference that seeks to sow division and chaos and reduce public confidence in our democracy.

Recent reports suggest that adversaries, including Russia, are likely continuing efforts aimed at dividing Americans, sowing chaos in our politics, and undermining confidence in our elections. Fortunately, in stark contrast to the failures of the Obama administration in 2016, the Trump administration, once again, appears to be doing the right thing—in this case, by promptly providing a specific counterintelligence briefing to a Democratic Presidential candidate in question. This is just the latest example of the vigilance and the action we have seen from this administration on this crucial issue.

In parallel with hundreds of millions that Congress has appropriated in new election security assistance for State and local authorities, the administration has taken major proactive steps. The Treasury Department has sanctioned numerous Russian entities involved in the 2016 interference. The Department of Homeland Security has worked closely with States, local jurisdictions, and the private sector to bolster our cyber security defenses.

The Obama administration's naive and belated efforts failed to deter or to defend against Russian interference in 2016 and failed to provide substantive counterintelligence briefings to the Trump and Clinton campaigns. By contrast, the Trump administration has been vigilant and appears to be providing timely warnings to candidates affected by foreign intelligence activities. This is critically important work, and it wouldn't be possible without the hard work of our intelligence community to identify the hostile activities.

This is just one of many critical tasks the intelligence community performs for our country. Our country is safer and stronger when they have the tools and the resources they need and leadership that understands that political bias must have no quarter in intelligence work and that all Americans' rights need protecting.

#### SENATE LEGISLATIVE AGENDA

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, now on another matter, this week the Senate will continue to fulfill both of our constitutional charges: We will vote on important legislation, and we will provide advice and consent on a number of Presidential nominations. We will begin with two nominations to the Federal bench in U.S. territories.

Judge Robert Molloy, who currently sits on the U.S. Virgin Islands Superior Court, is nominated to serve on the U.S. District Court for the Virgin Islands for a term of 10 years. Judge Silvia Carreno-Coll currently serves as a U.S. magistrate judge for the District of Puerto Rico and has been nominated to be a U.S. district judge. Both nominations were reported out of committee on a voice vote.

This week we will also consider Katharine MacGregor, the President's nominee to be Deputy Secretary of the Interior, and Travis Greaves, a nominee to serve as judge on the U.S. Tax Court for a term of 15 years.

But first, following the first two nominations, the Senate will turn to important legislation put forward by Senators GRAHAM and SASSE to expand protections for innocent lives. Senator GRAHAM's Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act would finally remove the United States from a list of only seven nations, including China and North Korea, that permit elective abortion after 20 weeks. It would bring our Nation's regard for the unborn off this sad and radical fringe and bring us more in line with the global mainstream.

I do not believe this legislation should be controversial, but even less controversial should be Senator SASSE's Born-Alive Abortion Survivors Protection Act. It would simply ensure that infants who survive abortion attempts receive the same level of professional care as any other children.

My colleagues and I will have more to say on this subject in the days ahead, but I will urge all Senators to join me in supporting these nominees and these pieces of legislation when we vote on them this week.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. ERNST). The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session to resume consideration of the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Robert Anthony Molloy, of the Virgin Islands, to be Judge for the District Court of the Virgin Islands for a period of ten years.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

#### BLACK HISTORY MONTH

Mr. CASEY. Madam President, I rise today to celebrate Black History Month and to pay tribute to Pennsylvanians whose work has made a real difference in our Commonwealth.

This year we will honor three individuals who have dedicated themselves to uplifting the lives of others. We know that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., once said: "Life's most persistent and urgent question is: 'What are you doing for others?'" For purposes of today's remarks, I will substitute one word. I will substitute the word "children" for the word "others" and ask: What are you doing for our children?

It is an important question, not only for those of us who gather for Black History Month today and to celebrate this month, but it is also an important question for every Member of Congress to ask themselves.

This year we are going to honor these three Pennsylvanians: Kathy Elliott, Rosemary Browne, and Ellyn Jo Waller. All three have dedicated their lives to answering this urgent question and to building pathways toward hope for children in their communities.

I can think of no calling more important and no mission more essential than this one: to help our children. It is an honor for me to have the privilege to recognize these remarkable Pennsylvanians. They are beacons in their communities, and they are each, in their own way, an inspiration to me in my work in the Senate and, I know, to the work of our staff as well.

American children face a crisis created by policy choices made by adults over now several decades. Despite low unemployment and overall economic growth, children are being left out and left behind. Almost half of young children in the United States of America live in poverty or near poverty, with infants and toddlers at greatest risk.