

(Applause, Senators rising.)

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TILLIS). The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Davis nomination?

Mr. CORNYN. 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 senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Georgia (Mrs. LOEFFLER).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from California (Ms. HARRIS), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS), and the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. SCHATZ) are necessarily absent.

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

The result was announced—yeas 51, nays 45, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 248 Ex.]

YEAS—51

Alexander	Ernst	Perdue
Barrasso	Fischer	Portman
Blackburn	Gardner	Risch
Blunt	Graham	Roberts
Boozman	Grassley	Romney
Braun	Hawley	Rounds
Burr	Hoehen	Rubio
Capito	Hyde-Smith	Sasse
Cassidy	Inhofe	Scott (FL)
Collins	Johnson	Scott (SC)
Cornyn	Kennedy	Shelby
Cotton	Lankford	Sullivan
Cramer	Lee	Thune
Crapo	McConnell	Tillis
Cruz	Moran	Toomey
Daines	Murkowski	Wicker
Enzi	Paul	Young

NAYS—45

Baldwin	Hassan	Peters
Bennet	Heinrich	Reed
Blumenthal	Hirono	Rosen
Booker	Jones	Schumer
Brown	Kaine	Shaheen
Cantwell	Kelly	Sinema
Cardin	King	Smith
Carper	Klobuchar	Stabenow
Casey	Leahy	Tester
Coons	Manchin	Udall
Cortez Masto	Markey	Van Hollen
Duckworth	Menendez	Warner
Durbin	Merkley	Warren
Feinstein	Murphy	Whitehouse
Gillibrand	Murray	Wyden

NOT VOTING—4

Harris	Sanders
Loeffler	Schatz

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 actions.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the Waller nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Christopher

Waller, of Minnesota, to be a Member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for a term of fourteen years from February 1, 2016.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

ALS DISABILITY INSURANCE ACCESS ACT OF 2019

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, under the order obtained yesterday, I ask that the Senate proceed to S. 578.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Finance Committee is discharged from further consideration.

The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 578) to amend title II of the Social Security Act to eliminate the five-month waiting period for disability insurance benefits under such title for individuals with amyotrophic lateral sclerosis.

AMENDMENT NO. 2689

Mr. MCCONNELL. I call up the Grassley amendment at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. McConnell], for Mr. GRASSLEY, proposes an amendment numbered 2689.

The amendment (No. 2689) is as follows:

(Purpose: To increase the overpayment collection threshold for old-age, survivors, and disability insurance benefits)

Insert the following after section 2:

SEC. 3. INCREASING THE OVERPAYMENT COLLECTION THRESHOLD FOR OLD-AGE, SURVIVORS, AND DISABILITY INSURANCE BENEFITS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 204(a)(1)(A) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 404(a)(1)(A)) is amended—

(1) by striking “With respect to” and inserting “(i) Subject to clause (ii), with respect to”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(ii) For purposes of clause (i), if the Commissioner of Social Security determines that decreasing a payment under this title to an individual by 100 percent would defeat the purpose of this title, the Commissioner may decrease such payment by a smaller amount, provided that such smaller amount is not less than 10 percent of the amount of such payment.”.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MCCONNELL. For the information of all Senators, at 4 p.m. today the Senate will vote on the Grassley amendment to S. 578 and passage of the bill.

Until that time, the Senate will resume consideration of the Waller nomination.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Waller nomination is pending.

The Senator from Wyoming.

FAREWELL TO THE SENATE

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, this morning we got to hear the farewell speech of my friend LAMAR ALEXANDER. He is a fantastic speaker and legislator. It has been an honor to serve with him and to learn from him. Now you get to hear from the accountant.

I rise today to give my farewell speech on the floor of the U.S. Senate. It has been the honor of a lifetime to serve the great people of Wyoming in this position for the last 24 years. I have really enjoyed being a Senator—not for the title, not for the recognition, and certainly not for the publicity.

I love solving problems for folks in Wyoming and America. I like working on legislation. It might shock those who know me, but I never intended to get into politics. While I always had great respect for those who served in public office, it wasn't my calling when I left college.

But over 50 years ago, when I joined the young men's leadership training group known as the Jaycees, at a State convention in Cody I spoke about the value of leadership in communities.

The keynote speaker was Al Simpson, who would go on to serve three terms in the U.S. Senate. After I gave my pitch on the importance of leadership training, Senator Simpson did his usual fascinating and humorous speech and then took me aside and said: I don't even know what party you are in, but it is time you put your money where your mouth is on this leadership stuff and get into politics. That town you live in, Gillette, needs a mayor.

My wife Diana and I had only moved to Gillette a few years earlier. The town was facing a crisis as the discovery of oil, gas, and coal turned it into a boomtown. The population started to skyrocket, and city services were not keeping up.

On the way home from that Cody meeting, while my wife was driving, I told her what Senator Simpson had said and that I was thinking maybe I should run for mayor. It must have come as quite a shock because she ended up swerving into the borrow pit and then coming back up onto the road.

We ended up talking about it seriously for the 4 hours that it took to drive back to Gillette and thought of a lot of things that needed to be done to make a difference in our town.

I was new to the community and just 29 years old, but I thought that Gillette was in need of a budget, agendas, and planning—not the most exciting topics to get people's attention. I ran anyway, and I did win.

Nearly five decades later, having served as mayor, having served in the State house, having served as a State senator and then as a U.S. Senator, I still find myself motivated by the urge to help my community and my country.

I also find myself still pushing those same three ideas that I did when I first

ran for mayor: budgets, agendas, and planning. I keep finding myself wanting to help solve problems. Once you embrace that responsibility, it is hard to ever ignore it again. I have found that many of my colleagues in Congress tend to feel the same way.

The Senate is a very different place than when I arrived in 1997, and it is a very different place than it was in 1789 when the very first Senate met. But over all those years, it has been a place for folks rising to the challenge of being a leader. We are looking to make our communities and country a better place. We might not always agree on what the solutions are, but we can respect each other for working to find one.

Over the years, I have learned a great deal from those around me. Just like I listened to Senator Al Simpson all those years back, I have tried to keep an open mind to learning from others.

Now that my time in the Senate is coming to a close, I would like to pass along some of the lessons I was taught—and some I learned the hard way—in the hopes that it may be useful for my colleagues working to get things accomplished in the Senate and for anybody who wants to be a leader in their community.

In my office we have a mission statement. It reads:

We have been given a sacred trust to work for our families, grandparents, and grandchildren. We will respect the wisdom of those before and the future of those to follow. We will discharge this trust through our legislative policy, our constituent services, and the way we treat each other, guided by these three principles:

Doing What Is Right
Doing Our Best
Treating others as They Wish to be Treated

These last three principles are advice my mom gave me often, and they remain my core values. Every member of my staff is given that mission statement when they start, and we rely on it to remind us why we are here and how we should act.

It isn't just a saying. It is a way to work, a way to build trust, and a way to govern. These values are not always easy to live by. We are all human, and we all struggle to live up to these ideals we set for ourselves, but that is why we call them ideals.

I believe these are values we can all agree on, and by remembering the values we share, we can work together to tackle tough problems and find shared solutions.

"Do what is right" is a great slogan, but you might ask what it means at a practical level. People see a mess in Washington, so how do we actually make progress? I believe it involves focusing on common ground over compromise, especially when it comes to legislating.

People sometimes think that compromise is the answer. I think it means that I give in to something I don't like, and you give in to something you don't like, and we both wind up with some-

thing neither of us likes. That is not legislating.

When it comes to legislating, often the best way to get something done that everyone can agree on is to leave out the things you don't agree on and focus on what you can get done. That is why I suggest my 80 percent tool.

Generally speaking, people can talk civilly on 80 percent of the issues. It is only on about 20 percent of the issues that we find real contention. Now, even picking a single issue out of the 80 percent, you might still find disagreement, but once again, you can probably focus on 80 percent of the issue that you can agree on.

It is all about focusing on what you can get done and not focusing on the points of disagreement, the weeds of debate that have choked issues, or, to say it another way, it is all about what you leave out.

Former Senator Ted Kennedy, from Massachusetts, and I used this tool when we led the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee together, and it worked great. It worked even though we were on complete opposite sides of the political spectrum.

I once showed Senator Kennedy an article that mentioned how unusual it was for the most conservative Senator and the third most liberal Senator to work together, to which he said: So who is ahead of me?

We were able to get legislation passed that others had been trying to do for years. Here is how we started working together. When I first got to the Senate, I wanted to change some things with OSHA—the Occupational Safety and Health. Senator Kennedy, at the urging of my predecessor, Senator Simpson, did let me sit down and take him through the bill a section at a time. That is something we always did in the Wyoming Legislature. When we marked up the bill in committee, Senator Kennedy said: In all my years in the Senate, I have never had anybody take me through a bill a section at a time, but I am still going to have to vote against it. It still got out of committee. But later he called me about a safety bill he had been working on for over a decade—a bill to save nurses and medical janitors from accidental needlesticks—and asked if I would take a look at it. I did. The biggest suggestion that I gave was to leave out a couple of small parts that had been jamming up the bill. The bill passed the Senate and the House unamended and was signed. And now you see needle disposals in restrooms and all sorts of places. And the issue has never had to be readdressed.

Later, I became the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions chair, and Senator Kennedy was the ranking member. We used the 80-percent tool. We were able to get 35 bills through the HELP Committee in the 109th Congress. Twenty-seven of them made their way to the President's desk and were signed into public law. In between, we were able to report out 352

nominations for consideration by the full Senate.

Here is how the 80-percent tool worked. At the beginning of each year, each of us made a list of the issues the committee should do. We compared lists. We made an effort to argue some to be on both lists. Then we worked on the ones on both lists. We usually had a duplication of about 80 percent of the issues. Then we could pick out any issue and work on it, usually agreeing on 80 percent of that issue. If we couldn't find a new way to do the part that had been argued for years, we simply left it out, believing that 80 percent finished is better than 20 percent that only makes the press.

The 80-percent tool is where all of our energy, attention, and talents could be focused. If we just worked on the 20 percent that we don't agree on, and never will agree on, we will only generate headlines about how hard we are working, with nothing actually getting done, just gridlock.

When the news comes on, if we are here in the Chamber arguing and bickering and getting nothing done, we are focusing too much on the 20 percent. If people do not see much of us, that means we are taking on the 80 percent and making progress without headlines and often with unanimous consent.

What we are really talking about is working together. That is what the heart of the 80-percent tool is. Oftentimes, people say what we need is more bipartisanship, and there is a very practical reason for that. In the Senate, you can't get anything done without working with the other side unless one party has 60 votes or more, which is rare. And even with 60 votes from one party, the bills that party passes when they have a supermajority often are flawed. It turns out that when we work together, we can create a better bill than when we just try to do it alone or force others to accept our ideas. That is why success is not really about compromise. It is really about what you leave out—or finding a way to accomplish it doing a mutually agreeable new way.

We used to take the people who had similar amendments and send them off to see if they could come up with one amendment. Quite often, they could. It was fascinating, when they came back, they said: It was my idea. And when all of them report to you that it was their idea, you know that you have enough votes to pass it.

That is why success is not really about compromise; it is about what you leave out or finding a third way to come up with a mutually agreeable goal. Here are a few key steps that I used to find that common ground to pass legislation. First, find someone from the other side of the aisle who likes to legislate.

Second, discover and agree on common goals.

Third, consult with stakeholders that will or could affect the changes being discussed.

Fourth, hold roundtables instead of hearings. With hearings, each side beats up on the other's witness with clever, stump-the-professor-type questions. At a roundtable, people who have actually done something on a policy share their real-life experiences.

Finally, you set aside the part of the issues you can't agree on for another day. Now you will have a bill that has a good chance of being passed and signed into law. That is the heart of the 80-percent tool.

This way of working also ensures that we can disagree without being disagreeable. There is a lot of vitriol in our politics and our world right now, but you can stay true to what you believe in without treating others badly. Nothing gets done when we are just telling each other how wrong we are. Just ask yourself, has anyone ever really changed your opinion by getting in your face and yelling at you or saying how wrong you are? Usually, that doesn't change hearts or minds. That might make the attacker feel better in the moment, but it doesn't do much for getting anything accomplished. Following the 80-percent tool will not get you notoriety. It won't get you fame. It won't get you headlines. Most media coverage requires "blood in the water." However, the ability to work among your peers using this method can, and will, move us forward and get things done.

This tool is only successful if we are actually working on passing legislation together, and that means letting the Senate work as it was intended. One of the best ways to do that is to allow the members of each committee to actually take time to craft bills. The committees are where the experts are and where I think some of the best work gets done. I have already made it clear that I don't think hearings are overly useful and are often wasted on collecting soundbites for the evening news. Instead, we should be encouraging committees to give their members more say in crafting legislation and working together on best solutions. If you look at bills that pass with strong bipartisan support, they are usually because flaws were ironed out in committee. Legislation is oftentimes at its best when it has taken time in committees being hashed out until it is ready for prime time. You might not always be able to get everyone on board, but if you have done it right, you should see strong bipartisan support.

Sometimes this also means letting others take credit for your ideas. An old salesman's trick is to convince others that your good idea was really their good idea. Don't let your vanity stand in the way of getting the job done.

Too often, in the modern Senate, legislation is rushed out of committee to the Senate floor. And then once it hits the Senate floor, both sides try to prevent amendments, but the process of allowing amendments and debates is a core component of how the Senate was

designed to operate. Without it, the Senate can get gummed up. The gears can get jammed. Without the fresh air that new ideas and legitimate debate brings, tensions can rise as Senators feel unable to make progress.

The difficulty is that each party is so worried about the next election, looking to hold on to the majority, that everybody is either trying to force the other side to take politically perilous votes or trying to avoid taking those votes themselves. No matter which party is in charge, we end up blocking amendments and shying away from allowing legislation to be altered on the floor of the Senate. And usually those tough votes don't really make any difference.

It might help if Members made it clear to leadership they would be willing to take some tough votes in return for more chances to amend major legislation on the floor. People might be less likely to demand votes on a poison pill or messaging designed to put the other party in a tough spot if they knew they could face the same treatment. In the end, the onus is on the Members of the Senate, on us, to take on a responsibility to work together in return for a chance to pass legislation. I suggest that amendments should have to have 60 votes. If it was so bad that it needed a filibuster, the 60 votes would be required to end that. But that takes about 3 days. So many have been willing to allow their amendment to have a 60-vote threshold, and if it was strong enough, it passed anyway.

I also ask you to avoid comprehensive. Comprehensive bills make it so large that everyone can find a reason to vote against it. Senator ALEXANDER is a big promoter of step-by-step. That is taking a piece of legislation and solving it, and then taking the next step and solving it, and so on. This practical solution would avoid passing comprehensive legislation. Comprehensive legislation is usually a byproduct of compromise, not common ground, and often ends up being incomprehensible. Giant bills that try to do everything usually end up with too many unintended consequences and include a litany of unrelated pieces of legislation that are merely hitching a ride because otherwise they would never be able to stand on their own merits.

These "Christmas tree" bills are often designed so that if you vote against it, you would be voting against some key legislation for your constituents. Once again, the ugly nature of compromise over common ground is clear.

A simple solution I have proposed would be to pass more bills as individual pieces of legislation, that step-by-step. In Wyoming, bills have to be focused on a single subject, and all amendments need to be relevant. In the past, I have introduced a bill that would require that here, but it never was really treated seriously.

To talk on a little different article, my favorite article of the Constitution

is article V. The reason it is, is it assures that all States will have equal representation in the Senate. And that can't even be changed by a constitutional Congress. Since I come from one of those low-population States, it is very important to us. Sometimes we are criticized for being overrepresented in the Senate. We have two Senators, the same as California, New York, and Texas. But in this argument of unfair representation for States, we find the same inherent issues we do with the filibuster; our government was not set up to be majority rule by population alone. Our Founders, through their own debate, were able to understand the risk of pure democracy and the benefits of a federalist system, where ideas were represented not just by population but by regions and shared cultures. Wyomingites deserve to have their cultural say in our system protected against the majority. We are all in the United States of America.

The Senate represents more than just the people. To protect the individuality of the States, of the culture of those who live in the regions of the country less populated, and it also represents States that founded our federalist system. Of course, at that time, several of them had little population.

I have covered a lot of ground, but for my last piece of advice, I would call on my colleagues to recognize that it is time to formally allow electronics on the floor of the U.S. Senate. It is an issue near and dear to my heart and one I think will help how we work in the Senate. It is clear that anyone who watches C-SPAN that all of us are already breaking the spirit of the law, checking our phones on occasion as we walk off or onto the floor. Those devices are often inseparable from our ability to do our work. We rely on them to do almost everything. It is time to make this commonsense change, allowing iPads to be used for speeches, as long as they are laid on the lectern like a paper speech. And if Senators could do some work from their desks, like early Senators had to do, we would listen to more of the speeches and get something done.

I do remember when I brought that one up before, that it was covered by—in 1997, I thought it was important that we have that use. TIME magazine did a special article on it. I remember Senator MCCONNELL going to New York City and coming back to report to me that he got in a cab and the cabdriver said: You are a United States Senator, aren't you? Of course, he proudly was. The guy said: So when are you going to let the guy from Wyoming have his computer on the floor? Senator MCCONNELL told me if I had lobbied it down to cabbies, that it was time to do it. But we still haven't done it.

As we move forward, of course, our country has no shortage of problems we need to address. Some are out of our control, but many of our own making. If my experience over the years has taught me anything, it is that we will

never be able to tackle these challenges unless we find common areas of agreements and work to solve these problems together.

I hope that everyone listening—especially my colleagues in the Senate—remembers the core values I spoke of today: Do what is right. Do what is best. Treat others as they wish to be treated.

I truly believe if we adhered to these ideals, the world would be a better place for our children and grandchildren.

I want, again, to thank the people of Wyoming for giving me the opportunity to serve them. I also want to thank my colleagues and friends who supported me over the years. I want to thank all the amazing staff I have had over the years in my personal office, in the DC office, in my State offices in Wyoming; and my staff on the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee and on the Budget Committee. Over the years, I have gotten to work with incredible staff that made it possible to do more than a Senator by himself or herself could ever do. Thank you for working so hard over the years.

I also want to give the most thanks to my family for all of their support over the years, especially to my wife Diana. It has been a long journey since I told Diana that I was thinking of running for mayor.

You have supported me more than anyone can truly comprehend, and, in no uncertain terms, I couldn't have done it without you. It has been more than 50 amazing years together, and I look forward to our next adventure.

I yield the floor.

(Applause, Senators rising.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COTTON). The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to pay tribute to this great Wyoming leader. For nearly a quarter of a century, MIKE ENZI has represented the people of Wyoming in Washington, and he has done it with intelligence, with intensity, and with integrity.

The Cowboy State and the Capitol are going to sorely miss MIKE ENZI. He has truly supplemented his legacy as the trusted trail boss of the Wyoming congressional delegation, and it has been an incredible honor and a great privilege for my wife Bobbi and me to serve the people of Wyoming alongside MIKE and his wife, Diana, who is with us today.

MIKE is truly a devoted family man, as well as a man of great and deep faith. In fact, MIKE taught Sunday school over the decades. Many in the Wyoming faith community know that MIKE's first Sunday schoolteacher in Thermopolis, WY, was my wife Bobbi's mother Jerry Brown.

Jerry and her husband Bob, a World War II and Korean war veteran, both passed away this past year, and they had been married 70 years. She taught Sunday school in Thermopolis, WY, and her star pupil was MIKE ENZI, to

the point that she actually gave MIKE ENZI his first Bible, and he still has that today.

Here in the Senate, MIKE has been not just a close friend to me and a mentor to me, but he has been that to many Members of this body.

MIKE was sworn in 1997. Throughout four terms in the U.S. Senate, he has never wavered in his commitment to God, to family, to country, and, of course, to Wyoming. He is known by many as the Senate's moral compass.

He is a remarkable spiritual leader of our bipartisan Prayer Breakfast. I am a member of that group and a number of Senators are as well. We met today, and MIKE led us in prayer.

I have seen firsthand just how much Republican and Democrat Members depend on MIKE for his moral and ethical guidance. He really is a bipartisan not just policymaker but also a peacemaker, and we have all seen it within this body.

His legislation—he talked about the 80–20 rule. It has a long history of garnering overwhelming bipartisan support. Over 100 Enzi bills have become law. I have been proud to sponsor and cosponsor many of them with him in my time in the Senate. The thing he didn't point out is that most of the bills passed with over 80 votes. It is rare for an Enzi bill to get to the floor and pass with any more than 15 to 18 “no” votes. It is a remarkable accomplishment.

It is important to note that these bills have been signed by Republican and Democrat Presidents. When you go into his office, his whole conference room walls are filled with bills and pens—signed into law with the pens being used by Bill Clinton, by George W. Bush, by Barack Obama, and by President Donald Trump.

Behind all of these, as he just talked about, is that very successful 80–20 rule—a rule that he learned while in the Wyoming State Legislature, and it has worked extremely well for him here in Washington as well.

But such is the practical Western wisdom in MIKE ENZI. Born in 1944 in Bremerton, WA, his father was there serving in the naval shipyards during World War II. He moved his family to Wyoming shortly thereafter, and that is when he started elementary school in Thermopolis, WY. They moved to Sheridan, where he graduated from high school.

MIKE didn't talk about this today, but there MIKE earned his Eagle Scout award. He is a proud Eagle Scout, as is his son Brad. His grandson is working on it as well. MIKE has been named a “Distinguished Eagle” by the Scouts.

He has a bachelor's degree in accounting from George Washington University and an MBA in retail marketing from the University of Denver in Colorado.

MIKE and Diana moved to Gillette in 1969, where they started their own small business. It is wonderful to listen to MIKE talk about small businesses. It

is called NZ Shoes, not as he spells his last name, E-N-Z-I, but the letter “N” and the letter “Z” so people could remember NZ Shoes. They later expanded their successful family business to Miles City, MT, and to Sheridan, WY.

But Gillette, WY, is MIKE's true home and where his heart is. He served 2 terms as Gillette's mayor. During his 8 years as mayor, MIKE led Gillette to their first economic boom. He served 10 years in the Wyoming State Legislature as a State rep, as well as a State senator. Wyoming is MIKE's world.

Family means the world to MIKE. They are the proud parents of three: Amy, Emily, and Brad; and even prouder grandparents of four: Megan, Allison, Trey, and Lilly.

Now, anyone who knows MIKE knows that he loves to fish. Even during Prayer Breakfast today, when you watched on the Zoom call, behind MIKE you could see on the wall the fishing rod and all the lures he uses in fishing on display. He is an accomplished and avid fly-fisherman. In August 2015, he achieved every fly-fisherman's dream, completing his Wyoming Cutt-Slam. This Wyoming Game and Fish Department program increases appreciation for our native cutthroat trout.

If you want to talk to MIKE about anything, talk to him about fishing. His passion comes through with his love of nature for spending so much time in nature's cathedral of the great outdoors. He fishes in majestic spots throughout Wyoming and all over the world.

Well, here in Washington, MIKE has been a leading voice on budget, on tax, and on healthcare issues. He serves on the Senate Budget Committee and has been chairman since 2015. As the first accountant to chair the Budget Committee, MIKE is committed to making government more accountable to hard-working American taxpayers. He has been a tremendous Budget chairman. That is because he learned valuable lessons in the Wyoming Legislature where, like all American families, you need to balance your budget every year and live within your means.

Under MIKE's leadership, Congress passed balanced budget resolutions for fiscal years 2016 and 2017 and 2018. He worked tirelessly to pass these budgets—even working through the night all week for the marathon floor debates called vote-aramas. His budget blueprints offered a better fiscal path by reducing wasteful spending, by lightening tax burdens, and by boosting economic growth.

MIKE's fiscal year 2018 budget not only provided a path to balance; it paved the way for pro-growth, pro-jobs tax relief legislation, the most comprehensive reform in the Tax Code in over a generation. As a reconciliation bill, this historic 2017 tax reform bill, the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, went through MIKE's Budget Committee.

As Budget chairman, MIKE has also focused on the soaring national debt, budget process reform, and oversight of Federal programs.

MIKE also served as a member of the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee since his arrival in the Senate. And as a former chairman and ranking member, he championed the efforts to ensure a quality education for all. He expanded access to affordable, quality healthcare, and he spearheaded the most significant pension reform in 30 years, securing millions of Americans' retirement.

He is also a member of the Senate Finance Committee, Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, and the Joint Committee on Taxation.

Other policy successes include improving mine safety, helping end the AIDS epidemic in Africa, and passing mental health parity.

MIKE's highest priority, of course, has always been helping the people of Wyoming. As he said in announcing his retirement, "I am an advocate for Gillette and Campbell County and Wyoming." He went on to say, "I point out that everyone lives at the local level. No one lives at the Federal level—or even the state level." He said, "So Diana and I are your Chamber of Commerce and economic development people for every town and county in Wyoming all the time."

MIKE started several annual events to boost our State—the Inventors Conference, the Procurement Conference, and Wyoming Works Tours.

In 2009, MIKE and I started Wyoming Wednesdays, and it quickly became a big hit. This is a great tradition. When people of Wyoming come to Washington, we greet them every week and get together for coffee and host a time of doughnuts and friendship, and people love to attend.

But MIKE, as well as Diana, are a force in the Senate. Diana did it again just recently. MIKE has called Diana "the most thoughtful person" in the world, and that is no exaggeration. Here in the Senate, every year Diana hosts a Christmas cookie party to thank, as they describe, the "real workers" who keep the Senate running—the janitors, cleaning crews, electricians, police officers, and food service workers. Every year, Diana and her friends work hundreds of hours and bake hundreds of dozens of cookies. All the Senate workers look forward to Diana's 200-dozen cookie thank-you event. That is not 200 cookies. It is 200 dozen cookies. It is not unusual for people to come up to Diana in the hallway and ask when the party is. MIKE is the wonderful cohost.

This year, because of coronavirus, she couldn't do all the baking, but they have the cookie festival with baked cookies. Those who couldn't get to receive them in locations, MIKE and Diana walked the halls of this building and the Senate office buildings to make sure that the guards and the custodians and janitors and others got their Christmas cookies.

MIKE is usually a man of few words, but in a recent Prayer Breakfast, he reminded everyone about the importance

of thinking before we speak. He titled his presentation "Me and My Big Mouth." He reminded us that our mouths cannot be trained—as you said, MIKE—only guarded.

MIKE is a true Wyoming gentleman, someone who will always be a great friend and a mentor to me, to younger people in Wyoming, and to everyone here in the Senate.

In my office, there is a picture on the wall of my first day in the Senate, right here in 2007, being sworn in by then-Vice President Cheney, with Senator ENZI, along with former Senator Malcolm Wallop, standing behind. It has been a tremendous privilege to serve with MIKE from the very first day in the U.S. Senate.

The people of Wyoming owe him an incredible debt of gratitude for his tireless and faithful service. MIKE's character, his courage, and his credibility have cemented his legacy as a highly respected leader of the Senate.

So today many Senators are here gathering to listen to, to honor, and to thank MIKE ENZI for his decades of distinguished service to the Nation.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The assistant Democratic leader.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, it is hard to follow those heartfelt words from Senator BARRASSO about his colleague and friend and our friend MIKE ENZI, but I am going to make a try.

Just as our tribute to LAMAR ALEXANDER was a tribute to the better angels of nature as they are shown in the lives of Senators, so, too, was MIKE ENZI. I join my colleagues in thanking MIKE for his service to Wyoming and to America.

One of the most frequent questions many of us are asked is, Why can't you folks get along in Washington? Why can't you just do things together? I say to them that there are times when we do, and the many times are very important. When we do come together, it is because of people like MIKE, who worked under his so-called 80-20 rule. We know that well, don't we? He would tell you he believes both sides could agree on 80 percent of the substance, and if negotiators are willing to give up the other 20 percent, we could actually get some things done around here. Wouldn't that be refreshing?

One of those items was the Marketplace Fairness Act. MIKE helped to lead the fight for local brick-and-mortar retailers in order to give them a chance to compete on an equal and level playing field with online sellers, email companies, and internet companies and to allow the States and localities to collect much needed sales tax revenue. It is hard to imagine how many years MIKE put into that effort, but the Marketplace Fairness Act would have given the States the option to require from out-of-State businesses, such as those selling online, the collection of taxes owed under State law in the same way local businesses are required.

MIKE knew a lot about local business. As was mentioned on the floor by Sen-

ator BARRASSO, his colleague, he was a small business owner in Gillette, WY, running NZ Shoes. Even as he went on to become mayor of Gillette at age 30, a staff sergeant in the Wyoming Air National Guard, a State representative, and then a State senator, he was always still the small business man from Gillette.

In 1996, when he was recovering from open-heart surgery, then-Senator Alan Simpson decided not to run for reelection. Local leaders kept trying to talk MIKE into running. He really just wanted to have more time to hunt and fish. In the end, he made an important decision. He ran, and he won. His career has had many legislative successes in having used his 80-20 rule.

I will never forget the days when Ted Kennedy would come to the floor and talk about the compromise and the bargain he had struck with you. I had thought what a political odd couple, but the two of you did some remarkable things.

Poles apart in terms of political philosophy, they treated each other with respect, and they had amazing successes to show for it. Even when he has differing views on the best ways to resolve issues, MIKE ENZI shows a willingness to come to the table and discuss the areas in which we can agree.

In 2012, Democratic Senator Byron Dorgan retired. I called MIKE after Byron left and asked if I could take up Byron's position in his fight for the Marketplace Fairness Act. He said: Let's do it. We brought in Senator LAMAR ALEXANDER—that was a pretty smart move—and then Senator Heidi Heitkamp, who both made great contributions to our work. It was our luck that Heidi Heitkamp was the petitioner of the 1992 Supreme Court case *Quill Corp. v. North Dakota*, which made the Marketplace Fairness Act necessary.

We were an unexpected group of Senators—two Republicans and two Democrats who were literally from all over the United States. We disagreed on some things, sure, but we agreed that Main Street business needed a break and deserved fair treatment. We kept working on it with MIKE ENZI's leadership, and, in 2013, the Marketplace Fairness Act passed the Senate, overwhelmingly, with 69 votes. Unfortunately, the House of Representatives, once again, broke our heart and didn't act on it. We kept introducing the bill.

Main Street businesses were still struggling against the unfair advantage that internet-only retailers had. Visitors to my office might have noticed a little something that was in my office that I have brought to the floor today and wondered what this was all about. This was a gift from MIKE ENZI after we were successful in the U.S. Senate. It is a small, wooden, three-note train whistle. It would be a violation of the Senate rules to blow the whistle, but I want to tell you that it was a gift from MIKE for our work we did together in helping to get the bill down the tracks of the legislative process.

We were never able to get the House to take up the measure, but, in 2018, the Supreme Court finally did the right thing. In a 5-to-4 ruling in *South Dakota v. Wayfair, Inc.*, the Court closed the loophole we had been struggling to fight and address for years. I am proud to be a part of that bipartisan coalition. In Illinois, it has meant a lot. We estimate that our State has received \$460 million in annual revenue by virtue of MIKE ENZI's determination and leadership on the marketplace fairness front.

In this pandemic crisis, this revenue is more important than ever. MIKE has always been a force for fairness, a friend, and a leader for whom I have great respect. As we fight this pandemic, we should strive to abide by MIKE's 80-20 rule and remember that Main Street businesses are really hurting and need our help.

I know MIKE will have more time now for fishing and hunting. I wish him and Diana, his wonderful wife—and she is a wonderful person—and their grandchildren happiness. I look forward to reading about the next chapter in MIKE ENZI's life of giving and caring.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, MIKE ENZI and I were both sworn in to do our first terms in the U.S. Senate on January 7, 1997. I immediately saw in the gentleman from Wyoming a quiet, effective, and ethical leader who was focused not on partisan advantage but, rather, on results—results that would benefit the people who had sent him to Washington and results that would benefit the American people as a whole.

The nearly 24 years since then have only confirmed my initial impression. For the first 14 of those years, MIKE was the sole accountant in the Senate. That discipline, combined with his experience as a small business owner, have served him so well in his role as chairman of the Senate Committee on the Budget. He knows how important it is to set a budget, to follow it, and to control spending. His priority has always been the American taxpayer. As chairman of the Committee on the Budget and as a member of the Senate Committee on Finance, he has been a leader on tax issues as well. He helped to shape the 2017 tax reform act, which has helped to boost economic growth and the creation of more jobs.

MIKE's leadership style is characterized by his willingness to always search for common ground. He described in great depth today what he calls his 80-20 rule, and anyone who has ever worked with MIKE ENZI on any issue quickly learns about the 80-20 rule. Through it, he forges solutions where many others see only impasse. The key to success in moving legislation, as he told us today, is to focus on the 80 percent of issues on which agreement can be found and not waste time on the 20 percent on which the disagreements are insurmountable.

That rule served him well when he, along with the late Senator Ted Kennedy, sat at the helm of the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions. Well, as MIKE has described today, it would be difficult to think of two individuals serving in the Senate who had more different political philosophies than he and Ted Kennedy. You could probably say that this is true with his current ranking member of the Budget Committee. Yet, together, he and Senator Kennedy crafted dozens of laws. Neither side got 100 percent of what it wanted. They put aside the areas of disagreement. For them, it was far more important that progress was made for the American people.

In serving with MIKE on the HELP Committee, I have seen him employ this rule over and over again to bring about real progress. He has led efforts to help to ensure that everyone can receive a quality education. He has helped to provide Americans with access to affordable, quality healthcare. He has helped to protect workers and foster job training opportunities. As the leader of the committee, he has worked to oversee the biggest revision in pension laws in 30 years—to strengthen funding rules to enhance retirement security for millions of Americans.

MIKE comes from a small business background, and as Senator DURBIN just described, he was passionate about the Marketplace Fairness Act—to enable States to collect sales and use taxes from out-of-State online retailers. He recognized that the brick-and-mortar Main Street businesses that provide local jobs should not be penalized. MIKE and I also worked together on successful legislation to improve workplace safety for postal employees and to better protect the American people from deceptive mailings that mimic official government documents.

Senator MIKE ENZI has compiled a long record of selfless service as a business leader, as a member of the Wyoming Air National Guard, as a mayor, as a State legislator, and as an involved citizen. When he announced his intention early last year to leave the Senate, he said that he had no definite plans other than to find other ways to serve. I am 100 percent certain that the author of the 80-20 rule will continue to contribute to his community, his State, and our Nation. I wish him and his beloved wife Diana all the best in the years to come.

I thank the Presiding Officer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I have had the pleasure of working with my chairman on the Budget Committee on budget reform initiatives, and I want to take this occasion to thank him for the wonderful way in which he worked with me on those issues and for all of his support.

I want to make a pledge to him as well. The effort began with a lot of

hearings in the Budget Committee to sort out how we could reform what we were doing. At the moment, the Budget Committee is, probably, the most dysfunctional piece of this dysfunctional institution, and Chairman ENZI was determined to remedy that. A lot of work went in at the committee level. Then a bicameral committee was created to look at budget reform, primarily out of the House, and I had the opportunity to serve on that bicameral committee. That was an opportunity that I owe to Chairman ENZI. He both advocated for me to his leader that I should be on that committee, and he gave up a spot on that committee to make sure there was a spot for me there. I hope and believe that I conducted myself in due accord with Chairman ENZI's wishes and principles in the course of that.

We had the ability to use that bicameral committee process to do a test run of our budget reform, and I am pleased to report that, although the end product was never adopted between the two bodies, the product that came out of the committee included our budget reform as it was then constituted. We raised our aspiration from the budget reform as it was then constituted, which was entirely voluntary, to actually try to change the Budget Committee's rules to force the process of the Budget Committee into the mold of the voluntary structure. We did good work on that, and we came to an agreement. I am sorry to say that its failure to pass into law arose not from problems on the Republican side of the aisle but from problems on my side of the aisle that I have been unable to yet surmount.

My pledge to you, Chairman ENZI, is that I will keep at it. Senator BLUNT is here, and he is helpful in that regard. Senator LANKFORD and Senator PERDUE are here, and we have a good team, along with Senator KAINE, Senator KING, myself, and others on our side—another being Senator SHAHEEN.

So I will continue the work. I vow to you that I will somehow find a way to get this done, and if I can find a way to call it the Enzi reform, I will find a way to call it the Enzi reform.

I will long remember the relationship we had and the good work we did together. I will long remember your 80/20 rule. And maybe—because I have a similar proposal in Rules—maybe we will even be able to get your phones and electronics amendment passed.

So thank you to you, sir, for doing what is right, doing your best, and treating others as they would want to be treated.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. President, I feel a little guilty, as the chairman of the Rules Committee, standing in between the Enzi desire to get the devices on the floor.

I have watched in recent weeks. If you looked around on the floor, you would assume that we had adopted that

rule. It is a pretty hard rule to enforce with all the information that Senator ENZI always knew was there and needed to be available in ways that we have not made it available yet.

I just want to stand as a particular friend of MIKE ENZI. We came to the Congress at the same time. I came to the House, and he came to the Senate. He and Diana and I were together on travel fairly early in that we had an opportunity to go to Lithuania, as they were desperately trying to get included in NATO.

And, MIKE, you remember walking on that little square where people had their signs up: We want in NATO. They had been left behind one time; they didn't want to be left behind another time.

But that is one of the many memories I have with MIKE.

Another is just MIKE's incredible capacity to listen. I think without question and by plenty of evidence, MIKE is the best listener in the Senate. In fact, he has listening sessions in his State, where what he does, shockingly, is listen. His talking is at a minimum at those sessions. His interest in taking in input from whoever wants to talk—you can envision MIKE at the front of the room with his notepad, taking notes on what everybody says, and then often the move from one speaker to the next is "Thank you" and "Let's hear what other people have to say," and he absorbs that in a great way.

There are many times when I have come to MIKE in the Senate and said: Tell me what you are thinking about this. And it is amazing how much you can learn by listening. MIKE so often has a different view, a more nuanced view than others do because of that.

I also thought, MIKE, as you were speaking today—I know that your driver in the State is usually Diana. And even describing the return from the Jaycees event back to Gillette, I noticed who was driving, that you spent so many hours together and miles together in a State that maybe doesn't have the most people, but it sure has lots of distance, and I know it was just a challenge to get home to Wyoming every week and then to get to the place you live in Wyoming, in Gillette, as often as you can, and that is not often possible.

But what an honor and privilege to serve with you, to spend these 24 years in the Congress together, and for me to get to spend the last 10 years of your Senate time here in the Senate with you. It is a great honor. It is a great privilege.

I am trying to learn all I can about listening from the master listener who then takes all that information and actually produces, as we have heard here today, real results.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I just want to thank all the people who came and listened, and I hope there were other Senators who were watching on their

televisions and taking notes on the 80-percent tool and other things that I mentioned.

But I just appreciate the friendships that I have had here. I have no qualms about leaving because of the quality of people who will still be here, still solving problems for America.

There is some great teamwork that never gets any publicity but that actually functions around here, and I can't thank my friends enough, particularly Senator BARRASSO, who has been a part of this team and has helped to bring me along. I have learned a lot from him and gotten to do a lot with him, and he and his wife are good friends of ours. It is not all that common to be good friends with the other person in your delegation, but we have a strong delegation and get along well that way.

I want to thank Senator WHITEHOUSE for his comments and particularly his promise that he is going to get some reform done so that the committee is actually doing what everybody thinks it does—providing a budget that we will follow. Those were goods reform principles that we put together.

I have always said that the only time we are going to have reform to the budget is if we can do it just before a Presidential election year because nobody knows who is going to be in the majority in the Senate and the House, and nobody knows who is going to be the President. Otherwise, we want to make sure that we can keep all of the control for our party that we can.

I want to thank Senator BLUNT. I actually remember trying to get some local food and running into Senator BLUNT, who was also looking for local food overseas, and so we had local food together. That was our first year in Congress. I have known him for a long time, and I appreciate your comments.

So thank you, everybody. Thank you, all the people from Wyoming.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

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

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

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I ask unanimous consent that the scheduled votes commence.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

ALS DISABILITY INSURANCE ACCESS ACT OF 2019—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume legislative session and consideration of S. 578.

VOTE ON AMENDMENT NO. 2689

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 2689.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Georgia (Mrs. LOEFFLER).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from California (Ms. HARRIS) and the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS) are necessarily absent.

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

The result was announced—yeas 48, nays 49, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 249 Leg.]

YEAS—48

Alexander	Fischer	Portman
Barrasso	Gardner	Risch
Blackburn	Graham	Roberts
Blunt	Grassley	Romney
Boozman	Hoeven	Rounds
Braun	Hyde-Smith	Rubio
Burr	Inhofe	Sasse
Capito	Johnson	Scott (FL)
Cassidy	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Cornyn	Lankford	Shelby
Cramer	Lee	Sullivan
Crapo	McConnell	Thune
Cruz	Moran	Tillis
Daines	Murkowski	Toomey
Enzi	Paul	Wicker
Ernst	Perdue	Young

NAYS—49

Baldwin	Hassan	Reed
Bennet	Hawley	Rosen
Blumenthal	Heinrich	Schatz
Booker	Hirono	Schumer
Brown	Jones	Shaheen
Cantwell	Kaine	Sinema
Cardin	Kelly	Smith
Carper	King	Stabenow
Casey	Klobuchar	Tester
Collins	Leahy	Udall
Coons	Manchin	Van Hollen
Cortez Masto	Markey	Warner
Cotton	Menendez	Warren
Duckworth	Merkley	Whitehouse
Durbin	Murphy	Wyden
Feinstein	Murray	
Gillibrand	Peters	

NOT VOTING—3

Harris	Loeffler	Sanders
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The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order requiring 60 votes for the adoption of this amendment, the amendment is not agreed to.

The amendment (No. 2689) was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the title of the bill for a third time.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. 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.