

presence in coordinated air, land, maritime, and cyber domain field training.

Additionally, for the first time ever, USNORTHCOM led a large-scale, multicombatant-command, homeland defense exercise from the USS Harry S. Truman Carrier Strike Group while the strike group was under USNORTHCOM's operational command. This allowed four combatant commands and NORAD to conduct homeland defense operations, exercise joint integration, conduct multinational operations, and strengthen interoperability in command and control.

Throughout, General VanHerck clearly articulated warfighter requirements, including the need for ready, trained, and well-equipped forces that are capable of operating wherever they are needed. That, in turn, has led to significant advances in Arctic capabilities for the joint force, including infrastructure upgrades at northern bases, improvements to the Joint Pacific Alaska Range Complex, and facilities to support deployment of ground-based air defense systems at Eielson Air Force Base.

These forward-looking efforts have also led to testing cold-weather technologies, developing deployable extreme-cold-weather expeditionary capabilities, evaluating satellite and terrestrial Arctic communication solutions aboard an icebreaker, and significantly increasing communications coverage in the region.

Mr. President, as one who has focused on the Arctic for decades now, I can attest that General VanHerck gets the Arctic. He knows and understands the value and the significance of the Arctic. He gets it.

Across decades and assignments, General VanHerck continuously demonstrated a clear strategic vision for defending the homeland, and his focus and priorities consistently yielded operational success and organizational excellence. His leadership and passion have defended the people of the United States and Canada, and, for that, we are grateful.

So to General VanHerck, I thank you for your long and your distinguished career in the service of our Nation, and on the occasion of your well-deserved retirement, I wish you and your family nothing but the very best and congratulate you for a job well done.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to legislative session and be in a period of morning business with Senators be permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

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

TRIBUTE TO MARY ELLEN STONE

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I rise today to honor and congratulate Mary Ellen Stone on her retirement, after 44 years of service leading the King County Sexual Assault Resource Center, KCSARC. Over that time, she has laid essential foundations, establishing and strengthening the organization into what has become a respected, comprehensive nonprofit provider of supportive services for survivors of sexual assault and their families. Her passion, tenacity, and leadership have shaped KCSARC into the strong, vibrant nonprofit it is today.

Mary Ellen began at KCSARC in 1979, serving about 100 clients with a staff of 3 and a budget of \$50,000. As she retires in 2023, the nonprofit serves 5,000 survivors and their families with a staff of more than 70 and an annual budget of \$8.2 million. Over four decades, Mary Ellen has been a bold, visionary advocate for sexual assault survivors throughout King County and the State of Washington. Mary Ellen was influential in establishing the State's first accreditation process for sexual assault providers, professionalizing service delivery and ensuring core services are available to survivors in every county of the State.

Under Mary Ellen's leadership, KCSARC published one of the first educational pieces in the Nation for parents to talk with their children about sexual assault called "He Told Me Not to Tell." It was a milestone for community awareness about child sexual abuse. Today, this publication remains a foundational educational tool, and its importance and relevance remain to this day as half of KCSARC's clients are children and teens under 18 years old. Mary Ellen's vision and tenacity allowed KCSARC to respond to specific unmet needs in the community, including to sexual assault survivors who are experiencing homelessness, children and youth survivors, and Latino survivors.

Mary Ellen has shared her time and expertise in so many ways to better inform systems and communities about the needs of victims, including serving on the Seattle Archdiocese Review Board, Mental Illness Drug Dependence Oversight Board, Seattle Chief of Police Search committees, Washington Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs, Sex Offender Management Committee, Women's Funding Alliance, and Municipal League Seattle-King County.

It has been a great privilege to work with Mary Ellen—a true trailblazer—over the last four decades. And it is my honor to thank her for her lifetime of dedicated service to people in King County, the State of Washington, and the entire country. I wish her the very best during her well-earned retirement.

HONORING CHIEF WARRANT OFFICER 3 STEPHEN R. DWYER

Mr. TUBERVILLE. Mr. President, today, I want to honor CW3 Stephen R. Dwyer, who lost his life during an MH-60 Blackhawk crash in the Mediterranean Sea earlier this month.

Steve graduated in 2004 from Enterprise High School in Alabama. He then followed in his parents' footsteps, both Army veterans, and attended the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. He became a field artillery commissioned officer, but his true passion was flying. So Steve returned to Fort Rucker for flight school, becoming a helicopter pilot. During his time in the military, Steve fulfilled multiple missions around the world, including two deployments to the Middle East.

He is remembered as an exceptional pilot, devoted husband, and loving father. His supervisor at West Point Mark Ray said, "Steve Dwyer was an incredible man, son, brother, teammate, and friend. He was a dedicated Special Operations warrior, who went above and beyond to serve our nation in the most difficult missions at hand. He was born into a family of servant leaders and died 'For your freedom and mine'—an act that our nation was created through and defended by today. He will be truly missed by all that knew him. 'Night Stalkers Don't Quit!'"

Steve leaves behind his wife Allie, three boys, parents, and countless other family and friends. We are deeply grateful for his heroic sacrifice to our country.

TRIBUTE TO GRAY MAXWELL

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I rise today to share news with the Senate. Dennis Gray Maxwell—Gray to all of us—my floor director and most senior legislative adviser since I arrived in the Senate almost 17 years ago, is retiring at the end of December. For many of us, Senators and staff alike, this is heartbreaking news, as we will miss Gray's good counsel, impeccable speechwriting skills, remarkable knowledge of Senate history, and award-winning home brew. He always has a relevant story, whatever the circumstance. And, of course, Gray was the one who got us to finally put the Senate Democratic Conference rules in writing, so it is no wonder that he knows them inside and out better than any Senator or parliamentarian.

Gray loves the Senate. He loves it for all it was meant to be, as drafted by the Founding Fathers, and all that it should be in modern times—a respected

entity dedicated to upholding the values and ideals that drive this great Nation forward. Year after year, Gray has dedicated himself to finding ways to preserve the Senate's role as the world's greatest deliberative body, which has not always been easy. It pains him to see the rules abused or when 10 years of work to pass a significant law, like the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, is undone in 10 minutes. But he does cherish the days when we finally clear a record vote-a-rama or come together in a landmark bipartisan vote.

Gray has worked for so many Senators over the years that his love of this institution should not surprise anyone. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, John Heinz, Jim Jeffords, Bill Cohen, Moynihan again, Dianne Feinstein, Carl Levin, Frank Lautenberg and, since 2007, he has been part of Team Cardin. This impressive list, nearly 40 years in the making, is why I jumped at the opportunity to hire Gray.

A registered Independent his whole life, Gray lives the words of John F. Kennedy: "Men of goodwill and generosity should be able to unite regardless of party or politics."

I hired Gray because, on January 3, 2007, despite being a State delegate, including speaker, for a total of 20 years, and a Member of the House of Representatives for 20 years, I had zero direct experience in the U.S. Senate. Gray Maxwell had more than two decades of legislative service in the Senate with some of the most consequential Senators to walk these halls. I wanted to learn from him. I had brought over some core staff from my House office, but I knew that if I had Gray on my team, he would help me quickly translate my previous legislative experience into this new arena. Today, I love being a Senator, and I credit Gray for sharing his fever for the institution and showing me what great things we could accomplish.

Gray's path to public service perhaps was unexpected. The summer after he graduated Stanford University, he came to Washington, DC, to work at a branch of his father's law firm before starting law school. His life would change though, when his roommate, who worked for Senator Moynihan, told Gray there was an opening as a legislative correspondent, or LC. Gray loved everything about the job and the position. He was promoted quickly within the office and even met his future wife, Eileen, during this time. Eileen, a fifth-generation Washingtonian, came from a long line of public servants and had joined the Foreign Service. Some may not know this, but Gray passed both the written and oral Foreign Service exams in an effort to join his wife for her new posting in Bolivia. In the end, they decided to stay in Washington, and Gray's long career in the Senate would take off.

I have been told that there were quite a few conversations with Gray's dad to explain that he would not be re-

turning home to Connecticut or going to New York to become a lawyer. But life would be okay. His dad came around eventually. He would become one of Gray's greatest cheerleaders and immensely proud of everything his son would accomplish—despite not being a lawyer.

During the late 80s, Gray worked for Senator John Heinz and served as legislative director of the Northeast-Midwest Institute, of which Heinz was a cofounder. Gray was serving as the Senator's legislative director at the time of his tragic plane crash in 1991. He went on to work for Senator Jim Jeffords as his legislative director and then worked for another Republican who made a career working across the aisle, Senator Bill Cohen. He later would rejoin Senator Moynihan's staff as legislative director.

Gray and Senator Moynihan had a close, almost father-son relationship. This is obvious to anyone who has heard Gray tell a story from his Moynihan days. Every tale, even something that might seem embarrassing, like slipping on the floor while walking with the Senator through the Senate, is coated with a sense of care and respect for the man and lawmaker. I know it was a difficult task for Gray when he had to call the then-recently retired Senator on September 11, 2001, to tell him that New York and our Nation was being attacked.

Gray has been a witness to history during his nearly 40 years in the Senate, and he has done his part to make history, as well. As a lifelong public servant, Gray has become one of the most vociferous champions for public service unions and Federal workers, generally. He meticulously combs through data annually from the Office of Personnel Management and other official sources to create the most accurate snapshots of Federal workers in every State and the District of Columbia. Among other uses, these charts have been invaluable each time one of my colleagues dares to attack Federal workers or attempts to use veterans and civil servants as pawns in yet another partisan game or government shutdown. Gray relishes every opportunity to lift up stories about Federal workers, serves as a watchdog for attacks on well-earned benefits, and consistently advocates for the rights of all Federal employees and retirees.

During the Trump years, Gray led the charge to pass S. 24, the Government Employee Fair Treatment Act, which guarantees back pay to Federal workers furloughed during a government shutdown. Thanks to Gray's doggedness, if and when we have another shutdown of the Federal Government, no longer will hundreds of thousands of Federal workers have to wait and see if Congress will provide relief to those workers caught in the crossfire.

Another project Gray helped carry over the finish line was the National Memorial to Fallen Journalists. Based

on his work and coordination with stakeholders, days before the 1-year anniversary of the fatal "Capital Gazette" shooting in Annapolis—the most deadly newsroom shooting in American history—Gray helped finalize legislation I introduced with Senator Rob Portman. Our bill authorized a privately funded memorial within the District of Columbia to honor journalists, photographers, broadcasters, and media workers killed in the line of duty. In later stages, he would identify the ultimate location of the memorial, across the street from the Voice of America and, coincidentally, across the street from the National Museum of the American Indian, where Gray's wife Eileen would work until her retirement in December 2022.

Far too many pieces of legislation that have become law have Gray Maxwell's fingerprints on them for me to name every one. But let me talk briefly about one recent bill that goes to the heart of Gray's integrity and strong belief that Congress should be a leader in protecting civil rights and values. Back in 2020, Senator CHRIS VAN HOLLEN and I introduced legislation in the Senate that would remove from the U.S. Capitol a statue of fellow Marylander and Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney. Taney was the author of the infamous Dred Scott decision that ruled that African-Americans were not U.S. citizens and that Congress could not prohibit slavery. In addition to removing the Taney bust, our bill authorized the placement of a new bust of Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, the first African-American to serve on the Nation's highest Court, and also a Marylander. The bill was reintroduced this Congress and approved unanimously by the Senate in 2022. Following House passage, President Joe Biden signed the measure into law, and the massive Taney bust was removed in February of this year. If not for Gray's legislative acumen and pure persistence, the bust of a man who actively helped prolong slavery would still greet visitors to the Old Supreme Court Chamber.

I am thankful that Gray shared his knowledge of the Senate with me. I also am grateful that he shares this bounty with every new staffer and intern that walks into our office. Capitol Hill can be a magnet, attracting young people. If we want them to stay, we need more people like Gray to share their experiences and adventures. He is teaching the next generation about how they fit into the history, and the future, of our legislative branch of government. He also is constantly learning, with an understanding that these young people bring with them new perspectives and different ways of solving age-old problems.

I would ask unanimous consent that, after my remarks, the full text of Robert F. Kennedy's "Ripple of Hope" address, which was delivered June 6, 1966, at the University of Capetown, South Africa, be entered into the record. Gray

gives a copy of this speech to every new intern in our office and takes time from his hectic schedule to discuss it with each group. Anecdotes and surveys from interns year after year mention this discussion and how it stays with them long after their semester is complete. RFK's words echo throughout our work.

He said: "It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."

Gray is proof positive that one person can make a difference.

Finally, I would like to thank Gray for being there for me and for the Senate even when everyone else was home or working elsewhere. Maybe they were asleep because the Senate was voting at 2 a.m. Maybe they were teleworking because of the pandemic. Yes, as media reports have recounted, Gray was one of the few people who worked in his Senate office throughout the COVID-19 pandemic. He actually insisted that he come in so that his wife could be comfortable teleworking from their apartment. Truth be told, traffic was easier, and there were very few people around at that time, so it was seemingly a safe thing to do. We still took precautions. Even if he and I were in the office at the same time, he stayed in his office, and I stayed in mine, and we talked by phone. We wore facemasks and used antibacterial wipes on every door or item we touched.

In another extreme case, Gray was one of only two staffers who were in our Hart office on January 6, 2021. He and our chief of staff, Chris Lynch, sheltered in place together all day while the Capitol was being overrun. Gray charged through the Trump years and the pandemic, but the days and months after January 6 definitely took their toll. I can understand why he and Eileen began to spend more and more time out in rural Rappahannock County, Virginia, where they rented a cottage during the pandemic. They now have a beautiful home on 6 acres of land and are surrounded by wheat and cornfields and dairy farms. I would try to entice them to Maryland, but they have been visiting this area for 40 years, ever since Gray bought Eileen her very first riding lesson as a birthday gift. Even from Virginia, he will forever be a part of Team Maryland and the Cardin family.

I wish Gray all the best in his retirement. He is a good man with a good heart, who has done phenomenal things for the Senate and our Nation. He will be missed, especially by this Senator.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From University of Capetown, South Africa, June 6, 1966]

DAY OF AFFIRMATION ADDRESS, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN, CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

(By Robert F. Kennedy)

MR. CHANCELLOR, MR. VICE CHANCELLOR, PROFESSOR ROBERTSON, MR. DIAMOND, MR. DANIEL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I come here this evening because of my deep interest and affection for a land settled by the Dutch in the mid-seventeenth century, then taken over by the British, and at last independent; a land in which the native inhabitants were at first subdued, but relations with whom remain a problem to this day; a land which defined itself on a hostile frontier; a land which has tamed rich natural resources through the energetic application of modern technology; a land which was once the importer of slaves, and now must struggle to wipe out the last traces of that former bondage. I refer, of course, to the United States of America.

But I am glad to come here, and my wife and I and all of our party are glad to come here to South Africa, and we are glad to come here to Capetown. I am already greatly enjoying my visit here. I am making an effort to meet and exchange views with people of all walks of life, and all segments of South African opinion—including those who represent the views of the government. Today I am glad to meet with the National Union of South African Students. For a decade, NUSAS has stood and worked for the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—principles which embody the collective hopes of men of good will around the globe.

Your work, at home and in international student affairs, has brought great credit to yourselves and your country. I know the National Student Association in the United States feels a particularly close relationship with this organization. And I wish to thank especially Mr. Ian Robertson, who first extended this invitation on behalf of NUSAS, I wish to thank him for his kindness to me in inviting me. I am very sorry that he can not be with us here this evening. I was happy to have had the opportunity to meet and speak with him earlier this evening, and I presented him with a copy of Profiles in Courage, which was a book written by President John Kennedy and was signed to him by President Kennedy's widow, Mrs. John Kennedy. This is a Day of Affirmation—a celebration of liberty. We stand here in the name of freedom.

At the heart of that western freedom and democracy is the belief that the individual man, the child of God, is the touchstone of value, and all society, all groups, and states, exist for that person's benefit. Therefore the enlargement of liberty for individual human beings must be the supreme goal and the abiding practice of any western society.

The first element of this individual liberty is the freedom of speech; the right to express and communicate ideas, to set oneself apart from the dumb beasts of field and forest; the right to recall governments to their duties and obligations; above all, the right to affirm one's membership and allegiance to the body politic—to society—to the men with whom we share our land, our heritage and our children's future.

Hand in hand with freedom of speech goes the power to be heard—to share in the decisions of government which shape men's lives. Everything that makes man's lives worthwhile—family, work, education, a place to rear one's children and a place to rest one's head—all this depends on the decisions of government; all can be swept away by a government which does not heed the demands of its people, and I mean all of its people.

Therefore, the essential humanity of man can be protected and preserved only where the government must answer—not just to the wealthy; not just to those of a particular religion; not just to those of a particular race; but to all of the people.

And even government by the consent of the governed, as in our own Constitution, must be limited in its power to act against its people: so that there may be no interference with the right to worship, but also no interference with the security of the home; no arbitrary imposition of pains or penalties on an ordinary citizen by officials high or low; no restriction on the freedom of men to seek education or to seek work or opportunity of any kind, so that each man may become all that he is capable of becoming.

These are the sacred rights of western society. These were the essential differences between us and Nazi Germany as they were between Athens and Persia.

They are the essences of our differences with communism today. I am unalterably opposed to communism because it exalts the state over the individual and over the family, and because its system contains a lack of freedom of speech, of protest, of religion, and of the press, which is characteristic of a totalitarian regime. The way of opposition to communism, however, is not to imitate its dictatorship, but to enlarge individual human freedom. There are those in every land who would label as "communist" every threat to their privilege. But may I say to you, as I have seen on my travels in all sections of the world, reform is not communism. And the denial of freedom, in whatever name, only strengthens the very communism it claims to oppose.

Many nations have set forth their own definitions and declarations of these principles. And there have often been wide and tragic gaps between promise and performance, ideal and reality. Yet the great ideals have constantly recalled us to our own duties. And—with painful slowness—we in the United States have extended and enlarged the meaning and the practice of freedom to all of our people.

For two centuries, my own country has struggled to overcome the self-imposed handicap of prejudice and discrimination based on nationality, on social class or race—discrimination profoundly repugnant to the theory and to the command of our Constitution. Even as my father grew up in Boston, Massachusetts, signs told him that "No Irish Need Apply". Two generations later, President Kennedy became the first Irish Catholic, and the first Catholic, to head the nation; but how many men of ability had, before 1961, been denied the opportunity to contribute to the nation's progress because they were Catholic, or because they were of Irish extraction? How many sons of Italian or Jewish or Polish parents slumbered in the slums—untaught, unlearned, their potential lost forever to our nation and to the human race? Even today, what price will we pay before we have assured full opportunity to millions of Negro Americans?

In the last five years we have done more to assure equality to our Negro citizens and to help the deprived, both white and black, than in the hundred years before that time. But much, much more remains to be done.

For there are millions of Negroes untrained for the simplest of jobs, and thousands every day denied their full and equal rights under the law; and the violence of the disinherited, the insulted and the injured, looms over the streets of Harlem and of Watts and Southside Chicago.

But a Negro American trains as an astronaut, one of mankind's first explorers into outer space; another is the chief barrister of the United States government, and dozens

sit on the benches of our court; and another, Dr. Martin Luther King, is the second man of African descent to win the Nobel Peace Prize for his non-violent efforts for social justice between all of the races.

We have passed laws prohibiting discrimination in education, in employment, in housing; but these laws alone cannot overcome the heritage of centuries—of broken families and stunted children, and poverty and degradation and pain.

So the road toward equality of freedom is not easy, and great cost and danger march alongside all of us. We are committed to peaceful and non-violent change and that is important for all to understand—though change is unsettling. Still, even in the turbulence of protest and struggle is greater hope for the future, as men learn to claim and achieve for themselves the rights formerly petitioned from others.

And most important of all, all the panoply of government power has been committed to the goal of equality before the law—as we are now committing ourselves to achievement of equal opportunity in fact.

We must recognize the full human equality of all of our people—before God, before the law, and in the councils of government. We must do this, not because it is economically advantageous—although it is; not because the laws of God command it—although they do; not because people in other lands wish it so. We must do it for the single and fundamental reason that it is the right thing to do.

We recognize that there are problems and obstacles before the fulfillment of these ideals in the United States as we recognize that other nations, in Latin America and in Asia and in Africa have their own political, economic, and social problems, their unique barriers to the elimination of injustices.

In some, there is concern that change will submerge the rights of a minority, particularly where that minority is of a different race than that of the majority. We in the United States believe in the protection of minorities; we recognize the contributions that they can make and the leadership they can provide; and we do not believe that any people—whether majority or minority, or individual human beings—are “expendable” in the cause of theory or policy. We recognize also that justice between men and nations is imperfect, and that humanity sometimes progresses very slowly indeed.

All do not develop in the same manner and at the same pace. Nations, like men, often march to the beat of different drummers, and the precise solutions of the United States can neither be dictated nor transplanted to others, and that is not our intention. What is important however is that all nations must march toward increasing freedom; toward justice for all; toward a society strong and flexible enough to meet the demands of all of its people, whatever their race, and the demands of a world of immense and dizzying change that face us all.

In a few hours, the plane that brought me to this country crossed over oceans and countries which have been a crucible of human history. In minutes we traced migrations of men over thousands of years; seconds, the briefest glimpse, and we passed battlefields on which millions of men once struggled and died. We could see no national boundaries, no vast gulfs or high walls dividing people from people; only nature and the works of man—homes and factories and farms—everywhere reflecting man's common effort to enrich his life. Everywhere new technology and communications bring men and nations closer together, the concerns of one inevitably become the concerns of all. And our new closeness is stripping away the false masks, the illusion of differences which

is at the root of injustice and hate and war. Only earthbound man still clings to the dark and poisoning superstition that his world is bounded by the nearest hill, his universe ends at river's shore, his common humanity is enclosed in the tight circle of those who share his town or his views and the color of his skin.

It is your job, the task of the young people in this world to strip the last remnants of that ancient, cruel belief from the civilization of man.

Each nation has different obstacles and different goals, shaped by the vagaries of history and of experience. Yet as I talk to young people around the world I am impressed not by the diversity but by the closeness of their goals, their desires, and their concerns and their hope for the future. There is discrimination in New York, the racial inequality of apartheid in South Africa, and serfdom in the mountains of Peru. People starve to death in the streets of India; a former Prime Minister is summarily executed in the Congo; intellectuals go to jail in Russia; and thousands are slaughtered in Indonesia; wealth is lavished on armaments everywhere in the world. These are different evils; but they are the common works of man. They reflect the imperfections of human justice, the inadequacy of human compassion, the defectiveness of our sensibility toward the sufferings of our fellows; they mark the limit of our ability to use knowledge for the well-being of our fellow human beings throughout the world. And therefore they call upon common qualities of conscience and indignation, a shared determination to wipe away the unnecessary sufferings of our fellow human beings at home and around the world.

It is these qualities which make of our youth today the only true international community. More than this I think that we could agree on what kind of a world we want to build. It would be a world of independent nations, moving toward international community, each of which protected and respected the basic human freedoms. It would be a world which demanded of each government that it accept its responsibility to insure social justice. It would be a world of constantly accelerating economic progress—not material welfare as an end in of itself, but as a means to liberate the capacity of every human being to pursue his talents and to pursue his hopes. It would, in short, be a world that we would all be proud to have built.

Just to the North of here are lands of challenge and of opportunity—rich in natural resources, land and minerals and people. Yet they are also lands confronted by the greatest odds—overwhelming ignorance, internal tensions and strife, and great obstacles of climate and geography. Many of these nations, as colonies, were oppressed and were exploited. Yet they have not estranged themselves from the broad traditions of the West; they are hoping and they are gambling their progress and their stability on the chance that we will meet our responsibilities to them, to help them overcome their poverty.

In the world we would like to build, South Africa could play an outstanding role, and a role of leadership in that effort. This country is without question a preeminent repository of the wealth and the knowledge and the skill of the continent. Here are the greater part of Africa's research scientists and steel production, most of its reservoirs of coal and of electric power. Many South Africans have made major contributions to African technical development and world science; the names of some are known wherever men seek to eliminate the ravages of tropical disease and of pestilence. In your faculties and councils, here in this very audience, are hundreds

and thousands of men and women who could transform the lives of millions for all time to come.

But the help and leadership of South Africa or of the United States cannot be accepted if we—within our own countries or in our relationships with others—deny individual integrity, human dignity, and the common humanity of man. If we would lead outside our own borders; if we would help those who need our assistance; if we would meet our responsibilities to mankind; we must first, all of us, demolish the borders which history has erected between men within our own nations—barriers of race and religion, social class and ignorance.

Our answer is the world's hope; it is to rely on youth. The cruelties and the obstacles of this swiftly changing planet will not yield to obsolete dogmas and outworn slogans. It cannot be moved by those who cling to a present which is already dying, who prefer the illusion of security to the excitement and danger which comes with even the most peaceful progress. This world demands the qualities of youth: not a time of life but a state of mind, a temper of the will, a quality of imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the life of ease—a man like the Chancellor of this University. It is a revolutionary world that we all live in; and thus, as I have said in Latin America and Asia and in Europe and in my own country, the United States, it is the young people who must take the lead. Thus you, and your young compatriots everywhere have had thrust upon you a greater burden of responsibility than any generation that has ever lived.

“There is,” said an Italian philosopher, “nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things.” Yet this is the measure of the task of your generation and the road is strewn with many dangers.

First is the danger of futility; the belief there is nothing one man or one woman can do against the enormous array of the world's ills—against misery, against ignorance, or injustice and violence. Yet many of the world's great movements, of thought and action, have flowed from the work of a single man. A young monk began the Protestant reformation, a young general extended an empire from Macedonia to the borders of the earth, and a young woman reclaimed the territory of France. It was a young Italian explorer who discovered the New World, and 32 year old Thomas Jefferson who proclaimed that all men are created equal. “Give me a place to stand,” said Archimedes, “and I will move the world.” These men moved the world, and so can we all. Few will have the greatness to bend history; but each of us can work to change a small portion of the events, and in the total of all these acts will be written the history of this generation. Thousands of Peace Corps volunteers are making a difference in the isolated villages and the city slums of dozens of countries. Thousands of unknown men and women in Europe resisted the occupation of the Nazis and many died, but all added to the ultimate strength and freedom of their countries. It is from numberless diverse acts of courage such as these that the belief that human history is thus shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

“If Athens shall appear great to you,” said Pericles, “consider then that her glories

were purchased by valiant men, and by men who learned their duty." That is the source of all greatness in all societies, and it is the key to progress in our own time.

The second danger is that of expediency; of those who say that hopes and beliefs must bend before immediate necessities. Of course if we must act effectively we must deal with the world as it is. We must get things done. But if there was one thing that President Kennedy stood for that touched the most profound feeling of young people across the world, it was the belief that idealism, high aspiration and deep convictions are not incompatible with the most practical and efficient of programs—that there is no basic inconsistency between ideals and realistic possibilities—no separation between the deepest desires of heart and of mind and the rational application of human effort to human problems. It is not realistic or hard-headed to solve problems and take action unguided by ultimate moral aims and values, although we all know some who claim that it is so. In my judgement, it is thoughtless folly. For it ignores the realities of human faith and of passion and of belief; forces ultimately more powerful than all the calculations of our economists or of our generals. Of course to adhere to standards, to idealism, to vision in the face of immediate dangers takes great courage and takes self-confidence. But we also know that only those who dare to fail greatly, can ever achieve greatly.

It is this new idealism which is also, I believe, the common heritage of a generation which has learned that while efficiency can lead to the camps at Auschwitz, or the streets of Budapest, only the ideals of humanity and love can climb the hills of the Acropolis.

A third danger is timidity. Few men are willing to brave the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential, vital quality for those who seek to change the world which yields most painfully to change. Aristotle tells us "At the Olympic games it is not the finest or the strongest men who are crowned, but those who enter the lists . . . so too in the life of the honorable and the good it is they who act rightly who win the prize." I believe that in this generation those with the courage to enter the conflict will find themselves with companions in every corner of the world.

For the fortunate amongst us, the fourth danger is comfort; the temptation to follow the easy and familiar path of personal ambition and financial success so grandly spread before those who have the privilege of an education. But that is not the road history has marked out for us. There is a Chinese curse which says "May he live in interesting times." Like it or not, we live in interesting times. They are times of danger and uncertainty; but they are also the most creative of any time in the history of mankind. And everyone here will ultimately be judged—will ultimately judge himself—on the effort he has contributed to building a new world society and the extent to which his ideals and goals have shaped that effort.

So we part, I to my country and you to remain. We are—if a man of forty can claim the privilege—fellow members of the world's largest younger generation. Each of us have our own work to do. I know at times you must feel very alone with your problems and with your difficulties. But I want to say how impressed I am with what you stand for and for the effort you are making; and I say this not just for myself, but men and women all over the world. And I hope you will often take heart from the knowledge that you are joined with your fellow young people in

every land, they struggling with their problems and you with yours, but all joined in a common purpose; that, like the young people of my own country and of every country that I have visited, you are all in many ways more closely united to the brothers of your time than to the older generation in any of these nations; you are determined to build a better future. President Kennedy was speaking to the young people of America, but beyond them to young people everywhere, when he said "The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world."

And, he added, "With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth and lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

I thank you.

TRIBUTE TO JOHN SWARTOUT

Mr. BENNET. Mr. President, I rise to commend a great public servant, John Swartout, for his dedicated service to the citizens of Colorado. After more than three decades of tireless service in the public policy arena, I congratulate John on the occasion of his retirement.

John worked as an adviser to Colorado Governors Bill Owens and JOHN HICKENLOOPER and U.S. Senator Wayne Allard on environmental, natural resource, energy, and public lands policy. John was instrumental in Federal land negotiations involving the Roan Plateau settlement, the closing of Rocky Flats, and the designation of Browns Canyon National Monument, James Peak Wilderness, Great Sand Dunes National Park, and the Spanish Peaks Wilderness Area. He also served as the head of policy for the State of Colorado on habitat protection efforts for the greater sage grouse and the Gunnison sage grouse. In these efforts, he showed an uncanny ability to balance habitat conservation goals with the private property rights of landowners.

John grounded his work in integrity, trust, humor, and an innate ability to form coalitions and partnerships among even the most diverse groups. John himself would probably tell you his greatest accomplishment was helping people find common ground that then allowed them to work toward collaborative policy solutions that benefited their community and region. The fact that he worked for governors from both parties demonstrates his ability to work in a strong bipartisan manner to deliver results for Colorado.

In addition to his roles working for elected officials, John also led multiple Agencies and nonprofits. He served as executive director of Great Outdoors Colorado—GOCO—helping to guide millions of dollars of investments in public recreational amenities like trails, playgrounds, parks, fishing ponds, and campgrounds. As the executive director of the Colorado Coalition of Land Trusts, he helped preserve and protect thousands of acres of open space, wildlife habitat, and working agricultural lands.

John most recently served as executive director of Colorado Counties, Inc.—CCI—a nonprofit organization that provides advocacy and education for county governments around the State. Under John's leadership, CCI negotiated an opioid settlement with Colorado's Attorney General and various pharmaceutical companies that provided millions of dollars for local addiction counseling and treatment. He also successfully steered CCI through the COVID-19 pandemic. CCI was integral in assisting county commissioners provide frontline health services and invest millions of dollars from the American Rescue Plan Act and CARES Act in community programs, business retention, and infrastructure improvements.

John served as the campaign manager for my opponent in my first race for the U.S. Senate. In Colorado, we believe in working together despite different political beliefs, and I came to know and respect John for his ability to work in a pragmatic fashion with everyone. John became a dependable ally and friend as we worked together to advance the interests of Colorado.

Throughout his career, John embodied the notion put forward by Wallace Stegner, that the American West is still "the native home of hope." Our great State is better for his vision, his compassion, and his service, and I wish him well in his retirement.

TRIBUTE TO CHIEF MASTER SERGEANT JOSHUA K. LEONARD

Mr. BOOZMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize CMSgt Joshua K. Leonard for his dedicated service to the U.S. Air Force and the Senate as a legislative defense fellow. Josh has served as a vital part of my team since January 2023. He has been a trusted adviser on issues relating to the Departments of Defense, Veterans Affairs, and Homeland Security.

Josh enlisted in the U.S. Air Force in June 2005. His continued service is a reminder of the dedication and sacrifice of every servicemember who protects our Nation and defends our freedoms. His effort and passion distinguished him as a valuable member of my legislative team. I am proud to have someone like Josh on my staff, who understands the significance of maintaining America's air superiority and caring for our servicemembers and their families.

During his tenure in my office, he led the charge in introducing the Gerald's Law Act. This critical initiative would expand the Department of Veterans Affairs burial benefits eligibility to terminally ill veterans who pass away at a non-VA facility while receiving hospice care. As he is soon to be promoted to the rank of chief master sergeant, Josh's character and consistent display of knowledge, leadership, and devotion deserve to be recognized and rewarded. I am confident he will continue to serve our country honorably.