

they are not budging on the pricetag either.

As I said, Republicans have proposed a \$1 trillion piece of legislation, and I can tell you—from being a Member of the Republican conference and the discussions that we have—what a stretch it is for a lot of Republicans, who already have voted for multiple coronavirus relief bills to the pricetag of about \$3 trillion so far, to do another trillion dollars, knowing that every one of those dollars is a borrowed dollar, every one of those dollars is going on a Federal debt which is already upward of \$25 billion and will ultimately have to be paid back by our children and grandchildren.

Well, that said, the trillion-dollar legislation that was put forward by Republicans is nowhere close to the pricetag for the Democrats' bill, which is \$3.4 trillion, as I said. Now, I think even an elementary school student would realize that compromise lies somewhere between those two numbers, more than, perhaps, the Republicans' bill and less than the Democrats' bill, but apparently that is not something Democrats are willing to entertain.

A senior correspondent for CNN talked to Speaker PELOSI yesterday, who claimed she wanted to reach agreement on a bill this week. The correspondent asked the Speaker what pricetag she was willing to agree to. Her answer: \$3.4 trillion. In other words, after more than a week of negotiations, the Speaker of the House hasn't budged from her original position. She hasn't budged, nor have the Senate Democrats, who every time something has come up on our side to try and address this crisis have answered with: Well, let's just pass the Heroes Act of the House, the \$3.4 trillion boondoggle.

Well, that is not a compromise. That is not a negotiation. And if we emerge from this process without a coronavirus relief bill, the responsibility rests squarely on the shoulders of the Democratic leadership.

Let's suppose, for a moment, that Republican negotiators agreed to every single thing that Democrats are insisting on: tax cuts for millionaires, diversity studies for the marijuana industry, a trillion-dollar pot of money for States, which, I might add, haven't even come close to spending the coronavirus money the government has already given them. Let's suppose Republican negotiators agreed to everything. What would happen then?

Well, the bill would never pass the Senate. In the Senate, you need 60 votes to pass a bill, and there simply aren't 60 votes in the Senate for the Democrats' liberal fantasies. In fact, it would be lovely if, as Democrats seem to think, the government drew its funding from a magical pot of gold that never runs out, but it doesn't. Every dollar of the coronavirus relief that we already provided has been borrowed money, which continues to drive up our

national debt. Now, arguably, it was money that needed to be borrowed, but there has to be a limit.

The higher we drive our national debt, the greater the danger to the health of our economy. Democrats may be fine with jeopardizing our economic health to pay for diversity studies in the marijuana industry, but I can tell you the Republicans are not. Republicans know we are going to have to borrow some additional money to meet the demands of the coronavirus crisis—and we have offered legislation to do just that—but we are not going to further endanger our already battered economy by signing off on every unnecessary spending item on the Democrats' liberal fantasy list.

Now, are Republicans going to have to agree to some of the things that we are not crazy about? Of course we are. But Democrats are going to have to accept that they can't dictate every word of the bill.

The bill which passed the House, I might add, was 1,800 pages long. The bill that we have proposed in the Senate is 165 pages. The ball is in the Democrats' court. Republicans want to pass a coronavirus relief bill, and we are ready to negotiate. The Democrats are going to have to decide they want to come to the table.

"Our way or the highway" is not a negotiating position, and if Democrats continue to insist on getting everything that they want, they are going to be responsible for Congress's failure to deliver additional relief. I hope—I really hope the Democratic leadership will remember what it means to negotiate and that it will work with Republicans to arrive at a compromise bill that can make it through both Houses of Congress and actually become law.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SASSE). The Senator from Indiana.

#### FREE SPEECH

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, "Freedom is the freedom to say that two plus two makes four. If that is granted, all else follows"—so wrote novelist George Orwell.

In the late 1980s, I traveled to the former Soviet Union as part of a youth soccer program. Now, decades have passed since that trip, of course, but the memories to me are still vivid. The shelves were barren. Citizens drank from communal water fountains. The items most in demand and hardest to find were American items: blue jeans—Levi Strauss—and bubble gum.

Of course, those weren't the only things common in Indiana that were contraband behind the Iron Curtain. For decades, news, literature, art, or entertainment that was not broadcast or approved by the state was scarce and available only by bootleg.

The monuments towering over Russia were built to honor those who controlled it, the same men who regularly erased parts of Russia's history to suit

their own political purposes, not to serve others.

This was a society where ideas and dialogue existed only underground, where watching American movies was a jailable offense, where free thinkers weren't found in newspapers or airwaves but locked away in labor camps, where information protected the State instead of empowering the individuals, where history was constantly purged and revised.

By the time I visited, though, Soviet leadership, in self-preservation mode, had gradually allowed citizens access to information and media as new technologies emerged. It was only a ray of sunlight through a very small crack, but through it, people all across the former Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc could finally see and hear what had long been hidden from them: jazz, rock 'n' roll, Star Wars, Chuck Norris, Dr. Zhivago, and Robinson Crusoe. History once erased was restored. The truth of Stalin's murders was revealed.

Inevitably, the fatal conceit of a centrally planned Communist economy was exposed, and large numbers of Russians realized just how poorly their quality of life compared to the free, Western alternative. They were even permitted rights to express dissatisfaction with their circumstances.

A totalitarian regime's greatest ally is darkness and silence. Keeping a people in the dark is the surest way to guarantee they never demand their God-given rights. But just a trickle of information, just a hint of truth, a small offering of differing perspectives, and a touch of freedom of expression helped lead to the Soviet Union's demise—"the freedom to say that two plus two make four."

Free people become and stay free through open dialogue because of the free exchange of information and ideas—even ones we disagree with; because of patience with perspectives that are not our own; because we study our history, celebrate its highs, and learn from its lows.

That is why—that is why—it was painful to read recently that over 60 percent of Americans are now scared to admit their beliefs or air their opinions for fear of offending others and the consequences that will come with it. It is painful to learn but easy to understand.

This is the logical reaction when Americans are regularly canceled, as we say today, for things said or written decades ago, with no chance of grace or allowance for growth. It is not just people who are being canceled. It is words. It is music. Classrooms and libraries are banning "Huckleberry Finn" and "To Kill A Mockingbird" rather than encouraging students to examine or understand their authors' words and messages. "Hamilton" is falling from grace now for the "sin" of acknowledging America was created in 1776. Whole parts of our American story are being wiped away.

Communities have a right to lawfully determine who and what adorns their

squares and streets, but that is a world away from toppling statues of George Washington and U.S. Grant in the same manner those of Lenin and Stalin were once removed at the end of the Cold War.

Our entertainment industry is getting in on the act too. American movies once inspired freedom seekers. Today, they are self-censored to appease another totalitarian regime in Beijing.

America is a good nation. Those who call it home are decent and kind. We are not perfect, but our imperfections are not irredeemable.

The year 2020 has made it clear, though, that much work remains in the task of building a more perfect union. That effort is ongoing. Every generation since our founding has worked toward it. Every generation has made hard-earned progress, and our own work to create a more just future will be no less difficult—certainly more so than knocking down bronze and marble men or waging war on books or on each other across social media.

Every time our Nation has moved closer to better realizing the promise at the heart of our Declaration of Independence “that all men are created equal . . . endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights,” it has been because the Founders dared to dream that was possible and left us the means to do so: the freedom to raise our voices and state our opinions, to disagree and respectfully debate; the gift of free inquiry; the right to challenge our country on toward what Martin Luther King, Jr., memorably called its noble dream through words, music, art, or expression—all free from censorship and recrimination.

These liberties—unparalleled in human history—were won, preserved, and handed down to us by many of those whose memorials are falling. Out of gratitude, we must remember the men and women who came before us. We must see their faults but not lose sight of their virtues and aspire to the high ideals they set for us, even if they often fell short of realizing them. What will we have without these freedoms, without memory and understanding of our past? Desolate public spaces, empty bookshelves, silenced citizens with nothing to strive for other than self-preservation. But with these freedoms and inspired by our history, valuable debate and dialogue will flourish; daring ideas will be welcome; and great ideas will live. And the work we are in—the work of building a more perfect union and a freer and fairer nation—will be possible. Let this be the path we choose.

It would be natural to close with a quote by one of our several generations of Founding Fathers: Washington, Lincoln, King. But today I feel it is more appropriate to remember another nation's founder and a good American friend—a man who lived behind the Iron Curtain and knew well the dangers of censorship and the power of free ex-

pression. As a playwright and a musician, he suffered under censorship. As a public leader, he helped his nation gain the power of free expression. It was exactly 30 years ago today that Vaclav Havel, then the President of Czechoslovakia, spoke in this building. “You have thousands of problems of all kinds, as other countries do,” he observed of America. “But you have one great advantage,” he reminded us. “You have been approaching democracy . . . for more than 200 years, and your journey toward that horizon has never been disrupted by a totalitarian system.”

Fellow Americans, our journey continues on toward that horizon, and only we have the power to disrupt it. In this Nation, two plus two must always equal four.

We can take a positive step forward in one respect. Here is how. Beginning today, I will be regularly recognizing notable pieces of Indiana's history. It may be through a floor speech or a resolution or a social media posting. The purpose will be to celebrate and better understand my State's part of America's story and to remember the Hoosiers who—through and because of freedom of action, speech, and expression—wrote that story. They will not be erased.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

#### HEALS ACT

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. President, we have been talking here in the Senate for months now about what needs to be done to respond to COVID-19. Right now, we are debating behind the scenes a fifth bill dealing with COVID-19. We have already passed four through the House and the Senate that the President has signed.

Many Americans know the effects of those previous bills. They have received deposits from the Treasury of \$1,200, and they have received assistance from the Paycheck Protection Program. Their schools have received assistance. Their hospitals have received assistance. Their States have received assistance. Their local jurisdictions have received assistance. There has been wide support in multiple areas—for housing and for health, for testing and for vaccines. All of those things have happened in the previous four bills.

Yet, when we passed the last set of bills, there was a lot of thought about what would happen next. How would the virus spread? How long would this last? Would Americans continue to just stay sequestered in their homes, away from everyone else?

Now, after months of dealing with this COVID-19, not only in the United States but globally, we know a lot more about not only how we are going to respond and treat the disease but also about what we are dealing with, for COVID-19 doesn't affect everyone in

the same way health-wise or economically.

There are some people who get COVID-19, and they, literally, never know it—they experience no symptoms at all—while others end up in a hospital, in the ICU, or on ventilators. There are even fatalities.

Economically, we are at the same spot with COVID-19. Some businesses in America and some individuals in America are, literally, making more money now than they ever have before. They are in one of those businesses that is in high need—maybe home improvement. Since lots of folks are staying at home, they are doing home improvements. The price of lumber has skyrocketed and the price for replacement windows. All kinds of people are installing pools at their homes. They aren't going on vacation this year. So they are doing things to fix up their homes. Construction and home improvement have skyrocketed. Retail sales and craft businesses and things to do at home have skyrocketed.

A lot of other businesses that we have seen have actually increased dramatically, not just grocery stores and department stores and such, but online retailers. They are doing really good business. In my State, the incomes from many small towns to their communities are higher now than they ever were in the history of their cities because people aren't driving to other towns to shop. They are staying at home and are shopping locally or online. So that tax revenue is going back to the cities. Literally, they are doing better now than they ever have done.

For other communities and other businesses, there have been horrible effects during this time period, if you are a hotel or a convention center or a restaurant that surrounds a convention center. If the businesses deal with travel, transportation, or vacations, all of those are struggling horribly during this time period, and there are multiple others.

Here is the challenge that we have: Should our response now be the same as it was in March—to just pretend that this has struck everyone exactly the same—or should we pay attention to the realities economically around the country?

I think we should be more strategic and understand that what we are spending is other people's money. It is not just printed monopoly money that we can just throw out of here. It is debt on our future or it is, literally, taking money from the person next door or from your house.

So what do we need to do in a bill, and what are the needs at this point?

Some of them are very obvious. For the next bill that is coming, we need to focus in on vaccines, tests, and therapeutics.

What are we going to do with telehealth? How are we going to be able to help?

This is, first and foremost, a health crisis, and it is amazing to me the