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Senate

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. GRASSLEY).

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

O God, our rock, fortress, and deliverer, we trust You to strengthen us today. Empower our Senators with humility to listen, wisdom to understand, courage to attempt, and power to obey. May they devote themselves to the honorable, the noble, and the good. Keep them from deviating from the path of strict integrity as You guide their hearts and minds in the knowledge of Your love.

Lord, purify their ambitions so that they may set their hearts only on the things which please You. May they find, even in problems, opportunities to discover Your mighty power.

We pray in Your great Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The President pro tempore led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MULLIN). Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

DISAPPROVING THE RULE SUBMITTED BY THE BUREAU OF CONSUMER FINANCIAL PROTECTION RELATING TO "OVERDRAFT LENDING: VERY LARGE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS"—Resumed

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of S.J. Res. 18, which the clerk will report.

The assistant bill clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 18) disapproving the rule submitted by the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection relating to "Overdraft Lending: Very Large Financial Institutions".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

FBI

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I am going to ask my colleagues, as a reminder, that there are some tricks of the trade to get to your political enemies or for other reasons like covering up embarrassing situations or just to cover up wrongdoing.

I am going to use and compliment this administration. As one of its first acts after taking office, the Trump administration and Attorney General Bondi shut down the FBI's Foreign Influence Task Force. Despite criticism, this is a positive step, given what the task force had been twisted into by the Biden administration.

This task force was created in 2017 by then-Director Wray for very good reasons. We were told it was designed to counteract malign foreign influence operations. However, this task force became infected with politics. In other words, this task force came to be used as a political weapon.

So let me explain how this became weaponized.

As an example, in 2020, during my and Senator JOHNSON's Biden family investigation, that FBI task force was

used in unnecessarily briefing us two Senators, but that only happened after pressure from our Democratic colleagues for it to happen. So pure and simple, this was a setup.

The FBI wrongly did the bidding of the Democrats. The results of the setup was this: The contents of that briefing were later leaked to the media, even though the FBI promised Senator JOHNSON and this Senator confidentiality. Those leaks were used to falsely link our Biden family investigation to somehow advancing Russian disinformation. The FBI's conduct undermined and frustrated our congressional investigation.

My and Senator JOHNSON's investigation made public Obama-Biden administration records. That included Treasury information of financial transactions between and among Biden family members. We also made public authentic bank records showing deep financial connection between and among the Biden family and China. Authentic records like these, as we all know now, have nothing to do with Russian disinformation.

So I compliment President Trump and Attorney General Bondi for getting rid of this Foreign Influence Task Force and its obstructive conduct. That is how it ended up.

If the task force did any good, I only know what it did bad, and that was setting Senator JOHNSON and I up because there was some embarrassing information that they obviously did not want out.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The majority leader is recognized.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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S1879

BROADBAND EQUITY ACCESS AND DEPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, broadband deployment has long been a priority of mine. It is something that is important to my home State of South Dakota where many rural communities still lack access to reliable internet connection. And it is something I have worked extensively here on in the Senate.

More than 3 years ago, Congress created the \$42.5 billion BEAD Program to bring broadband services to unserved parts of the country like those in my State.

It was the single largest Federal investment in broadband expansion ever made, but to date, it has not connected a single household to the internet. That is right, not \$1 of this \$42 billion program has gone to connect even one household to the internet.

Now, you might ask why. Well, because the Biden administration chose to add a host of conditions to the funding that made it unworkable for many providers like those serving rural areas in my home State of South Dakota.

They added union labor and climate requirements. And despite the law itself banning rate regulation, the Biden administration tried to add that too. The Biden administration took a program that promised to advance an important bipartisan priority and overburdened it with rules and mandates.

The administration added so many requirements that the program couldn't fulfill its core function, which is connecting households to the internet. So we are in a situation today where you have a \$42 billion program that hasn't connected a single household to the internet after, I might add, 3-plus years since its enactment.

Think about that, \$42 billion 3 years ago authorized, not a single dollar spent, not a single household connected. Why? Because the Biden administration weighted it down with so much of their liberal wish list agenda that the providers in this country are unable to even use it.

Well, now we have a new administration in the White House, and Commerce Secretary Howard Lutnick is committed to finally getting this program off the ground and beginning to connect unserved Americans to the internet. This morning, I am sending a letter to Secretary Lutnick with several of my colleagues in the Commerce Committee urging his Department to remove the Biden administration's extraneous requirements that are preventing this program from doing what it was designed to do.

We are asking Secretary Lutnick to look at the restrictive labor requirements in the program that disadvantage rural communities and States with few union workers, right-to-work States like mine in South Dakota.

We are urging the Commerce Department to remove provisions that favor government-owned networks over private investments and guidelines that

prioritize certain technologies over others, which contradict, again, Congress's direction for the program to be technology-neutral.

And we are urging the elimination of climate change mandates and rate regulation that create unnecessary barriers that slow deployment and increase costs.

These regulations undermine the very purpose of the BEAD Program, and by reviewing and ultimately eliminating these unnecessary requirements, we can ensure that this funding is finally deployed to expand broadband access to unserved areas quickly and efficiently.

I appreciate that President Trump and Secretary Lutnick are both focused on ensuring that this program lives up to its goal, and I look forward to continuing to work with them to eliminate the redtape that has undermined its effectiveness and meant that not a single dollar spent or single household connected in 3-plus years since its enactment. That, frankly, is staggering.

The National Telecommunications and Information Administration, or NTIA, which is responsible for administering the BEAD Program, will need to be a partner in that effort.

This afternoon, the Commerce Committee is holding a hearing with Arielle Roth, a staffer for the Commerce Committee and President Trump's nominee to lead the NTIA.

Ms. Roth is very familiar with the burdens that have weighed down the BEAD Program, and I am looking forward to working with them to remove these barriers to broadband deployment after she is confirmed.

Many parts of our country have waited a long time for broadband deployment, and the unnecessary and extraneous rules the Biden administration imposed on the BEAD Program have only prolonged that wait.

It is time—it is high time—to remove these barriers and start getting households connected to the internet.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The minority leader is recognized.

TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, so first on tariffs, yesterday, President Trump announced a new round of tariffs of 25 percent on all auto imports into the United States, but we have no details, no timeline, no plan, only more chaos. Donald Trump's trade war has accomplished only one thing to date: chaos.

In the 66 days since Donald Trump has become President, he has had 66 different positions on this issue.

One day he says yes to tariffs; the next day he says no; then the day after he says yes again. Can't make up his mind which country should have them, which country shouldn't, how much, what products.

Donald Trump's tariffs—make no mistake about it, I say to the American people. Make no mistake about it. Donald Trump's tariffs are a national sales tax on American families. Tariffs without a plan will only raise prices without anything to show for it. It is like he is playing Russian roulette with the economy. Whatever seems to pop in his mind one day, he talks about; and the next day it is something else.

Chaos. His trade war is sending stock markets crashing, hurting people's retirement, increasing the risk of a recession. A lot of the banks have increased their risk assessments of a recession because of Trump's actions. Consumer confidence is cratering. Yesterday, we learned people's outlook for the economy has hit a 12-year low, even lower than it was during the height of inflation—a 12-year low.

And how can anyone feel confident about the economy when Elon Musk is taking a chain saw to Social Security? How can anyone feel confident about the economy when Donald Trump is imposing tariffs on people?

The average credit card debt, meanwhile, surpasses \$10,000 for the first time since 2009. With such chaos in the economy, with such chaos in what is going on with tariffs, it is no wonder that the American consumer doesn't have confidence in Donald Trump and the way he is handling the economy. And as a result, the American consumer is being more cautious about spending, keeping a little more money in their pocket just in case something happens. And now it looks like a lot of bad things will.

So the economic alarm bells are ringing. Donald Trump is pouring fuel into the fire by launching America into a trade war with no plan whatsoever. And making things even worse, he is cutting both Social Security and the Agency that helps give Medicaid and Medicare to people.

This morning, the Wall Street Journal reported that Donald Trump and Secretary Kennedy are planning to cut 10,000 jobs—10,000 jobs—at HHS. Let's be very clear what these layoffs represent: an assault on Medicare, an assault on Medicaid, an assault on families and consumers from one corner of the country to the next. When you fire people who provide Medicare and Medicaid, that is the same as a benefit cut. When you fire people who prevent the spread of diseases like measles, America will get sicker, schools will get sicker, people, families, will suffer.

Mass layoffs to Medicare workers will not make things more efficient. Mass layoffs to Medicaid workers will not make things more efficient. It is more sabotage, just like the attacks on Social Security. Donald Trump and

Secretary Kennedy should reverse this attack on Medicare and Medicaid immediately.

And where are Republican colleagues? They say they want to protect Medicare. Some of them are worried about cutting Medicaid. We heard them say it. Well, when you cut 10,000 employees from HHS, you are cutting Medicare and Medicaid in terms of the benefits people will receive—similar to what they are doing on Social Security. They don't say outright they are going to eliminate it, but they try to strangle it. They try to strangle it, and the American people suffer.

So that happened on Social Security yesterday. Yesterday, after a huge wave of public outrage, the Social Security Administration temporarily delayed its plan to cut phone services for seniors and people with disabilities. But this is only a 2-week delay. This is not stopping it; it is just delaying it because of the outrage, hoping it will subside. But it won't. Americans from one end of the country to the other want to keep their Social Security. The outrage will not stop because they know that Donald Trump, Elon Musk, and DOGE want to cut or even eliminate, as Musk said, Social Security. What Donald Trump and DOGE are doing to Social Security is strangulation. They are taking a telephone wire and wrapping it around the neck of Social Security.

But, sadly, it is only the tip of the iceberg of the attack on Social Security. Up to 60 percent of all regional offices are shutting down. Dozens of field offices will be closed. Wait times will explode. Disability claims will face months of delay, and people will be in danger of losing the benefits they so desperately need.

But the administration doesn't care. Listen to this. This is just incredible. It is hard to fathom who is running the show in the Trump administration. Howard Lutnick, the Commerce Secretary, thinks that if seniors lose their benefits for a month, they won't mind. He said his mother-in-law wouldn't.

Spoken like a true billionaire. Once again, I remind Mr. Lutnick not everyone has a billionaire son-in-law, and so many people depend on that monthly check for vital things like food and medicine and rent.

And what have Senate Republicans done while Donald Trump and DOGE take a chain saw to Social Security? Absolutely nothing. They are quiet as a church mouse. Instead, Senate Republicans are moving forward with the President's nominee to lead Social Security, who is a self-proclaimed DOGE person.

Let me tell my Republican colleagues once again: A vote to confirm Frank Bisignano is a vote to cut Social Security. Senate Republicans should think very carefully about their vote, because once the damage is done to Social Security, there is no going back.

Now, on the budget, I want to reiterate something I have said about Re-

publican plans to cut taxes for billionaires while slashing Medicaid for millions of people. It sounds as if Senate Republicans will soon go to the parliamentarian to push their so-called current policy baseline gimmick to hide the true cost of their billionaire tax giveaways. This is budgetary hocus-pocus. Even CHIP ROY called it fairy dust.

Republicans can try to use whatever baseline, whatever fake math they want, but the American people and the markets can see right through it. Don't be fooled by this hocus-pocus, this current baseline hocus-pocus. It will increase the deficit by \$37 trillion over 30 years, and the American people will pay the price in higher interest rates, and American standing in the world will go down.

THE ATLANTIC REPORT

Mr. President, finally, on Mr. Hegseth and what happened this week. Yesterday, I said Pete Hegseth should be fired from his position as Secretary of Defense. In the short time that Secretary Hegseth has been on the job, he has already shown—no surprise to us; we said this at the hearing—that he lacks the judgment and character to lead America's national defense. What we learned yesterday regarding the information he shared on Signal is shocking. He sent very specific details about military plans over unsecured text messages.

Yesterday's revelations were alarming, but they were not enough. We need answers—more answers—because more damage may have been done than the public and all of us know. That is why my colleagues and I are calling on the Trump administration to release the full, unredacted text conversation from this Signal chat, including everything communicated after the journalist prudently removed himself.

We need to know if anyone, if any senior national security official, was using his or her personal devices. Ms. Gabbard's silence on this issue when asked repeatedly in committee was very, very troubling.

And we need to know if there have been other sensitive conversations like this on unsecured channels. Senate Democrats across committees of jurisdiction are taking action. It is encouraging that both Ranking Member REED and Chairman WICKER are calling for a DOD IG investigation.

Now for the past day, the Trump administration has tied itself into knots about semantics. They are spending all their energy on what counts as classified or not, what counts as a war plan, an attack plan, and on and on and on. But that is utter nonsense. The plain fact is that if the Russians or Iranians or the Houthis had somehow known about these texts, if someone more nefarious than Mr. Goldberg had been added to the text chain, our troops would have been in danger. The mission would have been compromised.

And once he got caught, did Secretary Hegseth take responsibility for

his shocking lack of judgment—which is what he should have done? Any upstanding Secretary of Defense would have done that. Did he exhibit the kind of leadership Americans expect from the man who may deploy our troops into battle, from the man who may send our family members, our friends, our neighbors into harm's way? Did he accept that responsibility? Nope, he didn't. Instead of accepting responsibility, Secretary Hegseth attacked the journalist—amazing, amazing; it is like an Alice in Wonderland world—and called him deceitful. He pointed fingers. He blamed the liberal media, moaned about hoaxes.

Mr. Hegseth, this is not a hoax. It is very real and very serious. You should not be in your job.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

ENERGY

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, let me start with a simple truth, something we both know. It is good to produce more American energy—energy that is available, affordable, and reliable. It is good for our workers, good for our country, good for our safety, and good for our Nation's security.

We in America are an energy superpower, and under President Trump and Republicans, we are finally beginning to act like it. Last week, President Trump announced a dramatic change. America is going to produce more critical minerals, in addition to more energy, unlike what we had been doing for years in the last administration by locking away our critical minerals. They need to be developed. Interior Secretary Doug Burgum is spearheading this change. It is part of the bold agenda of "mine, baby, mine." It is exactly what America needs to do to get back on track.

There is a growing demand for critical minerals, and America must boost our mining workforce in order to meet it. That is why, this week, I have introduced bipartisan legislation to support our mining schools. The students we recruit, the students we train, the students we empower, the talent that we unlock will fuel America's energy dominance for generations to come. We need to fuel our success by fueling theirs.

A vital piece of the Trump energy dominance strategy is unleashing clean coal. President Trump wants America to produce more coal. I agree. This is good for Wyoming, and it is good for America. Wyoming is America's energy breadbasket. We have world-class coal, and Wyoming's Powder River Basin produces the cleanest burning coal in

the world. Now, the climate alarmists are going to say that coal is the energy of the past. They are misinformed. Clean coal is the energy of the future. Tomorrow's technologies are going to need more affordable, reliable, available energy, not less.

America is making bold innovations in new technology. Only an "all of the above" energy approach is going to sustain it. Coal is one of the most affordable, reliable, and abundant sources of energy on the entire planet. In America today, it is much cleaner than ever before. With it, we can power our data centers. We can win the energy race. We can win the artificial intelligence race. Clearly, this is a focus against communist China, and Wyoming energy producers and Wyoming energy workers are going to lead the charge to victory. American energy dominance is the source of our Nation's strength. It keeps America and our allies safe and secure now and into the future.

We learned from Europe an important lesson: Dependency is deadly. Europe banned fracking because climate zealots in Russia told them to. Europe shut down nuclear powerplants because the extremists told them to. Unreliable and unaffordable energy sources couldn't keep up with the demand for energy. As a result, you know what happened. Europe, last year, spent \$23 billion on Russian oil and gas, and \$23 billion is actually more money than Europe sent in aid to Ukraine. If this doesn't prove that energy dependence is self-defeating, nothing else will.

Under the Trump administration, things are now different. America finally has an "all of the above" energy strategy. On day one, President Trump declared a national energy emergency. President Trump slammed the brakes on Joe Biden's electric vehicle mandate. I have legislation that pulls the plug on the Democrats' electric vehicle subsidies. President Trump withdrew from the disastrous Paris climate deal. President Trump lifted the self-destructive Biden ban on liquefied natural gas exports. President Trump created the National Energy Dominance Council.

The President and Republicans are serious about building the infrastructure we need to power our Nation. President Trump supports new natural gas pipelines and more powerplants. This is a 180-degree turn from the previous administration. For 4 years, the previous administration went on a regulatory rampage. Heavy-handed Washington bureaucrats attacked American energy producers and American energy workers, including those in my home State of Wyoming, and the costs were catastrophic.

Let me ask a few rhetorical questions:

Does anyone believe that America was better off when energy prices rose 31 percent? Of course not.

Does anyone believe that we were better off begging dictators to power our Nation? Of course not.

Were Americans more prosperous? No, we were not.

The truth is, American energy is not the enemy of the economy. American energy is the engine of the economy. American energy is a God-given blessing, and we finally have an administration that treats it that way.

So I applaud Secretary Burgum, Secretary Wright, and Administrator Zeldin. They are America's energy all-stars. Their bold actions are restoring American energy dominance.

Republicans in Congress are working aggressively on legislation that will fully unleash American energy, and here is why: When we produce more affordable, reliable American energy, our Nation is better off. When we empower energy producers and energy workers, America is better off. America has the energy; we have the workers; and we have the capacity to produce energy responsibly. Today, America has a Senate majority that is committed to making America energy dominant.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic whip.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to speak for 10 minutes and that Senator MERKLEY be permitted to speak for up to 15 minutes prior to the scheduled vote.

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

SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, the State of the Union Address was quite a performance by President Trump.

Maybe one of the highlights of humor was when he focused on the Social Security Administration. Remember what he told us? There were 4.7 million "Social Security members"—that is the term he used—4.7 million Social Security members who were between 100 and 109 years old. He went on to say that 1.3 million Social Security members were between the ages of 150 and 159 and that 130,000 were over the age of 160. These were the President's words. He goes on to talk about 1,039 between the ages of 220 and 229—even one who is a 360-year-old person. The place was rocking with laughter to think that a Federal Agency as important as Social Security could be defrauded by people claiming to be this age and still receiving checks—what a great joke, what a misrepresentation of the truth. What the President said was not true. It was misleading. It was overblown. It was inaccurate. In fact, it was just plain wrong.

He delivered this address to a joint session of Congress to the American people—the one time each year when we are focused on the President's words—and he made these deliberate misrepresentations of the Social Security Administration.

He claimed that the unelected billionaire, Elon Musk, and his DOGE boys had identified "shocking levels of incompetence and probable fraud within Social Security." Mr. Musk then

claimed at a later point that tens of millions of dead people over the age of 100 were still receiving Social Security benefits.

Outrageous. Outrageous and untrue.

In his speech, President Trump claimed there was a 360-year-old somehow receiving Social Security benefits as a member. I am not sure what that means. Obviously, it raised eyebrows. How could somebody born in the 1600s be receiving Social Security benefits? It turned out it wasn't true. What the President said was misleading and untrue, not truthful.

The Social Security Administration has databases that include the information of millions of Americans. Some of those records lack a recorded date of death, but of course, that certainly doesn't mean that the people are still alive, and it certainly doesn't mean, further, that they are receiving any Social Security benefits.

The Washington Post obtained internal records which showed the Social Security Administration looked into this very issue last month. What did they find? Only 1,300 Americans over the age of 100 were still receiving benefits. That is far short of the "shocking levels" the President said "of incompetence and probable fraud."

The truth is, you would be hard-pressed to find another Agency that is more closely scrutinized than Social Security. It routinely audits benefit payments to make sure they are accurate. The Office of Inspector General conducted a report in 2024 which found that less than 1 percent of Social Security payments were improper—less than 1 percent—but President Trump's statement made it seem like Social Security is riddled with fraud and incompetence. Payments to a 360-year-old individual? Outrageous. Untrue.

You wonder why he said these things to the American people in his State of the Union Address. I believe President Trump and Mr. Musk are intentionally misrepresenting the challenges Social Security faces as the rationale to implement their harmful policies. The Trump administration's disdain for Social Security is clear.

Elon Musk, the President's unelected buddy, describes Social Security as the "biggest Ponzi scheme of all time," said Mr. Musk, and shared a post on Twitter that called those who benefit from Federal programs—get ready—the "parasite class." The "parasite class" are Social Security recipients.

Secretary of Commerce Howard Lutnick called Americans who were calling in to report missing Social Security benefits "fraudsters." This same billionaire, Mr. Lutnick, bragged that his mother-in-law wouldn't care if she didn't receive a monthly check from Social Security. Well, perhaps, if your son-in-law is a billionaire, you don't care, but most people don't live that kind of life.

These comments are not only wrong and misleading, they are sickening—sickening. These people work their

whole lives paying into Social Security with the promise that it will take care of them when they decide to retire, and now the question is being raised as to whether they were parasites throughout their lives.

First, this disdain for Social Security and the Americans who rely on it can be found in the policies that are being pushed by the administration. The President announced that 7,000 workers at Social Security will be terminated—7,000. That is 12 percent of the total Social Security workforce at a time when the Social Security Administration is facing a 50-year staffing low.

Second, the President announced that Social Security will limit 1-800 phone services. It already takes a half an hour to reach a representative at Social Security. Now there are reports it is taking several hours to get a call picked up if you have a question. Nearly 9,000 people become eligible for Social Security benefits every single day. They should not have to wait hours to speak with someone if they have a legitimate question.

Third, President Trump announced the closure of Social Security offices across America, including some in my State of Illinois. I ran into an individual in the coffee shop in Springfield a few weeks ago. He is retired now.

He said: Senator, it was smarter for me to get in the car and drive 40 minutes each way to Litchfield, IL, to the Social Security office rather than to wait in line for hours at the Springfield office.

Each one of the actions taken by the Trump administration has made it more difficult for seniors and people with disabilities to access their benefits. Americans are worried, some are even terrified, questioning whether or not they will continue to have access to earned benefits and essential services. How do I know? Many have written to me.

Carolyn from Chicago recently told me she tried to call Social Security to make an appointment. She was told the wait time on the phone was 120 minutes. She waited the 2 hours but still didn't get to speak to someone. She hung up and tried again later and was told again it was another 120-minute wait. Imagine waiting on hold for 2 hours for your phone call not to be picked up. Carolyn told me the level of service from Social Security right now is unacceptable. She is kind, and she is right. Americans depend on Social Security and its workers to pick up the phone, answer their questions, and help them secure their benefits.

Social Security is a bedrock of American society. It is a promise. Almost all of us contribute to it throughout our lives and expect it will be there when we need it, but as usual, President Trump is making the problem even worse.

Since 2010, Social Security's customer service budget has been reduced by 20 percent when counting for inflation. Staff has fallen by 11 percent

while 13 million additional beneficiaries have started to receive benefits. For too long, we have asked the Social Security Administration to do more with less, and now President Trump is taking that to an extreme, so I am calling on him to abandon these plans.

If you actually want to make Social Security more efficient, it needs more well-trained people, more resources, more funding. We do not need the recent college graduates in the so-called Department of Government Efficiency to take Social Security for a joyride while their grandparents are in the back, holding on for dear life. We certainly don't need the sage advice of billionaires who cannot begin to understand what it means to live month to month while waiting for a Social Security check as so many Americans do.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

NATIONAL DEBT

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President and colleagues, back in 1974, the Senate and the House were very agitated over the increases in the national annual deficit that was adding considerably to the national debt. They said we needed to do something about this. The levels that they were concerned about at that time seem so small, to date. The debt-to-GDP ratio was 23 percent. Now we are over 100 percent. The annual deficit was about \$6 billion. Now we are at about \$2 trillion of annual deficit. The total debt was only a third of a trillion rather than, now, \$37 trillion.

But those increases were seen as such a threat to the future of our Nation that Democrats and Republicans together, House Members and the Senate together, said: We have to get this under control. So they created a bill—the 1974 Budget and Impoundment Control Act—to say: We can't let this go forward.

Here is what it did. First of all, it created a fast-track for a special bill called a reconciliation bill that would reduce the deficit and not add more to the debt.

Second of all, it says that we have to have integrity in numbers. When Republicans are in charge, they tend to increase the deficits and then want to use smoke screens in order to say: We are not really doing that. When the Democrats are in charge, the same thing. They both wanted to undertake strategies that increase the deficit but pretend they were being fiscally responsible.

So they said: We must have integrity on the numbers, so we are going to create a new organization. The Congressional Budget Office will be an independent assessor of the cost of any change in law related to programs or related to tax revenue. Honesty and integrity will be the foundation for the debate that takes place in this Chamber. Honesty and integrity will be the foundation for the debate that takes place in the House Chamber down the

hall. Honesty and integrity in numbers will be the foundation for the American people who are following the decision making that is made by their representatives in the House and Senate.

So two pillars: a fast-track for reducing deficits—a reconciliation bill; and integrity in numbers by using the Congressional Budget Office—creating it and using their numbers to have honesty in the debate on policy and revenue plans.

Well, that first pillar was destroyed in 1996 by a nuclear option done by the Republican majority, who said: Do you know what, we are going to reinterpret the law. So instead of just using this fast-track to reduce the deficit, we are going to also use it for tax policy that will increase the deficit.

Today, the second pillar of integrity in the numbers is under attack by the Republican majority. They have lost their minds when it comes to fiscal responsibility. They destroyed first, a couple of decades ago, the fast-track dedicated only to deficit reduction, and now they want to destroy the integrity in the accounting for what a tax policy costs or what a program policy costs—all for a simple purpose, and that is, they have a plan. That plan is to put forward a proposal that would cost an additional amount to the debt of \$37 trillion over the next 30 years. But they want to tell this Chamber that that \$37 trillion addition to the debt is actually a zero-dollar addition. They want to tell the American people that that \$37 trillion addition to the national debt that is in their plan is actually a zero-dollar addition.

I can tell you that a \$37 trillion deception—that is not a minor fraud; that is a major fraud. In the process, they are destroying the integrity not just for this budget cycle but for every budget cycle to come.

The gimmick they are putting forward to accomplish this diabolical plot is called current policy baseline. Why do they want to pursue this Republican plan? Because they want to give tax breaks to the wealthiest Americans and do so not only for a 10-year period but for permanent tax breaks into the future. It is not just magic math. I mean, that is almost too nice of a name to give to it. It is devastating fraud.

Last week, the Congressional Budget Office released a report requested by a Republican Congressman, DAVID SCHWEIKERT. He had asked them: How much will this fraud cost, this Republican plan cost? The CBO laid it out—\$37 trillion of additional debt over the next 30 years.

It so happens that right now, our current national debt is just shy of \$37 trillion. They want to say the debt that has been run up in the last 250 years—next year, we will be celebrating our 250th year as a nation. The debt that has been run up over this first 250 years—we are going to add that additional amount with one bill, with one vote, in this budget cycle. This is fraud on an unparalleled scale.

SCHWEIKERT then said:

Anyone that says current policy baseline [is the right way to go] is engaging in intellectual and economic fraud . . . it's intellectually lazy. My basic mission in life is just to try to create some honest math.

Honest math is what Democrats and Republicans together said they were pursuing in 1974—House and Senate together—honest math. Honest math is on the verge of destruction.

CHIP ROY of Texas said this plan—referring to the plan—“This is fairy dust, and they're full of crap. And I'm gonna call them out on it.”

Anyone who cares about growing deficits and growing debt should call them out on it—\$37 trillion in this Republican plan of additional debt and then adopting a gimmick to tell the American people and this Chamber it costs zero.

In the free market, businesses need transparency—transparency so investors can decide if things are going in the right direction, so the board of directors of a company can change direction. They know that they have to have integrity in their numbers. They know that it is important for their board of directors. They also know that it is important for those who buy their stock, the investors. Without honest numbers, they can't make good decisions about where they are going.

The same is true for us in government. If we are not willing to use honest numbers, we can't make good decisions about how we go forward. It is that important. Integrity and honesty in our numbers are that important.

That is the debate we need to have, an honest examination. Are you for or against a plan that will add \$37 trillion to the debt on top of what additions might otherwise happen under current law? That is the question we will be facing.

This idea of integrity in the numbers existed before the 1974 Budget Control Act, but it was so important to have outside numbers that people could rely on—independent numbers, bipartisan numbers or nonpartisan numbers—that they created a whole Agency, the Congressional Budget Office, to produce those numbers. It is that essential, so you don't have some think tank giving you pretend numbers from the right or some other think tank giving you pretend numbers from the left. It is that important.

You know, this plan, this Republican plan, is like a landlord saying: Don't worry. Your rent is free over the next 30 years because we are not making any changes to your tenant contract.

What a farce because you know you have to keep paying that rent every single month.

So there is \$37 trillion of additional debt being hidden through a gimmick.

I pointed out this enormous addition to the debt, but what is the purpose? It is to give tax giveaways to the richest Americans. Sixty percent of the additional debt goes to the richest 10 percent in America. Half of that addi-

tional debt, \$37 trillion, half of it goes to the richest 5 percent of Americans. So they are not just running up \$37 trillion in additional debt; they are running up \$37 trillion in additional debt to give the vast majority to the already richest Americans. This is a straightforward, simple provision in which families lose and billionaires win.

They are going to attack the spending on Medicaid. That is health insurance that a good third of America, approximately, relies on, that veterans rely on, programs that those with disabilities rely on. They are going to attack that program for tax giveaways to the richest Americans. They are going to steal from Social Security and make it dysfunctional—already, the lines are starting to pile up, and the phones aren't answered—in order to give tax breaks to the richest Americans. They are going to betray working families with a tax on healthcare, housing, and education. Why? To give massive tax breaks to the richest Americans.

The situation is clear: Families lose, and billionaires win.

Democrats are paying attention. My colleagues the Republicans need to pay attention. They said when they were running that they are for fiscal responsibility, that they are for decreasing the deficit, but, in fact, their plan increases the deficits massively—an additional \$4 trillion over the next 2 years and an additional \$37 trillion in debt over the next 30 years—to give tax breaks to the wealthiest Americans while slashing programs that help ordinary working families to thrive.

This is a vast betrayal of Trump's campaign plan. He campaigned on being a champion for families. But that was a campaign. Now he is in office, and the real plan? Families lose; billionaires win.

We must reject this gimmick that destroys the integrity of the budgeting process. One pillar—a filibuster-free pathway for deficit reduction—was destroyed by my Republican colleagues in 1996. The second pillar—integrity in numbers using an outside, independent CBO to give us honest numbers to work with here and for the American people—is going to be destroyed under current policy baseline being proposed right now.

Be awake, pay attention, and say hell no to this massive fraud on the American people.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

WAIVING QUORUM CALL

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to waive the mandatory quorum call with respect to the Lawrence nomination.

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

The clerk will read the title of the joint resolution for the third time.

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

VOTE ON S.J. RES. 18

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

Mr. BARRASSO. 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 legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 52, nays 48, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 153 Leg.]

YEAS—52

Banks	Graham	Mullin
Barrasso	Grassley	Murkowski
Blackburn	Hagerty	Paul
Boozman	Hoeven	Ricketts
Britt	Husted	Risch
Budd	Hyde-Smith	Rounds
Capito	Johnson	Schmitt
Cassidy	Justice	Scott (FL)
Collins	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Cornyn	Lankford	Sheehy
Cotton	Lee	Sullivan
Cramer	Lummis	Thune
Crapo	Marshall	Tillis
Cruz	McConnell	Tuberville
Curtis	McCormick	Wicker
Daines	Moody	Young
Ernst	Moran	
Fischer	Moreno	

NAYS—48

Alsobrooks	Heinrich	Reed
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	Rosen
Bennet	Hirono	Sanders
Blumenthal	Kaine	Schatz
Blunt Rochester	Kelly	Schiff
Booker	Kim	Schumer
Cantwell	King	Shaheen
Coons	Klobuchar	Slotkin
Cortez Masto	Lujan	Smith
Duckworth	Markey	Van Hollen
Durbin	Merkley	Warner
Fetterman	Murphy	Warnock
Gallego	Murray	Warren
Gillibrand	Ossoff	Welch
Hassan	Padilla	Whitehouse
Hawley	Peters	Wyden

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 18) was passed as follows:

S.J. RES. 18

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress disapproves the final rule submitted by the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection relating to “Overdraft Lending: Very Large Financial Institutions” (89 Fed. Reg. 106768 (December 30, 2024)), and such rule shall have no force or effect.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

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

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Paul Lawrence, of Virginia, to be Deputy Secretary of Veterans Affairs.

CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 43, Paul Lawrence, of Virginia, to be Deputy Secretary of Veterans Affairs.

John Thune, Mike Crapo, Roger Marshall, Shelley Moore Capito, Tommy Tuberville, Jim Justice, James Lankford, John Barrasso, Markwayne Mullin, Tim Sheehy, Mike Rounds, Todd Young, Kevin Cramer, Ted Budd, Roger F. Wicker, Katie Boyd Britt, David McCormick.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the nomination of Paul Lawrence, of Virginia, to be Deputy Secretary of Veterans Affairs, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 53, nays 47, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 154 Ex.]

YEAS—53

Banks	Graham	Moreno
Barrasso	Grassley	Mullin
Blackburn	Hagerty	Murkowski
Boozman	Hawley	Paul
Britt	Hoeven	Ricketts
Budd	Husted	Risch
Capito	Hyde-Smith	Rounds
Cassidy	Johnson	Schmitt
Collins	Justice	Scott (FL)
Cornyn	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Cotton	Lankford	Sheehy
Cramer	Lee	Sullivan
Crapo	Lummis	Thune
Cruz	Marshall	Tillis
Curtis	McConnell	Tuberville
Daines	McCormick	Wicker
Ernst	Moody	Wyden
Fischer	Moran	

NAYS—47

Alsobrooks	Hickenlooper	Rosen
Baldwin	Hirono	Sanders
Bennet	Kaine	Schatz
Blumenthal	Kelly	Schiff
Blunt Rochester	Kim	Schumer
Booker	King	Shaheen
Cantwell	Klobuchar	Slotkin
Coons	Lujan	Smith
Cortez Masto	Markey	Van Hollen
Duckworth	Merkley	Warner
Durbin	Murphy	Warnock
Fetterman	Murray	Warren
Gallego	Ossoff	Welch
Gillibrand	Padilla	Whitehouse
Hassan	Peters	
Heinrich	Reed	Wyden

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas are 53, the nays are 47.

The motion is agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

PHARMACEUTICAL COMPANIES

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, 4 years ago, I kicked off an investigation of Big Pharma's tax practices, the dodges and tricks these hugely profitable, multinational companies use to winnow down their tax bills. This was not very long after Trump's first tax breaks for corporations went into effect. My Democratic colleagues on the Finance Committee and I wanted to

know exactly how sweet a deal Trump gave the biggest drug companies and what changes needed to be made to ensure these corporations paid a fair share.

So far, in the course of my investigation, I have released information on the tax practices of five major drug companies: AbbVie, Abbott Laboratories, Amgen, Bristol Myers Squibb, and Merck. The questions that I asked these companies were not very complicated. Essentially, what I asked came down to questions like: How big were your sales? Where did you make them? Where did you report your profits? Where did you stick your intellectual property? Did you actually pay taxes?

Last year, I expanded my investigation with an inquiry to the company Pfizer. Pfizer initially resisted, but my staff and I were not going to let up. Finally, the company provided some answers to our questions.

We are going to get into those issues now, and I ask unanimous consent to enter into the RECORD a memorandum outlining records of my investigation relating to Pfizer's tax-avoidance schemes, which will also be available immediately on the Finance Committee's website.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the report printed into the RECORD now.

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

MEMORANDUM

Fr: Ron Wyden, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on Finance

Re: Pfizer used "round-tripping" scheme to book \$0 in U.S. income on 2019 tax returns

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

An investigation by the Democratic staff of the Senate Finance Committee ("the Committee") uncovered that after passage of the 2017 Republican tax law, Pfizer carried out potentially the largest tax-avoidance structure in the history of big pharma. Even though Pfizer sold \$20 billion in drugs to U.S. customers in 2019, it reported \$0 in taxable U.S. profits on its 2019 tax returns by claiming to the IRS that 100 percent of its income was earned offshore. This offshore tax dodge allowed Pfizer to avoid paying billions of dollars in federal income taxes on U.S. drug sales. Pfizer even signed nondisclosure agreements with the governments of Singapore and Puerto Rico on special tax deals arranged with those jurisdictions, to keep the details of how Pfizer avoids billions in taxes hidden from the U.S. Congress.

Pfizer's 2019 cross-border tax avoidance structure is larger than those previously discovered by Senator Wyden's staff investigation, including AbbVie, Amgen and Merck. Pfizer joins a growing list of massively-profitable pharmaceutical corporations that show little-to-zero U.S. profits on tax returns, even though the U.S. is big pharma's largest customer market.¹ Senator Wyden's ongoing investigation fully exposes how big pharma abuses "round-tripping" schemes to skirt income taxes on U.S. drug sales as it charges U.S. customers higher drug prices than any other country in the world.

BACKGROUND

The Democratic staff of the Committee is conducting an investigation into the tax

practices of large pharmaceutical corporations. This investigation examines how U.S. drug companies use subsidiaries in jurisdictions treated as foreign for tax purposes to avoid paying the 21 percent corporate income tax rate on profits from drug sales to U.S. patients.

As part of this investigation, the Democratic staff of the Committee obtained tax return information from Pfizer, Inc. ("Pfizer") regarding how much of the company's income was booked in foreign subsidiaries for tax purposes, generally referred to as "controlled foreign corporations" (CFCs) in tax parlance.² Knowing how much of a company's income is reported by CFCs provides a window into how much of a company's income is reported offshore on tax returns. The data provided by Pfizer exposes the extraordinary extent to which Pfizer shifted taxable income out of the U.S., despite making most of its profits by looting the pocketbooks of U.S. customers.

The 2017 Republican tax law created a new incentive to maximize how much income a U.S. company shifts offshore. After slashing the corporate tax rate by nearly 40 percent, from 35 percent to 21 percent, Republicans went even further to help boost offshore tax avoidance by large corporations. The Republican controlled Congress and first Trump administration created the global intangible low-taxed income (GILTI) system, which cut the tax rate on foreign income down to just 10.5 percent. Thanks to this policy, every dollar that big pharma can shift out of the U.S. gets its tax rate cut in half. In addition to cutting the rate in half, the GILTI system includes other designs—such as the use of "global blending"—to help large multinationals further minimize their U.S. taxes. These design flaws were detailed by the Committee in 2018 and again in 2021.³

PFIZER REPORTED \$0 IN U.S. INCOME ON ITS 2019 TAX RETURN

The Democratic Committee staff investigation obtained tax return information from Pfizer revealing that Pfizer booked 100 percent of its income in offshore subsidiaries on its 2019 federal tax filings.⁴ That year Pfizer recorded over \$21 billion in global income, yet not a single dollar was reported as income earned in the United States for tax purposes.⁵

Pfizer's tax returns expose a massive discrepancy between where Pfizer has its customer base and where the profits from those sales are taxed. Pfizer in 2019 sold more than \$20 billion worth of prescription drugs in the United States, accounting for a majority of the company's global sales revenue.⁶ The United States is Pfizer's largest customer market, yet Pfizer was able to book every single dollar of the profits from those U.S. sales in foreign subsidiaries. This was not a one off for Pfizer. Pfizer also reported no taxable income in the U.S. in 2018 or 2020.⁷ That means that for the three years immediately following the passage of the 2017 Republican tax law, Pfizer did not treat a single dollar of profit as earned in the U.S. for tax purposes.

That Pfizer was able to send all of the profits from U.S. drug sales to subsidiaries in foreign tax jurisdictions exposes the need to end the abuse of "round-tripping" strategies by big pharma and other large multinational corporations.

Pfizer's round-tripping scheme is designed to exploit the flawed GILTI system created by the 2017 Republican tax law. By booking 100 percent of its taxable income in foreign subsidiaries, none of Pfizer's income was subject to the U.S. corporate tax rate of 21 percent, but instead the much lower GILTI rate on foreign profits of 10.5 percent created by the Republican tax law. Pfizer could lower its tax rate even further through the use of

generous tax incentive agreements with the governments of low-or-zero tax jurisdictions, including Puerto Rico and Singapore, and utilization of flaws in GILTI's design, such as global blending. Pfizer also appears to book large amounts of profits in subsidiaries in Ireland, joining a trend of large multinational U.S. corporations that are exploiting subsidiaries in Ireland to capitalize on heavily favorable tax treatment.⁸

The result of these arrangements is that Pfizer has paid tax rates that are unacceptably low. In 2019 Pfizer paid a tax rate of just 5.4 percent, followed by rates of 5.3 percent, 7.6 percent and 9.6 percent between 2020–2022.⁹ In fact, Pfizer pays a lower tax rate than millions of working American families.¹⁰

PFIZER HIDES SWEETHEART TAX DEALS WITH NDAS

Disturbingly, it appears that Pfizer has signed non-disclosure agreements (NDAs) regarding the terms of its sweetheart tax deals to exempt it from income taxes in Singapore and Puerto Rico.¹¹ In response to this inquiry, Pfizer stated that it could not provide Senator WYDEN with information about its tax agreement with the government of Singapore because the “agreements with the government of Singapore contain non-disclosure agreements that prevent Pfizer from disclosing specific information about such agreement.”¹² Pfizer also stated that the “confidential nature” of its tax incentives with Puerto Rico and Singapore must be “protected.”¹³

Senator WYDEN does not believe that sweetheart deals between giant pharmaceutical corporations and foreign governments to send tax revenue offshore instead of to the U.S. should be concealed. The U.S. Congress must not be kept in the dark regarding the extent to which U.S. territories are being used to execute multi-billion-dollar corporate tax shelters. As the U.S. Congress debates major changes to the international tax system, the terms of these tax incentive agreements are essential information.

PFIZER USES “ROUND-TRIPPING” STRATEGY THAT IS WIDESPREAD IN PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY

Pfizer is using an egregious tax gimmick known as “round-tripping.” In a round-tripping strategy, a U.S. company makes sales to U.S. customers, but manages to have the income from those sales treated as foreign for tax purposes. Instead of being subject to the 21 percent corporate tax rate, the income only is subject to the lower 10.5 percent GILTI tax rate, and any resulting tax liability can also be offset by taxes paid to foreign jurisdictions. A round-tripping strategy can be achieved in a multitude of ways, including the use of offshore manufacturing, shifting intellectual property rights to tax havens, aggressive transfer pricing, complex partnership arrangements, and others. Regardless of the specific design, the end result is the same—less income in the U.S. where customers are, more income sent offshore to tax havens.

Pfizer is hardly alone when it comes to exploiting the use of round-tripping to avoid paying taxes by sending profits from U.S. drug sales to overseas subsidiaries. Senator WYDEN's investigation has already uncovered several examples of round-tripping by big pharma.

For example, a 2022 report published by Senator WYDEN exposed how pharma giant AbbVie booked 99 percent of its taxable income offshore to avoid paying billions of dollars in taxes on U.S. prescription drug sales.¹⁴ Despite being headquartered in the U.S. and generating 75 percent of its sales from U.S. patients, only 1 percent of AbbVie's taxable income was subject to the

U.S. corporate income tax rate of 21 percent.¹⁵ As a result of this round-tripping structure using subsidiaries in Bermuda, Puerto Rico and elsewhere, virtually all of AbbVie's profits were taxed at the substantially lower GILTI rate of 10.5 percent.

Senator Wyden's investigation also uncovered how Merck used a round-tripping structure to ensure that all of the profits from U.S. sales of blockbuster cancer drug Keytruda would be taxed at the GILTI rate of 10.5 percent.¹⁶ Between 2019 and 2022 Merck sold an astounding \$37.1 billion worth of Keytruda in the United States, yet none of the profits generated by those sales were treated as earned in the U.S.¹⁷

Senator Wyden's investigation also obtained information from Merck indicating that this is because the intellectual property rights for Keytruda are exclusively located in the Netherlands and the drug is manufactured in Ireland. In a response to the Committee, Merck stated that with respect to Keytruda, “. . . because its patents have always been owned outside the United States, Merck's operating profit attributable to Keytruda IP rights is taxed in jurisdictions outside the United States.”¹⁸ Merck also added that as Keytruda sales increased by 55 percent from 2019 to 2021, Keytruda “became an even larger portion of Merck's overall profits and [Keytruda's] expansion increased the portion of Merck's overall income subject to tax outside the United States.”¹⁹

The 2017 Republican tax law makes it very easy to successfully avoid taxes in round-tripping, and shutting off this spigot of abuse is not complex. Policies to help shut down aggressive round-tripping strategies were included in the Wyden-Brown-Warner international tax reform framework released in 2021, and international tax reform policies included in the Build Back Better Act passed by the House in 2021. Republicans are well aware the prevalence of the use of round-tripping by big pharma to avoid billions in U.S. taxes and have expressed an interest in legislative action to curb the abuse of round-tripping—at the time of the writing of this report, it is unknown if big pharma lobbying will prevent such key reforms from being included in any Republican tax plan.²⁰ Early versions of Republican international tax plans prior to 2017 also included language that would have limited big pharma's ability to use round-tripping, but this language was abandoned during the back-room, lobbyist-influenced process of drafting the 2017 Republican tax law.²¹

PFIZER'S TAX AVOIDANCE STRUCTURE MAY BE THE LARGEST IN THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY

Pfizer's 2019 cross-border tax avoidance structure may be the largest in the pharmaceutical industry, and certainly the largest discovered during Senator Wyden's investigation. The previous largest round-tripping scheme exposed by the Committee's investigation was that used by AbbVie in 2020, in which AbbVie booked 99 percent of its \$9.5 billion in income in CFCs offshore. Pfizer's 2019 structure dwarfs that: 100 percent of profits show up offshore (the U.S. share was actually a loss, so more than 100 percent of profits went offshore), and offshore profits are more than double what AbbVie earned in the same year.

ENDNOTES

1. Interim Report: Big Pharma Tax Avoidance, Senate Finance Committee Chair Ron Wyden, July 2022, available online at <https://www.finance.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Pharma%20Tax%20Report.pdf>; American Patients, American Companies, Offshore Profits, Senate Finance Committee Democratic Staff Memorandum, May 11, 2023, available online at <https://www.finance.senate.gov/imo/>

[media/doc/pharma_public_release_final_51123.pdf](https://www.finance.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/pharma_public_release_final_51123.pdf).

2. A Controlled Foreign Corporation (CFC) is a foreign corporation that is majority owned by U.S. shareholders that own at least 10 percent of the foreign corporation.

3. Trump's Tax law and International Tax: More Complexity, Loopholes and Incentives to Ship Jobs Overseas, Senate Committee on Finance, July 18, 2018, available online at <https://www.finance.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Wyden%20Report%20-%2020Trump%20Tax%20Law%20and%20International%20Tax%20071818.pdf>. Overhauling International Taxation, Senate Finance Committee Chair Senator Ron Wyden, Senator Sherrod Brown, Senator Mark Warner, April 2021, available online at <https://www.finance.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/040121%20Overhauling%20International%20Taxation.pdf>.

4. Letter from Pfizer, Inc. to Senator Ron Wyden, Chairman, Senate Committee on finance, Oct. 21, 2024 (At pg. 3, According to 2019 federal income tax return information provided by Pfizer, Pfizer's “U.S. taxable income excluding income from controlled foreign corporations” was a loss of \$1.29 billion.”). The committee notes that this means that 100% of Pfizer's taxable income was reported by Pfizer's controlled foreign corporations in jurisdictions treated as foreign for tax purposes.

5. Id. at pg. 3, According to 2019 federal income tax return information provided by Pfizer, Pfizer reported \$16.94 billion in GILTI Income (line 17 of Form 1120, Schedule C), \$1.12 billion Subpart F Income (line 16a, b, and c on Form 1120, Schedule C), \$2.65 billion Section 78 Gross Up (line 18 of Form 1120, Schedule C) and \$0.57 billion in foreign income exempt from tax (form 8892, Part II, line 4).

6. Pfizer, Inc., 2019 form 10-K, available online at https://s28.q4cdn.com/781576035/files/doc_financials/2019/AR/Pfizer-2019-Financial-Report.pdf.

7. Letter from Pfizer, Inc. to Senator Ron Wyden, Chairman, Senate Committee on finance, Oct. 21, 2024 (At pg. 3, Pfizer reported losses of \$7.97 billion, \$1.29 billion and \$0.62 billion in the U.S. on its 2018, 2019, and 2020 federal income tax returns, respectively). The Committee notes that this means that 100% of Pfizer's taxable income was reported by Pfizer's controlled foreign corporations in jurisdictions treated as foreign for tax purposes those years.

8. This Country Won the Global Tax Game, and is Swimming in Money, Ireland is setting a sovereign wealth fund filled with tax revenue from U.S. tech and pharma companies, The Wall Street Journal, Oct. 10, 2023, available online at <https://www.wsj.com/economy/global/this-country-won-the-global-tax-game-and-is-swimming-in-money-57c3c70>.

9. Pfizer, Inc., 2022 form 10-K, available online at <https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/78003/000007800323000024/pfe-20221231.htm> (at pg. 35 discussion on effective tax rates); Pfizer, Inc., 2020 form 10-K, available online at <https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/78003/000007800321000038/pfe-20201231.htm> (at pg. 38 discussion on effective tax rates).

10. IRS 2023 marginal tax rates for individuals, 22% for incomes between \$44,726 to \$95,375 (\$89,451 to \$190,750 for married couples filing jointly) available online at <https://www.irs.gov/filing/federal-income-tax-rates-and-brackets>.

11. Pfizer, Inc., 2022 form 10-K, available online at <https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/78003/000007800323000024/pfe-20221231.htm> (At. pg. 69: “We benefit from Puerto Rican tax incentives pursuant to a grant that expires during 2053. Under such grant, we are partially exempt from income, property and

municipal taxes. In Singapore, we benefit from incentive tax rates effective through 2048 on income from manufacturing and other operations.”).

12. Letter from Pfizer, Inc. to Senator Ron Wyden, Chairman, Senate Committee on Finance, Oct. 21, 2024 (At. pg. 6, “Pfizer understands the Committee’s request for information on the specific tax relationship between Pfizer and the governments of Puerto Rico and Singapore in Questions 7 and 8 of your letter, however, the requests implicate confidential arrangements between Pfizer and each jurisdiction, and the applicable agreements contain commercially sensitive information. In particular, the agreements with the government of Singapore contain certain nondisclosure agreements that prevent Pfizer from disclosing specific information about such agreement.”).

13. Letter from Pfizer, Inc. to Ron Wyden, Chairman, Senate Committee on Finance, Jun. 17, 2024 (“Pfizer understands the Committee’s request for information on the tax relationship between the Company and the governments of Puerto Rico and Singapore; however, the requests implicate confidential arrangements between Pfizer and each jurisdiction. Just as we are concerned about maintaining positive engagement with the Committee, we are also concerned about maintaining positive relationships with the U.S. states and territories in which we operate, including Puerto Rico. To those ends, it is important that the confidential nature of Pfizer’s tax incentive arrangements with the governments of Puerto Rico and Singapore are protected.”).

14. Senate Finance Committee Investigation Reveals Extent to Which Pharma Giant AbbVie Exploits Offshore Subsidiaries to Avoid Paying Taxes on U.S. Drug Sales, U.S. Senate Committee on Finance, July 2022, available online at <https://www.finance.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Pharma%20Tax%20Report.pdf>.

15. Id.

16. American Companies, Offshore Profits, Senate Finance Committee Democratic Staff Memorandum, May 11, 2023, available online at https://www.finance.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/pharma_public_release_final_51123.pdf.

17. Merck sales of Keytruda in the U.S. according to 10-K filings with the SEC: \$6.3 billion in 2019, \$8.4 billion in 2020, \$9.8 billion in 2021 and \$12.7 billion in 2022.

18. Letter from Robert Filippone, Vice President, U.S. Policy and Government Relations, Merck to Ron Wyden, Chairman, Senate Committee on Finance, Apr. 15, 2022 at pg. 3: “With respect to Keytruda, however, because it was discovered outside the United States and its patents have always been owned outside the United States, Merck’s operating profit attributable to Keytruda-related intellectual property rights is taxed in jurisdictions outside the United States.”

19. Id. at pg. 4: “As illustrated on page 53 of Merck’s 2021 Form 10-K, Keytruda sales increased 55% from 2019 to 2021. This increase was substantially greater than Merck’s overall revenue growth of 24% over the same period. Consequently, Keytruda became an even larger portion of Merck’s overall income subject to tax outside of the United States.”

20. Tax Writers eyeing international tax break used by Pharma, Politico Pro, available online at <https://subscriber.politicopro.com/article/2024/11/tax-writers-eyeing-international-tax-break-used-by-pharma-00189546>.

21. H.R. 1, introduced by then-Ways and Means Committee chairman Camp in 2014, included the pre-cursor to GILTI and the corollary policy of foreign-derived intangible income (FDII). In this 2014 version, CFC income would have only benefitted from the

lower rate if that income was “foreign-derived,” i.e., it was “sold for use, consumption, or disposition outside the United States, or services provided with respect to persons or property located outside the United States.” Under this definition, big pharma’s sales to U.S. customers would not be able to access the lower rate that they are now able to access under GILTI as passed by Republicans in 2017. See sec. 4211 of H.R. 1, the Tax Reform Act of 2014, introduced Dec. 12, 2014. Available online at <https://www.congress.gov/bill/113th-congress/house-bill/1/text>.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, I am going to take a few minutes to walk through these findings and discuss why they are so important. I am very pleased to be joined by several of my colleagues who are also outraged about this tax-dodging.

Here is the upshot. My investigation has found that Pfizer carried out what could be the largest tax-dodging scheme in the history of Big Pharma.

The United States is the largest market for Pfizer’s products. In 2019, the company sold \$20 billion worth of drugs to American patients. If you are following along on this discussion, you might be hoping to hear that Pfizer paid a reasonable rate of tax on those profits. I have got bad news for you and the American people.

In that same year, Pfizer reported zero—not one red cent—in taxable U.S. profits. Through various tricks and games, Pfizer was able to shift 100 percent of its U.S. profits to foreign tax havens. This means that Pfizer dodged billions of dollars in Federal income tax on its U.S. drug sales. There is every reason to believe it continues to do so.

Thanks to the tax law Trump and Republicans passed in 2017, Pfizer doesn’t need to keep the money stashed overseas. Pfizer can take this cash and pocket it with tax-dodging schemes and turn it into stock buybacks, dividends, executive compensation—the list goes on.

There is an additional matter that is so disturbing. The company appears to be keeping some of its tax schemes hidden from view with what has been described to me as a confidential arrangement with the Governments of Puerto Rico and Singapore. It is enough to leave you slack-jawed.

So this is a Senate investigation that will have a direct impact on tax legislation, and Pfizer is hiding relevant tax information behind nondisclosure agreements.

So colleagues, this is the sixth Big Pharma company where my investigation has found a staggering level of tax dodging. And these rip-offs don’t happen by osmosis; they happen because Republicans have allowed them to happen. With the tax law they passed back in 2017, Republicans delivered to Big Pharma a tax break of more than 40 percent. From 2014 to 2016, the industry paid 19.6 percent, on average. In 2019 and 2020, it paid 11.6 percent.

Now, reasonable people watching at home might be thinking about how Re-

publicans always claim to be worried about deficits and debt. Surely those Republicans would dial back what they did in 2017 and ask these huge, profitable corporations to pay a little bit more to ease our fiscal challenges. If you think that is the case—wrong.

So I want to bring my colleagues into this discussion momentarily, and I will close by looking at the big picture as Congress moves forward with this debate on taxes, health, child hunger, and more.

Republicans are in control of the Congress and the White House, and they have locked Democrats out of the discussion. Somewhere here on Capitol Hill, there is a group of Republicans meeting right now, behind closed doors, quietly planning the outline of their gigantic bill. Nobody in that room is talking about how to protect people who work for a living or how to get more fairness in the economy. The discussion they are having comes down to how big the handouts are going to be for billionaires and multinational corporations, how many tens of millions of Americans they are going to kick off Medicaid to pay for it, how many millions of kids are going to go hungry, how many hundreds of thousands of workers are going to lose their jobs.

Republicans are doubling down on a broken system. And if you want to see that system in action, read our report, because you couldn’t find a better example than Big Pharma’s tax dodging. These are huge corporations that rake in enormous profits in U.S. sales because they charge astronomical prices in America, and then their stables of lawyers and accountants get to work on a whole bunch of fancy financial wizardry, taking advantage of loopholes and rip-offs planted by Republican lawmakers.

Suddenly, the record profits get shipped overseas. Often, the factories get shipped overseas, the jobs get shipped overseas, and the companies aren’t paying anything close to a fair share of taxes. Typical Americans who pay taxes out of every paycheck get ripped off.

Republicans are not going to fix this broken, unfair system. In fact, they are gearing up to give tax-dodging corporations like these and their billionaire shareholders even bigger handouts. It is a scam. It is a rip-off on a national scale. The American people see it for what it is.

Senate Democrats are going to keep calling it out, because this must not stand.

So I am very appreciative that my colleagues are joining me here on the floor. We have a very important member of the Senate Finance Committee to start, Senator WHITEHOUSE, and I want to send this over to him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I thank Chairman WYDEN. This is a really important investigation, and it bears very exactly on the Republican

tax scam that is being cooked up right now here in this Congress, because one of the keys to the Republican tax scam that is being cooked up right here in this Congress is giving big corporations the ability to move their profits—and even their jobs—offshore, away from America, and get a tax break for doing that. And the total value of this tax break—the award to big corporations from Republicans for moving American jobs and profits offshore—is running at about \$140 billion that other taxpayers are going to have to make up.

Big Pharma is the big winner in this offshore tax scam. If you look at Big Pharma's numbers, most sales are to U.S. patients. They sell their pharmaceutical products to Americans. But when you look at their financial reporting, 75 percent of their profits are declared as coming from outside of the United States. So you have some funky math going on here because we know that Americans are charged more for Big Pharma's drugs than people are overseas.

They overcharge Americans, Americans pay the highest prices, and most of the sales are going to Americans who are paying the highest prices. So how is it that, when most of their sales are going to Americans, who are paying the highest prices, that is not where the profits are reported? The profits are reported from overseas, where they have fewer patients paying lower prices. How does that work? That works S-C-A-M, scam. And that is what the Republicans in Congress are trying to push forward into the future.

Thanks to the terrific work of our chairman, we have some specific examples. The Republican tax scam went into effect in 2017. So they had to move pretty quickly. So we are looking at now 2019. How quickly did pharma enjoy the benefit of this tax scam at Americans' expense?

Well, AbbVie is one company. In 2019, it declared three-quarters of its sales to American customers and essentially all of its profits offshore. As pharma does, they charged Americans the highest prices, and they sold 75 percent, nearly, of their drugs to those highly priced American customers, and yet they claimed that all of their money came from the small fraction of their sales that they made at lower prices offshore. Again, S-C-A-M.

Who gets hurt? Well, who gets hurt is American workers because, very often, the jobs go offshore along with the profits. So an American worker loses his job so that an American company can move that job offshore and pay some foreign person for the work that should be here and gets rewarded by Republicans in Congress for a tax break for doing that.

Who else gets hurt? Small businesses get hurt because, if you are running a small business, you can't set up this elaborate tax scam. You don't have the accountants. You don't have the lawyers. You may not even have the nasty motive to try to cheat your own gov-

ernment this way. So small businesses take it in the neck against the big businesses that can dodge their taxes through this complicated scam.

And even some big American domestic companies, like Rhode Island-based CVS, which are all-American companies, which don't fake their profits to be coming from Bermuda or the Cayman Islands or Singapore or wherever else, they suffer too because they are in competition with the big multinationals that are playing shell-and-pea games with their profits to hide it from the IRS.

So here is the racket: One, you overcharge Americans. Two, you use the money that you earn from overcharging Americans to come to Congress and buy massive amounts of influence and get the Republican Party to do exactly what you want. And what you want is stage 3, the tax scam that lets you pretend you are making money offshore when you are really not, and then you save money by not having to pay taxes. And then you keep overcharging Americans, you keep buying Congress, and you keep the tax scam going. It is rinse and repeat, and the big losers are Americans.

Where it comes home is where the chairman did his outstanding work for Pfizer. And \$20 billion is what Pfizer sold in drugs in America; \$20 billion is what Pfizer sold in drugs overseas. They charged more to Americans because pharma charges more to Americans. We know that. And yet Pfizer told the IRS that all—all of its profits came from offshore—all of it—and, as a result, they got a huge, huge tax dodge.

So whether it is AbbVie or whether it is Pfizer or whether it is the industry as a whole, we need to shut down this tax racket. It is not serving anyone. It costs American jobs, it is unfair to small businesses, and it cheats the regular taxpayers who pay their taxes honestly and can't pretend that the revenue they made off American customers is somehow magically appearing out of the Cayman Islands or some other foreign hideaway.

I thank Chairman WYDEN for his amazing work.

Mr. WYDEN. Well said, Senator WHITEHOUSE.

And I want to get my colleagues into this. Next in order of appearance is Senator VAN HOLLEN.

Once again, I want everybody to understand that the four of us are going to continue to go after this colossal tax avoidance until it gets fixed, because the American people are getting ripped off.

Senator VAN HOLLEN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, I want to thank Senator WYDEN for bringing us together to shine a spotlight on one of the biggest tax heists in American history: the huge 2017 Trump tax giveaway to the very rich and the biggest corporations that came at the expense of everybody else in America

because everybody else in America has to pick up the tab for that giveaway to big corporations and the very rich. And that tax heist played out right here on the Senate floor.

So why are we gathered here today to talk about something that happened here 8 years ago? The answer is because it is about to happen all over again. In fact, this time, it may be on steroids. And the American people need to know what will go down right here on the Senate floor in a matter of months if we don't stop it.

So let's take a look at what Donald Trump and Republicans in Congress promised 8 years ago when they passed their big tax giveaway for the rich and then look at what actually happened. They promised that tax cuts to the very rich would trickle down and somehow benefit everybody else in the country. It didn't happen. They promised that it would generate so much new economic activity that it would pay for itself, but that didn't happen. It added \$1.5 trillion to our national debt, and if you extend that out another 10 years, that will be another \$5.5 trillion on the debt.

They promised that if they gave these benefits to big corporations, like Pfizer and others in the pharmaceutical industry, they would use their tax savings to provide raises of \$4,000, on average, to all of their workers. It didn't happen.

I will tell you who did get big bonuses. It was the CEOs and the executives.

And they promised that they would use their savings—that the corporations would use another part of their savings—to reinvest in plants and equipment and, therefore, help the whole economy. It didn't happen. What those big corporations did was use a lot of their tax savings for stock buybacks to jack up the price of their own stock.

This plan that they passed—the Trump tax plan passed 8 years ago—did something else. It provided that mechanism to help some of the biggest corporations in America duck their tax obligations to the American people by shipping their profits overseas and engaging in all sorts of scams, and today we have even more evidence of that fact.

I want to again thank Senator WYDEN and his team on the Senate Finance Committee staff for the report he is presenting today because it is one of several reports he has done to expose how Big Pharma exploits the tax provisions of the 2017 Trump tax giveaway to magically make their profits from selling drugs here in the United States disappear. Somehow, all of those profits made here disappear when it comes time to pay taxes, and that is how they miraculously reduce the amount of taxes they have to pay.

And this report that Senator WYDEN and his team put together shows that this round-tripping scheme is how they do it—"round-tripping" meaning you make your revenues here in the United

States, at least 50 percent of the revenues in the case of Pfizer sales, but somehow, when it comes time to pay your taxes, you have taken those profits and filtered them through all sorts of overseas schemes and entities to reduce that tax liability dramatically.

What the report shows is that while 50 percent of Pfizer's revenues are generated here in the United States, when it comes to booking its income for tax purposes, they show zero profit on their U.S. operations and, by playing that game, dramatically reduce their overall tax liability.

This was facilitated by the 2017 Trump tax cuts, and it has allowed Pfizer to reduce its tax obligations by billions of dollars, cut its taxes by a whopping 40 percent—a whopping 40 percent—since that Trump tax scam was passed.

And while big corporations win, everyone else loses. You know, American families, they can't use this round-tripping scheme. You can't somehow erase the taxes you owe on the earnings you make by running your earnings through various offshore schemes.

Small businesses in America can't erase their American-based tax profits by using these round-tripping schemes, but the Donald Trump tax scam allows big corporations like Pfizer to do exactly that. By doing that, they have reduced their overall effective tax in the pharmaceutical industry to about 11 percent, far less than the rates paid by most middle-class families in America.

When Big Pharma and big corporations shortchange America on the taxes they pay, they shortchange every citizen of this country. It means they are contributing less to modernize our infrastructure, less for public schools, less for our common defense. They become free riders on everybody else.

So that is why we are here on the floor to blow the whistle. I will just close with this: I have said this before, but I am going to say it again because we are heading toward our big debate here on this issue.

And that is, when on Inauguration Day, just down the hall here, President Trump was sworn in, he talked about a new golden age for America. Come to find out that when he is talking about a golden age, he is talking about a golden age for the people who were sitting right behind him on that platform when he was sworn in: Elon Musk and the billionaires. There are more billionaires in the Trump Cabinet than at any time in American history by far.

And so on the campaign trail, Donald Trump says he wants to go after the elites. On the campaign trail, he says: I am going to look out for the forgotten Americans. Well, I will tell you what: He has forgotten Americans unless they happen to be a big corporation or the head of a big corporation.

This is the big betrayal in action, and we are going to witness this big betrayal in action even more in the coming months here on the Senate floor if we don't stop it.

I want to thank Senator WYDEN and his team for exposing exactly what will happen if we don't stop it.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, I thank my colleague. Once again, you can hear his expertise in the Ways and Means Committee and the body on these issues, and I thank him for his leadership.

A new member of the Finance Committee, Senator WELCH, is here and he will have some remarks and then I will wrap up.

Senator WELCH.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. WELCH. Thank you, Senator WYDEN.

Mr. President, when I talk to Vermonters, as I am sure when you talk to Tennesseans, everyday, hard-working people at the end of the month are struggling to pay their bills. It is expensive.

And people are working really hard, but the cost of things is going up. Taxes are eating into their paychecks, and they don't understand how it is they can work so hard—many families, it is two people working—and they still can't pay their bills.

There is a suspicion among a lot of folks I talk to that there is something wrong, and it is kind of a rigged situation. What we are talking about today proves that the suspicion that Vermonters have about things being rigged, they are right.

The second point I want to make at the outset is this issue, this specific example, provides such clarity that some of the worst things that cause the most suffering and the most economic insecurity are totally legal—totally wrong, by the way, but legal.

What did we find out with the Wyden report? We found that a major U.S. pharmaceutical company was able to make sales of \$20 billion of its product in 2019 and report zero income—zero in profits here in this country.

What that ultimately means is that what Pfizer paid for taxes—despite this extraordinary profit, they paid less than the mailroom clerk pays in Social Security. They paid less than the pharmacist at the drugstore who dispenses the prescriptions. They paid less than the delivery drivers who may have brought these prescriptions to a person's home. They paid less than the employees of Pfizer, whether it was a lab technician or a clerk or anyone at that company.

So Vermonters asked me: Wait a minute. How is this \$20 billion in sales, extraordinarily profitable company—yet under the legal use of the Tax Code, they are able to report zero? Well, this is where, as much as I condemn Pfizer for manipulating and taking advantage of these legal loopholes, I say the U.S. Senate and the U.S. Congress bears enormous responsibility for allowing this legal loophole to be used.

Pfizer and every profitable company should pay their fair share of taxes.

That is all we are talking about. So when Vermonters, at the end of the month, are trying to look at how they are going to pay their bills if their checkbook balance won't cover it, and they think the system is rigged, they are right.

One of the ways for us to unrig it is to attack this legal use of the Tax Code that was passed by this Congress.

Now, this is worse than just the Tax Code because other provisions have made Pfizer so profitable courtesy of the taxpayer. One of their major drugs, Eliquis, \$791 million of taxpayer money was used in the research and development of it. Pfizer has that, been immensely profitable, and by the way, it is a good drug. It helps with strokes, but it is a wicked price.

So here in the United States, if you are buying that drug, that costs \$7,100. In Canada, it is 900 bucks. In Japan, it is \$940; the United Kingdom, \$760; in France, \$650.

So Vermonters ask me: Wait a minute. Our taxpayer dollars went into helping Pfizer develop that drug, \$791 million, and we have to pay six, seven, eight times here in the United States than Pfizer sells it in other countries that are our peers? They think that is wrong, and so do I.

Then you think about the protection that this Congress gives to intellectual property, and rightly so, where that pricing power that goes along with getting a patent is so abused in this country that it inflicts enormous economic hardship on individuals who have to buy it directly, on taxpayers who fund it through Medicare and Medicaid, and on our employers who really care about their employees and they want to provide employer-sponsored healthcare, but those premiums keep going up and up and up because of the pharma prices, and it means the raises are flat. That is not right.

Then you have the fact that for pharma, we have created, as we should, publicly financed healthcare—Medicare, Medicaid—and employer-sponsored. So you have a situation for the pharmaceutical industry, and we are talking specifically now about Pfizer, where they get a guaranteed market: Medicare, Medicaid, employer-sponsored. They get a patent and then abuse the pricing power that goes along with it and stick it to Americans, despite the fact that American taxpayers funded so much of the basic research that went into developing this product they put out on the market. Then they end up with a tax code, courtesy of the U.S. Congress, that allows them to do what no corner drugstore could ever do; basically say that the sales they made weren't really made at the corner in Burlington, VT, they were made at the corner in Singapore.

Oh, and by the way, Pfizer worked out a deal with Singapore to get preferential tax treatment. And when they were asked, What was that agreement, they had a nondisclosure agreement

with Singapore to conceal from legitimate investigation about their tax liability, what that deal was.

So this is really shocking. But if any of us wonder why everyday folks who are showing up to do their job in all of their places of employment in your State and mine and then at the end of the month, despite all their hard work, are having trouble paying their utility bill and they just wonder, Is this system rigged, they are right. Exhibit A is what has been exposed in this report by the Senate Finance Committee and Senator WYDEN.

Mr. WYDEN. Senator WELCH, thank you for your leadership. It is great to have you on this committee.

Mr. President, to wrap up, our investigation has found that Pfizer has carried out what could be the largest tax-dodging scheme in the history of Big Pharma. This Big Pharma rip-off is exactly what Republican Senators should be rooting out in their upcoming tax bill.

Instead, it looks like Senate Republicans may lock this outrage in permanently. All Americans who believe in tax fairness should join us in fighting any extension of this tax boondoggle.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. RES. 146

Mrs. BLACKBURN. Mr. President, there can be no doubt, Elon Musk is a patriot. He has revolutionized entire industries, whether it is PayPal, Tesla, SpaceX, Neuralink. Across his businesses, there are so many things that he could be working on, but when President Trump asked him to join the administration, he answered that call. He said yes, and he committed himself to serving the American people and helping get this fiscal house in order.

In many ways, he is tackling one of the biggest threats to our Nation's sovereignty, and that is our debt—\$36 trillion in debt. He understands that our fiscal path is unsustainable. And today we are spending more money to service our debt than to fund our entire military.

As this debt grows, it will become more and more difficult to fund basic government functions. That is why he is leading the Department of Government Efficiency, trying to rein in reckless spending and to get this country back on the track to fiscal health.

Now, so far DOGE has had a lot of success. In just 2 months, they have identified \$130 billion in potential savings by eliminating waste, fraud, and abuse across the Federal Government. They hope that that number—and they fully expect that number—to reach \$2 trillion by the time we get to Independence Day next year, which, by the way, will be our 250th birthday.

Every American should be applauding this effort. Our children and grandchildren's future depends on a free America.

But because he has been helping President Trump, he has become a tar-

get for the radical left, which has launched a domestic terrorism campaign against his company Tesla. In Las Vegas, suspects set Tesla vehicles on fire with Molotov cocktails; in Oregon, a man shot up a Tesla dealership; and across the country, Tesla owners have had their cars destroyed with arson and vandalism.

Now, some of these Democrat-aligned groups are organizing a "Global Day of Action" on Saturday to target Tesla. The reason for this campaign is simple.

In November, the American people rejected the left's radical agenda. They said: Enough of this. Well, our friends across the aisle have lost the debate, but instead of making a better pitch to voters, they are trying to stop Republicans with violence and intimidation.

The Democrats spent the last 4 years denouncing domestic terrorism and supporting EVs, yet now they are eerily silent. And when they do comment, they celebrate Tesla's setbacks. Tim Walz, Democrats' failed VP candidate, claimed he gets a daily boost from checking on Tesla's stock price, which has declined amid the terrorism campaign.

Democrat ally and late-night host Jimmy Kimmel seemed to endorse the violence, sarcastically telling his audience:

Don't ever vandalize Tesla vehicles.

Last week, Democrat Congresswoman JASMINE CROCKETT said all she wants for her birthday is to "see Elon taken down." This rhetoric is inexcusable. And as the world's greatest legislative body, we should jointly condemn political violence. That is why I am asking for unanimous consent to pass the resolution that condemns the horrific acts of violence, arson, and domestic terrorism committed against Tesla dealerships and facilities. There is no reason why Democrats should oppose this resolution.

Mr. President, as if in legislative session, and notwithstanding rule XXII, I ask unanimous consent the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 146, which is at the desk; further, I ask that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object. Listen, come on, this resolution is not about violence or domestic terrorism. It just isn't.

This is a resolution that says one thing and one thing only: Elon Musk is in charge. He matters more than anybody else. Musk is subject to a different set of rules than everybody else. The Trump administration serves him, not us. The Republican Party serves him, not us.

Elon Musk, right now, is effectively stealing from the American people. He is combing through our government,

awarding himself contracts and canceling contracts for his competitors. He is shutting down Agencies that stand in the way of his business, its growth.

He is giving himself access to secret information about government enforcement actions against his competitors. He is also, at the same time, currently the largest funder of Republican politics in the Nation.

He spent a quarter of a billion dollars backing President Trump's campaign. He recently told the President that he would contribute another \$100 million to the President's political arm.

And guess what? At that same time, the President stood on the White House lawn to give a taxpayer-funded commercial for Elon Musk's cars. That is corruption at a scale that we have not seen before in this country: the integration of the Trump White House and the Republican Party and the business interests of the richest man in the world. It is wrong.

Now, this resolution claims to say something about domestic terrorism, but the only terrorism, the only violence it mentions is violence carried out against—you guessed it—Elon Musk.

On an annual basis, there are 11,000 reported incidents of domestic terrorism—11,000. Only a handful of them impact Tesla dealerships, but they are the only acts of violence mentioned in this resolution. And 52 percent of the reported attacks were based on racial or ethnic targeting by radicalized attackers, but they aren't mentioned in this resolution.

Only Elon Musk is mentioned in this resolution because a different set of rules applies to him, because he is in charge and he deserves protection that no one else gets. He deserves a White House TV commercial for his cars. He deserves to give himself contracts and steal from his competitors. He deserves to have his own resolution.

And people are asking why? Why does the richest man in the country get this special treatment? To most people, it feels pretty fishy. It definitely feels wrong.

Now, I hate violence of any kind, whether it is perpetrated against right, left, or center. I have spent my life on this floor fighting violence, but I also hate inconsistency.

So I am going to make my colleague a pretty reasonable offer here. At the same time that President Trump is saying that he is going to vigorously pursue people that attack Tesla dealerships, he is giving pardons to the people who beat the hell out of Capitol Police officers. So I don't think that we should consent to a resolution that says we care about violence but only when it is committed against the business interests of the richest man in the world.

And I have a way to solve that problem. Senator MURRAY has a really simple resolution, a resolution that expresses our disapproval of the pardons

that were issued for the very specific set of individuals who on January 6 brutally attacked Capitol Police officers. Now, I understand that many of my Republican colleagues think the people who trespassed here shouldn't have been prosecuted. Let's set aside that disagreement.

This resolution just says that the specific set of people who viciously attacked police officers—the ones that hit the police officers over the head with metal poles—that those people shouldn't have been given a “Get Out of Jail Free” card. And so why don't we just be consistent? Why don't we say that violence matters when it is committed against Elon Musk's dealerships, and it matters when it is committed against the people that protect us?

And so my offer is to just pass both resolutions, right now, right now. We could just agree by unanimous consent to your resolution, and we could agree as a body that you shouldn't pardon the people who brutally beat the people who show up every day to protect us. They matter too. Elon Musk isn't the only person that matters. Capitol Police officers matter too.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. RES. 42

Mr. President, so I would ask the Senator to modify her request to add the following: that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from further consideration and the Senate now proceed to S. Res. 42, a resolution condemning the pardons for individuals who were found guilty of assaulting Capitol Police officers, that the resolution be agreed to, and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

If we agree to move forward on this unanimous consent, I think we can move forward on the Senator's request as well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MORENO). Is there objection to the modification?

Mrs. BLACKBURN. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is heard.

Is there an objection to the original request?

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, there is.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mrs. BLACKBURN. Mr. President, to speak on my objection, I think it is important to note that the resolution I presented does not mention Elon Musk. The “Resolved” title in this—and by the way, it is really short is that the Senate condemns the horrific acts of violence, arson, and domestic terrorism committed against electric vehicles, car dealerships, and charging stations across the United States.

Now, for years, my Democratic colleagues have come to the floor and supported EVs. Just last year, my colleague from Connecticut claimed, and I quote him, “if we want to cut emissions and save the planet, we need more electric cars on the road.”

And as domestic terrorists target the largest EV company in the world, they refuse to condemn the violent actions. And in the past, he has also condemned vandalism and political violence.

Now, as BLM rioters rampaged through American cities in the summer of 2020, he posted on X that “Looting and property damage is bad.”

He deleted that post, but I will give him credit, his sentiment was right. And after an assassin's bullet almost took the life of then-Candidate Trump, he said:

There is no room in America for political violence.

He was right on that quote. And as we see a wave of political violence in our country today, Democrats should have no problem condemning it.

Now, to the resolution from my colleague in Washington, I find it interesting that they want to talk about lawlessness. For years, they pushed policies that weaken law enforcement and promote crime.

As BLM rioters rampaged through Seattle in 2020, my colleague called on the Department of Homeland Security to remove Federal agents from the city who were trying to quell the unrest.

The U.S. Senate should be able to stand up to violence and support law and order. And today, they are stopping us from doing that.

And when it comes to pardons, I think we should talk about pardons. In his final weeks in office, President Biden abused his pardon power to protect family members, free violent criminals, and make our country less safe.

For years, President Biden claimed he would not pardon his son Hunter; yet, in December, Biden gave him an unconditional pardon for any Federal crimes he may have committed over the course of a decade.

Such an abuse of Presidential pardon power has never happened in our Nation's history. Just months before, Hunter had been convicted of Federal gun crimes and tax offenses totaling \$1.4 million. At the same time, evidence continued to mount that Hunter sold access to his father in foreign countries, including China and Russia. This was a multimillion-dollar influence peddling scheme and a Biden family affair.

That is why just minutes before leaving office, the former President also pardoned his siblings and their spouses. They joined more than 8,000 people who received pardons and commutations from Joe Biden, including many violent criminals and murderers.

With one foot out the door, before leaving office, he commuted the death sentences of 37 of the 40 men on Federal death row, including—get this—Thomas Sanders, who kidnapped and then shot a 12-year-old girl, and he cut her throat. That is who Joe Biden decided to commute a sentence on. Anthony Battle, who murdered an Atlanta prison guard with a hammer in 1994 while serving a life sentence for

raping and murdering his wife. And Kaboni Savage, who was convicted of committing and ordering the deaths of not 1 person or 2, 12 people—12 people, including 4 little children.

If we should be condemning any pardons, we should start with violent criminals. To be clear, Senate Republicans strongly oppose any violence, especially toward our Nation's brave law enforcement. Our resolution states that all acts of violence are entirely unacceptable in the United States. I would encourage my colleagues to join me in passing this resolution. Instead, they have decided to play games with a sham counter resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I have been unequivocal in saying: In this country, we use our voices and our votes—not violence—to advocate for change. I have said it many times. I will say it many times more. And I say it today.

But you are sorely mistaken if you think I am going to sit here feet away from our Capitol Police officers and let the Senate say we stand by the richest men on the planet before saying we stand by the men and women who keep us safe every single day.

Where is the solidarity for our officers here? And where, by the way, is the plaque that Congress passed into law honoring their sacrifice on January 6?

Do I have to march down to Speaker JOHNSON's office, put it up on my own? You can hang it on my door. You just bring up the plaque; I will go get the nails and do it myself because I am not going to let anyone ever erase this history, and I am not going to let them paper it over with outrage on behalf of the richest man in the world.

I have no problem condemning violence. I will do that any day of the week. I condemn attacks on our car owners and salespeople. I condemn destroying other people's personal property. This is not a new position for me. But you will have to excuse me if I don't take some Republicans seriously when they make this big show about law and order at the same time they are letting this President stab law enforcement in the back. I am not going to let Republicans get by selling a charade not weeks after they voted to freeze funding levels for law enforcement in a bill—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Your time is expired.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. MURRAY. I am not going to let some Republicans get by selling a charade not weeks after they voted to freeze funding levels for law enforcement in a bill where House Republicans slashed DC's budget for police officers; not months after Trump tried to halt COPS grants and many Republicans

didn't breathe a word about it; not when Trump is still in the middle of firing just about as many Federal law enforcement workers as he can get away with; and certainly not when some of my Republican colleagues are still ignoring how our lawless President continues to champion the very people who attacked our Capitol Police.

Just this week, mere days ago, President Trump speculated about compensating people who committed crimes on January 6, about rewarding their violence with taxpayer dollars. Where is that outrage? Where is the condemnation? What are some of you waiting for?

Don't you try for a single second to say: Oh, he is not talking about the violent ones. You all know better. We know better. Remember when you tried to say that about pardons? Remember how that worked out? Trump pardoned people who violently attacked police. They are back on the streets—except for the ones who already committed new crimes.

I don't know how my colleagues keep forgetting what happened on January 6. I don't know how on Earth it is not burned into their memories. But President Trump is talking about people who attacked this building, our offices, our staff, our democracy. He is talking about people who smashed windows in that we walk by every day, people who brought bats and weapons to the halls where we meet our constituents, people who beat the Capitol Police who keep us safe every day, the Capitol Police who are standing guard even now, who sit right outside this Chamber.

These are violent criminals, and President Trump is talking about them like heroes. He wants us to write them a check. Over my dead body, Mr. President. And I am going to say it again and again.

Unlike some of my Republican colleagues, I will say the same for the people who burn Teslas and for the people who smash windows here at the Capitol.

I am tired of watching this. I know our constituents are. We need to demand that Speaker JOHNSON hang that plaque that he—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time is expired.

Mrs. MURRAY. It is not too much to ask, and I hope this body recognizes that violence is violence, and we should condemn the attacks on January 6.

I yield the floor.

VOTE ON LAWRENCE NOMINATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Lawrence nomination?

Mr. CRAMER. 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. BARRASSO. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. KENNEDY) and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. ROUNDS).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS) and the Senator from New York (Mr. SCHUMER) are necessarily absent.

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

[Rollcall Vote No. 155 Ex.]

YEAS—51

Banks	Fischer	Moran
Barrasso	Graham	Moreno
Blackburn	Grassley	Mullin
Boozman	Hagerty	Murkowski
Britt	Hawley	Paul
Budd	Hoeven	Ricketts
Capito	Husted	Risch
Cassidy	Hyde-Smith	Schmitt
Collins	Johnson	Scott (FL)
Cornyn	Justice	Scott (SC)
Cotton	Lankford	Sheehy
Cramer	Lee	Sullivan
Crapo	Lummis	Thune
Cruz	Marshall	Tillis
Curtis	McConnell	Tuberville
Daines	McCormick	Wicker
Ernst	Moody	Young

NAYS—45

Alsobrooks	Heinrich	Peters
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	Reed
Bennet	Hirono	Rosen
Blumenthal	Kaine	Schatz
Blunt Rochester	Kelly	Schiff
Booker	Kim	Shaheen
Cantwell	King	Slotkin
Coons	Klobuchar	Smith
Cortez Masto	Lujan	Van Hollen
Duckworth	Markey	Warner
Durbin	Merkley	Warnock
Fetterman	Murphy	Warren
Gallego	Murray	Welch
Gillibrand	Ossoff	Whitehouse
Hassan	Padilla	Wyden

NOT VOTING—4

Kennedy	Sanders
Rounds	Schumer

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MULLIN). 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 action.

The majority leader.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I move to proceed to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 40.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Matthew Whitaker, of Iowa, to be United States Permanent Representative on the

Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 40, Matthew Whitaker, of Iowa, to be United States Permanent Representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

John Thune, Katie Boyd Britt, Bernie Moreno, Mike Rounds, Tom Cotton, Markwayne Mullin, John Barrasso, Cindy Hyde-Smith, Rick Scott of Florida, John Hoeven, Roger Marshall, Thom Tillis, Jim Justice, Tim Sheehy, James Lankford, Joni Ernst, John R. Curtis.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, right now, we have a couple of billionaires running our country straight into the ground and who seem to have skipped American history because President Trump and Elon Musk don't seem to care much about our Constitution, including the part that says quite clearly:

The Congress shall have Power to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States.

It continues:

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law.

Well, their lack of interest in that section of the Constitution doesn't make it any less real at all. You don't have to take my word for it; it is right down the street at the National Archives. You can go read it yourself. I would invite our billionaire "co-Presidents" to go take a look. Stand in line with the schoolkids who are on trips. Read up on the separation of powers. You can even explain to the students there why you are gutting the Department of Education while you are at it.

Just in case Trump and Musk struggle as much with reading comprehension as history, let me translate for you what the Constitution says. Congress—that is us, everyone elected here—has the power of the purse. Presidents don't write laws; they execute them. That has been true for every spending bill this body has ever passed, including the House Republicans' year-long CR.

The basic fact that Congress has the power of the purse is something Republicans and Democrats agree on, and it

won't change no matter what Trump or Russ Vought or Elon Musk claims. Their legal theories are plain outlandish, and so are their facts. If you listen to them, they argue that Presidents have been impounding funds routinely. That is wrong. The opposite is true. Presidents have traditionally followed the law and followed the legal directives in spending bills.

When Nixon tried to block just a fraction of the amount of funding Trump is now blocking, Congress passed the Impoundment Control Act on a truly overwhelming bipartisan basis. In fact, it cleared this Senate unanimously.

So while the Constitution may be the first word on Congress's power of the purse, this foundational principle has been affirmed time and again by the courts and by Congress. The law affirms what we have long known—Presidents cannot pick and choose which parts of the spending laws to follow—and it lays out a clear procedure for the President to propose to Congress either delaying or rescinding funding.

The Impoundment Control Act is still the law of the land. The Constitution is still the foundation of this democracy. Congress still has the power of the purse, and for some of the House Republicans who seem to have forgotten, that power is a critical part of how all of us—how we fight for our constituents.

As lawmakers, we allocate funding to solve problems, to make lives better, to make our country safer with things like new bridges to safely get to work or with affordable healthcare or childcare, with clean drinking water, with a strong national defense, with personnel who keep planes flying safely overhead and keep toxins out of our food supply, and so much more.

When Congress passes legislation to make all of those priorities real and the President signs it into law, it needs to be followed. That is how it works in this democracy.

You don't like the law, come to win the votes in Congress and change it. But I am here today on the floor because we all know too well this President is not doing that. He and the richest man in the world are defying our laws. They are hurting our constituents, and they are seeking to enrich themselves in that process.

For over 2 months now, President Trump has been illegally choking off huge chunks of funding. We are talking about hundreds of billions of dollars—holding up investments in everything from new roads and bridges to cheaper energy, to stronger national security.

Back in my home State of Washington, the reports keep rolling in about how President Trump is causing havoc by illegally blocking funds.

Last week, I heard from a lumber company that is struggling to cover a loan, given its Federal grant for solar power has now been frozen for months.

Earlier this week, my office heard about a terminated Spokane project fo-

cused on environmental restoration, stormwater management, and millions of dollars being canceled for Tribal public health efforts in my State alone.

I have no doubt the fallout will continue next week because Trump keeps freezing more funding, ripping up more contracts, and ignoring our laws. It has to end.

All of us—every one of us—wants a better working, more efficient government that delivers for people. But what Trump and Musk are doing has nothing to do with efficiency or with helping people. They are breaking the law and ripping the rug out from underneath families and American businesses, all while working overtime to pass more tax breaks for billionaires like themselves. This lawlessness has to end.

I am hopeful, in this Chamber, we get back to regular order and pass actual bipartisan bills, full-year bills. We cannot let what happened with House Republicans' awful CR happen ever again. We have got to ensure that our constituents—our constituents, each and every one of us—have their voices heard by getting a full-year spending bill reflecting current needs and getting it across the finish line. And those bills need to be bipartisan. That is the bare minimum, and it is not too much to ask.

I have worked with Republicans for years—for years—on bipartisan spending bills. During my time as Appropriations chair, I worked with Senator COLLINS from the other side of the aisle and our colleagues on the committee on both sides of the aisle to hammer out strong, bipartisan bills 2 years in a row—bills that passed out of our committee in overwhelming bipartisan votes, many of them unanimously. So I know well it is absolutely possible to work together, and it is worthwhile.

Is it easy? Of course not. But you look at the bills we wrote together, and you look at the disaster of a bill that House Republicans wrote on their own, and the difference is night and day.

I am not just talking about the difference in huge, painful cuts from the House Republican bill. I am also talking about the huge incompetence House Republicans displayed.

They wrote a bill that slashed DC's own budget by \$1 billion for no reason. The Senate has now passed a bill to fix the inexcusable cut to DC's own funds—their own funds. But if the House does not act quickly now to pass the Senate bill and fix that mistake, House Republicans will force DC to fire teachers, to fire police officers, and more, by the way, without saving taxpayers a dime.

That is just one—one—of the many glaring issues with the House Republicans' partisan CR, which I spoke about at length when I cast my vote against it. And I stand proudly by that vote today.

Republicans should not write a bill without me and expect me just to vote for it. That is not how this ever works. We should not accept a false choice of

accepting House Republicans' poison pills or facing a shutdown; otherwise, that poison is only going to get more bitter each time.

The choice we have to talk about instead is this: Will we work together in a bipartisan way to fund the government and invest in the places that we represent or will House Republicans cut us out, go on their own, and cause a shutdown?

We have to start looking ahead to fiscal year 2026 and working on those bipartisan funding bills. I am focused on making sure that what happened earlier this month absolutely does not happen again because let me be absolutely clear: If Republicans draft another funding bill in September with zero Democratic input and that bill fails to pass the Senate because Democrats do not vote for it, that is on Republicans. That is Republicans forcing a shutdown. Period.

I represent nearly 8 million people in the State of Washington. I am not offering up my vote in exchange for nothing—and, actually, in the case of House Republicans' CR, worse than nothing, given how it will now be used against Democrats.

So I am absolutely not going to stop making this point. Democrats should not offer up our votes in exchange for exactly nothing. I will be making that argument loud and clear for everyone to hear.

We need to be focused on negotiating bipartisan bills that give our communities strong investments instead of devastating cuts. We need to ensure that our constituents have a voice in this process.

Colleagues, understand this: Passing full-year, bipartisan spending bills, that is my top priority—those spending bills that carry the full authority of Congress on how we spend taxpayer dollars, that carry forward the priorities our constituents tell us about. That is my top priority. That is the most important guardrail we can place on an administration that looks to punish people they disagree with and strip funding from priorities like Army Corps dam repairs or public transportation projects or from public schools and universities.

As we write those bills, we need transparency. We need to understand the reality on the ground of what this administration and DOGE are actually doing. Who is calling the shots over there? What programs are functional at this point? Where do we have enough staff to even carry out the mission of specific Agencies or to faithfully follow congressional intent?

We need a hearing with Elon Musk and whoever else is running DOGE. We need hearings with Department heads. Whatever form it takes, we need answers on what has been going on; we need an end to the lawlessness that is happening; and we need transparency that is sorely lacking.

I don't know when that became controversial. Isn't DOGE supposed to be

all about accountability? Isn't it supposed to be all about transparency?

So let's get to it. Let's show the American people exactly what Trump is doing. What is the problem with that?

After all, it is not like it is meant to be a secret. Project 2025 was a public playbook, and it is clear they are following it to the letter.

Before he returned as OMB Director, Russ Vought made clear he wanted to ignore our laws and "Impound, Baby, Impound!" That is a direct quote from the general counsel, by the way. He said it, "Impound, Baby, Impound!"

I even asked him about it directly: Will you follow our laws or just toss them out in the dumpster? And he wouldn't give us a straight yes. He wouldn't, why? Because he already laid out his plans in black and white. His plan: Break the law, block funds that Congress passed, dare the courts to stop him. And, shocker, the guy who made it clear he is willing to go break laws and block funding is breaking laws, and he is blocking funding.

President Trump and Musk have made their intentions just as clear, not just ignoring our laws but ignoring court orders to uphold our laws and attacking our judges and our judicial system every time they don't get their way.

Just this week, we saw new, blatantly illegal acts from the Trump administration. First, OMB removed a website that provides transparency by displaying how it directs Agencies to apportion—or spend—Federal funding. That website is not optional. It is in the statute. And OMB was complying with a requirement that was passed by us, by Congress.

This is a cut-and-dry case. OMB must publish the Agency's legally binding budget decisions. We passed that language on a bipartisan basis because our constituents deserve transparency, and they deserve accountability for how their money is being spent.

But the only thing transparent about this administration is how transparently illegal their actions are because the same day they illegally shut down and shut the American people out of seeing what they are doing, they also blocked funding that House Republicans continued in their own CR and that the President Trump himself actually just signed into law.

Trump wants to illegally cherry-pick what gets funding that we passed and what gets left in the dust. Well, for one thing, that is straight up against the law—open-and-shut case; for another, it fundamentally erodes our democracy, the trust that people and businesses and local and State governments across the country place in the Federal Government, and, of course, our ability to negotiate bipartisan deals here in Congress. And let's not lose sight of the fact that it is bad for our country, and it is bad for our constituents.

There is a reason we passed the emergency funds. But President Trump is

choking off critical investments to combat the flow of fentanyl. He is slashing support for U.S. national security initiatives. He is weakening the competitiveness of U.S. business. He is setting back next-generation weather forecasting and more.

That still is not all because the very next day, we learned he wants to illegally freeze tens of millions of dollars in title X funding. That is a program with a long bipartisan history that helps women get cancer screenings, get birth control, pregnancy tests, prevent and treat STIs.

Last time, President Trump tried to do that through rulemaking, but now that he is throwing the law out the window entirely, he thinks he can do it with the stroke of a pen.

I have to underscore, these are just the most recent examples. Everything I just talked about happened just this week. This is the latest in a long trail of devastation they have left behind in this ongoing parade of lawbreaking because, as I mentioned, President Trump is still—is still—blocking hundreds of billions of dollars in investments we secured for our constituents.

President Trump and Musk illegally shuttered USAID. They are illegally gutting the Department of Education. They are trying to dramatically slash medical research funding with restrictions that are in direct defiance of bipartisan language that I actually worked to negotiate with my Republican colleagues.

I could go on all day describing the damage caused by these moves and the many other funds that are now illegally being blocked, but I think the pattern is clear. They said they were going to cut funding, regardless of the consequences, regardless of the laws, regardless of the Constitution, and that is exactly what they are doing.

We here in Congress can't bury our heads in the sand while Trump, Musk, and Vought try to snatch away our power—our power, Democrats and Republicans—of the purse.

I will continue to use every tool I have as a Senator. I will use my voice. I will use my vote and more to stop this lawlessness, to stop the cuts that hurt my constituents, and to write and pass bills that actually help people.

So I really hope our Republican colleagues will work with us to craft bipartisan funding bills and to conduct basic oversight to provide accountability because it absolutely matters that we not just pass strong bipartisan funding laws but that the laws we pass are actually followed, that our constituents—every one of our constituents—actually have a say in how their tax dollars are spent, and that Congress maintains the power of the purse. And I will keep continuing to press all of my colleagues to stand with me on this.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BUDD). The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

ALASKA

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. President, like all of us, last week, I was back home in my great State—the great State of Alaska. And, actually, I try to be home every weekend, even when we are in session. But this trip back home was particularly important because I was in Juneau, AK, our State's capital, to deliver my annual address to our legislature.

We have a really great tradition in Alaska where the Senators get invited to come back and give a big address to the entire State senate, to the entire State house. Senator MURKOWSKI did it a couple of days before I did, and then I was able to do it. Then you kind of do like a little prime minister time, where the legislators get to ask you Q&A's and do a big press conference.

So it is a really important event for me. I know it is for Senator MURKOWSKI. It is certainly one of the most important speeches I give all year, and I wanted to touch on some of the themes because the themes of the speech were actually about the long history and two visions that we have in DC about the great State of Alaska—my State. And boy, oh boy, these visions are competing all the time still, and it really, really matters to the people I represent.

When one vision is kind of ascendant—and I will talk about that—my constituents really get harmed. That is the national Democrat vision for Alaska, which is the shutdown of Alaska. When the Republican vision is ascendant—and now we have President Trump, who is really, really focused on actually helping Alaska, unleashing Alaska's economy—then we do well.

This has been going on for decades, and I feel very passionate about it because it really impacts the day-in and day-out lives of the people I am so privileged to represent.

So let me just mention these competing visions in a little bit more detail. You have one vision, like I said, where there is this historical belief that Alaska would do better continuing as almost a territory run by an absent Federal landlord who protects us, occasionally gives scraps from the national wealth of America's table to our constituents back home, but they are not focused on truly unleashing the private sector opportunities and jobs and economy for Alaskans.

Of course, this gets debated all the time and litigated all the time. We are one of the few States that have several very specific, large, complex Federal pieces of legislation that often get litigated and, of late, have gone all the way up to the U.S. Supreme Court. I want to talk about one of those because it really lays out the entire kind of debate, back-and-forth.

In 1980, the Congress—over the objection of most Alaskans, by the way—passed a law called the Alaska National Interest Lands Conversation Act—that is a mouthful; it is called ANILCA back home—which has had a huge impact on my State.

ANILCA federalized over 100 million acres of land in Alaska. Can you imagine that? That is as big as California. The Fed said: Guess what, Alaska, we are taking it over.

Since that time—1980; that was Jimmy Carter; we didn't like that—Federal Agencies have interpreted ANILCA, and they have often interpreted ANILCA to say—the Federal Agencies—our role is to shut down Alaska, to not provide access to the lands, access to the resources. That is the way the Federal Government—especially when Democrats are in power—has interpreted ANILCA.

But we just had actually not one but two U.S. Supreme Court cases interpreting ANILCA. The case is called *Sturgeon v. the Department of the Interior—Sturgeon I and Sturgeon II*—where the U.S. Supreme Court, 9 to 0, said: Now, wait a minute, Federal Agencies. Wait a minute, Democrats and Congress. Alaska is different. Alaska is the exception. Federal Agencies, you can't just go and shut down Alaska the way you think you can with other Federal lands.

Justice Kagan actually wrote the opinion in *Sturgeon II* and captured the principle that is at stake in so many of the specific litigation cases my State deals with.

The lower 48 what we call ecocolonialists—the radical, far-left environmental groups—sue on everything in Alaska. You want to try to build a sidewalk in Alaska? You will have 13 environmental groups sue to stop. You can build a sidewalk in Connecticut. You can build a sidewalk in New Jersey. You try to build anything in Alaska, and here they come litigating.

Well the Supreme Court said: Whoa, whoa, whoa. Federal Agencies, all these environmental groups, under ANILCA—that involved a great Alaskan. I know him well. John Sturgeon. He wanted to go moose hunting, and the Fed said: You can't go in a certain area. He was on a hovercraft to go moose hunting in a certain area of Alaska. He knew his rights. He was cited. He said: You know what, I don't believe the National Park Service has the right to cite me. I am going to appeal this citation all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Here is what Justice Kagan said—not some kind of conservative, mind you, but a good Justice: “If Sturgeon lived in any other State, his suit would not have had a prayer of success. . . . Except that Sturgeon lives in Alaska. And as we have said before”—“we,” the Supreme Court of the United States—“‘Alaska is often the exception, not the rule’” to these giant Federal lands issues.

We like those *Sturgeon I* and *Sturgeon II* cases, but I will tell you this: When you hear that Alaska is often the exception, it plays the other way too.

No offense to my friends on the other side of the aisle, but when national Democrats are in power, they often get there through the support of far-left, radical environmental groups. Those groups say, “Hey, we helped you get elected”—President Biden, President Obama, President Carter, and Senators on the other side of the aisle—“so here is what we want.” The environmental groups say, “We want to shut down Alaska.”

So guess what happens. Guess what happens. My colleagues here—the minority leader is certainly one of them—in the White House, they put a huge amount of effort into shutting down my State, killing jobs.

Throughout the decades here in DC, the national Democrats and their special interest, far-left environmental allies have not only encouraged this mindset of shutting down Alaska, they have used it for political gain and contorted it to keep my State locked up as some kind of beautiful American snow globe.

Well, we are not a snow globe. We are one of the most important States in the country, from national defense, to resources, to strategic location. Just talk to the military, talk to the Pentagon.

So this mindset has been on display for leaders of the Democratic Party for decades. It was on display, as I mentioned, when President Carter signed ANILCA in 1980. Our delegation secured some important terms and concessions, which is what Justice Kagan was talking about, when they locked up more than 100 million acres of our State. Try that anywhere else. Most States aren't even 100 million acres big.

Jimmy Carter, when he signed this legislation, said: “Public lands are Alaska's future.” I don't think anyone else has ever said that about any other States. “Public lands are Alaska's future.”

We didn't like Jimmy Carter up in Alaska for what he did to our State.

The mindset was also fully on display when we had President Obama—his last couple weeks in office, he locked up what is called the Outer Continental Shelf, the entire Outer Continental Shelf of Alaska. He said: I am going to take that off the table.

By the way, Congress said: No, you actually have to develop that. It is called the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act.

He didn't care. He said: I am taking it from Alaska. It is all coming off.

Then he said that Alaska needs to “move decisively away from fossil fuels” and that the way “to build a strong . . . economy”—this is the President of the United States—is to rely on things like “philanthropy.” Philanthropy. Charity.

Could you imagine in any other State a President saying “By the way, don't

worry about a strong economy. Don't worry about good private sector jobs for your citizens. You should rely on philanthropy”—kind of patting us on the head. Charity. Come on. Really? They do it for our State. Charity.

But, of course, this arrogant Federal landlord view of Alaska was on its most full display and reached its zenith under President Biden in what I refer to as the “Last Frontier Lock-Up.”

Do you know what this was? I mean, it is really kind of hard to believe. That is the map of it. Every part of the State, every region of the State, all the resources—by the way, particularly targeting Alaska Native people, the indigenous people of my State, great, patriotic people. Holy cow, Joe Biden, Deb Haaland—they made sure Alaskan Natives got nothing.

The whole State—here is what it was. I am going to show this for a minute. It is kind of amazing. The Last Frontier lockup was 70 Executive orders and Executive actions during the Biden administration—7-0; by the way, there would have been more, but we stopped a few of them—exclusively and uniquely focused on shutting down Alaska. Think about that. That has probably never happened in American history, that a White House comes into power and says: I am going to focus on this State, and I am going to use all our Executive authority, many of which are illegal, and I am going to use it to crush one State in the Union.

Has that ever happened? I don't think so. That is what happened with this administration. Seventy.

By the way, I was in an Oval Office meeting with President Biden when they were at 46. I handed him the lock-up. I said: Mr. President, with all due respect, I know I am in the Oval Office, I am not sure you even know what is going on with your administration. You guys have declared a war on working families in my State. Sir, with all due respect, it is not right that you are using the power of the Federal Government that you are in charge of to crush my State. Why are you doing that, Mr. President? Why are you doing that? And why are you particularly hurting the Native people? I thought you care about communities of color, indigenous people. You certainly don't in my State.

I even told him: If a Republican administration came in and issued—at the time, 46; this would be 2 years ago—46 Executive orders targeting little Delaware and you were still a Senator here, you would be on the Senate floor raising hell every day because it is wrong. You know it. My colleagues on the other side of the aisle know it. This should have never happened in any State in the country.

Do you know what else about this that was a little frustrating? Do you think there was one national media story on this from the New York Times, the Washington Post, or, heck, even the Anchorage Daily News? Not one story. Not one story.

The Federal Government using all its power to crush one State—often illegally, and I will get into that—and nobody wrote one story. Why? Because most of the media loved it. Hey, we love all these environmental groups. They want to shut down Alaska, so we are not going to say a word about it.

You wonder why people doubt the media. That is a big story. Four years. The power of the Federal Government to crush one State, and we never had anyone write about it—not just that, but they wouldn't listen. They wouldn't listen.

So a big part of these orders in Alaska were focused on this region we call the North Slope of Alaska. We have State land up here. We have ANWR. A lot of people know about ANWR for oil and gas. We have a thing called the National Petroleum Reserve of Alaska here, set aside by Congress to do what? The national Petroleum Reserve of Alaska? To develop petroleum for our country's strength and power.

This is the North Slope Borough. It is led by Inupiat indigenous people. They are tremendous people. They are patriotic. They serve in the military. They are whale hunters. They are amazing people, some of my favorite people in the whole world.

Their Tribe, their Alaska Native corporation of the borough—by the way, this is about as big as Montana; huge—they came to DC eight times, all the leaders of the North Slope. It takes a long time to get there, by the way. It is about 4 or 5,000 miles from DC.

When they heard that Joe Biden and Deb Haaland were going to do all kinds of regulations to remove their lands from any kind of productive economic use, eight times they flew all the way to DC to meet with Secretary Haaland—eight times. Do you know how many times Secretary Haaland met with my great constituents? Zero. Zero.

We held press conferences. We wrote letters: Madam Secretary, you are indigenous. These people are indigenous. You have a trust responsibility with them. How about meeting them once before you crush their economy?

Never met with them.

So talk about an arrogant, faraway landlord.

By the way, there is good news here. Some of the leaders of the North Slope Borough just last week came down and requested a meeting with the new Secretary of the Interior, Doug Burgum. He met with them for an hour and a half the first time they were in town under the Trump Administration. Eight times under Biden—nope. Sorry. We are too busy. First time for Secretary Burgum—all these great leaders—an hour and a half. That is respect.

It is not just Democrat administrations. Unfortunately, my colleagues—many of them, too many of them—weren't alone in this unprecedented lockup of our State.

Let me just give you one example. We got ANWR open, fair and square, in

2017, in the tax bill. It is in the law: Open it up. Hold lease sales. Passed it. We have been trying to get that done for 40 years.

It was bipartisan, by the way. Back home in Alaska, Democrats and Republicans, we all want this done—the Native people that live there. So that was done.

The Trump administration is going to have a lease sale. They have mandated it at the end. But in the interim, my colleagues, led by the senior Senator from New Mexico—I am going to get to that in a minute. My colleagues, in a letter—boy, there is a whole bunch of them. Do you know what they did?

My colleagues here, Democrat Senators, a bunch of them, they wrote all the insurance companies and all the big banks in America, and they said: Don't invest in Alaska. Don't invest in Alaska.

A bunch of my colleagues, after we got a law passed that we have been trying to get done for decades: Don't do it, banks and insurance companies.

A bunch, about a third of the Democrats here—that is pressure: Don't do it. We don't want you to do it.

Why? Do you know what they said? It was remarkable. Because if you develop Alaska, America won't achieve "its climate goals"—"its climate goals."

So that was Democrat Senators. By the way, no one asked me about this. They came in to crush my State about climate goals.

Now, let's just talk a little bit about hypocrisy here. That was led by the senior Senator of New Mexico.

Now, during the Biden administration, remember, they wanted to shut down Alaska. They were doing everything they could to shut down my State. We didn't increase production at all. Our oil production has been going like this.

But there is one State in America where it is "drill, baby, drill." The production of oil is through the roof. Guess what State that is. Oh my goodness, it is New Mexico—on Federal lands—when Secretary Haaland was the Secretary. Whoa, are you kidding me?

The gray here is Alaska. The red is New Mexico. During the Biden administration, the 4 years they tried to crush my State, the senior Senator from New Mexico led the efforts to crush my State. Secretary Haaland, another New Mexican, crushed my State. And guess what. In New Mexico, on Federal lands, it was "drill, baby, drill." They went from a million barrels a day to 2 million barrels a day.

Where is the New York Times on that one? Where is the Washington Post on that one?

Could you imagine the counterfactual? A Republican administration comes into office, and they target a Democrat State to crush them, and then that same Republican administration, with the Secretary of the Interior and one of their senior Senators, says:

But in our State, we are going to unleash it. And we will shut down the other States because of climate concerns, but we will be the climate bomb of America—which is what New Mexico has become.

OK. Where is that story? Where is that story?

Again, you wonder why people don't trust our media. This is an unbelievable story.

So is this, by the way. My colleagues all, can you imagine if every Senator here decided, hey, I am going to get a bunch of Senators, and we are going to write a letter to make sure we crush the economy in New York or Connecticut? Like this place wouldn't even work. But if it is Alaska, you get to do that.

Well, I don't like it. But here is the other reason I feel so passionate about this, and this is what my colleagues—and look, they are writing a letter. We know why the senior Senator from New Mexico writes this letter—because all the radical far-left groups who support these guys tell them to do this.

But here is what makes me really upset, because they don't realize what their letters do. It is not just about producing energy that our country needs or jobs. For me and the people I represent, it is about something even more.

What am I talking about? I have brought this chart out a lot. This is an American Medical Association study from 1980 to 2014.

What does it show? It shows life expectancy in America. It is a little bit hard to read here, but the increases or decreases in life expectancy. So if you are looking at, kind of, orange and red, unfortunately, parts of the United States have a little bit of orange and red. That is actually a decrease in life expectancy. We experienced that for 25 years, 1980 to 2014. In some parts of our country, according to the American Medical Association, the people in those parts, they lived less longer lives. It is really bad. I mean, it is horrible.

Now, if you look at the map—I won't go into all of it—a lot of this is where the opioid epidemic really surged and destroyed so many lives. But other parts of America, if you look here—the blue, the purple—had an explosion in life expectancy.

Wow, that is pretty important. As a matter of fact, I have debated a lot of my Democratic colleagues: Give me an indicator of policy success more important than that the people you are representing are living longer. Give me one. There isn't one. It is really important.

So guess which State in that period, 1980 to 2014, had a huge increase in the life expectancy. My State. And guess which regions of Alaska had that. The North Slope—I was just showing you that—the Northwest Arctic Borough, the Aleutian Islands chain, all the way out here, had giant increases in 25 years, up to 13 years of life expectancy increases.

Hmm, why did that happen? Well, it happened for two reasons. One, unfortunately, these are a lot of the areas where our Alaska Native communities live, and they started at really low levels of life expectancy—really low, 50-, 55-years-old average lifespan. It is horrible.

So it was a low level. But what else happened? These areas all started to experience major resource development, fisheries.

There is a huge law called the Magnuson-Stevens Act, which Americanized our fisheries. So the Aleutian Islands chain had incredible opportunities for resource development with fisheries.

The North Slope, as I was talking about, the discovery of Prudhoe Bay, had big oil and gas developments.

This area had a huge mine called the Red Dog mine, one of the biggest silver-zinc-lead mines in the world—or lead-zinc mines in the world.

So resource development happened, and guess what. The Native people of Alaska started to get clinics, running water and flush toilets—which a lot of them don't have—hospitals, gymnasiums, good jobs.

Again, what policy indicator of success is more important than that the people you are representing are living 13 years longer than they did 20 years earlier?

I don't think there is one. But all my colleagues came and said: No—the Federal Government, Joe Biden, the senior Senator from New Mexico. We are going to shut all of this down.

They are not listening to me or LISA MURKOWSKI. We are going to shut it down because some radical far-left groups, who don't give a damn about my constituents, are telling us to do it.

Shame on you guys. Shame on you guys. I hope I never see another letter like this again—all the banks, all the insurance companies, led by MARTIN HEINRICH—ridiculous. I wouldn't do that to New Mexico. Even though I was tempted, I didn't.

So let me end with a couple of more points, with some good news.

So like I said, you have 70 Executive orders and Executive actions. As I said, a lot of these were just blatantly illegal. Well, we just found out that I wasn't just saying that. One of the biggest Executive orders that Joe Biden put in place right away was like: Hey, I know you Republicans have ANWR open. Donald Trump signed it. But guess what. I am going to cancel all the leases.

Wait a minute. You can't cancel all the leases. Congress said you have to put forward the leases.

They don't care. Deb Haaland said: Hey, I don't care what Congress did. You can't develop ANWR.

You can't do that. The Congress of the United States just passed it. The President of the United States, Donald Trump, signed it into law. You can't just cancel the leases. That is illegal.

Nope, they did it. Joe Biden did it. Deb Haaland did it.

Two days ago, the Federal district court in Alaska, on litigation, when we sued and said: You can't do that—a court, to be perfectly honest, where she usually favors the far-left environmental groups. She wrote a big opinion saying: Guess what. What Joe Biden did, what Deb Haaland did was totally illegal.

Where is the New York Times and Washington Post story on that one? I don't know. They haven't written it.

So the Biden action on ANWR was what? Illegal.

Now, we have all kinds of people talking about a constitutional crisis right now. But my constitutional crisis was the last 4 years, because it wasn't just this. It wasn't just the ANWR provision. The Biden administration took this area of Alaska, the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska, completely off the table. It is as big as Indiana right here, the NPR-A. They just said: We are taking it off the table.

But the Congress said that the Department of the Interior “shall conduct an expeditious program of competitive leasing for oil and gas in the” NPR-A. That is what we said. So that is certainly illegal.

I will give you another one. This is a huge critical mineral deposit area in Alaska called the Ambler Mining District. It has more critical minerals, probably, than any place in America.

The Trump administration said: We are going to build a road to it. Congress, in 1980, said the Secretary of the Interior “shall permit” a road to the Ambler Mining District. “Shall”—that is what we said.

Guess what the Biden administration did. They canceled the road—completely illegal.

So it is not just actions to hurt my constituents. It is complete lawlessness in the process of doing that.

So I am sounding a little cranky here because I am cranky about the attacks on my State. You have got an administration saying: We are going to shut down Alaska.

And then you have a lot of my colleagues saying: And we are going to help.

They never asked me. They never asked like: Hey, Dan, if we do all this, will we be hurting the life expectancy of the people you represent?

Answer: Yes. They don't care.

But I will tell you, we now have a new vision, and it is because Republicans are in charge in the Senate, in the House, and, very importantly, in the White House.

And I want to thank President Trump and his team; Secretary Burgum; Secretary Wright, the Secretary of Energy; the Chief of Staff, Susie Wiles; all of them.

On day one—day one—in the Trump administration, they said: We are not going to shut down Alaska. We are not going to hurt Alaska. We think Alaska is critical, not just for Alaskans but for America. We are going to unleash Alaska's extraordinary resource potential.

That is the Executive order President Trump signed on his first day in office. And this is the vision that Alaskans want. This is the vision that will strengthen my State's economy, create more jobs, and not have this arrogant Federal landlord focused on shutting us down.

It is a vision arising from our frontier heritage in Alaska, a spirit of strength, invention, energy, resilience, and shaking off the shackles of the past, and building a new world. It is a spirit of opportunity. It is a spirit of the last frontier.

And we get it from the Alaskan Native people who have thrived on these lands for thousands of years, in some of the harshest conditions in the world. We get it from the gold miners who traveled north to find their fortune. We get it from the pioneers who came from thousands of miles away to build new communities in Alaska.

We get it from our incredible veteran population. We have more vets per capita than any other State in the country, who have defended freedom for America all over the world.

We get it from our construction workers and building trades, who have built Alaskan manmade marvels like the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System, which, by the way, is another example of what I am talking about. It passed the Senate by a tie vote. The giant Trans-Alaska Pipeline system that has produced over 40 billion barrels for our State passed right here on the Senate floor with a tie vote from the Republican Vice President of the United States. We get this from our law enforcement officers who have brought law and order to a rough and rugged land. We get it from our fishermen on dangerous seas, and we get the spirit, the spirit that President Trump wants to unleash in our State, for the benefit of Alaskans, for the benefit of America. We get this from Alaskans who want to create private sector jobs, who want to create wealth for our State and our country, and want to reject what the national Democrats do every single time they get into power, which is crush my State; crush jobs; undermine working families; in particular, go after the interests of the Alaska Native people.

So the final thing on this Executive order, which we are seeing—and this is where some of my Democratic colleagues in the Senate have actually been helpful to me, so I appreciate that—so we have a huge opportunity for a giant LNG project in Alaska that will be a counter to the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative by getting clean-burning Alaska natural gas to our allies in Asia, to Alaskans, to our military, to Americans. This is a huge project that the President of the United States in his State of the Union, in his Executive order, and in his recent meeting with the Prime Minister of Japan has said is one of his administration's top priorities.

It will unleash jobs by the thousands. It will revitalize our steel industry.

And at full capacity, given how much natural gas we have on the North Slope, the estimates are that this will reduce our trade deficit by \$10 billion a year.

So we are very focused on this. It is a new day in Alaska with regard to our economy and energy. And the new day is because Republicans are back in the White House. Republicans are back in control of the Senate, and Republicans are still in charge of the House. That is how we need to unleash our economy.

One day, I am going to be able to convince some of my Democratic colleagues: Let us do this. We don't come attacking your States. We don't write letters to all banks and all the insurance companies saying: Let's shut down Arizona.

We should all be trying to lift each other up. Someday, my Democratic colleagues will do that. But until now, with Republicans in charge, we got huge opportunities in my great State, and I am very, very thankful for that.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

MEDICAID

Mr. KELLY. Mr. President, with all of the chaos in Washington right now, it can feel like it is tough to keep up. In the middle of bombshell revelations, new Executive orders that threaten the safety of Americans, and the administration's plans to give rich people trillions of dollars of tax cuts, what is often lost is how this all impacts the people we represent. The best way to find out, though, is to get out of Washington, DC, and talk to the families and the seniors and the kids who are going to be directly impacted.

Let me tell you: These folks are paying attention, and they aren't happy about it. I know some of my Republican colleagues in Congress are trying to tune out the thousands of phone calls and the emails and have been avoiding townhalls.

But last week, I held a couple of townhalls in Arizona. We focused on Medicaid and brought together healthcare providers and families who rely on it to talk about what Republicans are planning to do and what that would mean for them.

Republicans are working on a plan that could absolutely gut healthcare in our country by slashing Medicaid. There is a number of ways they could do this, but we know it is the plan. The way Republicans talk about it is about dollars saved and pay-fors for those tax cuts for the wealthiest.

When it is framed as a line item instead of what it actually is, which is healthcare that tens of millions of Americans rely on to survive, it is easy to lose track of who will bear the consequences of these decisions: hard-working families, kids, and seniors in Arizona and across the entire country.

My State has one of the largest Medicaid populations. The Arizona Health Care Cost Containment System—or AHCCCS, as Arizona's Medicaid pro-

gram is called—has been expanded under Republican Governors to be the backbone of healthcare for more than 2 million people.

We are talking about kids. We are talking about seniors. We are talking about pregnant women and people with disabilities. And I heard from them last week. I promised them that I would bring their stories back to DC and share them. Now, I don't think I have enough time here to talk about all of them today, but I am going to share a few.

This is story No. 1. In Scottsdale, along with Senator RUBEN GALLEGOS, I heard from a woman named Quianna Brown. Quianna is the mother of a 10-year-old girl that she and her husband adopted from foster care, and she has special needs, and she has a rare form of diabetes. Her daughter was diagnosed and treated, thanks to Medicaid.

Now, along with her husband, who served in the U.S. Navy for 23 years, Quianna works every day to provide for her family, and she is afraid that her daughter is going to lose her healthcare. She finished her remarks at this townhall by comparing Medicaid to a house that Republicans are planning to burn down. She said—and this is a quote, Mr. President. She said:

Would you mind telling your colleagues in Washington that when they're burning down this house, there are people still inside? My kid is inside.

When she said this to me in front of this room of over 100 people, sharing her most personal story, the room went silent. Everyone turned and listened because it was a mother pleading for us to help protect her child in the most straightforward terms. And I told her I would bring this back and share it with all of you.

So, again, let me repeat:

When they're burning down this house, there are people still inside. My kid is inside.

These words from Quianna Brown, a mother and a hard-working Arizonan, should resonate loud and clear on this floor.

Samia from Sierra Vista—this is story No. 2—is the mother of two children, a 15-year-old daughter and a 12-year-old son. Her son only has one kidney and severe scoliosis. Both of them, both of the kids, are autistic and were diagnosed with a rare tumor disorder which cripples their bodies' capacity to stop the growth of tumors. The result is that their chance of getting cancer is 85 to 95 percent. She knows that the best chance her kids have of beating cancer and surviving is to find it early. And Medicaid has allowed her to get the frequent screenings that her children need.

She shared that both her children meet the burden of placing them in a long-term care facility, but thanks to Arizona's Medicaid paid caregiver program, she can care for them at home. That is a success.

Medicaid is a literal lifeline for her kids. I think about her knowing exactly what she needs to do for her kids

to keep them healthy and the worry that she faces if she thinks about what would happen to them without it.

Story No. 3 is about Tiffany Leslie Pasillas from Marana. Also she cares for her 6-year-old daughter Aiyana at home. Aiyana is immunocompromised. She is nonverbal. She can't walk, and she requires care 24-7. Tiffany shared that without Medicaid, she would be forced to limit care and evaluate whether she could continue to care for her at home—or would she have to place her daughter in a specialized facility for her severe needs?

In Tucson, AZ, I heard from Chad Durns, who is living with multiple sclerosis and is unable to work. He relies on Medicaid to afford his MRIs and his infusion treatments.

When he spoke at the townhall, he talked about the potential costs of his healthcare if he lost his Medicaid coverage. Through tears, he said:

The level of cost of those things would be devastating for a guy like me.

"A guy like me." What are folks on the other side of the aisle talking about doing? They are talking about hurting Chad and guys like him. For what? To give more tax giveaways to rich people, to billionaires.

Here is story No. 5. And this is about Amalia, who is the daughter of Crissy McGann. Amalia is a 5-year-old kid who uses Medicaid to receive care for a rare genetic disorder. She said that she is terrified—so the mom is terrified—that the services her daughter depends on and allow her to thrive would be cut or reduced and called the proposed cuts disastrous for the disability community.

Disastrous, devastating, burning down a house with kids inside—that is what Arizonans had to say about these plans to gut Medicaid.

And these stories exist in every single State, in every single district, red or blue, all of them. But here is the thing: Only some of us seem to care to listen.

Now, I invite all of my colleagues, especially my Republican colleagues negotiating this plan, to listen to the people they represent. Listen to their concerns. They are real concerns that are affecting real people, people that cannot afford to pay for expensive healthcare.

So that instead of pay-fors or line items, maybe you will think about Quianna and her kid or Chad who has MS or the countless other folks whose lives will be flipped upside down if they lost Medicaid.

We are representatives of the people. We are here to make people's lives better, not to ruin them. So to my colleagues, I urge you: Stop trying to burn down the house. Your constituents are inside.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WYDEN. The Senator from Mississippi.

UKRAINE

Mr. WICKER. Mr. President, I rise this afternoon to offer some remarks

on the situation in Europe and the prospects for peace in Ukraine.

We should start with recent positive developments. President Trump and President Zelenskyy have demonstrated remarkable resolve and remarkable wherewithal. Just this week, we heard news from the peace talks in Saudi Arabia. Ukraine publicly expressed openness to prisoner exchanges, a welcome development. Notably, Russia did not express such willingness. We should applaud Ukraine's overtures. An agreement is in reach that reflects the common cause of the United States and Ukraine.

Separately, much ink has been spilled on the economic investment deal. Less has been said about why the United States is interested in an investment deal with Ukraine. President Trump recognizes that America is better off when Ukraine is free, strong, and industrious. The economic investment deal shows that our President wants peace and that he wants an honorable peace, one that ensures the prosperity and protection of Ukraine and the United States.

This peace will require that Russia put down its weapons in an enduring and verifiable way. It is clear that Vladimir Putin does not share President Trump's desire for peace. As Putin's representatives prepare to sit down with American diplomats, President Putin has ordered salvo after salvo of missiles and drones to strike Ukrainian apartments, killing non-combatant women and children. These are not the gestures of a statesman who wants to negotiate peace. We are dealing with a tyrant who speaks the language of war and terror. We have to deal with him, but that is who he is.

In recent decades, several successive U.S. Presidents have extended the hand of peace to Mr. Putin. Each one of them had different tactics, but none of them achieved the outcome they desire. In this series of failed diplomacy, the common denominator was not the American Presidents, regardless of party. The common denominator was and is Russia's dictator, Vladimir Putin, a war criminal. So we need to remind the American people exactly what kind of strongman we are dealing with here, the kind of strongman we are trying to negotiate with, the kind of strongman we are forced to negotiate with.

Vladimir Putin, regrettably, is not interested in peace. He is interested in a phony deal. He has shown this with his words, his acts of violence, and the peace agreements he has shredded.

Dictators frequently tell us who they really are. In 2007, Putin stood before the Munich Security Conference, and he rejected a world in which nations cooperate. In his other writings, he has publicly mourned the collapse of the Soviet empire, and he dreams of its resurrection.

In 2021, President Putin wrote an essay laying the groundwork for his invasion of Ukraine. This was a year be-

fore the recent invasion. In it, he rejected the very right of the Ukrainian people to exist as a distinct and self-governing nation. In writing, the essay is full of lies. It would have made Adolf Hitler proud. But it shows one thing is true: Mr. Putin is a Russian imperialist to the core. Here is a man who believes the greatest historical tragedy of the last 40 years was the collapse of the Soviet power and influence over Eastern Europe.

Putin publicly proclaims his delusions of grandeur but has not stopped at words and speeches. He has used any means necessary to continue his decades-long political warfare against NATO, and he has ruthlessly worked to achieve the empire he craves.

In the year after his Munich speech, Vladimir Putin and his army invaded their neighbor, the Republic of Georgia. In the year after his essay about Ukraine, he invaded Ukraine. Mr. Putin no longer technically works for the KGB but still thinks like a KGB agent—the kind who uses chemical weapons to poison people in Russia and all over the world, exacting revenge on his critics without regard for international borders.

He jails reporters and activists. Why does he do this? Because dictators actually live in fear of their own people. Putin has imprisoned scores of Americans in Russian gulags. He has killed and kidnapped American citizens across the globe. His commandos have targeted our soldiers in Afghanistan. He has no respect for our country or for human life in his country or any other country.

And he has the weaponry to back up his threats. Mr. Putin sits atop the world's largest and most diverse nuclear arsenal. And I might add that this arsenal is postured specifically at us to destroy the United States.

In another perverse action—I have to say this—Mr. Putin has tried to co-opt Christianity, if you can believe that. He has twisted a religion of repentance into a propaganda machine. Patriarch Kirill of Moscow professes to lead the Russian Orthodox Church. In reality, Kirill is a puppet of Vladimir Putin. His father baptized Vladimir Putin. And now Kirill follows his father's footsteps by sanctifying the dictator's crimes.

Kirill has blessed the 2022 invasion of Ukraine, absurdly claiming that the Russians are fighting against evil. As patriarch, he blessed the invasion. As Russia bombs Ukrainian women and children, Kirill invokes God's name to justify Putin's butchery. Kirill is the very definition of the Prophet Isaiah's portrait of corruption. Isaiah condemned men like him, those who "call evil good and good evil."

Shame on this phony patriarch.

President Putin has publicly shared his imperialistic dreams. He violently pursued those goals even in God's name. Along the way, he has torn to shreds every cease-fire deal he has ever signed. Before World War I, the Kai-

ser's regime in Germany called a treaty "a mere scrap of paper." Well, Vladimir Putin feels the same. He has no regard for the Budapest Memorandum. He has no regard for the INF Treaty. He has no regard for the Minsk agreement. In each case, Putin has lied, stolen, and misdirected to further his empire-building ambitions. And that is what he is trying to do with negotiations today.

President Trump is interested in peace. President Zelenskyy is interested in peace. Putin values peace as little as any piece of shredded paper he would deceitfully sign.

Many people do not realize that Ukrainians have been valiantly and steadily weakening Putin's forces. Half a million Russian soldiers—half a million souls—have either been killed or injured so severely that they cannot return to the battlefield. That is half a million Russian moms without sons, wives without husbands. That total is steep, and the blame rests upon one person, the man who ordered the invasion: Vladimir Putin and his imperialistic vision.

Russia is barely managing to sustain this war. And I think the American people do not know this, but Russia is barely hanging on. They are struggling from heavy battlefield costs and economic sanctions. We should not support a peace deal that could let Russia up off the mat and reconstitute its army.

Both the previous and the current Secretaries General of NATO expect that Russia will not be ready to threaten NATO conventionally for 5 to 7 years. The wrong deal with Russia could allow them to be off to the races sooner. And Russia wants just that, as we have seen this week. Putin is trying to work the peace process deceptively to skew it in his favor.

This week, his office has pushed out messages from the peace talks in Riyadh. Putin's officials maintain that the United States is prepared to lift a number of sanctions, sanctions the West imposed after Russia's invasion of Ukraine. I certainly hope that is not true.

These Kremlin officials claim that we will soon readmit Russia to SWIFT. SWIFT, of course, is the global financial system that Russia depends on for global trade. Putin relies on trade to finance his war machine. Russians also think we are prepared to grant sanctions relief for any company that ships goods on vessels flying the Russian flag or they could claim any ties to food production, shipping, and securities. Such a deal would be full of loopholes. Such a deal would be designed to let Russia, which is on the ropes, off the mat.

Mr. Putin's men asked for all of this. Yet they offer little in return. They won't even talk about prisoner exchanges. That is breathtaking, especially when Ukraine has publicly expressed openness to a cease-fire. They are the ones that have publicly said

they will agree to a cease-fire. Mr. Putin and his negotiators have never proclaimed that. The Ukrainians, who have been ruthlessly attacked, have extended the hand of peace. Russia still has not even though it demands so much. Putin says he is willing to work toward peace, but his demands show that he is lying. His demands make it clear he intends to use the sanctions relief to rearm.

It would be a mistake to grant sanctions relief to Russia without reciprocal support for Ukraine. Doing so would devastate the prospect of a lasting peace. Let me repeat. Mr. Putin has never agreed to a cease-fire, to a treaty that resulted in a lasting peace. As we negotiate in Saudi Arabia, the United States must remember that Russia is barely managing to sustain this war.

The economic and battlefield price is very costly for Mr. Putin. Undoing these sanctions would instantly lower Putin's cost. It would evaporate the leverage his financial penalties have given to the United States and the free world.

As I close, let me reiterate, many have tried to negotiate with Vladimir Putin on his terms. I think President Trump is beginning to understand that peace comes through American and Ukrainian strength; that dictators respond to power because it is the only thing they respect. We need to see this Russian dictator and war criminal for what he is: a murderous dictator who hopes he can back us into a corner during the peace process and thus pursue another invasion.

If Vladimir Putin lives up to a cease-fire or peace treaty with Ukraine, it will be the first time ever. Vladimir Putin has a long track record, and it is filled with lies, violence, and treachery. That is whom we are dealing with. We have to deal with him, but that is whom we are dealing with. Getting a deal with him will be a challenge. We must bear history in mind if we are to reach a settlement that benefits the free countries of the world.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUSTED). The Senator from Washington.

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, before I go to my remarks, I wanted to thank the Senator from Mississippi for that fabulous statement. I really do appreciate his leadership.

I am pretty sure your father served in World War II, as did my father. I think that we continue to echo the lessons that we learned from that conflict.

I thank you for that tremendous statement in support of Ukraine.

TARIFFS

Mr. President, I come to speak about the Trump tariffs and today's announcement about auto tariffs, but before I get to that point, I just want to say I have been visited by many farmers this week, many businesses who feel like they are impacted.

I think we are on day 67 of the Trump administration, in which we thought

the focus was going to be on lowering inflation and lowering costs—day one. And now, we are seeing that not only is that not happening, that these proposals are actually increasing costs.

Now, I hope this administration will go focus on cost issues like more affordable housing. I am a big advocate for building housing, and it is probably one of the biggest inflationary costs that we haven't addressed, so we could be working on housing. We could be working on cutting prices on pharmaceuticals, and I hope our colleagues will do something to help us.

My colleague Senator GRASSLEY, on PBMs, and I have legislation that are trying to crack down on the middlemen who are pocketing huge profits—it is literally costing us pharmacies. I mean, we are having pharmacy deserts in the State because these people claw back so much of the money, the pharmacist can't even exist. So this is not good, and I hope that our colleagues will join us.

But today, on April 2, the President is saying he will levy a 25 percent tax on imported sedans, SUV crossovers, minivans, cargo vans, and light trucks, and that it will hit some auto parts, too—is going to cost the American people. Now, this is not something that I believe that we can afford, these tariff costs that are somewhere between \$5,000 and \$15,000 to the American consumer. That is thousands of dollars that basically, all of a sudden, is getting added to the cost of an automobile.

We saw during COVID that the lack of supply chains, the lack of product, cost even a used car \$2,000 more, and we saw how much that did to families that were at a point where they really just needed to buy a car to get to work, to travel, to do the things that helped grow the economic opportunities for their family. And that was horrific just during COVID.

So now, we see the same kind of thing, a supply chain of product that we already know is cross-border with the United States and Canada, and we also know is already a big issue, that we are going to see the price of cars go up, and the fact that the American public can't afford grocery costs, healthcare costs, or housing costs—we certainly don't need to add in auto costs.

Americans are already facing these skyrocketing prices and the President's economic policies, particularly here, with tariffs, I think are going to drive up more costs. What American consumers want—and businesses—is more predictability. They want rules-based trade. They do not want trade chaos.

If rules are not working, you build consensus and you work together to make sure that those alliances are formed and that we get fairer trade. We build more in our trade infrastructure, as I have tried to do through various bills that we have passed through the Finance Committee and through the

Senate, to make sure that we are and have the capacity to fight unfair trade practices in other countries.

Because 95 percent of consumers live outside the United States, the big economic opportunities are going to be outside the United States. So yes, you should have more lawyers at USTR to go fight trade violations and correct the violations of those countries. I actually got that passed and got that into law to have more capacity.

But it only makes sense, the United States of America is not just going to sell product to the United States of America. We are going to sell it to 95 percent of consumers who live outside the United States. And innovation is going to matter more than these tariffs. The United States being able to innovate faster and continue to be successful with our strategy is going to matter more. And guess what matters even more than just the innovation? Guess what matters more? The supply chains. The supply chains because, if you have the supply chains in the United States of America, chances are that ecosystem that is so unique to your country and the innovation that goes with it is going to make you successful.

Well, now, we have supply chains that exist within the Midwest region and across the border with Canada that we are throwing caution into the wind and, now, we are going to say we are going to make it all 25 percent more expensive. I am pretty sure it is a good deal for Elon Musk and Tesla. Don't know that it is such a good deal for everybody else.

Consumer confidence is now at its lowest point in 12 years, and there is talk of a recession, or stagflation—persistent inflation—and we have countries that are allies in helping to fight China, countries like Canada and Japan and Europe, who are already making plans to retaliate against us. So the trade wars are going to make it more expensive for U.S. manufacturers, it is going to disrupt supply chains, and it is going to make it more expensive on consumers. Almost half of U.S. imports are inputs and supplies for the U.S. manufacturing supply chain, so driving up those input costs, driving up the manufacturing costs. And driving up those costs is a challenge. It makes the supply line costly to operate.

And the trade wars limit our ability then to get our exports into those markets. Now, maybe automobiles are a little bit different than apples or lentils or some of the other products that we sell. But I can tell you this, if you lose the shelf space and they give it to other countries, you don't readily get that back when the trade war is over. And the trade war doesn't just last a few days or even a year. Some of the Trump administration tariffs are still in place and still affecting much of my State when it comes to getting access to important markets. The thing that has changed, though, is the rate of innovation, the rate of information, the

rate of a country to go and make up for us not being there to compete.

I am hearing it from my potato growers who are saying that now India is basically producing French fries and selling them into various parts of the world. So if we think that we can take a year, 2 years, 3 years, and think that this is not going to have an impact on our manufacturing base—whether it is agriculture or heavy-duty manufacturing like cars or aerospace—we are wrong. We are wrong.

Now is the time to open up alliances in more markets, counter the Chinese in places like South America and Africa, and work to our advantages on alliances so that we have more markets to sell into at cheaper rates and continue the innovation that has been the hallmark of this Nation.

Next week, President Trump plans to impose what he calls reciprocal tariffs. He has talked about even more tariffs in the future on timber, dairy, pharmaceuticals, copper, and semiconductors. So where does it end?

I can tell you, on solar, it didn't end. It didn't end. And we are many years later in, manufacturing facilities that were in my State now are no longer there. So the point is, the United States builds alliances to enter these markets. We build alliances to counter unfair trade practices. We build alliances to stop the Chinese from doing the things that they do.

And right now, I would have a technology NATO. I would say, take the five biggest democracies and sophisticated technology countries and say, "No one in the world should buy from countries who don't meet our standards." Why? Because no one really should be buying from a country that has a government backdoor.

No, we shouldn't be spending taxpayer dollars pulling out Huawei when, in reality, we should have been on a campaign to say it never should have been there to begin with because no one in the information age should be buying technology with a government backdoor that has them and their ability to manipulate information at a critical time when data and information is so important.

So next week will be even more important to Americans and all of us. It is time for us collectively to work together on tariff issues, to say that this is the domain of the U.S. Senate. This is what our Founding Fathers had in article I, the first debates about tariffs. The Framers of the Constitution gave Congress this power to set duties and to regulate foreign commerce. Article I, section 8 could not be clearer. It is time for Congress to reassert that authority. We need checks and balances now more than ever. We need to invest in innovation. We need to invest in skilling and training a workforce. We need to invest in modernizing infrastructure and equipment at our factories, and we need to open foreign markets for exports of U.S. autos and aircraft.

American business does not need an endless trade war that creates chaos and raises prices on our consumers at a time when inflation has been too high. We need the President to address these inflationary costs instead of perpetrating tariffs.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

MORNING BUSINESS

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

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

REMEMBERING KEVIN CRONIN

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, some people come to Congress to check a box, collect a credential, and then head to where the big bucks are: lobbying firms. For others, working as a Capitol Hill staffer is part of a lifetime of public service.

Kevin Cronin was one of the latter types. He believed in public service, and I consider myself lucky that Kevin chose to work for me. It was during my years in the House of Representatives. Kevin was my lead staffer on the House Budget Committee. He was hard-working, clever, and smart as a whip.

Sadly, Kevin passed away earlier this month in Cleveland, OH, the place where he grew up and where he first learned about politics and public service.

Kevin was the middle son in a family of proud Irish American Democrats. Both of his parents were involved in the civil rights movement during the 1960s and 70s. His mom also was quite active in the women's movement.

John Glenn, the astronaut hero turned U.S. Senator, was a family friend. So was "Battling Bella" Abzug. Kevin's father worked for Carl Stokes, the first Black mayor of Cleveland. His mother worked on campaigns for Jane Campbell, Cleveland's first woman mayor, and Mary Boyle, the first woman commissioner for Cuyahoga County.

Kevin received his own introduction to shoe-leather politics when he was in middle school. He and his two brothers would knock on doors seeking to turn out the vote in elections.

Kevin was also an avid tennis player in the National Junior Tennis League, a program founded by Arthur Ashe that used tennis to teach city kids important life skills.

He graduated from Columbia University with a double major in political science and fine arts and earned a law degree from the University of Wisconsin. After that, he came to Wash-

ington. He served as a congressional aide for a decade and worked for some giants, including John Conyers, chair of the House Budget Committee, and the late Senator Dianne Feinstein of California.

He was a whiz with budget details and parliamentary rules. He understood how to turn good ideas into good laws. Somehow, he always found time to encourage and teach younger staffers, including a Capitol Hill newbie named Pat Souders, who is now my chief of staff.

But Kevin's real passion was grassroots organizing, so he moved back to Cleveland and poured himself into civic campaigns and causes. He worked as a pro bono attorney for a group called Bike Cleveland that pushed successfully for new bike lanes to connect Cleveland and its suburbs. He also offered legal guidance to environmental groups working to expand the use of renewable energy sources, including harnessing the great wind power potential of Lake Erie.

He helped to preserve Cleveland's history, especially the city's links to the abolitionist and civil rights movements. He worked to raise awareness for the Cozad-Bates House, a stop on the Underground Railroad. He also was working to raise support to save Jesse Owens' childhood home and turn it into a museum.

His main job for 15 years was working as an ad litem attorney in the Cleveland City Courts, representing children who had been removed from their family homes and, very often, had suffered neglect and trauma. It was difficult, heart-rending work, but he did it because he believed the children needed someone on their side.

Kevin was diagnosed with severe aplastic anemia 15 years ago. It is a condition, similar to leukemia, in which one's body cannot produce enough white blood cells to protect against infection. He was able to lead a full life for years, thanks in part to an NIH clinical trial for a drug that kept his illness in check. But a few months ago, the drug stopped working. Kevin was 61 years old.

I want to offer my condolences to his brothers Kiely and Rob and their families, to Kevin's friends, and to the countless people whose lives he touched and enriched, from Capitol Hill to Cleveland and far beyond. He was a good man, and he will be missed.

NATIONAL AHEC WEEK

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize this week as National AHEC—Area Health Education Centers—Week.

The AHEC program, originally authorized in 1971, began by working in conjunction with other Health Resources and Services Administration programs to develop health professionals to staff brick-and-mortar community health centers across the country. Today, AHECs offer hands-on and

innovative health career curriculums for pre-college level students and are committed to continuing education, clinical training of health professionals, and responding to community health needs. The Nation's 300 AHECs operate in nearly every State and in multiple U.S. territories.

AHEC clinical training placements put students in a variety of real-world settings, such as urban and rural community health clinics and health departments that provide care to traditionally hard-to-reach populations. Students, in particular those working through their AHECs, are more likely to remain in the communities where they trained, making it critically important to establish training opportunities in rural and underserved areas.

The need to strengthen the healthcare workforce continues. According to new data from the Association of American Medical Colleges, the U.S. could see a shortage of up to 124,000 physicians by 2034, and the American Hospital Association says more than 200,000 new registered nurses are needed each year to meet increasing healthcare needs and to replace retiring nurses. AHECs have continued to work towards addressing workforce shortage areas, especially in rural and underserved communities. Just in the past 5 years, the AHEC program has trained 2 million healthcare professionals.

I have had the opportunity to work closely with the New Hampshire AHEC and have witnessed the amazing work they do. The mission of the New Hampshire AHEC is to support workforce development activities for current and future healthcare workers in the Granite State. In 2024, the New Hampshire AHEC offered continuing education to over 4,500 healthcare workers, improving treatment options for patients suffering from diseases such as diabetes and substance use disorder. In addition to working with providers, they also offer trainings on chronic disease, chronic pain and diabetes self-management to patients in the community. More than 3,000 individuals have participated in these programs since 2010.

The New Hampshire AHEC team were pioneers in identifying the need for a workforce that bridges healthcare and community. Over the past 27 years, New Hampshire AHEC has focused on building the healthcare workforce by offering both day and residential programs for high school students, while also providing didactics and community-based experiences for health professions students across the State. I cannot stress enough how important the New Hampshire AHEC is for our communities and how important it is that the program continues to be supported by Congress. AHECs not only address current healthcare gaps and challenges, but they recruit, train, and bolster our future health workforce. On behalf of my constituents at the New Hampshire AHEC program and the national AHEC program more broadly, I

call on my colleagues to join me in recognizing March 24 to March 28 as National AHEC Week.

VOTE EXPLANATION

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I was absent on Monday, March 24, 2025, for rollcall vote No. 137. Had I been present, I would have voted yea on confirmation of Executive Calendar No. 41, Christopher Landau, of Maryland, to be Deputy Secretary of State.

TRIBUTE TO CRAIG BEAM

Mr. MORAN. Mr. President, today, I want to recognize a U.S. marshal who has served his country and the great State of Kansas for 34 years.

Craig Beam grew up on his family's farm in Esbon, KS, and graduated from White Rock High School in Burr Oak. He continued his academic career at Great Bend Community College, where he earned an associate's degree in criminal justice. Craig later continued his education at Washburn University, where he played football and received a bachelor's degree in Criminal Justice.

After completing his degree, Craig got his first law enforcement job with the Paola Police Department and later joined the Springfield Police Department in Missouri. After serving in local law enforcement for several years, Craig joined the U.S. Marshals Service in 1992 and served as a marshal until his retirement.

Throughout his tenure with the U.S. Marshals Service, Craig demonstrated his leadership, serving as the director of the Federal Fugitive Task Force for the District of Kansas, which averages 200 arrests per month, and as the Acting U.S. Marshal for the District of Kansas.

In 1993, Craig received the U.S. Marshal's Service Director's Distinguished Service Award for his heroic actions during the August 5, 1993, terrorist attack on the Frank Carlson Federal Building in Topeka. He bravely protected judges, cleared hallways, and escorted civilians to safety during the attack.

The U.S. Marshal Service's motto is "Justice, Integrity, Service," all of which Craig has modeled for the last 34 years. As he retires with the title of Chief Deputy U.S. Marshal, I know Craig will continue to uphold the values of the marshals in retirement.

Thank you, Craig, for your years of service, sacrifice, and leadership. I wish you the best in the next chapter of life and hope you enjoy this well-deserved retirement.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

RECOGNIZING KANSAS FIRST RESPONDERS

• Mr. MORAN. Mr. President, today I want to recognize the first responders

who responded to a tragic multi-vehicle wreck on Interstate-70 on March 14 and remember the victims of this accident.

Kansas is well-known for its windy plains and expansive prairies, but these features of our State can, on occasion, create dangerous weather conditions. Leading up to March 14, high sustained winds coupled with dry conditions on the plains had created the right conditions for a dust storm. In the afternoon of March 14, a dust storm ripped unobstructed across western Kansas, leading to a sudden and deadly dust storm on I-70.

The storm led to low visibility and hazardous driving conditions on I-70 between the two rural communities of Colby and Goodland, near the Colorado border. What began as a few collisions on I-70 quickly spiraled into a hazardous pile-up involving more than 70 vehicles, including several semi-trucks.

Despite the hazardous conditions, first responders from the neighboring communities rushed to the site of the accident still battling the low visibility and dangerous conditions brought on by the dust storm.

In rural communities, the police and fire forces are small and are often supported by volunteers. These men and women dropped what they were doing and put themselves at great risk to help the folks involved in the massive crash.

With limited resources and hazardous conditions, the first responders reacted quickly and with great skill to extract folks from their vehicles and transport them to the closest hospitals.

Goodland Fire Chief Brian James summed up the emergency response like this: "I don't think people realize the dedication these men and women give to make this community safe and secure. We had to think outside the box to get patients transported to hospitals in Goodland and Colby by using our fire department support vehicle with EMTs in the back to using patrol vehicles from Goodland Police Department, Sherman County Sheriff's Office and Kansas Highway Patrol. I'm sorry for the lives lost in this incident, but I'm grateful for the ones we could save."

Emergency crews poured in from neighboring counties doing everything they could to help. This included firefighters, EMTs, police, highway patrol officers, sheriffs and dispatchers from the Goodland Fire Department, Brewster Fire Department, Northwest Kansas Ambulance Service, Colby Fire Department, Goodland Police Department, Sherman County Sheriff's Office, Kansas Highway Patrol, Kansas Game Warden W300, Thomas County EMS, Wallace County EMS, Cheyenne County EMS, and Sherman County Dispatch.

These men and women put themselves at great risk to respond to this accident; and I have no doubt that their efforts saved many lives. I want to thank all the first responders for their service to the Kansans and travelers who they assisted on I-70.

I also want to thank the hospitals who received and treated the victims from the crash. Rural hospitals have small staffs and limited resources, but the medical centers in northwest Kansas did an outstanding job treating and transporting those who were injured.

Citizens Medical Center in Colby treated 30 patients and transported 5 who needed additional care. Goodland Regional Medical Center treated 26 patients and transported 3 who needed additional care. Thank you to the nurses, doctors, and hospital staff who worked through the night and into the weekend treating patients and sending them safely on their way.

I also want to express my gratitude to the Kansas Highway Patrol whose work continued through the evening, and into the weekend, clearing the interstate so it could be re-opened.

This tragic accident led to the deaths of eight people. My heart goes out to the families who lost a loved one in this tragedy on I-70. Losing a loved one is painful, especially in sudden tragic circumstances. It is times like this that communities pull together, and we remember how blessed we are to have neighbors and strangers who are willing to risk their lives to help others.

I hope everyone uses this tragic accident as a reminder to hold your loved ones a little closer and thank the men and women who put their own lives at risk for the sake of others.

Stay safe and may God bless.●

RECOGNIZING THE PORT OF LEWISTON

● Mr. RISCH. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize and celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Port of Lewiston, Idaho's only seaport and an economic cornerstone of north Idaho and the broader Pacific Northwest.

In 1975, the Port of Lewiston opened, marked by the launch of the first barge to sail westward down the Columbia-Snake River System. Nez Perce County voters approved its creation in 1958, but it took the completion of the Lower Granite Dam in 1975 to make Idaho's seaport fully operational. As the furthest inland seaport in the western United States, the Port plays a vital role in connecting Idaho's businesses to global markets. Over the past five decades, the Port of Lewiston has been instrumental to boosting regional trade, promoting economic development, and generating new jobs in surrounding communities.

The establishment of the Port of Lewiston provided farmers and businesses with a cost-effective alternative to rail and truck transport. Today, approximately 24 million bushels of wheat are transported out of the Port of Lewiston's Lewis Clark Terminal each year. The Columbia-Snake River System continues to serve 11 western States and is the largest pathway for wheat exports in the country.

The influence of the Port of Lewiston extends far beyond trade, serving as a

driver for business and real estate development and public infrastructure investments. The Port has been a catalyst for modernization in the region, notably through the expansion of fiber broadband access in Lewiston and the development of a broadband network from Moscow to Star. These investments ensure Idaho businesses remain competitive in the ever-evolving global economy.

While manufacturing jobs have declined in many areas nationwide, north central Idaho has defied this trend. Thanks in large part to the port, manufacturing jobs in the Lewiston area have surged by 70 percent, adding over 3,000 positions since 1975. This remarkable growth has made north central Idaho's workforce incredibly resilient and distinctive.

Recently, the Port of Lewiston partnered with American Cruise Lines to create Idaho's first cruise ship dock, further diversifying its economic impact and attracting tourism to the region. The port, along with its investments in Idaho, have attracted new manufacturing, transportation, and tourism employers, inspiring greater opportunities for the people of north central Idaho.

As we look to the next 50 years, the Port of Lewiston will undoubtedly remain a key driver in shaping Idaho's economic future and that of the greater Pacific Northwest. Congratulations to the port, its outstanding leadership, and the entire north central Idaho community on this significant milestone.●

TRIBUTE TO ALLIE BENNETT

● Mr. SCHMITT. Mr. President, I rise today to honor Allie Bennett of Palmyra, MO, for her passionate leadership in providing housing for middle-income families in northeast Missouri.

The housing landscape has changed; as more of the workforce is retiring, they are remaining in their homes, resulting in fewer options for the growing workforce to live. To address this shortage of affordable housing, Allie Bennett and the Housing Enhancement Northeast (HEN) Group decided to fill the void through an initial goal of building 12 homes each year throughout the Northeast Missouri Regional Planning Commission. The mission of this initiative is to contribute to the region's economic stability by ensuring that all levels of workers can live comfortably within their community. Thanks to her hard work and contribution to the community, HEN Group has completed its first three homes and has started on the fourth.

Allie is a dedicated leader and community servant helping to make an impact within her community by providing affordable housing. As manager of economic development and member services for Northeast Missouri Electric Power Cooperative, Allie is able to see areas of need in her community and help fill them. She also serves as direc-

tor on the board of directors for the Community Foundation of West Central Illinois & Northeast Missouri.

Allie Bennett is truly a Champion of Missouri. I am grateful for her commitment to northeast Missouri and her passion to help improve the lives of so many Missourians. I wish her the best as her team continues to build better futures for hard-working Missourians.●

TRIBUTE TO KIM FAST

● Mr. SCHMITT. Mr. President, I rise today to honor Kim Fast of Wright City, MO, for her heroic act of bravery and saving a life.

On the morning of October 12, 2024, Kim was helping her friend Wright City mayor Michelle Heiliger with work in her garage. Suddenly, they noticed thick black smoke coming from a neighbor's home. Recognizing immediately that their neighbor was likely in danger, Kim rushed toward the burning house without hesitation. Upon reaching the garage, Kim discovered that the neighbor's wheelchair had caught fire, leaving him trapped inside the intensifying blaze. Without regard for her own safety, Kim selflessly attempted to rescue him. The smoke was thick, the flames were spreading fast, and she was alone—but that didn't stop her. When she realized she needed help, she shouted for Mayor Heiliger, who immediately ran barefoot to her side, and together, they dragged the man out of the burning garage moments before flames fully engulfed it. Because of Kim's bravery, that neighbor is alive today. Her instinct to act made all the difference. While she would humbly say she was just in the right place at the right time, the truth is, not everyone would have run into a burning building. But Kim did.

Kim Fast is truly a Champion of Missouri. She embodies selfless service. Her remarkable bravery, compassion, and dedication exemplify the highest standards of community spirit. I commend her and wish her all the best in her future endeavors.●

TRIBUTE TO MICHELLE HEILIGER

● Mr. SCHMITT. Mr. President, I rise today to honor Mayor Michelle Heiliger of Wright City, MO, for her heroic actions to save the life of an elderly neighbor.

While working in her garage one morning, Michelle Heiliger realized something was wrong when she saw black smoke engulfing her neighbor's garage. A fire had set her neighbor's wheelchair on ablaze, making it difficult for him to escape. Michelle and her friend ran into the burning garage and dragged their neighbor out before calling 911. Mayor Heiliger didn't stop there. Recognizing the severity of the situation, Michelle went above and beyond by helping her neighbor's family secure a hotel room while they were displaced and waiting assistance from their insurance agency. Not only is

Michelle Heiliger a hero, but she is also an active community member and public servant. On top of being mayor, she is also currently the director of the Wright City Fire Protection Board and the director of human resources with Sellenriek Construction, Sellenriek Energy, UtiliSource, and Selcon Construction. Her dedication to Wright City is a testament to her exceptional character.

Mayor Heiliger is truly a Champion of Missouri. Her heroic actions and willingness to help saved someone's life are inspirational. I commend Mayor Heiliger for her service to her community and fellow Missourians, and I wish her immense success in all her endeavors.●

TRIBUTE TO MIKE SCHEIB

● Mr. SCHMITT. Mr. President, I rise today to honor Mike Scheib of Lancaster, MO, for his lifesaving decision-making and his leadership in addressing the need for an increase of middle-class housing for the growing workforce in northeast Missouri.

As the CEO and general manager of Tri-County Electric Cooperative, Mike Scheib has fostered a strong partnership with the Housing Enhancement Northeast (HEN) Group to better serve his community. Together, they have worked tirelessly to tackle the shortage of affordable housing for working-class Missourians. As of today, three homes have been completed, with a fourth set to break ground in the near future. Both organizations remain committed to their initial goal of building 12 new homes a year.

Mike is also a local hero in Lancaster, MO. During a company dinner, one of his fellow linemen started choking on a piece of steak. As other relief efforts failed and the lineman began to lose consciousness, Mike stood up and performed the Heimlich maneuver three times until it finally worked. He was later presented with the Lifesaving Award, which is awarded to individuals who go above and beyond in a life-or-death situation.

Mike Scheib is truly a Champion of Missouri. I am grateful for his heroic quick thinking and his commitment to improving the community of northeast Missouri. I wish him the best as his team continues its work of building better, more affordable housing for northeast Missouri.●

TRIBUTE TO BUCK SMITH

● Mr. SCHMITT. Mr. President, I rise today to honor Buck Smith of Saint Louis, MO, for being an advocate of Missourians with disabilities for more than 30 years.

In 1994, Buck Smith and a group of friends hosted their first game of what would become St. Louis Challenger Baseball. While the effort began at a small scale, Challenger Baseball would eventually grow to include 60 teams and 600 players across Missouri and Il-

linois. The concept was simple: create an opportunity for those with developmental disabilities to enjoy America's pastime. Challenger Baseball pairs participants with "buddies," who help the players hit, run the bases, and, most importantly, make friends. For the past three decades, the league has provided the invaluable combination of sport and companionship to the Greater Saint Louis region.

In addition to his work with Challenger Baseball, Buck also served as senior vice president at Fleischman-Hillard, where he worked for more than 28 years. He is a former adjunct faculty member at Maryville University and remains an expert in branding and communications.

Buck Smith is truly a Champion of Missouri. I am grateful for the work he has done to enrich the lives of disabled Missourians. I wish him the best in his continued efforts to bring together communities through baseball and friendship.●

TRIBUTE TO DAVID T. SNIDER

● Mr. SCHMITT. Mr. President, I rise today to honor Mr. David T. Snider of Ozark, MO, for his lifetime of service, resolute commitment to honoring our Nation's veterans, and devoted dedication to his community.

Mr. Snider's commitment to public service spans decades and professions. A proud veteran, he served our country with distinction in both the U.S. Marine Corps and the U.S. Army, including deployment as a sergeant with the 588th Engineer Battalion during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. Following his military service, Mr. Snider continued protecting others as a law enforcement officer for 28 years serving in the Springfield Police Department and the Calcasieu Parish Sheriff's Office in Louisiana.

Even in retirement, Mr. Snider remains a tireless servant-leader. As a former alderman myself, I particularly wish to recognize his time as alderman for the City of Ozark. Mr. Snider also works as a schoolbus driver and trainer for Ozark public schools, helping safeguard the next generation on their educational journey. He now serves as flight director for Honor Flight of the Ozarks, a role through which he helps ensure that our veterans have an opportunity to visit monuments here in Washington, DC. His commitment to honoring those who have served is an inspiration.

David Snider is truly a Champion of Missouri and the very spirit of selfless service. I commend him for his stewardship among his community, his fellow veterans, and our country, and I extend my deepest appreciation and best wishes to him.●

TRIBUTE TO DEREK WEBER

● Mr. SCHMITT. Mr. President, I rise today to honor Derek Weber of Memphis, MO, for his dedication and leader-

ship in providing affordable housing options to the working families of northeast Missouri.

As the director of the Northeast Missouri Regional Planning Commission, Derek has led the charge to combat the shortage of affordable housing. His mission is to ensure working-class Missourians have affordable housing options available. Through his leadership, Derek has inspired several local companies to partner with them on this mission and oversees the coordination between all these companies. His goal for this organization is to build 12 homes every year, through Housing Enhancement Northeast (HEN). Currently, three homes have been completed, with a fourth under contract to begin construction soon.

Beyond his work in housing, Derek is a committed leader in other areas of the community as well. He serves as the vice president of Scotland County R-1 School District, where he continues to contribute to the growth of his local educational system. He has consistently gone above and beyond for this local community.

Derek Weber is truly a Champion of Missouri. I am grateful for his leadership in northeast Missouri and his dedication to improving the lives of Missourians. I wish him success as he continues to lead the charge for affordable housing in northeast Missouri.●

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Hanley, one of his secretaries.

PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE

REPORT OF THE CONTINUATION OF THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY THAT WAS ORIGINALLY DECLARED IN EXECUTIVE ORDER 13694 OF APRIL 1, 2015, WITH RESPECT TO SIGNIFICANT MALICIOUS CYBER-ENABLED ACTIVITIES—PM 18

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, within 90 days prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the Federal Register and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent to the Federal Register for publication the enclosed notice stating that the national emergency declared in Executive Order 13694 of April 1, 2015, and

with respect to which additional steps were taken in Executive Order 13757 of December 28, 2016, Executive Order 13984 of January 19, 2021, Executive Order 14110 of October 30, 2023 (revoked by Executive Order 14148 of January 20, 2025), and Executive Order 14144 of January 16, 2025, is to continue in effect beyond April 1, 2025.

Significant malicious cyber-enabled activities originating from, or directed by persons located, in whole or in substantial part, outside the United States continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States. Therefore, I have determined that it is necessary to continue the national emergency declared in Executive Order 13694 with respect to significant malicious cyber-enabled activities.

DONALD J. TRUMP.
THE WHITE HOUSE, March 27, 2025.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEE

The following executive reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. RISCH for the Committee on Foreign Relations.

*George Glass, of Oregon, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Japan.

Nominee: George Glass.

Post: Japan.

(The following is a list of members of my immediate family. I have asked each of these persons to inform me of the pertinent contributions made by them. To the best of my knowledge, the information contained in this report is complete and accurate.)

Contributions, amount, date, and donee:

Self: \$3,300, 10/8/24, Zinke for Congress; \$3,300, 9/24/24, Never Surrender; \$10,000, 9/24/24, Trump 47; \$6,700, 9/24/24, Republican National Comm; \$3,300, 5/2/24, Trent Staggs for Utah; \$1,700, 5/2/24, Trent Staggs for Utah; \$5,000, 3/28/24, Save America; \$123,900, 3/28/24, Republican National Comm; \$121,100, 3/28/24, Republican National Comm; \$250,000, 3/28/24, Trump 47 Comm; \$3,300, 3/27/24, Brian Jack for Congress; \$3,300, 3/27/24, Brian Jack for Congress; \$14,900, 3/27/24, Brian Jack for Congress; \$20,650, 2/1/24, Republican National Comm; \$20,650, 2/1/24, Republican National Comm; \$5,000, 3/27/24, Peach State PAC; \$11,600, 4/19/23, Trump Save America; \$11,600, 4/19/23, Trump Save America; \$3,300, 4/19/23, Never Surrender Inc.; \$3,300, 4/19/23, Never Surrender Inc.; \$5,000, 4/19/23, Save America; \$41,300, 3/2/23, Republican National Comm; \$10,000, 11/21/22, Republican National Comm; \$5,000, 10/3/22, Champion American Values; \$1,000, 9/20/22, Republican National Comm; \$7,000, 9/13/22, More Jobs Less Govt.; \$2,900, 9/1/22, Lexalt for Senate; \$2,900, 8/23/22, Zinke For Congress; \$5,800, 8/12/22, Lexalt Victory; \$2,900, 8/12/22, Nevada Republican Comm; \$36,500, 5/17/22, Republican National Comm; \$36,500, 9/29/21, Republican National Comm.
Spouse: \$500, 11/15/24, Catholic Vote Candidate Fund; \$11,600, 4/19/23, Trump Save America; \$3,300, 4/19/23, Never Surrender; \$5,000, 4/19/23, Save America.

*Peter Hoekstra, of Michigan, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Canada.

*Nomination was reported with recommendation that it be confirmed subject to the nominee's commitment to

respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.

Nominee: Peter Hoekstra.

Post: U.S. Ambassador to Canada.

(The following is a list of members of my immediate family. I have asked each of these persons to inform me of the pertinent contributions made by them. To the best of my knowledge, the information contained in this report is complete and accurate.)

Contributions, amount, date, and donee:

Self: \$3,300.00, 10/28/24, WinRed/Trump; \$250.00, 10/04/24, Cruz for Senate; \$250.00, 09/30/24, Cruz for Senate; \$206.00, 08/13/24, Allegan County GOP; \$113.00, 06/22/24, Iron County GOP; \$200.00, 06/20/24, Bivings for Congress; \$10,000.00, 03/31/24, MIGOP; \$250.00, 10/17/23, Rigas for State Rep; \$1.00, 07/20/23, WinRed/Bergum; \$1.00, 07/20/23, WinRed/Bergum; \$1.00, 07/15/23, WinRed/Bergum; \$1.00, 07/14/23, WinRed/Bergum; \$200.00, 07/15/23, Roebuck for Clerk; \$200.00, 07/15/23, Get Smit Done; \$10.00, 03/14/23, WinRed/Johnson; \$10.00, 03/14/23, Johnson for President; \$833.33, 10/29/22, Gibbs for Congress; \$833.34, 10/29/22, Molenaar for Congress; \$833.34, 10/29/22, Huizenga for Congress; \$250.00, 05/17/22, Max for Congress; \$50.00, 10/04/22, Smit for State Rep; \$250, 07/30/22, LL Tarver for Better ED.

Diane Hoekstra: \$10,000.00, 03/31/24, MIGOP; \$1.00, 07/20/23, WinRed/Bergum; \$10.00, 03/14/23, WinRed/Johnson; \$10.00, 03/14/23, Johnson for President.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. MARSHALL (for himself, Ms. LUMMIS, Mr. SCOTT of Florida, Mr. TUBERVILLE, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. RISCH, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. JUSTICE, Mrs. HYDE-SMITH, Mrs. BRITT, Mr. SHEEHY, Mr. RICKETTS, and Mr. ROUNDS):

S. 1162. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to remove short-barreled rifles, short-barreled shotguns, and certain other weapons from the definition of firearms for purposes of the National Firearms Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. CRAPO (for himself, Ms. SMITH, Mr. BOOZMAN, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. COONS, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mrs. HYDE-SMITH, Mr. KING, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Ms. LUMMIS, Mr. MORAN, Mr. OSSOFF, Mr. RISCH, and Mr. MARSHALL):

S. 1163. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide for an exclusion for assistance provided to participants in certain veterinary student loan repayment or forgiveness programs; to the Committee on Finance.

By Ms. HASSAN (for herself, Mr. MARSHALL, Mr. COONS, Mr. TILLIS, Mr. CURTIS, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. PETERS, and Mrs. CAPITO):

S. 1164. A bill to allow additional individuals to enroll in standalone dental plans offered through Federal Exchanges; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Ms. HASSAN (for herself and Mr. CASSIDY):

S. 1165. A bill to require the United States Trade Representative to regularly monitor industrial subsidies provided by the Government of the People's Republic of China and submit a report on the risks posed by those subsidies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. GALLEGU (for himself, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. MERKLEY,

Mr. SANDERS, Mr. BOOKER, and Mr. PADILLA):

S. 1166. A bill to require the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to establish an excess urban heat mitigation grant program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. CRAMER (for himself and Mr. KELLY):

S. 1167. A bill to amend title 23, United States Code, to improve transportation asset management plans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Mr. CORNYN (for himself and Ms. HASSAN):

S. 1168. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide coverage of portable ultrasound transportation and set up services under the Medicare program; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. RISCH (for himself, Mr. CASSIDY, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. DAINES, Mrs. HYDE-SMITH, Mr. JUSTICE, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Mr. HOEVEN, Mr. RICKETTS, Mr. GRAHAM, Mrs. FISCHER, and Mr. LANKFORD):

S. 1169. A bill to prohibit State excise taxes on firearms and ammunition manufacturers and dealers; to the Committee on Finance.

By Ms. ERNST (for herself and Mrs. BLACKBURN):

S. 1170. A bill to require the heads of Federal agencies to submit to Congress an annual report regarding official time authorized under title 5, United States Code, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. VAN HOLLEN (for himself, Mr. KAINE, Mr. WARNER, and Ms. ALSOBROOKS):

S. 1171. A bill to require Federal agencies to conduct a benefit-cost analysis on relocations involving the movement of employment positions to different areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. BOOKER (for himself, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. WELCH, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. HEINRICH, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. KING, Ms. SMITH, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. SANDERS, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE):

S. 1172. A bill to unfreeze funding for contract of the Department of Agriculture, to prohibit Farm Service Agency and Natural Resources Conservation Service office closures, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Mr. CASSIDY (for himself, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. CRAMER, and Mr. HEINRICH):

S. 1173. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to clarify and preserve the breadth of the protections under the Medicare Secondary Payer Act; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. LEE:

S. 1174. A bill to nullify certain regulations and notices of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. DAINES (for himself and Ms. CORTEZ MASTO):

S. 1175. A bill to amend section 6903 of title 31, United States Code, to provide for additional population tiers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. WARNER (for himself, Mrs. CAPITO, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, and Mr. MORAN):

S. 1176. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to establish a new tax credit and grant program to stimulate investment and healthy nutrition options in food deserts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Ms. KLOBUCHAR (for herself and Mr. BUDD):

S. 1177. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to equalize the charitable mileage rate with the business travel rate; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BENNET:

S. 1178. A bill to provide for accurate energy appraisals in connection with residential mortgage loans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. HEINRICH:

S. 1179. A bill to name the community-based outpatient clinic of the Department of Veterans Affairs in Las Cruces, New Mexico, the "Las Cruces Bataan Memorial Clinic"; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. LEE (for himself and Mr. TUBERVILLE):

S. 1180. A bill to abolish the Transportation Security Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. SCHATZ (for himself and Mr. CURTIS):

S. 1181. A bill to amend the Energy Policy Act of 1992 with respect to the Department of Energy Tribal loan guarantee program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina (for himself, Mr. LANKFORD, Mr. MORENO, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Mrs. BRITT, and Mr. DAINES):

S. 1182. A bill to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 to prohibit institutions of higher education that authorize antisemitic events on campus from participating in the student loan and grand programs under title IV of such Act; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Ms. CANTWELL (for herself, Ms. MURKOWSKI, Mr. KING, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. PETERS, Mr. SULLIVAN, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mrs. MURRAY, and Mrs. GILLIBRAND):

S. 1183. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to support upgrades at existing hydroelectric dams in order to increase clean energy production, improve the resiliency and reliability of the United States electric grid, enhance the health of the Nation's rivers and associated wildlife habitats, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Ms. HASSAN (for herself and Mr. LANKFORD):

S. 1184. A bill to direct the Secretary of Homeland Security to negotiate with the Government of Canada regarding an agreement for integrated cross border aerial law enforcement operations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. WYDEN:

S. 1185. A bill to amend section 321 of the Tariff Act of 1930 to enhance transparency with respect to shipments seeking an administrative exemption from duties for low-value entries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Ms. CORTEZ MASTO (for herself, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. BALDWIN, Mr. REED, Ms. SMITH, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. KING, Mr. WELCH, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, Ms. SLOTKIN, and Mr. GALLEGO):

S. 1186. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to apply prescription drug inflation rebates to drugs furnished in the commercial market and to change the

base year for rebate calculations; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. MARKEY (for himself, Mr. SANDERS, Ms. WARREN, and Mr. WELCH):

S. 1187. A bill to amend the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act to direct the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a study of the Deerfield River for potential addition to the national wild and scenic rivers system, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. CRUZ:

S. 1188. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide for permanent full expensing for property used to capture gas that would otherwise be flared or vented and to use such gas in value-added products; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. SCOTT of Florida:

S. 1189. A bill to provide block grants to assign armed law enforcement officers to elementary and secondary schools; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. SCOTT of Florida (for himself and Mrs. CAPITO):

S. 1190. A bill to establish a Secretary of the Coast Guard, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. CURTIS (for himself and Mr. KELLY):

S. 1191. A bill to amend the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 to require the Council on Environmental Quality to publish an annual report on environmental reviews and causes of action based on alleged non-compliance with that Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Mr. LANKFORD (for himself and Mr. BOOKER):

S. 1192. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to ensure that bonds used to finance professional stadiums are not treated as tax-exempt bonds; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. DURBIN:

S. 1193. A bill to designate as wilderness certain Federal portions of the red rock canyons of the Colorado Plateau and the Great Basin Deserts in the State of Utah for the benefit of present and future generations of people in the United States; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mrs. SHAHEEN (for herself, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, and Mr. FETTERMAN):

S. 1194. A bill to ensure that federally backed financing for the construction, rehabilitation, or purchase of manufactured home communities is available only for communities whose owner has implemented minimum consumer protections in the lease agreements with residents of all manufactured home communities owned by such owner, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Ms. ROSEN:

S. 1195. A bill to promote conservation, improve public land management, and provide for sensible development in Pershing County, Nevada, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. LUJÁN (for himself, Ms. WARREN, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. KELLY, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, and Mr. MERKLEY):

S. 1196. A bill to require Executive agencies to limit the use of special Government employees to 130 days, to require the maintenance of a public database of certain special Government employees, to require the release of financial disclosures filed by certain special Government employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. LEE:

S. 1197. A bill to help individuals receiving assistance under the supplemental nutrition

assistance program in obtaining self-sufficiency, to provide information on total spending on means-tested welfare programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Mr. WHITEHOUSE (for himself, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. DURBIN, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. SANDERS, Mrs. SHAHEEN, and Ms. WARREN):

S. 1198. A bill to designate certain National Forest System land and certain public land under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture in the States of Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming as wilderness, wild and scenic rivers, wildland recovery areas, and biological connecting corridors, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Ms. ERNST:

S. 1199. A bill to extend the statute of limitations for fraud under certain pandemic programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

By Mr. SANDERS:

S.J. Res. 40. A joint resolution providing for congressional disapproval of the proposed export of certain defense articles to Israel; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. SANDERS:

S.J. Res. 41. A joint resolution providing for congressional disapproval of the proposed export of certain defense articles to Israel; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. SANDERS:

S.J. Res. 42. A joint resolution providing for congressional disapproval of the proposed export of certain defense articles to Israel; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mrs. SHAHEEN (for herself, Mr.

PADILLA, Mr. SCHATZ, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. COONS, Mr. WARNOCK, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Ms. SMITH, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. BENNET, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. KING, Mr. KELLY, Mr. HEINRICH, Mr. KIM, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Mr. SCHUMER, Ms. HASSAN, Mr. WELCH, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. SANDERS, Mrs. MURRAY, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Ms. WARREN, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. GALLEGO, Ms. ROSEN, Mr. REED, Mr. KAINE, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. FETTERMAN, Mr. PETERS, Mr. DURBIN, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. LUJÁN, Mr. WARNER, and Mr. BOOKER):

S.J. Res. 43. A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to contributions and expenditures intended to affect elections; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. MOODY (for herself and Ms. ERNST):

S.J. Res. 44. A joint resolution providing for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of the rule submitted by the Department of Energy relating to "Energy Conservation Program: Energy Conservation Standards for Commercial Refrigerators, Freezers, and Refrigerator-Freezers"; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Ms. CORTEZ MASTO (for herself, Mr. LUJÁN, Mr. REED, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. BENNET, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Ms. ROSEN, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. COONS, Mr. PADILLA, Mr. HEINRICH, Mr. KAINE,

Ms. HIRONO, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. GALLEG0, Ms. CANTWELL, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. KELLY, Mr. MURPHY, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. WYDEN, Ms. WARREN, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. WELCH, and Ms. HASSAN):

S. Res. 144. A resolution recognizing the heritage, culture, and contributions of Latinas in the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TILLIS (for himself, Mr. WARNOCK, Mr. CORNYN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. CRUZ, Mr. PETERS, Mr. DAINES, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. GALLEG0, Mr. BOOZMAN, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. COONS, and Mr. MARKEY):

S. Res. 145. A resolution protecting the Iranian political refugees, including female former political prisoners, in Ashraf-3 in Albania; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mrs. BLACKBURN:

S. Res. 146. A resolution condemning the recent acts of violence, arson, and domestic terrorism committed throughout the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PETERS (for himself, Mr. SULLIVAN, Ms. COLLINS, Ms. MURKOWSKI, Ms. HASSAN, and Mr. TILLIS):

S. Res. 147. A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that Congress should take all appropriate measures to ensure that the United States Postal Service remains an independent establishment of the Federal Government and is not subject to privatization; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. BARRASSO (for himself, Ms. LUMMIS, Mr. THUNE, Mr. SCHUMER, Ms. ALSOBROOKS, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. BANKS, Mr. BENNET, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Ms. BLUNT ROCH-ESTER, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. BOOZMAN, Mrs. BRITT, Mr. BUDD, Ms. CANTWELL, Mrs. CAPITO, Mr. CASSIDY, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. COONS, Mr. CORNYN, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Mr. COTTON, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. CRUZ, Mr. CURTIS, Mr. DAINES, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. DURBIN, Ms. ERNST, Mr. FETTERMAN, Mrs. FISCHER, Mr. GALLEG0, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. HAGERTY, Ms. HASSAN, Mr. HAWLEY, Mr. HEINRICH, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. HOEVEN, Mr. HUSTED, Mrs. HYDE-SMITH, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. JUSTICE, Mr. KAINE, Mr. KELLY, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. KIM, Mr. KING, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. LANKFORD, Mr. LEE, Mr. LUJÁN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MARSHALL, Mr. MCCONNELL, Mr. MCCORMICK, Mr. MERKLEY, Mrs. MOODY, Mr. MORAN, Mr. MORENO, Mr. MULLIN, Ms. MURKOWSKI, Mr. MURPHY, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. OSSOFF, Mr. PADILLA, Mr. PAUL, Mr. PETERS, Mr. REED, Mr. RICKETTS, Mr. RISCH, Ms. ROSEN, Mr. ROUNDS, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. SCHATZ, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. SCHMITT, Mr. SCOTT of Florida, Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. SHEEHY, Ms. SLOTKIN, Ms. SMITH, Mr. SULLIVAN, Mr. TILLIS, Mr. TUBERVILLE, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. WARNER, Mr. WARNOCK, Ms. WARREN, Mr. WELCH, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. WICKER, Mr. WYDEN, and Mr. YOUNG):

S. Res. 148. A resolution honoring the life of the Honorable Alan K. Simpson, former Senator for the State of Wyoming; considered and agreed to.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 100

At the request of Mr. TUBERVILLE, the name of the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. JUSTICE) was added as a cosponsor of S. 100, a bill to repeal the Corporate Transparency Act.

S. 222

At the request of Mr. MARSHALL, the name of the Senator from Kansas (Mr. MORAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 222, a bill to amend the Richard B. Russell National School Lunch Act to allow schools that participate in the school lunch program to serve whole milk, and for other purposes.

S. 315

At the request of Mr. MARKEY, the name of the Senator from Florida (Mrs. MOODY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 315, a bill to require the Secretary of Transportation to issue a rule requiring access to AM broadcast stations in passenger motor vehicles, and for other purposes.

S. 456

At the request of Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, the name of the Senator from Montana (Mr. DAINES) was added as a cosponsor of S. 456, a bill to amend the Energy Policy Act of 2005 to expedite geothermal exploration and development in previously studied or developed areas.

S. 470

At the request of Mrs. HYDE-SMITH, the name of the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CRAPO) was added as a cosponsor of S. 470, a bill to amend the CARES Act to remove a requirement on lessors to provide notice to vacate, and for other purposes.

S. 491

At the request of Mr. KAINE, the name of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HICKENLOOPER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 491, a bill to establish the position of Director of Foreign Assistance in the Department of State, and for other purposes.

S. 542

At the request of Mr. MORENO, the name of the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. CRAMER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 542, a bill to declare English as the official language of the United States, to establish a uniform English language rule for naturalization, and to avoid misconstructions of the English language texts of the laws of the United States, pursuant to Congress' powers to provide for the general welfare of the United States and to establish a uniform rule of naturalization under article I, section 8, of the Constitution.

S. 685

At the request of Mr. CRUZ, the name of the Senator from Alabama (Mrs. BRITT) was added as a cosponsor of S. 685, a bill to ensure State and local law enforcement officers are permitted to cooperate with Federal officials to protect our communities from violent criminals and suspected terrorists who are illegally present in the United States.

S. 918

At the request of Mr. VAN HOLLEN, the name of the Senator from Delaware (Mr. COONS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 918, a bill to allow Federal employees who are involuntarily separated from Government service while serving a probationary or trial period to resume that period upon reinstatement, and for other purposes.

S. 942

At the request of Ms. ROSEN, the name of the Senator from Washington (Ms. CANTWELL) was added as a cosponsor of S. 942, a bill to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 to provide for interest-free deferment on student loans for borrowers serving in a medical or dental internship or residency program.

S. 951

At the request of Ms. SMITH, the name of the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. HEINRICH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 951, a bill to revise sections 552, 1461, and 1462 of title 18, United States Code, and section 305 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1305), and for other purposes.

S. 1032

At the request of Mr. BLUMENTHAL, the names of the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. BARRASSO) and the Senator from Washington (Ms. CANTWELL) were added as cosponsors of S. 1032, a bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide for concurrent receipt of veterans' disability compensation and retired pay for disability retirees with combat-related disabilities, and for other purposes.

S. 1047

At the request of Ms. ERNST, her name was added as a cosponsor of S. 1047, a bill to prohibit individuals convicted of defrauding the Government from receiving any assistance from the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes.

S. 1092

At the request of Mr. MERKLEY, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts (Ms. WARREN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1092, a bill to require certain products to be labeled with 'Do Not Flush' labeling, and for other purposes.

S. 1137

At the request of Mr. COTTON, the name of the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. JUSTICE) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1137, a bill to provide that the Federal Communications Commission may not prevent a State or Federal correctional facility from utilizing jamming equipment, and for other purposes.

S. 1146

At the request of Mr. DURBIN, the name of the Senator from California (Mr. SCHIFF) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1146, a bill to permit the televising of Supreme Court proceedings.

S. 1156

At the request of Mr. FETTERMAN, the name of the Senator from New Mexico

(Mr. HEINRICH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1156, a bill to amend the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 to ensure that striking workers and their households do not become ineligible for benefits under the supplemental nutrition assistance program, and for other purposes.

S.J. RES. 24

At the request of Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina, the name of the Senator from Ohio (Mr. MORENO) was added as a cosponsor of S.J. Res. 24, a joint resolution providing for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of the rule submitted by the Environmental Protection Agency relating to "National Emission Standards for Hazardous Air Pollutants: Rubber Tire Manufacturing".

S. RES. 68

At the request of Mr. KAINE, the name of the Senator from Wisconsin (Ms. BALDWIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 68, a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the United States shall not deploy United States military assets or personnel to Gaza for purposes of "taking over" Gaza.

S. RES. 86

At the request of Mr. RISCH, the name of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 86, a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate regarding United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2758 (XXVI) and the harmful conflation of China's "One China Principle" and the United States' "One China Policy".

S. RES. 133

At the request of Mr. SCHIFF, the name of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. BOOKER) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 133, a resolution expressing support for the local public K-12 schools of the United States and condemning any actions that would defund public education or weaken or dismantle the Department of Education.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. DURBIN:

S. 1193. A bill to designate as wilderness certain Federal portions of the red rock canyons of the Colorado Plateau and the Great Basin Deserts in the State of Utah for the benefit of present and future generations of people in the United States; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

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

S. 1193

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "America's Red Rock Wilderness Act".

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
- Sec. 2. Definitions.
- Sec. 3. Findings.
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SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

In this Act:

- (1) SECRETARY.—The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Bureau of Land Management.
- (2) STATE.—The term "State" means the State of Utah.

SEC. 3. FINDINGS.

Congress finds that—

- (1) the land designated as wilderness by this Act is one of the largest remaining expanses of unprotected, wild public land in the continental United States;
- (2) the designation of wilderness by this Act would—
 - (A) increase landscape connectivity in the Colorado Plateau; and
 - (B) help to mitigate the impacts of climate change by—
 - (i) providing critical refugia;
 - (ii) reducing surface disturbances that exacerbate the impacts of climate change;
 - (iii) reducing greenhouse gas emissions related to the extraction and use of fossil fuels; and
 - (iv) contributing to the goal of protecting 30 percent of global land and waters by 2030;
- (3) the land designated as wilderness by this Act is—
 - (A) a living cultural landscape;
 - (B) a place of refuge for wild nature; and
 - (C) an important part of Indigenous and non-Indigenous community values;
- (4) Indian Tribes have been present on the land designated as wilderness by this Act since time immemorial, using the plant, animal, landform, and spiritual values for sustenance and cultural, medicinal, and ceremonial activities, purposes for which Indigenous people continue to use the land; and
- (5) the designation of wilderness by this Act—
 - (A) is vital to the continuation and revitalization of Indigenous cultures; and
 - (B) serves to protect places of Indigenous use and sanctuary.

SEC. 4. PURPOSES.

The purposes of this Act are—

- (1) to designate as wilderness certain Federal portions of the red rock canyons of the Colorado Plateau and the Great Basin Deserts in the State of Utah for the benefit

of present and future generations of people in the United States;

(2) to protect the cultural, ecological, and scenic values of land designated as wilderness by this Act for the benefit, use, and enjoyment of present and future generations of people in the United States; and

(3) to protect the ability of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people to use the land designated as wilderness by this Act for traditional activities, including hunting, fishing, hiking, horserpacking, camping, and spirituality as people have used the land for generations.

TITLE I—DESIGNATION OF WILDERNESS AREAS

SEC. 101. GREAT BASIN WILDERNESS AREAS.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

(1) the Great Basin region of western Utah is comprised of starkly beautiful mountain ranges that rise as islands from the desert floor;

(2) the Wah Wah Mountains in the Great Basin region are arid and austere, with massive cliff faces and leathery slopes speckled with piñon and juniper;

(3) the Pilot Range and Stansbury Mountains in the Great Basin region are high enough to draw moisture from passing clouds and support ecosystems found nowhere else on earth;

(4) from bristlecone pine, the world's oldest living organism, to newly flowered mountain meadows, mountains of the Great Basin region are islands of nature that—

(A) support remarkable biological diversity; and

(B) provide opportunities to experience the colossal silence of the Great Basin; and

(5) the Great Basin region of western Utah should be protected and managed to ensure the preservation of the natural conditions of the region.

(b) DESIGNATION.—In accordance with the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1131 et seq.), the following areas in the State are designated as wilderness areas and as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System:

- (1) Bald Eagle Mountain (approximately 9,000 acres).
- (2) Barn Hills (approximately 21,000 acres).
- (3) Big Hollow (approximately 4,000 acres).
- (4) Black Hills (approximately 8,750 acres).
- (5) Broken Ridge (approximately 9,250 acres).
- (6) Bullgrass Knoll (approximately 15,750 acres).
- (7) Burbank Hills (approximately 17,000 acres).
- (8) Burbank Pass (approximately 30,000 acres).
- (9) Chalk Knolls (approximately 16,500 acres).
- (10) Cobb Peak (approximately 8,500 acres).
- (11) Conger Mountain (approximately 21,750 acres).
- (12) Crater Bench (approximately 35,000 acres).
- (13) Crater Island East (approximately 53,000 acres).
- (14) Crater Island West (approximately 30,000 acres).
- (15) Cricket Mountain (approximately 16,500 acres).
- (16) Crook Creek (approximately 20,000 acres).
- (17) Deep Creek Mountains (approximately 127,000 acres).
- (18) Disappointment Hills (approximately 24,000 acres).
- (19) Drum Mountains (approximately 14,500 acres).
- (20) Dugway Mountains (approximately 24,500 acres).
- (21) Fish Springs Range (approximately 65,000 acres).
- (22) Granite Mountain (approximately 19,250 acres).

(23) Granite Peak (approximately 19,500 acres).
 (24) Grassy Mountains North (approximately 8,500 acres).
 (25) Grassy Mountains South (approximately 16,500 acres).
 (26) Hamlin (approximately 13,750 acres).
 (27) Headlight Mountain (approximately 6,000 acres).
 (28) Howell Peak (approximately 28,750 acres).
 (29) Indian Peaks (approximately 15,750 acres).
 (30) Jackson Wash (approximately 18,500 acres).
 (31) Juniper (approximately 17,500 acres).
 (32) Keg Mountains East (approximately 19,500 acres).
 (33) Keg Mountains West (approximately 19,250 acres).
 (34) Kern Mountains (approximately 15,000 acres).
 (35) King Top (approximately 111,500 acres).
 (36) Ledger Canyon (approximately 9,000 acres).
 (37) Lion Peak (approximately 27,500 acres).
 (38) Little Drum Mountains North (approximately 14,000 acres).
 (39) Little Drum Mountains South (approximately 10,000 acres).
 (40) Mahogany Peak (approximately 750 acres).
 (41) Middle Burbank Hills (approximately 6,750 acres).
 (42) Middle Mountains (approximately 39,750 acres).
 (43) Mount Escalante (approximately 17,500 acres).
 (44) Mountain Home Range North (approximately 21,500 acres).
 (45) Mountain Home Range South (approximately 32,750 acres).
 (46) Needle Mountains (approximately 12,000 acres).
 (47) Newfoundland Mountains (approximately 24,500 acres).
 (48) North Peaks (approximately 9,500 acres).
 (49) North Stansbury Mountains (approximately 20,500 acres).
 (50) Notch Peak (approximately 72,000 acres).
 (51) Notch View (approximately 8,000 acres).
 (52) Ochre Mountain (approximately 13,500 acres).
 (53) Oquirrh Mountains (approximately 9,000 acres).
 (54) Orr Ridge (approximately 11,000 acres).
 (55) Painted Rock (approximately 26,500 acres).
 (56) Paradise Mountain (approximately 40,000 acres).
 (57) Pilot Mountains Central (approximately 8,000 acres).
 (58) Pilot Peak (approximately 30,250 acres).
 (59) Red Canyon (approximately 15,500 acres).
 (60) Red Tops (approximately 28,000 acres).
 (61) San Francisco Mountains (approximately 39,750 acres).
 (62) Silver Island Mountains (approximately 37,500 acres).
 (63) Snake Valley (approximately 66,250 acres).
 (64) Spring Creek Canyon (approximately 5,250 acres).
 (65) Stansbury Island (approximately 10,000 acres).
 (66) Steamboat Mountain (approximately 40,250 acres).
 (67) Swasey Peak (approximately 91,000 acres).
 (68) The Toad (approximately 11,250 acres).
 (69) Thomas Range (approximately 40,500 acres).

(70) Tule Valley (approximately 102,000 acres).
 (71) Tule Valley South (approximately 19,000 acres).
 (72) Tunnel Springs (approximately 23,000 acres).
 (73) Wah Wah Mountains Central (approximately 60,750 acres).
 (74) Wah Wah Mountains North (approximately 93,500 acres).
 (75) Wah Wah Mountains South (approximately 17,750 acres).
 (76) White Rock Range (approximately 5,000 acres).
 (77) Wild Horse Pass (approximately 35,750 acres).

SEC. 102. GRAND STAIRCASE-ESCALANTE WILDERNESS AREAS.

(a) GRAND STAIRCASE AREA.—
 (1) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—
 (A) the area known as the Grand Staircase rises more than 6,000 feet in a series of great cliffs and plateaus from the depths of the Grand Canyon to the forested rim of Bryce Canyon;
 (B) the Grand Staircase—
 (i) spans 6 major life zones, from the lower Sonoran Desert to the alpine forest; and
 (ii) encompasses geologic formations that display 3,000,000,000 years of Earth's history;
 (C) land managed by the Secretary forms a vital natural corridor connecting the deserts and forests of the surrounding landscape, which includes Grand Canyon National Park and Bryce Canyon National Park;
 (D) each of the areas described in paragraph (2) (other than East of Bryce, Moquith Mountain, Bunting Point, Canaan Mountain, Orderville Canyon, Parunuweap Canyon, Vermillion Cliffs, and the majority of Upper Kanab Creek) is located within the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, as established in 1996; and
 (E) the Grand Staircase in Utah should be protected and managed as a wilderness area.
 (2) DESIGNATION.—In accordance with the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1131 et seq.), the following areas in the State are designated as wilderness areas and as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System:
 (A) Bryce Boot (approximately 2,750 acres).
 (B) Bryce View (approximately 4,500 acres).
 (C) Bunting Point (approximately 11,500 acres).
 (D) Canaan Mountain (approximately 15,250 acres).
 (E) East of Bryce (approximately 750 acres).
 (F) Glass Eye Canyon (approximately 25,500 acres).
 (G) Ladder Canyon (approximately 14,500 acres).
 (H) Moquith Mountain (approximately 15,750 acres).
 (I) Nephi Point (approximately 14,750 acres).
 (J) Orderville Canyon (approximately 8,000 acres).
 (K) Paria-Hackberry (approximately 196,000 acres).
 (L) Paria Wilderness Expansion (approximately 4,000 acres).
 (M) Parunuweap Canyon (approximately 44,500 acres).
 (N) Pine Hollow (approximately 11,000 acres).
 (O) Timber Mountain (approximately 52,750 acres).
 (P) Upper Kanab Creek (approximately 51,000 acres).
 (Q) Vermillion Cliffs (approximately 25,000 acres).
 (R) Willis Creek (approximately 22,000 acres).
 (b) KAIPAROWITS PLATEAU.—
 (1) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—
 (A) the Kaiparowits Plateau east of the Paria River is one of the most rugged and

isolated wilderness regions in the United States;

(B) the Kaiparowits Plateau, a windswept land of harsh beauty, contains distant vistas and a remarkable variety of plant and animal species;

(C) ancient forests, an abundance of big game animals, and 22 species of raptors thrive undisturbed on the grassland mesa tops of the Kaiparowits Plateau;

(D) each of the areas described in paragraph (2) (other than Heaps Canyon, Little Valley, and Wide Hollow) is located within the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, as established in 1996; and

(E) the Kaiparowits Plateau should be protected and managed as a wilderness area.

(2) DESIGNATION.—In accordance with the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1131 et seq.), the following areas in the State are designated as wilderness areas and as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System:

(A) Andalex Not (approximately 18,000 acres).
 (B) Box Canyon (approximately 3,000 acres).
 (C) Burning Hills (approximately 81,500 acres).
 (D) Canaan Peak Slopes (approximately 2,500 acres).
 (E) Carcass Canyon (approximately 84,750 acres).
 (F) Fifty-mile Bench (approximately 12,750 acres).
 (G) Fifty-mile Mountain (approximately 207,000 acres).
 (H) Heaps Canyon (approximately 4,000 acres).
 (I) Horse Spring Canyon (approximately 32,000 acres).
 (J) Kodachrome Headlands (approximately 9,750 acres).
 (K) Little Valley Canyon (approximately 4,000 acres).
 (L) Mud Spring Canyon (approximately 65,750 acres).
 (M) Nipple Bench (approximately 31,750 acres).
 (N) Paradise Canyon-Wahweap (approximately 266,500 acres).
 (O) Rock Cove (approximately 17,000 acres).
 (P) The Blues (approximately 22,000 acres).
 (Q) The Cockscomb (approximately 11,750 acres).
 (R) Warm Creek (approximately 24,000 acres).
 (S) Wide Hollow (approximately 7,750 acres).
 (c) ESCALANTE CANYONS.—
 (1) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—
 (A) glens and coves carved in massive sandstone cliffs, spring-watered hanging gardens, and the silence of ancient ruins are examples of the unique features that entice hikers, campers, and sightseers from around the world to the Escalante Canyons;
 (B) the Escalante Canyons link the spruce fir forests of the 11,000-foot Aquarius Plateau with the winding slickrock canyons that flow into Glen Canyon;
 (C) the Escalante Canyons, one of Utah's most popular natural areas, contains critical habitat for deer, elk, and wild bighorn sheep that also enhances the scenic integrity of the area;
 (D) each of the areas described in paragraph (2) is located within the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, as established in 1996; and
 (E) the Escalante Canyons should be protected and managed as a wilderness area.
 (2) DESIGNATION.—In accordance with the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1131 et seq.), the following areas in the State are designated as wilderness areas and as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System:
 (A) Colt Mesa (approximately 28,250 acres).

(B) Death Hollow (approximately 49,750 acres).

(C) Forty Mile Gulch (approximately 7,500 acres).

(D) Lampstand (approximately 11,500 acres).

(E) Muley Twist Flank (approximately 3,750 acres).

(F) North Escalante Canyons (approximately 182,000 acres).

(G) Pioneer Mesa (approximately 11,000 acres).

(H) Scorpion (approximately 61,250 acres).

(I) Sooner Bench (approximately 500 acres).

(J) Steep Creek (approximately 35,750 acres).

(K) Studhorse Peaks (approximately 24,000 acres).

SEC. 103. MOAB-LA SAL CANYONS WILDERNESS AREAS.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

(1) the canyons surrounding the La Sal Mountains and the town of Moab offer a variety of extraordinary landscapes;

(2) outstanding examples of natural formations and landscapes in the Moab-La Sal Canyons area include the huge sandstone fins of Behind the Rocks, the mysterious Fisher Towers, and the whitewater rapids of Westwater Canyon; and

(3) the Moab-La Sal Canyons should be protected and managed as a wilderness area.

(b) DESIGNATION.—In accordance with the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1131 et seq.), the following areas in the State are designated as wilderness areas and as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System:

(1) Arches National Park Adjacent (approximately 8,600 acres).

(2) Beaver Creek (approximately 45,000 acres).

(3) Behind the Rocks (approximately 19,500 acres).

(4) Big Triangle (approximately 21,500 acres).

(5) Coyote Wash (approximately 27,000 acres).

(6) Dome Plateau (approximately 36,750 acres).

(7) Fisher Towers (approximately 19,000 acres).

(8) Goldbar Canyon (approximately 9,500 acres).

(9) Granite Creek (approximately 5,000 acres).

(10) Hunter Canyon (approximately 5,500 acres).

(11) Mary Jane Canyon (approximately 28,500 acres).

(12) Mill Creek (approximately 17,250 acres).

(13) Morning Glory (approximately 11,000 acres).

(14) Porcupine Rim (approximately 10,500 acres).

(15) Renegade Point (approximately 6,250 acres).

(16) Westwater Canyon (approximately 39,000 acres).

(17) Yellow Bird (approximately 4,500 acres).

SEC. 104. HENRY MOUNTAINS WILDERNESS AREAS.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

(1) the Henry Mountain Range, the last mountain range to be discovered and named by early explorers in the contiguous United States, still retains a wild and undiscovered quality;

(2) fluted badlands that surround the flanks of 11,000-foot Mounts Ellen and Pennell contain areas of critical habitat for mule deer and for the largest herd of free-roaming buffalo in the United States;

(3) despite their relative accessibility, the Henry Mountain Range remains one of the wildest, least-known ranges in the United States; and

(4) the Henry Mountain Range should be protected and managed to ensure the preservation of the range as a wilderness area.

(b) DESIGNATION.—In accordance with the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1131 et seq.), the following areas in the State are designated as wilderness areas and as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System:

(1) Bull Mountain (approximately 16,000 acres).

(2) Bullfrog Creek (approximately 42,000 acres).

(3) Dogwater Creek (approximately 45,000 acres).

(4) Fremont Gorge (approximately 22,000 acres).

(5) Long Canyon (approximately 16,500 acres).

(6) Mount Ellen-Blue Hills (approximately 14,750 acres).

(7) Mount Hillers (approximately 20,250 acres).

(8) Mount Pennell (approximately 155,500 acres).

(9) Notom Bench (approximately 6,250 acres).

(10) Ragged Mountain (approximately 29,250 acres).

SEC. 105. GLEN CANYON WILDERNESS AREAS.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

(1) the side canyons of Glen Canyon, including the Dirty Devil River and the Red, White and Blue Canyons, contain some of the most remote and outstanding landscapes in southern Utah;

(2) the Dirty Devil River, once the fortress hideout of outlaw Butch Cassidy's Wild Bunch, has sculpted a maze of slickrock canyons through an imposing landscape of monoliths and inaccessible mesas;

(3) the Red and Blue Canyons contain colorful Chinle/Moenkopi badlands found nowhere else in the region;

(4) Dark Canyon, Fort Knocker, Tuwa Canyon, Upper Red Canyon, White Canyon, and a portion of Red Rock Plateau are located within the Bears Ears National Monument, as established in 2016; and

(5) the canyons of Glen Canyon in the State should be protected and managed as wilderness areas.

(b) DESIGNATION.—In accordance with the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1131 et seq.), the following areas in the State are designated as wilderness areas and as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System:

(1) Cane Spring Desert (approximately 18,250 acres).

(2) Copper Point (approximately 4,500 acres).

(3) Dark Canyon (approximately 139,000 acres).

(4) Dirty Devil (approximately 245,000 acres).

(5) Fiddler Butte (approximately 93,000 acres).

(6) Flat Tops (approximately 29,750 acres).

(7) Fort Knocker (approximately 12,500 acres).

(8) Little Rockies (approximately 64,000 acres).

(9) Pleasant Creek Bench (approximately 1,000 acres).

(10) Red Rock Plateau (approximately 185,500 acres).

(11) The Needle (approximately 10,750 acres).

(12) Tuwa Canyon (approximately 9,750 acres).

(13) Upper Red Canyon (approximately 25,000 acres).

(14) White Canyon (approximately 78,000 acres).

SEC. 106. SAN JUAN WILDERNESS AREAS.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

(1) more than 1,000 years ago, Indigenous culture flourished in the slickrock canyons

and on the piñon-covered mesas of southeastern Utah;

(2) evidence of the presence of Indigenous people pervades the Cedar Mesa area of the San Juan area where cliff dwellings, rock art, and ceremonial kivas are found in sandstone overhangs and isolated benchlands;

(3) the Cedar Mesa area is in need of protection from the vandalism and theft of its unique cultural resources;

(4) the Cedar Mesa wilderness areas should be created to protect both the archaeological heritage and the extraordinary wilderness, scenic, and ecological values of the United States;

(5) each of the areas described in subsection (b) (other than Cross Canyon, Monument Canyon, Tin Cup Mesa, and most of Nokai Dome and San Juan River) are located within the Bears Ears National Monument, as established in 2016; and

(6) the San Juan area should be protected and managed as a wilderness area to ensure the preservation of the unique and valuable resources of that area.

(b) DESIGNATION.—In accordance with the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1131 et seq.), the following areas in the State are designated as wilderness areas and as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System:

(1) Allen Canyon (approximately 6,500 acres).

(2) Arch Canyon (approximately 30,500 acres).

(3) Comb Ridge (approximately 16,000 acres).

(4) Cross Canyon (approximately 2,500 acres).

(5) Fish and Owl Creek Canyons (approximately 74,000 acres).

(6) Grand Gulch (approximately 161,250 acres).

(7) Hammond Canyon (approximately 4,750 acres).

(8) Lime Creek (approximately 5,500 acres).

(9) Monument Canyon (approximately 18,000 acres).

(10) Nokai Dome (approximately 94,250 acres).

(11) Road Canyon (approximately 64,000 acres).

(12) San Juan River (approximately 14,750 acres).

(13) The Tabernacle (approximately 7,250 acres).

(14) Tin Cup Mesa (approximately 26,000 acres).

(15) Valley of the Gods (approximately 14,500 acres).

SEC. 107. CANYONLANDS BASIN WILDERNESS AREAS.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

(1) Canyonlands National Park safeguards only a small portion of the extraordinary red-hued, cliff-walled canyonland region of the Colorado Plateau;

(2) areas near Canyonlands National Park contain canyons with rushing perennial streams, natural arches, bridges, and towers;

(3) the gorges of the Green and Colorado Rivers lie on adjacent land managed by the Secretary;

(4) popular overlooks in Canyonlands National Park and Dead Horse Point State Park have views directly into adjacent areas, including Lockhart Basin and Indian Creek;

(5) each of the areas described in subsection (b) (other than Dead Horse Cliffs, Horsethief Point, Labyrinth Canyon Wilderness Expansion, San Rafael River, Sweetwater Reef, and a portion of Gooseneck) are located within the Bears Ears National Monument, as established in 2016; and

(6) designation of those areas as wilderness would ensure the protection of this erosional masterpiece of nature and of the rich pockets of wildlife found within its expanded boundaries.

(b) DESIGNATION.—In accordance with the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1131 et seq.), the following areas in the State are designated as wilderness areas and as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System:

- (1) Bridger Jack Mesa (approximately 33,500 acres).
- (2) Butler Wash (approximately 27,000 acres).
- (3) Dead Horse Cliffs (approximately 5,250 acres).
- (4) Demon's Playground (approximately 3,500 acres).
- (5) Gooseneck (approximately 9,500 acres).
- (6) Hatch Point/Lockhart Basin/Harts Point (approximately 150,500 acres).
- (7) Horsethief Point (approximately 15,500 acres).
- (8) Indian Creek (approximately 28,500 acres).
- (9) Labyrinth Canyon Wilderness Expansion (approximately 158,750 acres).
- (10) San Rafael River (approximately 97,250 acres).
- (11) Shay Mountain (approximately 15,500 acres).
- (12) Sweetwater Reef (approximately 69,250 acres).

SEC. 108. SAN RAFAEL SWELL WILDERNESS AREAS.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

- (1) the San Rafael Swell towers above the desert like a castle, ringed by 1,000-foot ramparts of Navajo Sandstone;
- (2) the highlands of the San Rafael Swell have been fractured by uplift and rendered hollow by erosion over countless millennia, leaving a tremendous basin punctuated by mesas, buttes, and canyons and traversed by sediment-laden desert streams;
- (3) the mountains within these areas are among Utah's most valuable habitat for desert bighorn sheep; and
- (4) the San Rafael Swell area should be protected and managed to ensure its preservation as a wilderness area.

(b) DESIGNATION.—In accordance with the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1131 et seq.), the following areas in the State are designated as wilderness areas and as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System:

- (1) Capitol Reef National Park Adjacent (approximately 9,000 acres).
- (2) Cedar Mountain (approximately 15,250 acres).
- (3) Devils Canyon Wilderness Expansion (approximately 14,500 acres).
- (4) Eagle Canyon (approximately 39,000 acres).
- (5) Factory Butte (approximately 22,250 acres).
- (6) Hondu Country Wilderness Expansion (approximately 3,000 acres).
- (7) Jones Bench (approximately 3,500 acres).
- (8) Limestone Cliffs (approximately 25,500 acres).
- (9) Lost Spring Wash (approximately 36,500 acres).
- (10) Mexican Mountain Wilderness Expansion (approximately 29,750 acres).
- (11) Molen Reef (approximately 32,500 acres).
- (12) Muddy Creek Wilderness Expansion (approximately 85,000 acres).
- (13) Mussentuchit Badlands (approximately 25,000 acres).
- (14) Price River-Humbug (approximately 122,250 acres).
- (15) Red Desert (approximately 30,750 acres).
- (16) Rock Canyon (approximately 17,750 acres).
- (17) San Rafael Knob (approximately 16,750 acres).
- (18) San Rafael Reef Wilderness Expansion (approximately 60,750 acres).

(19) Sids Mountain Wilderness Expansion (approximately 39,250 acres).

(20) Upper Muddy Creek (approximately 18,500 acres).

(21) Wild Horse Mesa Wilderness Expansion (approximately 56,000 acres).

SEC. 109. BOOK CLIFFS-GREATER DINOSAUR WILDERNESS AREAS.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

- (1) the Book Cliffs-Greater Dinosaur Wilderness Areas offer—
 - (A) unique big game hunting opportunities in verdant high-plateau forests; and
 - (B) the opportunity for float trips of several days duration down the Green River in Desolation Canyon;
- (2) the long rampart of the Book Cliffs bounds the area on the south, while the uplands, plateaus, rivers, and canyons of the Greater Dinosaur area provide connectivity with Dinosaur National Monument and the northernmost extent of the Colorado Plateau;
- (3) bears, bighorn sheep, cougars, elk, and mule deer flourish in the backcountry of the Book Cliffs; and
- (4) the Book Cliffs-Greater Dinosaur Wilderness Areas should be protected and managed to ensure the protection of the areas as wilderness.

(b) DESIGNATION.—In accordance with the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1131 et seq.), the following areas in the State are designated as wilderness areas and as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System:

- (1) Bad Land Cliffs (approximately 11,500 acres).
- (2) Beach Draw (approximately 1,000 acres).
- (3) Bourdette Draw (approximately 15,750 acres).
- (4) Bull Canyon (approximately 3,000 acres).
- (5) Dead Horse Pass (approximately 8,500 acres).
- (6) Desbrough Canyon (approximately 14,000 acres).
- (7) Desolation Canyon Wilderness Expansion (approximately 293,500 acres).
- (8) Diamond Breaks (approximately 8,600 acres).
- (9) Diamond Canyon (approximately 168,000 acres).
- (10) Diamond Mountain (approximately 30,500 acres).
- (11) Goslin Mountain (approximately 3,750 acres).
- (12) Hideout Canyon (approximately 12,750 acres).
- (13) Lower Flaming Gorge (approximately 21,000 acres).
- (14) Mexico Point (approximately 14,750 acres).
- (15) Moonshine Draw (approximately 10,750 acres).
- (16) Mountain Home (approximately 8,000 acres).
- (17) O-Wi-Yu-Kuts (approximately 14,500 acres).
- (18) Red Creek Badlands (approximately 4,500 acres).
- (19) Split Mountain Benches (approximately 2,750 acres).
- (20) Stone Bridge Draw (approximately 3,500 acres).
- (21) Stuntz Draw (approximately 2,000 acres).
- (22) Survey Point (approximately 8,750 acres).
- (23) Turtle Canyon Wilderness Expansion (approximately 7,500 acres).
- (24) Vivas Cake Hill (approximately 250 acres).
- (25) Wild Mountain (approximately 750 acres).

TITLE II—ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

SEC. 201. GENERAL PROVISIONS.

(a) NAMES OF WILDERNESS AREAS.—Each wilderness area named in title I shall—

(1) consist of the quantity of land referenced with respect to that named area, as generally depicted on the map entitled "America's Red Rock Wilderness Act, 118th Congress"; and

(2) be known by the name given to it in title I.

(b) MAP AND DESCRIPTION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall file a map and a legal description of each wilderness area designated by this Act with—

(A) the Committee on Natural Resources of the House of Representatives; and

(B) the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate.

(2) FORCE OF LAW.—A map and legal description filed under paragraph (1) shall have the same force and effect as if included in this Act, except that the Secretary may correct clerical and typographical errors in the map and legal description.

(3) PUBLIC AVAILABILITY.—Each map and legal description filed under paragraph (1) shall be filed and made available for public inspection in the Office of the Director of the Bureau of Land Management.

SEC. 202. ADMINISTRATION.

Subject to valid rights in existence on the date of enactment of this Act, each wilderness area designated under this Act shall be administered by the Secretary in accordance with—

- (1) the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.); and
- (2) the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1131 et seq.).

SEC. 203. STATE SCHOOL TRUST LAND WITHIN WILDERNESS AREAS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (b), if State-owned land is included in an area designated by this Act as a wilderness area, the Secretary shall offer to exchange land owned by the United States in the State of approximately equal value in accordance with section 603(c) of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1782(c)) and section 5(a) of the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1134(a)).

(b) MINERAL INTERESTS.—The Secretary shall not transfer any mineral interests under subsection (a) unless the State transfers to the Secretary any mineral interests in land designated by this Act as a wilderness area.

SEC. 204. WATER.

(a) RESERVATION.—

(1) WATER FOR WILDERNESS AREAS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—With respect to each wilderness area designated by this Act, Congress reserves a quantity of water determined by the Secretary to be sufficient for the wilderness area.

(B) PRIORITY DATE.—The priority date of a right reserved under subparagraph (A) shall be the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) PROTECTION OF RIGHTS.—The Secretary and other officers and employees of the United States shall take any steps necessary to protect the rights reserved by paragraph (1)(A), including the filing of a claim for the quantification of the rights in any present or future appropriate stream adjudication in the courts of the State—

(A) in which the United States is or may be joined; and

(B) that is conducted in accordance with section 208 of the Department of Justice Appropriation Act, 1953 (66 Stat. 560, chapter 651).

(b) PRIOR RIGHTS NOT AFFECTED.—Nothing in this Act relinquishes or reduces any water rights reserved or appropriated by the United States in the State on or before the date of enactment of this Act.

(c) ADMINISTRATION.—

(1) SPECIFICATION OF RIGHTS.—The Federal water rights reserved by this Act are specific to the wilderness areas designated by this Act.

(2) NO PRECEDENT ESTABLISHED.—Nothing in this Act related to reserved Federal water rights—

(A) shall establish a precedent with regard to any future designation of water rights; or

(B) shall affect the interpretation of any other Act or any designation made under any other Act.

SEC. 205. ROADS.

(a) SETBACKS.—

(1) MEASUREMENT IN GENERAL.—A setback under this section shall be measured from the center line of the road.

(2) WILDERNESS ON 1 SIDE OF ROADS.—Except as provided in subsection (b), a setback for a road with wilderness on only 1 side shall be set at—

(A) 300 feet from a paved Federal or State highway;

(B) 100 feet from any other paved road or high standard dirt or gravel road; and

(C) 30 feet from any other road.

(3) WILDERNESS ON BOTH SIDES OF ROADS.—Except as provided in subsection (b), a setback for a road with wilderness on both sides (including cherry-stems or roads separating 2 wilderness units) shall be set at—

(A) 200 feet from a paved Federal or State highway;

(B) 40 feet from any other paved road or high standard dirt or gravel road; and

(C) 10 feet from any other roads.

(b) SETBACK EXCEPTIONS.—

(1) WELL-DEFINED TOPOGRAPHICAL BARRIERS.—If, between the road and the boundary of a setback area described in paragraph (2) or (3) of subsection (a), there is a well-defined cliff edge, stream bank, or other topographical barrier, the Secretary shall use the barrier as the wilderness boundary.

(2) FENCES.—If, between the road and the boundary of a setback area specified in paragraph (2) or (3) of subsection (a), there is a fence running parallel to a road, the Secretary shall use the fence as the wilderness boundary if, in the opinion of the Secretary, doing so would result in a more manageable boundary.

(3) DEVIATIONS FROM SETBACK AREAS.—

(A) EXCLUSION OF DISTURBANCES FROM WILDERNESS BOUNDARIES.—In cases where there is an existing livestock development, dispersed camping area, borrow pit, or similar disturbance within 100 feet of a road that forms part of a wilderness boundary, the Secretary may delineate the boundary so as to exclude the disturbance from the wilderness area.

(B) LIMITATION ON EXCLUSION OF DISTURBANCES.—The Secretary shall make a boundary adjustment under subparagraph (A) only if the Secretary determines that doing so is consistent with wilderness management goals.

(C) DEVIATIONS RESTRICTED TO MINIMUM NECESSARY.—Any deviation under this paragraph from the setbacks required under in paragraph (2) or (3) of subsection (a) shall be the minimum necessary to exclude the disturbance.

(c) DELINEATION WITHIN SETBACK AREA.—The Secretary may delineate a wilderness boundary at a location within a setback under paragraph (2) or (3) of subsection (a) if, as determined by the Secretary, the delineation would enhance wilderness management goals.

SEC. 206. LIVESTOCK.

Within the wilderness areas designated under title I, the grazing of livestock authorized on the date of enactment of this Act shall be permitted to continue subject to such reasonable regulations and procedures

as the Secretary considers necessary, as long as the regulations and procedures are consistent with—

(1) the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1131 et seq.); and

(2) section 101(f) of the Arizona Desert Wilderness Act of 1990 (Public Law 101-628; 104 Stat. 4469).

SEC. 207. FISH AND WILDLIFE.

Nothing in this Act affects the jurisdiction of the State with respect to wildlife and fish on the public land located in the State.

SEC. 208. PROTECTION OF TRIBAL RIGHTS.

Nothing in this Act affects or modifies—

(1) any right of any federally recognized Indian Tribe; or

(2) any obligation of the United States to any federally recognized Indian Tribe.

SEC. 209. MANAGEMENT OF NEWLY ACQUIRED LAND.

Any land within the boundaries of a wilderness area designated under this Act that is acquired by the Federal Government shall—

(1) become part of the wilderness area in which the land is located; and

(2) be managed in accordance with this Act and other laws applicable to wilderness areas.

SEC. 210. WITHDRAWAL.

Subject to valid rights existing on the date of enactment of this Act, the Federal land referred to in title I is withdrawn from all forms of—

(1) entry, appropriation, or disposal under public law;

(2) location, entry, and patent under mining law; and

(3) disposition under all laws pertaining to mineral and geothermal leasing or mineral materials.

SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

SENATE RESOLUTION 144—RECOGNIZING THE HERITAGE, CULTURE, AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF LATINAS IN THE UNITED STATES

Ms. CORTEZ MASTO (for herself, Mr. LUJÁN, Mr. REED, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. BENNET, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Ms. ROSEN, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. COONS, Mr. PADILLA, Mr. HEINRICH, Mr. KAINE, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. GALLEGO, Ms. CANTWELL, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. KELLY, Mr. MURPHY, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. WYDEN, Ms. WARREN, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. WELCH, and Ms. HASSAN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. RES. 144

Whereas the United States celebrates National Women's History Month every March to recognize and honor the achievements of women throughout the history of the United States;

Whereas there are approximately 31,000,000 Latinas living in the United States;

Whereas approximately 1 in 6 women in the United States is a Latina;

Whereas Latinas have helped shape the history of the United States since its inception;

Whereas Latinas contribute to the society of the United States through working in many industries, including business, education, science and technology, medicine, engineering, mathematics, literature and the

arts, the military, agriculture, hospitality, and public service;

Whereas Latinas come from diverse cultures across North America, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean; and Afro-Latinas face disparities in recognition;

Whereas Latinas are dedicated public servants, holding posts at the highest levels of the Federal Government, including the Supreme Court of the United States, cabinet-level positions, the Senate, and the House of Representatives;

Whereas there are approximately 45,710 Latinas serving in the Armed Forces and the first Latina to become a general in the Marine Corps reached that rank in 2006;

Whereas Latinas are breaking the glass ceiling in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, with the first Latina to travel into space doing so during a 9-day Space Shuttle Discovery mission in 1993;

Whereas Latinas contributed \$1,300,000,000 to the United States gross domestic product in 2021;

Whereas Latina activists have led the fight for civil rights, including labor rights, LGBTQ rights, women's rights, and racial equality;

Whereas Latinas, like Hollywood icon Raquel Welch, have created award-winning art;

Whereas Latinas are recipients of Emmy, Grammy, Oscar, and Tony awards, including Rita Moreno, who earned all 4 awards between 1961 and 1977;

Whereas Latina singers and songwriters, such as Selena, Celia Cruz, Shakira, Gloria Estefan, and Linda Ronstadt, have made lasting and significant contributions to music throughout the world;

Whereas Latinas serve in the medical profession and the first female and first Hispanic Surgeon General was appointed in 1990;

Whereas Latinas serve as journalists reporting vital news and information to the public;

Whereas Latinas are world-class athletes, representing the United States in the Olympics and other international competitions;

Whereas Latinas working full time, year-round are paid just 58 cents for every dollar paid to White, non-Hispanic men, and over a 40-year career, a Latina with a professional degree could lose more than \$2,900,000 in wages;

Whereas, in the face of societal obstacles, including unequal pay, disparities in education, health care needs, and civil rights struggles, Latinas continue to break through and thrive;

Whereas the United States should continue to invest in the future of Latinas to address the barriers they face; and

Whereas, by 2060, the population of Latinas in the United States is projected to be 48,834,000: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) celebrates and honors the successes of Latinas and the contributions they have made and continue to make to the United States; and

(2) recognizes the changes that are still to be made to ensure that Latinas can realize their full potential as equal members of society.

SENATE RESOLUTION 145—PROTECTING THE IRANIAN POLITICAL REFUGEES, INCLUDING FEMALE FORMER POLITICAL PRISONERS, IN ASHRAF-3 IN ALBANIA

Mr. TILLIS (for himself, Mr. WARNOCK, Mr. CORNYN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. CRUZ, Mr. PETERS, Mr. DAINES, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. GALLEGO, Mr. BOOZMAN, Mr.

BOOKER, Mr. COONS, and Mr. MARKEY) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 145

Whereas, since October 2023, the Iranian regime has increasingly acted as the epicenter of terrorism in the region, from supporting proxies that vehemently oppose peace in the Middle East, to threatening commercial shipping and free trade in the Red Sea and from targeting American forces in the region, to providing missile and drones to rogue actors, all of which pose serious risks to regional peace and security and endanger the vital interests of the United States;

Whereas the downfall of dictator Bashar al-Assad—a key ally of the Iranian regime—exposes, but does not diminish, Iran's role as the primary malign actor in the region as it continues to adapt its destabilizing tactics through proxies and illicit influence, and the regime's efforts to sow chaos, undermine regional stability, and threaten United States and allied interests persist and may evolve in unexpected and dangerous way that will demand unwavering vigilance and decisive action to counter their aggression which thwarts movement toward peace and stability in the region;

Whereas Iran remains the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism today;

Whereas the Iranian people have rejected the regime ruling Iran through several rounds of major demonstrations, engulfing all 31 provinces of Iran calling for change;

Whereas the Iranian regime has resorted to killing, torture, sexual violence, and imprisonment of protesters, and several thousand protesters since 2017 have been killed, and many more have been imprisoned;

Whereas, in the first 4 months of Masoud Pezeshkian's presidency, the judiciary of the Iranian regime has executed over 500 prisoners, including political prisoners and at least 17 women, sometimes publicly, and has increased the use of hand amputation as punishment;

Whereas the Iranian regime has been intent on eliminating the Iranian political refugees who survived Tehran's repression and were first based in Camp Ashraf, Iraq, in the mid-1980s;

Whereas, starting in 2012, the United States Government and the United Nations initiated the relocation of nearly 3,000 Iranian dissidents from Camp Ashraf, Iraq, where they were repeatedly attacked by the Iranian regime's proxies, and facilitated their gradual relocation in 2013, 2014, and 2015 to Albania;

Whereas the relocation of these Iranian political refugees to Albania from Iraq was completed in September 2016, and the refugees, a third of them women, are now residing in Ashraf-3 near Tirana in Albania;

Whereas, on April 19, 2016, before the relocation of the majority of the residents to Albania, in a letter to a European Parliament Vice-President, the Prime Minister of Albania wrote, "Albania is fully engaged and committed to ensure for the Iranian refugees all rights stipulated in the Geneva Convention 1951, in the European Human Rights Convention and in the whole international legislation.";

Whereas over 900 women and men of Ashraf-3 are former political prisoners who endured torture while in prisons and many of them are witnesses of the 1988 massacre of political prisoners and other political killings in Iran, among them eyewitnesses of crimes committed by Ebrahim Raisi;

Whereas these witnesses must be fully protected for potential testimonies before international courts investigating the 1988 mas-

sacre and other grave human rights violations in Iran;

Whereas, in November 2021, the Swedish Judiciary moved the whole court in Stockholm to Albania for 2 weeks to facilitate hearing testimonies of 7 former Iranian political prisoners now residing in Ashraf-3, whose testimony was characterized as critical for a trial related to the 1988 massacre;

Whereas, in December 2023, a Swedish court confirmed the earlier ruling by the lower court of a life sentence for Hamid Noury, implicated in the 1988 massacre where he was an official in Gohardasht Prison;

Whereas the Iranian regime has stepped up terrorist attacks against its opponents and has used blackmail, terror threats, hostage-taking, sham judicial proceedings, and other means of intimidation against western nations to compel them to silence Iranian opponents living abroad;

Whereas, on several occasions, including in the last week of December 2023, the Iranian regime carried out large-scale cyberattacks against Albania to pressure the Government of Albania to undermine or end its hosting of Iranian political refugees;

Whereas experience has shown that any lack of decisiveness or concessions to Tehran only emboldens the Iranian regime for its destructive actions;

Whereas the Iranian regime has, over the past few months, stepped up threats against Ashraf-3, and given what the regime has done since October 7, 2023, far more vigilance on the part of the United States is required to ensure the complete protection and rights of Ashraf-3 residents in Albania;

Whereas, on December 12, 2023, the Iranian regime started sham trials in absentia for 104 veteran members of the Iranian Resistance, who, since years ago, have been primarily based in Europe, including in Albania, to create a phony legal precedent against them and secure their extradition to Iran by misusing INTERPOL Red Notices, impose limitations, or set the stage for terror attacks against them;

Whereas the Iranian regime is doing its utmost through any means to prevent Ashraf-3 residents from speaking up against the regime;

Whereas the leadership role of women in Ashraf-3 has doubly heightened the Iranian regime's misogynous hysteria against the political refugees in Ashraf-3;

Whereas over 4,000 parliamentarians around the world and 130 former world leaders have expressed their support for Mrs. Maryam Rajavi's Ten-Point Plan for the Future of Iran, which calls for the universal right to vote, free elections, a market economy, separation of religion and state, and advocates for gender, religious, and ethnic equality, a foreign policy based on peaceful coexistence, peace in the Middle East, and a nonnuclear republic Iran; and

Whereas, in sharp contrast to Iran's institutionalized misogyny, this Ten-Point platform has adequately addressed women's equality, including "complete gender equality in the realms of political, social, cultural and economic rights. An equal participation of women in political leadership, abolishment of any form of discrimination. The right to choose one's own clothing freely, the right to freely marry and divorce, and to obtain education and employment. Prohibition of all forms of exploitation against women under any pretext."; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) the Iranian political refugees in Ashraf-3, in rejection of the Iranian regime's demands, must be afforded their fundamental rights of freedom of expression and assembly and legal political activities in Albania;

(2) the United States Government condemns the Iranian regime's threats and nefarious actions against the Government of Albania, including cyberattacks and threats against the Iranian dissidents in Ashraf-3 in Albania;

(3) the United States Government should take prompt and appropriate steps in accordance with international law, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, and the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, to help the Government of Albania ensure and uphold all fundamental rights of Ashraf-3 residents within the framework of the above conventions, including the right to life, liberty, security, protection of property, and freedom of expression and assembly;

(4) the United States Government strongly opposes Iran's misuse of the INTERPOL Red Notices to impose restrictions or limitations or set in motion the extradition of Iranian dissidents to Iran; and

(5) the United States Government must continue close and regular cooperation with the Government of Albania and the residents of Ashraf-3 to ensure the complete protection and fundamental rights of Ashraf-3 residents.

SENATE RESOLUTION 146—CONDEMNING THE RECENT ACTS OF VIOLENCE, ARSON, AND DOMESTIC TERRORISM COMMITTED THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES

Mrs. BLACKBURN submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. RES. 146

Whereas, over the last several weeks, law enforcement agencies throughout the United States have reported numerous violent attacks on electric vehicles, car dealerships, and charging stations;

Whereas, the Department of Justice has charged 3 individuals for violent destruction of Tesla properties, including 1 individual who—armed with an assault rifle—threw 8 Molotov cocktails at a Tesla dealership; and

Whereas all acts of violence are entirely unacceptable in the United States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate condemns the horrific acts of violence, arson, and domestic terrorism committed against electric vehicles, car dealerships, and charging stations throughout the United States.

SENATE RESOLUTION 147—EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE SENATE THAT CONGRESS SHOULD TAKE ALL APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO ENSURE THAT THE UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE REMAINS AN INDEPENDENT ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUBJECT TO PRIVATIZATION

Mr. PETERS (for himself, Mr. SULLIVAN, Ms. COLLINS, Ms. MURKOWSKI, Ms. HASSAN, and Mr. TILLIS) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs:

S. RES. 147

Whereas the United States Postal Service is a constitutionally mandated service per

article I, section 8, clause 7 of the Constitution of the United States;

Whereas the United States Postal Service is a self-sustaining, independent establishment that does not receive taxpayer funding and relies solely on revenue derived from the sale of postal services and products;

Whereas the United States Postal Service and its more than 630,000 employees are at the center of the \$1,900,000,000,000 mailing industry, which employs more than 7,900,000 Americans;

Whereas the United States Postal Service serves the needs of customers at more than 168,000,000 business and residential addresses every day, maintains an affordable and universal network, and connects the rural, suburban, and urban communities of the United States;

Whereas the United States Postal Service is consistently the highest rated agency of the Federal Government in nonpartisan opinion polls;

Whereas the United States Postal Service employs nearly 73,000 military veterans and is one of the largest employers of veterans in the United States;

Whereas postal employees are dedicated public servants who do more than process and deliver the mail, including serving as the eyes and ears of their communities and often responding first in situations involving health, safety, and crime in their communities;

Whereas privatization of the United States Postal Service would result in higher prices and reduced services for its customers, especially in rural communities; and

Whereas privatization of the United States Postal Service would jeopardize the booming e-commerce sector and cripple a major part of the critical infrastructure of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that Congress should take all appropriate measures to ensure that the United States Postal Service remains an independent establishment of the Federal Government and not subject to privatization.

SENATE RESOLUTION 148—HONORING THE LIFE OF THE HONORABLE ALAN K. SIMPSON, FORMER SENATOR FOR THE STATE OF WYOMING

Mr. BARRASSO (for himself, Ms. LUMMIS, Mr. THUNE, Mr. SCHUMER, Ms. ALSOBROOKS, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. BANKS, Mr. BENNET, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. BOOZMAN, Mrs. BRITT, Mr. BUDD, Ms. CANTWELL, Mrs. CAPITO, Mr. CASSIDY, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. COONS, Mr. CORNYN, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Mr. COTTON, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. CRUZ, Mr. CURTIS, Mr. DAINES, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. DURBIN, Ms. ERNST, Mr. FETTERMAN, Mrs. FISCHER, Mr. GALLEGO, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. HAGERTY, Ms. HASSAN, Mr. HAWLEY, Mr. HEINRICH, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. HOEVEN, Mr. HUSTED, Mrs. HYDE-SMITH, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. JUSTICE, Mr. KAINE, Mr. KELLY, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. KIM, Mr. KING, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. LANKFORD, Mr. LEE, Mr. LUJÁN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MARSHALL, Mr. MCCONNELL, Mr. MCCORMICK, Mr. MERKLEY, Mrs. MOODY, Mr. MORAN, Mr. MORENO, Mr. MULLIN, Ms. MURKOWSKI, Mr. MURPHY, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. OSSOFF, Mr.

PADILLA, Mr. PAUL, Mr. PETERS, Mr. REED, Mr. RICKETTS, Mr. RISCH, Ms. ROSEN, Mr. ROUNDS, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. SCHATZ, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. SCHMITT, Mr. SCOTT of Florida, Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. SHEEHY, Ms. SLOTKIN, Ms. SMITH, Mr. SULLIVAN, Mr. TILLIS, Mr. TUBERVILLE, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. WARNER, Mr. WARNOCK, Ms. WARREN, Mr. WELCH, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. WICKER, Mr. WYDEN, and Mr. YOUNG) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 148

Whereas Alan Kooi Simpson (referred to in this preamble as "Senator Simpson") was born in Denver, Colorado, on September 2, 1931, and was raised in Cody, Wyoming;

Whereas Senator Simpson came from a family with a long tradition of public service in Wyoming, which included—

(1) his father, Milward Simpson, who was a U.S. Senator, the Governor of Wyoming, and a member of the Wyoming State Legislature; and

(2) his mother, Lorna Kooi Simpson, who served her community as president of the Red Cross in Cody, Wyoming, and on the local planning commission;

Whereas Senator Simpson graduated from Cody High School in Cody, Wyoming, in 1949, earned a Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Wyoming in 1954, and earned a Juris Doctor degree from the University of Wyoming College of Law in 1958;

Whereas, after graduating from college, Senator Simpson served as a Second Lieutenant in the Army from 1954 to 1956, where he was stationed in Germany with the 10th Infantry regiment of the 5th Infantry Division and the 12th Armored Infantry Battalion of the 2nd Armored Division;

Whereas, on June 21, 1954, Senator Simpson married Ann Schroll, whom he met while studying at the University of Wyoming, and together, they—

(1) built a remarkable partnership of love, devotion, and respect;

(2) raised their 3 children, Bill, Colin, and Susan; and

(3) enjoyed spending time, as proud grandparents, with Mackenzie, Nicholas, Eric, Beth, Fiona, and Aidan;

Whereas, after being admitted to the Wyoming bar and the United States District Court for the District of Wyoming in 1958, Senator Simpson—

(1) served as a Wyoming Assistant Attorney General;

(2) practiced law with his father, Milward Simpson, and later with Charles G. Kepler, in the law firm of Simpson, Kepler and Simpson in Cody, Wyoming; and

(3) served as the City Attorney for Cody, Wyoming;

Whereas, starting in 1965, Senator Simpson began a distinguished career of elected public service on behalf of the people of Wyoming, including serving —

(1) in the Wyoming House of Representatives from 1965 to 1978, where he served as majority whip, majority floor leader, and the speaker pro tempore; and

(2) in the U.S. Senate from 1979 to 1997, where he served as Senate Majority Whip from 1985 to 1987, and Senate Minority Whip from 1987 to 1995;

Whereas, from 1981 to 1985, and from 1995 to 1997, Senator Simpson served as Chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs of the Senate;

Whereas, during his time in the U.S. Senate, Senator Simpson was focused on—

(1) securing United States borders and addressing illegal immigration;

(2) championing the brave veterans who answered the call and made sacrifices for their country;

(3) entitlement reform; and

(4) addressing the soaring national debt;

Whereas Senator Simpson was appointed by President Obama to be co-chair of the National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform in 2010, and Senator Simpson and Erskine Bowles were presented the Paul H. Douglas Award for Ethics in Government for their work on that Commission;

Whereas, in July 2022, Senator Simpson received the Presidential Medal of Freedom;

Whereas Senator Simpson was passionate about—

(1) the Buffalo Bill Center of the West in Cody, Wyoming;

(2) the Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation, including the Mineta-Simpson Institute at Heart Mountain; and

(3) the University of Wyoming, including the establishment of—

(A) the Alan K. Simpson Center for Clinical and Experiential Learning at the University of Wyoming College of Law; and

(B) the Alan K. Simpson Institute for Western Politics and Leadership at the American Heritage Center;

Whereas Senator Simpson served with integrity, humor, and leadership, and he never wavered in his commitment to his family, the United States, or the State of Wyoming; and

Whereas Senator Simpson was known by many for his courage, quick wit, and legendary storytelling: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That—

(1) the Senate—

(A) has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of the Honorable Alan K. Simpson, former Senator for the State of Wyoming; and

(B) respectfully requests that the Secretary of the Senate—

(i) communicate this resolution to the House of Representatives; and

(ii) transmit an enrolled copy of this resolution to the family of the Honorable Alan K. Simpson; and

(2) when the Senate adjourns on the date of the adoption of this resolution, the Senate stands adjourned as a further mark of respect to the memory of the Honorable Alan K. Simpson.

AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I have seven requests for committees to meet during today's session of the Senate. They have the approval of the Majority and Minority Leaders.

Pursuant to rule XXVI, paragraph 5(a), of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the following committees are authorized to meet during today's session of the Senate:

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

The Committee on Armed Services is authorized to meet in open session during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 27, 2025, at 9:30 a.m., to conduct a hearing on nominations.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

The Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs is authorized to meet in open session during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 27, 2025, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing on nominations.

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND
TRANSPORTATION

The Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 27, 2025, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing.

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND
TRANSPORTATION

The Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 27, 2025, at 2:15 p.m., to conduct a hearing on a nomination.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Committee on Foreign Relations is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 27, 2025, at 11 a.m., to conduct a business meeting.

COMMITTEE ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR,
AND PENSIONS

The Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 27, 2025, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing.

COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS AND
ENTREPRENEURSHIP

The Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 27, 2025, at 9:30 a.m., to conduct a business meeting.

PRIVILEGES OF THE FLOOR

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Brian Lyons, communications director for the Budget Committee, be given full access to the floor for the balance of his service.

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

HONORING THE LIFE OF THE HON-
ORABLE ALAN K. SIMPSON,
FORMER SENATOR FOR THE
STATE OF WYOMING

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 148, submitted earlier today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 148) honoring the life of the Honorable Alan K. Simpson, former Senator for the State of Wyoming.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. CORNYN. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 148) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

ORDERS FOR MONDAY, MARCH 31,
2025

Mr. CORNYN. Finally, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand adjourned until 3 p.m. on Monday, March 31, that following the prayer and the pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time

for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, morning business be closed, and the Senate proceed to executive session and resume consideration of Calendar No. 40, Matthew Whitaker; further, that at 5:30 p.m., the Senate vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the Whitaker nomination; and, finally, if cloture is invoked on the Whitaker nomination, all time be considered expired and the Senate vote on confirmation of the nomination at a time to be determined by the majority leader, in consultation with the Democratic leader.

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

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY,
MARCH 31, 2025, AT 3 P.M.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask that it stand adjourned under the provisions of S. Res. 148.

There being no objection, under the previous order and pursuant to the provisions of S. Res. 148, as a further mark of respect for the late Alan K. Simpson, former Senator from Wyoming, the Senate, at 4:39 p.m., adjourned until Monday, March 31, 2025, at 3 p.m.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate March 27, 2025:

DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

PAUL LAWRENCE, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF VETERANS AFFAIRS.